Marianne Therese Grønnow , *Light. Dusk. Darkness*, 2012, acrylic on canvas, 145 x 225 cm

Photograph by Dorte Krogh – By kind permission of the Artist – mariannegroennow.com

# INTERFACES

## A Journal of Medieval European Literatures

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# Contents

# Introduction to *Interfaces* 7

We are delighted to publish the seventh issue of *Interfaces*, an open issue containing three substantial pieces of scholarship. These pieces range from an exploration of the processes of memory and text-making behind the composition of Villehardouin's *La Conquête de Constantinople,* to a study of a late fifteenth-century edition of Horace from Germany which opens up the interaction between print and manuscript cultures, to an examination of the Spanish term *raza* which addresses the early racialization of difference.

With this publication we also welcome several distinguished colleagues as new members of the journal's Editorial Board: Benoît Grévin, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris; Ophir Muenz-Manor, Open University of Israel, Ra'anana; Clara Pascual-Argente, Rhodes College, Memphis (Tennessee); Andrea Robiglio, KU Leuven; and Fabio Zinelli, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. We would like to thank them all for their support, cooperation, and commitment.

After the experiment of issue 6, published under a Creative Commons Attribution license (CC BY 4.0), with issue 7 *Interfaces* returns to the more restrictive Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike license (CC BY-SA 4.0), in the belief that this choice contributes to the de-commodification of knowledge.

Looking to national rankings, we have good news for scholars based in Italy. This year *Interfaces* was recognized by the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes as "rivista di classe A," the highest ranking possible, in the following academic disciplines: 10E1 – Filologie e letterature mediolatine e romanze; 10F4 – Critica letteraria e letterature comparate; 10L1 – Lingue, letterature e culture inglese e anglo-americana; 10M1 – Lingue, letterature e culture germaniche; 10M2 – Slavistica. In Denmark and Norway *Interfaces* is presently ranked in the second category of journals in the humanities.

As readers may have noticed, the *Interfaces* website changed its appearance during 2020. The journal platform of the University of Milan was updated to the latest version of the Open Journal System,

OJS3. One of the oldest and most established journals on the platform, *Interfaces* acted as one of three test journals; between 2019 and 2020 our editorial staff collaborated closely with the Milan IT team, contributing concretely to the migration from OJS2 to OJS3. The new look was again designed by Shiroi Studio, with whom both *Interfaces* and the Centre for Medieval Literature, founder of the journal, have been collaborating since 2015.

For the cover of Issue 7 we have chosen a work by a contemporary Danish artist: *Light. Dusk. Darkness* by Marianne Therese Grønnow.

Our next issues are thematic – we look forward to announcing them in 2021. We also continue to welcome unsolicited submissions which address any of the literatures of medieval Europe. In view of our commitment to the many languages of Europe, past and present, we publish in French, German, Italian and Spanish as well as English.

*The Editors*

HENRY RAVENHALL

# The Untimely Subject

## Reporting Discourse and Bearing Witness in Villehardouin's *La Conquête de Constantinople* and Yannick Haenel's *Jan Karski*

**Abstract**

This article examines the use of reported discourse in Villehardouin's *La Conquête de Constantinople* (*c.* 1210), offering a comparison to Robert de Clari's text of the same name. The radical shift in direct speech across the first and second halves of the text is explored in relation to three existing interpretations put forward by scholars, before a fourth one is proposed that places new emphasis on the processes of memory and text-making behind the composition of the *Conquête*. Villehardouin's status as eyewitness, and the importance this has for the nature of his chronicle, is then analysed through a reading of the 2009 novel *Jan Karski* by Yannick Haenel, whose playful, distortional treatment of historical speech and meta-commentary on the act of bearing witness have important implications for the temporality and discursive features of the medieval text.[1]

2. The manuscript tradition can be divided into two groups. The first, and the basis for Edmond Faral's critical

Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, was one of the leaders of the controversial Fourth Crusade that was diverted from its original objective to recapture Jerusalem, and ended up assaulting and sacking Constantinople in 1204 before falling apart due to internal division and external pressure. His eyewitness testimony, which we are told was dictated, is recorded in a narrative completed around 1210 (certainly after the death of Boniface de Montferrat in 1207). The text is one of the earliest surviving original compositions in French prose and has been subject to extensive literary and historical scrutiny. Some of the titles found in the seven surviving manuscripts, however, foreground a particular usage of the narrative: to laud the figure of Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, elected Emperor of Constantinople in 1204.[2] Villehardouin's account is generally preferred by historians to that of another eyewitness, Robert de Clari, a low-ranking knight, whose nar-

edition, includes Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 587 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), fr. 4972, two manuscripts produced in Venice around 1330 (likely at the atelier of Marino Sanudo the Elder). These Italian copies have the same bas-de-page illustration on their opening folio depicting the assault on Constantinople: the Byzantines and their flag are at the centre, while knights bearing the banner of Flanders are situated on the right. The second group consists of BnF fr. 2137, BnF fr. 12203, BnF fr. 12204, BnF fr. 15100 and BnF fr. 24210. Unsurprisingly, it is the northern French manuscripts of the late thirteenth century, BnF fr. 12203 and BnF fr. 12204, that stress the text's connection to Baldwin: *e.g.* "Chi commence li histore dou conte Bauduin de Flandres et de Hainau, comment il conquist par sa proeche l'empire de Constantinoble et comment il en fu couronnés a empereour" (BnF fr. 12204, f. 1r, "Here begins the history of Count Baldwin of Flanders and of Hainault, how he conquered through his prowess the empire of Constantinople and how he was crowned emperor"). In a similar vein, Villehardouin's text in BnF fr. 12203 is preceded by a historical account in French about the counts of Flanders from 792 to 1152 (f. 50r–68v).

rative is more digressive and lacks the access to the decision-making machine behind the Crusade leadership. Indeed, it is Villehardouin's clear, precise, and relatively unembellished prose that has swayed many historians to accept his explanation for why the Fourth Crusade went wrong; a theory of 'accidents' suggesting it was an unfortunate contingency of events – rather than the vengeful design of their allies the Venetians or the avarice and glory-hunting of the crusading army – that led the host astray.

The aim of this article is to address the relationship between the presentation of speech in the *Conquête de Constantinople* and Villehardouin's status as eyewitness. There has been no shortage of studies that have considered the reliability of Villehardouin's account, and many have drawn attention to the narrator's seemingly wilful forgetfulness – that is, his omission of key episodes that would reflect none too well on the crusaders' intentions – and his careful manipulation of the narrative material (*e.g.* Madden and Queller 302–303). In a very recent book, Marcus Bull considers Villehardouin's and Robert de Clari's respective accounts of the Fourth Crusade from a narratological perspective. Bull's approach is to consider the relationship not between Villehardouin as author and Villehardouin as narrator (as with the majority of literary analyses), but rather between Villehardouin as narrator and historical actor. The interplay of narratorial identities responds, for Bull, to ethical and political imperatives that arise from Villehardouin's measured reflection on the past events: to switch between "je," "nous," "Joffrois de Villehardouin," and "li livre" ("I", "we," "Geoffrey of Villehardouin," "the book") is to move in and out of his personal memories, generic convention, *post hoc* rationalization, use of documentary material, and textual effect. Our limited access to the lines of sight that Villehardouin actually held, as well as a lack of authentic reaction to the events before him, point to a text that negates the experience of the witness all the while foregrounding its status as eyewitness testimony. In short, Bull evinces, "the *Conquête* is scarcely to be categorized as an 'eyewitness' text at all" (Bull 292).

What is missing in Bull's compelling argument, however, is consideration of a curious linguistic feature of the *Conquête*: its imbalanced use of reported discourse. In the following analysis, I will consider the three interpretations that have been put forward by scholars to explain the radically different proportions of direct discourse in the first and second halves of the text. I will then propose a fourth interpretation that makes use of Bull's discussion on 'transactive

memory,' or the way that memory of lived experience is less formed in the moment of perception than in its subsequent exchange within a social grouping, to suggest that we have approached the question back-to-front. If we entertain the possibility that Villehardouin's self-distancing and narratorial disaggregation arise not from professional, historiographical detachment but from an *over-investment* in the narrative (somewhere between regret, trauma, guilt, or responsibility), then we might see how the ever-present epistemological, ethical, and representational issues surrounding bearing witness are present in the dynamics behind the *Conquête*'s composition.

The act of testimony and its relation to trauma has become an increasingly popular critical tool for the analysis of modern and contemporary texts, and offers an undoubted heuristic potential for our understanding of canonical medieval texts.[3] While many of the issues explored in Holocaust literature, for instance, are historically contingent on the post-war context, they also encourage new ways of thinking about medieval textuality. Twenty-first-century concerns with the fictionality of testimony, as well as its necessary performance by a survivor, gesture towards debates in medieval literature regarding the difference between types of narrative subsumed under the category *histoire* or *historia* and the fundamental performativity of text and manuscript. Given a pre-modern literary culture where the material 'witness' stands in for a lost 'originary' speaker, whose speech is not only modified in scribal transmission but also often first recorded as part of a collaborative process, recent ideas about the relationship between the witness and his or her testimony, the ethical impetus behind voicing injustice, and the privileged status we grant eyewitnesses in modern discourses on traumatic events at once strike a chord with the interests of medievalists and allow us to challenge some of our underlying assumptions. This article takes the controversial 2009 novel *Jan Karski* by Yannick Haenel as an opportunity to re-read Villehardouin's text through a traumatic lens. The linguistic fact of the radical shift in reported discourse in the *Conquête*, it will be argued, can be understood better through the eyewitness testimony that Haenel re-narrativizes. With its playful, novelistic treatment (or distortion) of historical speech, as well as its meta-commentary on the act of bearing witness, *Jan Karski* focuses our attention on a crucial, yet rarely asked, question about Villehardouin's text: who is actually speaking *and when*?

3. Historians have rightly been cautious about using the term 'trauma,' which may lend itself to anachronism or an assumption of continuity between pre-modern and modern formations of subjectivity. As Nicholas Paul puts it: "The concept of psychological or emotional trauma, invented in the late nineteenth century and now a ubiquitous 'floating signifier,' applied freely and without much distinction in contemporary discourse, should be applied only with the greatest caution to societies of the distant past whose own categories of grace, peace and their opposites we understand poorly" (299). A growing body of medieval scholarship has sought, on the one hand, to identify cases of trauma among historical subjects (or its effects as what we now describe as post-traumatic stress disorder), and, on the other, to develop trauma theory as a valid mode of historical analysis. Donna Trembinski has argued, while cautioning against a confirmation bias when we go actively looking for it in medieval sources (21), that trauma "injects ambiguity and complexity into the thoughts, emotions and actions of historical actors" (31).

Reported discourse refers to the ways in which speech and thought are (re-)presented, whether spoken or written.[4] The main three categories of reported discourse are direct, indirect, and free indirect, but problems of definition and terminology abound in the vast linguistic scholarship. The reporting strategy affects many aspects of the phrase at a grammatical level (tense, pronoun, deictic markers), and may entail different relationships between the speaking subject (the person who physically produces the utterance [*énoncé*] in speech or writing), the locutor (the 'I' responsible for the act of enunciation [*énonciation*]), the enunciator (whose point of view is expressed), and the addressee (who reads or hears the utterance).[5] If we take an example from the *Conquête*, we see how differentiating between the above entities can be problematic, especially with tense switching and without systematic punctuation:

> Et li apostoille dist aus messages qu'il savoit bien que por la defaute des autres lor convint a faire, si en ot grant pitié; et lor manda as barons et as pelerins salut et qu'il les asolt comme ses filz et lor conmandoit et prioit que il tenissent l'ost ensemble: *car il savoit bien que sanz cele ost ne pooit li servises Dieu estre fais*; et dona plain pooir a Nevelon lo vesque de Soisons et a maistre Johan de Noion de lier et de deslier les pelerins tresqu'adonc que li cardenax vendroit en l'ost. (Ed. Faral §107)[6]

> (And the pope said to the messengers that he knew very well that because the others had defected they had to do it, and so he was full of regret; he sent greetings to the barons and to the pilgrims and (sent word that) he absolves them as his sons, and commanded and beseeched them that they keep the army together: *for he knew very well that without this army God's service could not be done*; and he gave full authority to Nevelon, Bishop of Soissons, and to Master John of Noyon to bond and to unloose the pilgrims until the cardinal came to the army.)[7]

The pope reports to the messengers his own thoughts and feelings (and thus is both locutor and enunciator). Yet if Villehardouin the narrator is reporting this, he heard it from the messengers, whose role as locutors is effaced presumably both to give the pope's message the immediacy it deserves and to avoid an even more complex

4. An excellent introductory work on the history of and critical debate surrounding reported discourse is Rosier, *Le discours rapporté. Histoire, théories, pratiques*. For a textbook with more examples in modern French, see Rosier, *Le Discours rapporté en français*.

5. I follow the vocabulary that Sophie Marnette translates from French into English. See *Speech*, especially her discussion of Oswald Ducrot's split subject (21) and chapter 2 "What is 'reported discourse'?" (39–63).

6. See also Jeanette Beer's discussion of this passage, *In Their Own Words* 49–50.

7. All translations are my own.

grammatical operation. The pope sends his greeting ("salut") to the crusaders and absolves them of sin. The verb "asolt" is in the present tense, even if the *verbum dicendi* "manda" is in the preterit, and in the latter part of the same phrase the verbs of command, "conmandoit" and "prioit," are in the imperfect tense, followed by the imperfect subjunctive, "tenissent." The act of absolution is made relevant both to the time of enunciation (in the narrative shortly following the capture of Zara, a Christian city, in February 1203), and to the time of narrative composition (when Villehardouin is dictating his work after 1207 following the later conquest of Constantinople in 1204). The narrator, whether consciously or not (as tense mixing is relatively common in medieval French), grammatically unpicks the temporal contingency of the utterance. The following phrase begins with the conjunction "car," which establishes a causal connection to the previous utterance. Yet it remains ambiguous whether the causal explanation was actually uttered by the pope, whether it was the messengers' impression, or Villehardouin's own understanding. The "car" can be either the narrator's explanation for the previous utterance taking place (why the pope spoke in this way) and thus would 'belong' to the narrator, or the pope's own explanation for his speech and thus would 'belong' to the pope.[8] It could also signal a convergence of opinion. In any case, the absence of explicit signalling means that the utterance is in free indirect discourse. The final phrase in which the pope "dona plain pooir" to two high-standing members of the crusading army is seemingly an instance of so-called 'narrativized discourse', or a summary of a speech act that reformulates a more complicated utterance into a narrative action, whilst also retaining the trace of religious terminology as the verbs 'lier' (*ligo*) and 'deslier' (*solvo*) are lifted out of Biblical quotation (Matthew 16: 19).

Given that papal absolution was a major sticking point in contemporary and later evaluations of the Fourth Crusade, and that the historical evidence from Pope Innocent III's letters indicates that he was not as understanding as Villehardouin suggests, the use of indirect discourse here is by no means neutral or incidental. Historically, certain discursive frameworks have favoured one form of reported discourse over another to convey certain values and, once conventionalized, imitation, or transgression of these tendencies may impact the audience's reception of the text or speech act. Classical Latin historiography, for instance, largely used indirect discourse for purposes of factuality and 'historical truth' and direct discourse for longer displays of rhetorical elaboration. Of course, it is not the case

8. In narratological terms, this is the distinction between internal and external focalization: that is, when the narrator channels discourse through the perspective of a consciousness internal to the narrative (the character) or external to the narrative (the narrator). The conjunction "car" is explored in detail by Jean Rychner, who devotes considerable discussion to its usage with regards to the expression of point of view in medieval French texts (115–37).

that back then anyone actually believed, just as nowadays anyone still believes, in the total factuality ('verbatimness') of historical speech (that is, as an utterance that took place exactly as recorded). Yet if this illusion is relinquished by the narrator, then what separates 'history' and 'fiction' becomes increasingly difficult to discern. As readers or listeners, we often buy into the conceit that the 'speech of the other' (*le discours d'autrui*) is conveyed transparently – that we simply bypass the reporting strategy to access the 'original' utterance – and hence fail to recognize that the reporting strategy ineluctably transforms the nature of the utterance. The choice of direct or indirect discourse can have significant effects on core ontological features of the utterance (and of the report that carries it), including temporality, authority, veracity, orality, and so-called narratorial 'control.' As the Russian formalist Valentin Vološinov famously stated in 1929, "Reported speech is speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also *speech about speech, utterance about utterance*" (Vološinov 115).[9]

9. Emphasis in the original. Many have attributed this text to Mikhail Bakhtin writing under a colleague's name, but this is debated.

Foundational in this regard is the work of Sophie Marnette, in which she proposes a clear correlation between strategies of reported discourse and genre of medieval French text. Through an expansive and partly statistical approach, Marnette compellingly demonstrates how strategies of reported discourse affect a myriad of aspects central to any literary analysis: the status of the narrator, the control he/she exercises over the characters, the sense of orality and the way the text was performed, the 'truth' of the text, the reliability and 'historical method' of the narrator, and the placement of the audience in relation to the action of the narrative (Marnette, *Narrateur* 115–136; *Speech* 197–204). According to her analysis, genres of medieval text (verse romances, prose romances, chronicles, *chantefables, lais, chansons de geste*, etc.) are characterized by different proportions of reported discourse that can be associated with certain features that underpin textual difference. Vernacular chronicles, for example, tend to employ an increased amount of indirect discourse compared to the epic poem, where almost all speech is reported through the prism of direct discourse. While both genres are held as 'historical,' the chronicle, with its obsession with distanced objectivity, often chooses not to reproduce long speeches in direct speech and thus, by acknowledging the limitations (or 'finiteness') of memory, respects the factuality of the spoken utterance. The epic poem, on the other hand, with its propensity for long and highly rhetorical interventions from the characters, treats speech in monumental and clearly-defined blocks kept separate from the words of the narra-

tor. This arises partly from the 'staged orality' that developed out of the genre's origins in rhythmic performance. Thanks also to a more widespread use of the 'backgrounding' preterit in the chronicle as opposed to the 'foregrounding' present tense of the epic poem, the audience's experience of the two genres could not differ more: if the *chanson de geste* immerses the listener-reader in the action ("in the same way as any historical re-enactment would"), the vernacular chronicle puts the listener-reader at a distance from the events and from "the 'true' voices of history" (Marnette, "Forms" 305 and 310).

The association of eyewitness testimony with the use of indirect discourse, however, requires further consideration. Both Villehardouin and his contemporary Robert de Clari differentiate between their 'narrating' and 'experiencing' selves; the former much more, it is argued, than the latter (Marnette, "The Experiencing Self;" Bull 332–36). Scholars are quick to point out the testimonial statements of both authors that qualify the nature of their witnessing:

> Et bien testimoigne Joffrois li mareschaus de Champaigne, qui ceste oevre dita, que ainc n'i menti de mot a son escient, si com cil qui a toz les conseils fu, que onc si bele chose ne fu veüe (Ed. Faral §120)

> (And Geoffrey, Marshal of Champagne, who dictated this work, truly testifies that he has not knowingly spoken a single lie, and as someone who was at all the councils, that never was such a beautiful thing seen.)

> [...] chis qui i fu et qui le vit et qui l'oï le tesmongne, Robers de Clari, li chevaliers, et a fait metre en escrit le verité, si comme ele fu conquise; et ja soit chou que il ne l'ait si belement contee le conqueste, comme maint boin diteeur l'eussent contee, si en a il toutes eures le droite verité contee, et assés de verités en a teutes qu'il ne peut mie toutes ramembrer. (Ed. Lauer §120)

> ([which is the testimony of] a man who was there, who saw it and heard it, Robert de Clari, the knight, and he has had put into writing the truth of how it was conquered; and although he may not have narrated the conquest so finely as many good poets would have done, nevertheless he has told

nothing but the truth, and he has omitted many truths
because he cannot remember them all.)

The declaration of the name in the third person accompanied by the
social rank and the use of the verb *tesmoigner* recall the legal context of
bearing witness. It is only in later chronicles, such as Joinville's *Vie de
Saint Louis*, that the author refers to himself in the first person. Mar-
nette suggests that the separation of the 'I' that narrates from the 'I' that
witnesses – supported elsewhere in these texts through reference to
the impersonal "livre" (of which there are seventeen occurrences in
Villehardouin's *Conquête*) that tells the story – bolsters the historicity
of these narratives, thereby creating a 'rhetoric of truth' (Marnette,
"The Experiencing Self" 118). The importance of spatial positioning
("a toz les conseils fu," "qui i fu") and sensory perception ("veüe," "vit,"
"oï") is likewise foregrounded, even if Robert de Clari's use of the de-
ictic pronoun "i" (there) lacks any kind of specificity, simply designat-
ing the crusading experience as separate from the 'here' of narration.
Along with explicit reference to lying ("menti de mot") and truth-tell-
ing ("verité" in both the general and specific sense), the opposition to
fictional invention ("diteur") makes use of a variant of the humility
*topos* to stress the veracity of eyewitness testimony. What we may un-
derstand as the 'witness function' of these narratorial interventions is
established ostensibly at the expense of aesthetic quality, even if both
Villehardouin and Robert de Clari (or, that is, their scribes) certainly
do not squander every opportunity for 'literary' inflection. They act as
extra-textual guarantors of the truth of their narratives, but are cast
more ambiguously in relation to the processes of textual composition.

It is in this respect that the use of reported discourse might re-
veal the relationship between the eyewitness and their narrative. A
quantitative analysis indicates that both eyewitness testimonies at-
test similar trends in the employment of direct and indirect speech
across the two halves of the text (taken as the first and second 50%
of the total words).

Table 1. Proportion of reported discourse in the first and second halves of Villehardouin's and Robert de Clari's texts. Percentage refers to the total number of words in the utterance (for indirect discourse, excluding the conjunction).

|  | Villehardouin | | Robert de Clari | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Direct discourse | Indirect discourse | Direct discourse | Indirect discourse |
| First half | 16.1% | 2.8% | 14.9% | 10.8% |
| Second half | 4.3% | 2.6% | 6.0% | 10.7% |

These figures are remarkable on two counts. First, the frequency of direct discourse drops dramatically as both texts go on, and more so in Villehardouin than in Robert de Clari. Second, the frequency of indirect discourse, however, is almost identical, with only a marginal decline in the second halves of both texts. While, of course, we should acknowledge that the rudimentary division into two halves is reductive, it goes to show that not only does it matter which strategy of reported discourse is used and in what quantity, but also what position in the narrative it occupies.[10]

I have come across no reference to the decrease in direct discourse in Robert de Clari's text. In the vast scholarship on Villehardouin's *Conquête*, however, it is possible to identify three different interpretations (whose appellations are my own) that recognize and seek to rationalize the inconsistency in direct speech across the text.[11]

## I. The *emerging historian* interpretation

Jean Frappier, who sees in Villehardouin's prose a reluctance to employ rhetorical figures, a dry and sober style, and an almost total absence of digression, emblematizes this view. Villehardouin's narration, for instance, cuts a keen contrast with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, one of the most popular contemporary models of prose historical writing. Although Frappier does locate a limited use of certain literary inflections, such as the use of subordinate clauses (for effects of symmetry) and the inversion of past participle and auxiliary verb, he notes that the speeches, in particular, are certainly shortened, made more concise and less grandiloquent than they would have actually been. Frappier suggests that even Villehardouin would not have been able to reduce his real-life oratorical interventions to such pithiness. This leads to a stark conclusion:

> [...] il faut moins voir le mépris ou l'impuissance du style – car Villehardouin se révèle capable de deux ou trois réussites d'ordre littéraire, à la limite extrême où la concision n'est pas encore la sécheresse – qu'un succès remporté par l'histoire sur la rhétorique. (70)

> ([...] we should consider this less as scorn for or impotence of style – since Villehardouin shows himself quite capable of two or three literary achievements, insofar as this conciseness

10. The division into two halves is done on a purely mathematical basis, and is not justified by any codicological or paratextual indicator, even if the main editor of Villehardouin's *Conquête* also splits the text into two volumes. Marnette only uses the first edited volume as part of her corpus and therefore is not in a position to comment on the drop in direct discourse.

11. The statistics provided in Table 1 are based on my own calculations and were therefore not available to previous scholars who recognized, but did not precisely quantify, the drop in direct discourse across the two halves of the *Conquête*.

does not quite reach the point of dryness – than as a victory for history over rhetoric.)

The reduction of direct discourse over the course of the text, insofar as speeches are possibilities for rhetorical invention, is for Frappier linked into this emergence of a historical discourse that eschews the demands for long, overwrought speeches. Frappier contends that indirect discourse is gradually substituted for direct discourse as the narrative progresses (a claim that we are able to refute through our quantitative evidence). It is Villehardouin's self-awareness of how the past should be reported that makes him, in Frappier's eyes, a "véritable historien" (53).[12] The 'historian' within Villehardouin develops into consciousness and grows into his conciseness as the narrative progresses, as the values that dictate what is worthy of inclusion and how it should be conveyed become transformed from beginning to end.

## II. The *diminishing enthusiasm* interpretation

Jeanette Beer disagrees with Frappier. While Frappier's hypothesis, according to Beer, would rely on there being a completely different approach to historical writing in the first and second parts, the presence of certain hallmarks of Villehardouin's sober prose, such as a simple sentence structure and limited adjectival variety (a hundred different adjectives across the entire text), from the very beginning suggest that the author had a set of principles about how to relay the historical events before the work was dictated. Instead, Beer posits, Villehardouin was drawing extensive and direct inspiration from the *chansons de geste*, and this inspiration was more palpable when Villehardouin saw the events of the Fourth Crusade through the eyes of epic. This connection between speech and epic would be corroborated by Marnette's corpus of epic poems, which contain 40–60% direct discourse (Marnette, *Narrateur* 251). The beginning of the Crusade was full of hope and expectation, but as the army gradually went further and further off course, Villehardouin could not help but reflect his diminishing enthusiasm in the relation of events. Beer states:

> Villehardouin's presentation of a viewpoint through direct speech reveals that he felt it to be dramatic and spontaneously presented it as such, not that he was a propagandist. The second half of the narrative shows a decrease in direct speech

12. "Faut-il reconnaître dans cette suprématie accordée au style indirect la démarche d'un véritable historien? Je suis enclin à croire que oui dans une certain mesure." (53; "Should we recognize in the supremacy accorded to the indirect style the workings of a real historian? I am inclined to believe so to a certain extent.")

(and other vivid devices) because it reflects Villehardouin's attitude to the whole Crusade. The beginning was alive with idealism, dramatic in conception. The difficulties of the Crusading army and its diffusion over the territory for isolated conquests undermine the epic vision, and, with it, the appropriate epic style. (Beer, *Villehardouin* 94)[13]

13. These views are also repeated, but perhaps less emphatically, in Beer, *In Their Own Words* 49–56.

Moreover, Beer acknowledges that moments of tense switching, when the historic present of the epic poem infiltrates the narrative written in the preterit, occur largely around occurrences of direct speech and dramatic *topoi* (Beer, *Villehardouin* 79–80). Direct speech is almost the only instance where Villehardouin employs rhetorical techniques (most clear in Conon de Béthune's oratorical displays) that elsewhere appear to be deliberately avoided. The other effect of direct speech is to alter the speed of the narrative, and the frequent brief interchanges (sometimes with a 'Socratic stooge' who facilitates the divulgation of useful information) fulfil less 'literary' objectives (as in other utterances where point of view shifts, and the limited psychological depth given to the characters is developed) than they do pragmatic ones. Likewise, the speeches from the *vox populi* (or "discours collectifs" in Frappier's terms) – the moments where a group of people speak as one in a sharp, emphatic chorus – should not be understood as verbatim reports, but an expression of a certain position. Beer thus recognizes the quasi-legalistic role of direct speech in the passages in which negotiation takes place. The idea was not to record an accurate transcription of the discussions, but rather to show that both sides actively engaged in them. The spoken word was a guarantor of a formal pledge that could then be dramatized in direct speech.

## III. The *retrospective justification* interpretation

It is Villehardouin as propagandist that interests Noah D. Guynn. The text, for Guynn, follows a carefully-designed providential structure that works – for very pertinent political reasons – to defend the outcome of a controversial campaign. Villehardouin sought to resolve points of tension in the narrative by imbuing them with rhetorical and narrative devices, such as direct discourse, which appear "at moments when the military and moral integrity of the crusade is most seriously in doubt" (Guynn 108). Dramatic oratory thus works to persuade both intra- and extra-diegetic audiences of the validity

of the course of action taken, even if in hindsight it is shown to be problematic. A key point of tension is the negotiations between the crusader leadership and the Venetians – for it is here that the Franks are fundamentally taken off course – and these passages therefore attest to some of the most "dramatic, calculated, efficacious oratory" (Guynn 107).

Guynn gives more weight than the other two interpretations to the choice of prose for Villehardouin's text. Drawing on Gabrielle Spiegel's work on vernacular prose historiography, he suggests that, as with the contemporaneous *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the nascent prose form, appearing in French almost *ex nihilo*, was chosen in an act of aristocratic self-differentiation in the face of a looming threat from rapidly centralizing, monarchic power (Spiegel 55–98). Geographical and temporal proximity, as well as thematic coincidence, between the two texts leads Guynn to surmise "that Villehardouin, too, used prose less as an instrument of clarity than as a rhetorically and ideologically inflected signifying practice" (Guynn 109).[14] The need to justify retrospectively the decisions taken by a Fourth Crusade that was led and populated by many northern French and Flemish lords and knights took on particular urgency as Philip Augustus sought to expand his kingdom beyond the Île-de-France. This was about demonstrating that barons could rule as sovereign figures, as "li plus haut home qui soient sanz corone" (ed. Faral §16, "the highest men uncrowned") or "la meillor gent qui soient sanz corone" (ed. Faral §143, "the best people uncrowned"). These are two expressions we find in passages of direct speech.

Guynn's overtly political reading of the text dispels a number of our preconceptions about the 'intended' effect of the prose form (that is, lucidity and clarity). Direct discourse, likewise, is not just about animating the narrative, nor providing orally-delivered, documentary evidence, but about fulfilling broader aims: as Guynn concludes, it is not the case that Villehardouin "falsified evidence in order to mislead his readers" but rather "that he used stylistic devices to bring about cohesion among them" (Guynn 110).

The three interpretations outlined here are not mutually exclusive and overlap at times. The point is that they all view the employment of direct discourse as a central component of the text, working in some sense to 'dramatize' content and align it with the narrative methods of the *chansons de geste* but in the new, ideologically-imbued prose form. Notions of proximity and distance also underlie all three interpretations: Villehardouin is 'closer' to the material of the first

14. Guynn might also have mentioned that both are framed as eyewitness testimonies, with their narrators often referring to themselves as characters in the third person. Of course, in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, this is a fiction and the narrator (Archbishop Turpin of Rheims) sometimes forgets himself by switching narrative position (for instance when recording Turpin's – that is, his own – death). Nevertheless, the *Pseudo-Turpin* might well have been an important model for Villehardouin's *Conquête*. See also Bull 41–46.

half, either because it was important to him or the social group he represents, and is thus betraying what Frappier so keenly identifies as his nascent 'historical' method.

## IV. The *untimely subject* interpretation

Table 1 above makes it clear that indirect discourse does not come to replace direct discourse as the narrative progresses, which is one of the declared premises behind Frappier's 'emerging historian' reading, but rather that indirect discourse is a constant feature of Ville-hardouin's (and Robert de Clari's) narrative style. It is important to note at this point that the narrative action becomes more fragment-ed following the second assault on Constantinople in 1204, which means that later in the text Villehardouin as historical actor was not always physically present at the events he recounts. That said, in the first half there is no strict correlation between Villehardouin direct-ly witnessing a speech event and his use of direct discourse. The num-ber of spoken situations, in which discourse could be reported, does not necessarily impact the proportions either, since Villehardouin could have chosen to turn to direct, instead of indirect, discourse in the events of the second half of the text. While we often see authors as constrained by the events of history (or of their histories), the idea that they can only write about what actually happened is itself, as Hayden White tells us, an illusion of emplotment: there is no doubt that Villehardouin could have elaborated any of these opportunities for speech into longer, oratorical displays (*e.g.* White 121–34).

It is time, then, to advance a fourth interpretation, taking into ac-count the use of indirect discourse across the text. I have called this the 'untimely subject' interpretation. There are three elements to this position: the experience of time, the nature of memory formation, and the impossible subjectivity of the witness.

One aspect that remains acknowledged only implicitly in the other interpretations stated above is the effect of different strategies of reported discourse on conceptions of temporality. This is relevant on two levels: the first is that the utterance in direct discourse uses deictic markers and a full range of tenses that allows a clearer articu-lation of a present in which the future is not yet decided;[15] and the second is that while indirect discourse has the effect of shortening or speeding through an utterance, direct discourse, in theory, elapses at the same rate in the story world as it does in the real world, thereby

15. One example would be when Alexius, the young prince of Constantinople, and his brother-in-law King Philip of Swabia propose to the crusaders a number of rewards in return for military assistance. However, after Alexius has duly been restored to the throne, these rewards cannot be delivered by the Byzan-tines. In hindsight, the proposition might appear to be too good to be true, but as a promise it is too profitable for the leaders to turn down. To convey the alluring potential of the offer, and hence to justify the act of usurpation of which they are partaking, nine verbs in this spoken utterance are conjugated in the future tense. Ed. Faral §92–§93.

confronting the time outside the narrative with the one inside it.[16] Direct discourse captures the attention of audiences not only because it introduces another voice into the narrative, but also because it plays on their sensation of temporal movement, disrupting the relentless progress of the narrative towards the present of performance (whether read privately or performed out loud).

Through direct discourse the first half of the *Conquête* dwells on these pivotal moments of the narrative, situating the audience in the moment of the utterance and conveying that from the future-oriented perspective of that moment the course of action was justified. Later on, by contrast, the impression is that the text seeks to move more quickly through the events, continuing to employ indirect discourse but abstaining from the decelerating effects of direct discourse. Despite being closer to the time of composition and therefore easier to recollect, the years 1205–07, taking up the final third of the text, contain limited cases of direct speech. Is Villehardouin, apparently constrained to recount the entire history of the Fourth Crusade (unlike Robert de Clari whose personal experience stops around April 1205), accelerating through the final years, thereby retroactively placing emphasis on the preceding years in which the baron-led army achieved the extraordinary, if not controversial, feat of capturing Constantinople?

This cuts across the second and third interpretations above. It is also important to dwell, as Beer and Guynn do, on the fact that the *Conquête* recounts the lived experience of an individual fully involved in the history he is recounting. Villehardouin was not just an actor of the Fourth Crusade, but a driving force. His frequent narratorial interventions (recalling providential design and assigning blame to those who sought to break up the crusading army by making their own way to the Holy Land) deflect criticism away from the group of leaders, of which he was an integral part. Robert de Clari's account makes clear that the rank and file of the Crusader army held the leaders with a certain mistrust. Villehardouin's continual condemnation of the defectors might, in fact, imply that he was held partly accountable, or harboured feelings of responsibility, for the ostensible failure of the campaign. Dictating his work from his fief in the Latin Empire, and never returning to France (unlike Robert de Clari), we have no indication that he remained abroad out of duty rather than volition, guilt, or shame following the death of Boniface de Montferrat. He was close to losing his life on more than one occasion; but let us suppose that as a hardened military general, prob-

ably in his late fifties, he could cope with the traumatic experience of warfare – at least certainly more so than the younger Robert de Clari, who recounts in vivid detail his brother Aleaumes's daring leap into the breach of Constantinople's Theodosian walls (ed. Lauer §71; Bull 324–26). Villehardouin's psychological engagement with the Fourth Crusade was more likely caught up in the strategic direction it took, the religious implications it generated, and the resultant state of Latin presence in the East. Villehardouin was a survivor, and arguably the only other more influential figures that shaped the campaign both died in action (Baldwin of Flanders in 1205 and Boniface de Montferrat in 1207). Even if he was a 'perpetrator' and in no way a 'victim,' could Villehardouin have been affected by the well-documented mental condition that denotes how survivors feel responsible for an event they witnessed and from which they, unlike others, did not die?[17]

17. For a critical account of the concept of 'survivor guilt,' see Ruth Leys, especially chapter one, 17–55.

The abrupt end of the *Conquête* and its insinuated pessimism was no doubt negatively coloured by a retrospective view of the Crusade. However, the way in which we remember events is not one-directional from present to past – that is, memories are not encoded in a 'pure' state at the moment of perception whose content can be retrieved at any subsequent point. Memories are formed in the subsequent re-telling, sharing, and discussion of past experience. It is here that Marcus Bull's analysis of 'transactive memory' in relation to medieval eyewitness testimony is most useful (Bull 84–88). The shared, collaborative nature of the memory-making process means that one's recollections can be shaped by how others perceived the event and the ethical dimensions it took on in the collective environment. When Villehardouin articulates his memories at various stages prior to the composition of his text, the transactive situations of these moments of articulation may have shaped not only what he remembered, but also how he remembered them. This has particular relevance to our consideration of reported discourse: this process of telling, hearing, and re-telling means that the spoken utterance (whether one's own or of another person) goes through various reformulations into or out of direct discourse. Reported discourse in eyewitness testimony is, from this perspective, not just the act of 'reporting' a speech from memory, but the act of 'reporting' a speech that has already been reported and re-reported as part of the encoding of that memory.

The final act of reporting takes place – at least according to the frame that the text presents – when Villehardouin dictates his work

to a scribe (*e.g.* ed. Faral §120). The extent to which the latter moulded the oral content communicated to him from the former is up for debate (Bull 85–86). Whether the 'clarity' with which the text is written can be attributed to eyewitness or scribe (or the interpretative process between them) cannot be easily ascertained. The quasi-legalistic, deposition-like opening – often seen as a trademark of Villehardouin's impassionate, 'historical' style – does not refer to the conditions in which the text was composed:

> Sachiez que ·M· et ·C· et quatre vinz et ·XVII· anz aprés l'incarnation Nostre Sengnor Jesu Crist, al tens Innocent, apostoille de Rome, et Phelippe, roy de France, et Ricchart, roy d'Engleterre, ot un saint home en France [...] (Ed. Faral §1)

> (Know that 1197 years after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the time of Innocent, apostle of Rome, and Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, there was a holy man in France [...])

Dominique Boutet sees in this initial statement an exercise in control and authority. He describes this opening imperative as:

> Une parole brute, absolue, impérieuse, que seule la prose pouvait rendre dans son immédiateté: à cette condition seulement le discours pouvait passer pour historiquement vrai, puisque l'Histoire se confond pour lui avec l'expérience vécue, et son sens avec la méditation personnelle de cette expérience, avec sa mise en ordre intellectuelle. (Boutet 145)

> (A raw, absolute, imperious word that only prose could render in all its immediacy: only in this form could the discourse pass as historically true, since for [Villehardouin] History becomes confused with lived experience, and its meaning mixed with his personal reflection on this experience, with how he puts it into an order intellectually.)

Boutet reads this "Sachiez que" as indicative of Villehardouin's qualities as a historian, and as a necessary complement to an emerging historical discourse in the vernacular, concerned with its own relation to truth. But Boutet alludes to another possibility. This act of

control, if we understand it as such, occurs precisely because Villehardouin *cannot* control the historical matter, and *cannot* control his emotional reaction to it.

The performativity of "sachiez" – that is, as a speech act whose enunciation amounts to its performance (it *does* rather than *says*) – is relevant here. The rare textual instances in which we might identify Villehardouin's personal reaction outside of an explicit moralization are likewise introduced by this imperative verb.[18] To take an example from the first and second halves of the text:

Et sachiez que il n'i ot si hardi cui la car ne fremist; et ce ne fu mie mervoille, que onques si grant affaires ne fu empris de tant de gent puis que li monz fu estorez. (Ed. Faral §128)[19]

(And know that there was no man there so brave whose flesh did not tremble, which should come as no surprise, as never was such a great project undertaken by so many men since the creation of the world.)

Et sachiez qu'il en furent mult esfreé et cuiderent bien que li remananz fust toz perduz que il avoient devant Andrenople laissié, que il n'en savoient novelle. (ed. Faral §368)

(And know that [the men who had fled] were mightily afraid and very much believed that the rest [of the army] that they had left outside Adrianople would all be lost, as they had received no news of them.)

While it is important to acknowledge the conventional function of "sachiez" to place emphasis, it does so by drawing attention to the fact of its enunciation. As with expressions such as "I am telling you that…" ("je vous dis que"), it would express, according to Marnette, two different things: "a speech act *and* the staging of that speech act" (Marnette, *Speech* 67, emphasis in original). Does "sachiez," then, allow the witness to stage his own speech and enter into discourse? Does the supposition of an audience engender a dialogic conception of testimony that is less about the relation between the subject and the objective world than the relation between the subject and his or her addressees?[20]

The idea of testimony as a dialogue between witness and addressee is fundamentally tied into the potential fictionality of eye-

18. Other examples not shown here are ed. Faral §31, §89, §100, §181, §411.

19. Faral (vol. 1, 131, n. 3) suggests that Villehardouin would originally have meant "so few men," but this was changed in manuscript transmission.

20. See the epilogue 'A Return to Dialogue' in Frisch 181–87.

witness texts. If the experience of testimony lies not in the subject's enunciation but the audience's reception of the speech act, then the truthful nature of the testimony is less important than its verisimilitude. The fictional memoir *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood* (1995), written under the pseudonym Binjamin Wilkomirski, for instance, famously sparked debate about how testimony's truth value may depend on the textual effect it generates amongst its readers and, by consequence, about *who testimony is really for*. The ethical dimensions of 'false testimony,' and more generally historical fiction, is a topic that has seen a surge in interest in contemporary French literature. Following on from the theoretical challenges by the 'eyewitness era' in which we are thought to live, and expounded by Holocaust survivors such as Primo Levi, Jorge Semprún, and Élie Wiesel, these texts have garnered controversy about the limitations placed on the *romancier* to write about the past.[21] Three of the most polemical, and most successful (in terms of sales and literary prizes), have been Jonathan Littell's *Les Bienveillantes* (2006), Yannick Haenel's *Jan Karski* (2009), and Laurent Binet's *HHhH* (2010). The concepts of the 'unsayable' (*indicible*) and the 'unrepresentable' (*irreprésentable*) abound in the scholarship on Holocaust studies, and refer to the representational and epistemological quandaries of a historical event that defies verisimilitude and comprehension. Giorgio Agamben, following Levi and Semprún, provocatively states that there is no absolute witness of the Holocaust – since those who saw *everything* were killed – and therefore that testimony is always performed on behalf of somebody else who cannot testify (Agamben 33–39, 158). Speculative fiction may at once attempt to provide impossible perspectives – for instance, Jonathan Littell's fictional narrator in *Les Bienveillantes* (2006) provides the first-person testimony of the executioner, a Nazi SS officer, whose discourse is constructed partly out of the real testimonies of Holocaust victims – as well as allude to the problems inherent in using testimony and survivors' narratives to evidence an objective 'historical truth.'

While we should continually remind ourselves of the evident anachronism in an analogy between thirteenth- and twentieth-century eyewitness testimony, the way in which contemporary authors approach, on the one hand, the boundary between 'history' and 'fiction,' and, on the other, the representation of the 'voices of the past' offers a productive insight into the dynamics of the composition of Villehardouin's *Conquête*. The *Conquête* as we now read the text

21. This term was coined by Annette Wieviorka in her 1998 book *L'Ère du témoin*. Evelyne Ledoux-Beaugrand has suggested we now live in a 'post-witness era' (*ère sans témoin*) insofar as the Shoah has passed beyond living memory (147).

has undergone various stages of reformulation from Villehardouin's visual and auditory perception of the events described. Even his memories, as we have suggested, were to an extent a collaborative effort, infiltrated by the words of others. Nor can we access the first written 'transcript,' since the earliest manuscript text dates from the late thirteenth century, and therefore practically beyond the living memory of the Fourth Crusade.[22] Villehardouin's words can only ever be represented, never retraced. Others have intervened in 'his' message, and it is impossible to know precisely the extent of these interventions. When modern historians quote speeches from Villehardouin's text to evidence 'what was said,' they perform a double disservice: not only is direct discourse a rhetorical elaboration and a literary conceit, but these words may not even be the ones that Villehardouin himself remembered and dictated.[23] This two-fold displacement of the 'factual content' of the historical is something that the aforementioned contemporary writers bring to the fore, and above all, as we shall now see, Yannick Haenel in *Jan Karski* (2009), whose major accomplishment, I contend, is that it makes the role of mediation in the act of bearing witness explicit.

Jan Karski was a Polish resistance agent tasked in 1942 with delivering news of the earliest signs of the Holocaust to the Allies in London and Washington. Karski's (hi)story is one of good intention and personal heroism, but also ultimately one of momentous failure. Yannick Haenel's novel is divided into three sections, each of which adopts a different approach to handling 'historical truth' through literary techniques. The first offers a narrative account of the real 1977 interview in English between renowned French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann and Karski as part of the former's 1985 documentary film *Shoah*. The second is a summary of Karski's own book of 1944 *Story of a Secret State*, while the third sees a shift of perspective to that of a fictional Jan Karski, who speaks in the first person to describe his encounter with the West. This last section is prefaced by Haenel with a crucial disclaimer: "les scènes, les phrases et les pensées que je prête à Jan Karski relèvent de l'invention" (9, "the scenes, phrases and thoughts that I attribute to Jan Karski are fictional invention").

This tripartite structure was a main sticking point in the reception of *Jan Karski*. A commonly-voiced criticism was that the juxtaposition of the documentary style of the first and second sections with the imaginative content of the third, regardless of the prefatory note, enacted an equivalence between them.[24] This, it is contended, obscures the fact that the startling 'truth' revealed in this last section

22. Variance across the manuscript tradition is relatively high, and there has been debate about which manuscript should form the basis of a critical edition. It is also the case that the reporting strategy can vary between manuscripts: Faral's group I (BnF fr. 4972 and Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 587), believed to contain the text closest to the 'original,' presents the spoken utterance in §106 in direct discourse, while the four group II manuscripts use indirect discourse, albeit in this latter case mixing tenses as well as employing both second-person and third-person pronouns. Faral sees this, problematically perhaps, as an example of grammatical inconsistency that establishes the superiority of the group I manuscripts. See *Conquête*, ed. Faral §106.

23. Guynn (106) charges Madden and Queller with this dubious citational practice in *The Fourth Crusade*, 18, ix.

24. The debate about *Jan Karski* consumed talk-shows and newspaper space following the 2009 *rentrée littéraire*. In an article in French news magazine *Marianne* Claude Lanzmann levelled charges of plagiarism at Yannick Haenel, claiming the novelist did not acknowledge the intellectual property of the filmmaker. Haenel replied shortly after in a piece in *Le Monde*, entitled "Le recours à la fiction n'est pas seulement un droit, il est nécessaire, par Yannick Haenel," defending the *romancier*'s right, or rather duty, to fictionalize the past. For an account of the text's reception, see Braganca, especially 37–39.

– in short, that the American and Allied governments, symbolized by a yawning Franklin D. Roosevelt, were indifferent to the plight of the Jews – is not Karski's, but Haenel's. Two of the most vocal critics, filmmaker Claude Lanzmann (whose *Shoah* forms the basis of the first section) and historian Annette Wieviorka, would criticize Haenel for showing no respect to the witness and his testimony, thereby presenting, according to Wieviorka, "un faux témoignage" (Wieviorka, "Faux témoignage" 30–31) and for Lanzmann, "un faux roman" (Lanzmann, "*Jan Karski*" 1–10).[25] Lanzmann's criticism bears thinking about, not only because it implies through opposition the normativity of the 'true' or 'real' novel, but also because *Shoah* is replete with editorial decisions that attest to Lanzmann's supposition of a superior truth that differs from that of the witness. Manuel Braganca has shown that Lanzmann's own slippery use of the terms "vérité," "fiction," and "histoire" should lead us to ask a fundamental question: what puts Lanzmann's film on the side of truth? (Braganca 35–46) The interview, according to Karski himself, was spread over eight hours of filming across two days (Karski 112–14). The resulting forty minutes of footage in *Shoah* were taken from the first day because Karski adopted a different attitude on the second. Lanzmann writes: "Il fut si différent entre la première et la seconde journée (...) [lors de la seconde] [i]l devenait mondain, satisfait, théâtral, parfois cabotin et cela contre-disait le tragique qu'il incarnait jusque-là" (Lanzmann, "*Jan Karski*" 5, "He was so different between the first and second days (...) [on the second] he became haughty, smug, theatrical, and at times over-the-top, and this contradicted the sense of tragedy he had encapsulated up to that point"). Lanzmann is clearly reacting, then, to Haenel's deconstruction of the filmmaker's tragic vision of Karski. Yet there is no reason *a priori* to assume that the interview as Haenel reassembles it is any less 'truthful' or any more artificial than Lanzmann's filmic creation.

Lanzmann's critique misses the point, therefore, that the intermingling of document, paraphrase, and fictional invention is precisely what is at stake in all historical eyewitness accounts. Given that Villehardouin would have used his personal experience in conjunction with documents or notes taken by himself or others to form his narrative, Haenel demonstrates that to make a coherent text is to elide the temporally- and epistemologically-distinct processes behind narrative creation, whether or not it is based in first-hand observation. This is the thrust of Derrida's explanation behind the paradox of bearing witness: to testify is conditional on speaking in the

25. Lanzmann famously referred to his film *Shoah* as "une fiction du réel" ("a fiction of the real"), claiming that the overall message of the film was more truthful than any of its testimonies in particular. See Lanzmann, "Le lieu et la parole" 301.

present ("le faire présentement"), but equally to produce an intelligible, because temporal, sequence of events is to anticipate their subsequent repetition or "reproductibilité quasi technique" (Derrida 35–36). To reduce bearing witness to an epistemic model of communication (*i.e.* to transmit knowledge) is to overlook the fact that it is fundamentally a present act (Derrida 44).

Karski, the historical figure, may function as an especially appropriate point of comparison with Villehardouin. What makes Karski a person of such interest, after all, are the feelings of guilt and responsibility he is considered to have harboured for having been unable to prevent the Holocaust, and thus his role as 'messenger' going from East to West, reporting what he had seen and what others had told him. This sense of Karski's inextricable psychological involvement with the historical narrative is emphasized in the first section of the novel (Haenel's account of Lanzmann's interview). At the outset of the interview, as Haenel writes, Jan Karski says a single word, "Now," pauses, before saying that he will "go back in time." But he is visibly distraught and has to stop, deciding to step out of frame. When he returns to the camera, he starts anew. In Haenel's words:

> [Karski] commence à parler au passé, au passé simple même – comme dans un livre: 'Au milieu de l'année 1942, je décidai de reprendre ma mission d'agent entre la Résistance polonaise et le gouvernement polonais en exil, à Londres.' Cette manière de commencer le récit le protège de l'émotion. (Haenel 13–14)

> ([Karski] starts to speak in the past tense, in the past historic tense even – like in a book: 'In the middle of 1942, I decided to go back to my secret mission for the Polish Resistance and the Polish government-in-exile in London.' This way of beginning the story protects him from his emotions.)

Karski's opening, as refracted through Lanzmann's and Haenel's representations, situates his testimony in time and space. The first verb he uses is in the past tense (in the French subtitles as the past historic tense), and it is this detached, impassionate statement that allows the speaker to put distance between him and the events he experienced.[26] This is the opening that Karski seemingly intends to record, and his initial breakdown is included by Lanzmann not because it tells us anything about what happened, but rather because it ap-

26. There is a problem at a historical level insofar as Haenel uses the French subtitles of the English interview as quotations. The French translator has made a number of choices (such as translating the past tense here as the *passé simple*) that are objectionable. When Karski's English is grammatically incorrect or non-idiomatic, the French translator has not rendered these errors or peculiarities in the French. Yet, in a sense, this presents a further parallel to the act of dictation and transcription, in which the scribe listens and in transforming the words into a literary discourse may 'correct' certain turns of phrase in the process.

pealed to the tragic lens of the filmmaker. Haenel, by including this part of *Shoah*, stresses an altogether different point: what we know originates in individuals who cannot disassociate knowledge from experience. By restarting with this book-like introduction, Karski, as Haenel sees it, would therefore seek to negate his own status as witness, looking, but failing, to separate his speaking, 'narrating' self with his past 'experiencing' self that become conjoined in the first-person subject pronoun "je."

This recalls our earlier reference to Villehardouin's narratorial disaggregation, whereby "je," "nous," "Joffrois li mareschaus de Champaigne," and "li livre" all participate in telling the story (Beer, *In Their Own Words* 40). It might be a stretch, given its conventional nature, to liken Karski's opening to the introductory phrase of the *Conquête*, which also establishes the year and the place, followed by a reference to the socio-political situation (the names of the kings and the pope), with the first verb in the preterit form of *avoir*. Nevertheless, there appears to be a correlation between pronominal designation and the drop in direct discourse that we saw in the first and second halves of the *Conquête*: of the forty-four references in the narrator's discourse to Villehardouin in the third person, 75% occur in the second half of the text. This inverse relationship between the frequency of direct discourse and the proportion of self-designation in the third person may arise from Villehardouin's attempt to distance himself from his testimony, to assert control over the historical matter. For Agamben, in his discussion of the shame that survivors feel after witnessing an event, testimony is the very condition of language insofar as it holds together the ability to enter into discourse as an 'I' (to become a subject) and the illusory ability to refer to oneself as a living being set apart from language (to be objectified) (Agamben 87–135). Hence this 'I' is also desubjectified as the shifter through which it designates itself can only operate, in Émile Benveniste's terms, at the level of discourse. As a "field of forces incessantly traversed by currents of subjectification and desubjectification," testimony gives rise to "the intimacy that betrays our non-coincidence with ourselves" (Agamben 121, 130).

It is this tension at the heart of bearing witness – that is, as a simultaneously necessary and impossible act – that *Jan Karski* brings into the foreground. Like Laurent Binet's *HHhH* (2010), whose narrator continually implicates the present of authorial creation into the past of the historical narrative, *Jan Karski* reflects on the historian's claim to veracity by highlighting the subjectivity that underpins historical interpretation and representation. Helena Duffy demon-

strates that *Jan Karski* is predicated on the act of "metawitnessing," which is the Derridean concept that distinguishes how the author mediates the testimony of the witness ("secondary witnessing") from how the author calls into question the problems inherent in the representation of the testimony. Duffy draws on Jean-François Lyotard's writing on the *différend* to make the case that Haenel paradoxically goes some way to "revaloriz[e] eyewitness accounts as a source of knowledge about the past" by acknowledging that while testimony may be unstable and unreliable, it performs the vital duty of voicing the injustices and trauma experienced (Duffy 14–15).

Haenel reports the rest of the interview in a mixture of direct, indirect, and free indirect discourse, stopping at times to comment on or query the manner in which Jan Karski relates his experiences. Punctuation is employed erratically, and Karski's speech is broken down, re-arranged, re-narrativized. As readers we are not given a transcript of the interview, but its novelistic, ekphrastic impression. This led Lanzmann to criticize vehemently how Haenel distorts the interview, abusing the authorial power of citation to alter the historical record (Lanzmann, "*Jan Karski*"). Yet what Haenel probes at is the layering of these different voices: how meaning shifts in new discursive contexts, how the trace of the spoken utterance moves across time periods and speakers, how speech belongs and does not belong *historically* to one sole voice. In short, Haenel shows with polemical deftness that the speech of Karski is not an originary utterance, but is itself constituted of different utterances from voices which emerge and disappear as they come to and fade from one's memory.

The message with which Karski is tasked to deliver originates in 1942 from two Jewish leaders of the Warsaw ghetto, who have witnessed the early stages of the Nazi extermination. Visibly distressed, Karski recounts to Lanzmann his private interview with the two men, initially reporting what they said to him through indirect discourse. But as he continues to speak (free) direct discourse gradually takes over. Haenel writes:

> Jan Karski ne recourt plus seulement au discours indirect, il se met à transmettre directement les paroles des deux hommes, comme si c'était eux qui parlaient par sa bouche. Il ne s'exprime plus au passé, il révèle le message – il le transmet à Claude Lanzmann. En parlant il s'anime, sa main droite se lève, ses yeux sont baissés, parfois il les ferme, il se concentre. Réciter le message, sans doute l'a-t-il fait des dizaines de fois,

trente-cinq ans ont passé, il a déjà témoigné, ce sont des paroles qu'il a prononcées mille fois, qui ont tourné dans sa tête, et pourtant les voici, prononcées par Jan Karski comme elles sont sorties de la bouche des deux hommes au milieu de l'année 1942, prononcées au présent, directement, comme si c'était eux, les deux hommes, qui parlaient, et que lui, Jan Karski, s'effaçait. (Haenel 17–18)

( Jan Karski no longer only uses indirect discourse, he starts to communicate the words of the two men directly, as if it were they speaking through his mouth. He no longer express- es himself in the past tense, he reveals the message – he communicates it to Claude Lanzmann. He livens up as he speaks, he raises his right hand, lowers his eyes, occasionally closing them, he's concentrating. Recounting this message, no doubt he's done it dozens of times, thirty-five years on, he's already testified, these are the words that he's spoken a thousand times, which have turned around his head, and yet here they are, spoken by Jan Karski as they came out of the mouths of the two men in the year 1942, spoken in the present, directly, as if it were they, the two men, who were speaking, while he, Jan Karski, stepped aside.)

The shift that Karski effects, as Haenel sees it, between indirect and direct discourse allows the voices of the two leaders to emerge, and the reporter of the message, Karski, to disappear.[27] The message is performed; Haenel's impression of the interview draws on the body language that the purely written record, the transcript, cannot con- vey.[28] How the message is delivered, likewise, influences Haenel's nar- rative: the sentences that Karski utters are "entourées de silence" (14, "surrounded by silence"). This speech event is at the centre of Kar- ski's testimony, with its prospective and even greater retrospective im- portance. Karski cannot help but report it directly. With each repeti- tion the need for direct discourse becomes consolidated, more nec- essary. The more time separates the act of reporting from the original utterance, the more only direct discourse can satisfy the immediacy of the message in the mind of the reporter (the speaking subject).

Could we understand Villehardouin's use of direct discourse in the first half of the *Conquête* as following a similar dynamic? We have no filmed interview of Villehardouin recounting his experiences; worse yet, we do not have a transcription, not even the original writ-

27. The tendency of indirect discourse to drift back to direct discourse is well documented by linguists (see, for instance, Marnette, *Speech* 183–84). Norris J. Lacy has even suggested that "emergent direct discourse," where an utterance in indirect discourse subtly transitions to direct discourse, was a deliberate literary technique in thirteenth-cen- tury prose texts, like the Vulgate Cycle, that worked to subordinate the different voices of the narrative to "a single overarching voice (a 'metavocity') known as *li contes*" (24).

28. For a discussion of how inter- views with Holocaust survivors present a problem for historians, who are implicated into an "affectively charged relationship" with their interviewees, see LaCapra 86–91. Haenel, like the survivors whose testimonies LaCapra considers, bears witness by "acting out, working over, and working through" his testimony, thereby destabilizing the purely epistemological value of his utterances (89, 91).

ten record, the first *Conquête* manuscript. Many of the traces of Villehardouin transforming his lived experience into historical narrative are irretrievably lost, but one wonders whether the decision to record speech in direct or indirect discourse is one of the most telling. The many speeches of the first half of the text had to be recorded in direct speech because that is how Villehardouin remembered and recounted them. The indirect utterances that intersperse the ones in direct discourse perhaps display an attempt by Villehardouin to order and to distance this past speech, but, in the end, the original voices emerge. Aware of the retrospective importance of these vocal interventions (in contrast to those of the second half), and having repeated his narrative numerous times before coming to compose the *Conquête*, Villehardouin simply cannot help but report directly.

Twentieth-century critics have tended to consider Villehardouin as a premeditative and clear-sighted individual, whose formal and stylistic choices in the *Conquête* somehow knowingly anticipate certain aspects of modern historical discourse. Yet it is Villehardouin's status as eyewitness that remains a neglected part of the explanation behind the innovative nature of his testimony, that is, as deliberately unembellished vernacular prose. Formal innovation, after all, can arise from the challenges and limits of representation and the sayable. My argument has been that the radical shift in proportions of reported discourse across the two halves of the text reveal, on the one hand, Villehardouin's attempt to control the historical material, and, on the other, the fact that Villehardouin's memories must have been formed in a collaborative, 'transactive' environment – that is, he had necessarily already told and re-told the narrative both while the Crusade was ongoing and in the years before composing the *Conquête*, thereby remembering certain passages in direct speech precisely because they took on such retrospective importance. Direct discourse, as both Beer and Guynn recognize, draws attention to dramatic moments of the narrative, either through playing on temporal experiences of the text or through allowing a shift to a future-oriented perspective that places the reader-listener at a juncture when the course of history could still be changed. Indirect discourse (coupled, crucially, with a greater absence of direct discourse) appears, then, to work in inverse fashion, speeding through the second half and presenting that chapter of history (the period following the successful 1204 assault of Constantinople) as a closed book.

Villehardouin's text encourages us to think through the modern (and postmodern) theoretical concerns about eyewitness testimony as explored in Haenel's *Jan Karski*. The processes behind the *Conquête*'s

composition are hidden in order to lend coherence to the narrative end product. The traces that have survived this mediation, the imbalanced use of reported discourse and, to a lesser extent, the interplay of narratorial identities, remind us that the present act of testimony fades into historical record, into the archive (taken here as the corpus of retrievable formulations of language).[29] Haenel's *Jan Karski* calls into question what distinguishes 'history' from 'fiction' not by returning to philosophical and theoretical cornerstones, but instead by playing with and remoulding historical speech to draw attention to the illusion that 'real' historiography inadvertently obscures: that speech cannot belong *historically* to one sole voice, since any individual utterance is the product of an uncountable number of other utterances themselves constituted of several voices. It makes the case, therefore, that the only ethical way of dealing with this fundamental issue of ownership is to be clear that such voices are always mediated. Criticism of *Jan Karski* is unjustified when its role as meta-discourse is forgotten, when it is given the status of the work of historians. Haenel's account of Lanzmann's interview with Karski shows, on the one hand, how the witness embodies disembodied speech, how the act of enunciation gives presence to the words of others, and, on the other, how the text disembodies the speech of the real-life historical figure (the man Jan Karski died in 2000). Back to Haenel's novel:

> À ce moment précis, en écoutant Jan Karski, on n'a plus du tout l'impression qu'une voix sort d'un corps; au contraire, c'est le corps de Jan Karski qui sort de sa voix, parce que sa voix semble le révéler à lui-même; il est enfin celui qu'il n'arrivait pas à rejoindre au début de l'entretien: non pas quelqu'un d'autre, mais ce personnage en lui qui s'accorde au secret même de la parole: le témoin. Est-ce la souffrance qui fait le témoin? Plutôt la parole, l'usage de la parole. (Haenel 31)

> (At this precise moment, when listening to Jan Karski, we no longer have the impression whatsoever that a voice emerges from a body. The opposite in fact: it is the body of Jan Karski which emerges from his voice, because his voice seems to reveal it [his body] to himself; he is finally the person whom he wasn't able to reach at the start of the interview: not somebody else, but this character inside him who is accorded the very essence of speech, the witness. Is it suffering that makes the witness? More like speech, the use of speech.)

We may think of the body as transmitting speech, but perhaps we should think about it in terms of speech presupposing a body. In the frame of Haenel's novel, the body in question is that of Jan Karski, who remains the unifying principle of the three juxtaposed sections. Thus, as Evelyne Ledoux-Beaugrand and Helena Duffy point out, Jan Karski is little more than a textual construct: "une présence désincarnée constituée d'un amalgame de textes et de représentations" (Ledoux-Beaugrand 160, "a disembodied presence made up of an amalgam of texts and representations"). This necessarily has an untimely quality insofar as the multi-temporal amalgam of Karski's discourse is flattened out into a linear sequence and assigned to a historically-situated speaker. Villehardouin is, of course, also a textual construct. This is not to deny the empirical reality of Villehardouin's existence, his role in the Fourth Crusade, or his involvement with the dictation of 'his' work. But rather to understand that, from the audience's perspective, the evocation of Villehardouin in the *Conquête* performs an important 'witness function:' it gives voice to the narrative. This voice is all that remains in the manuscripts of the text.

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KRISTIAN JENSEN

# Locher's and Grüninger's Edition of Horace from Strasbourg 1498

## At the Crossroads between Printed and Manuscript Book Production and Use

**Abstract**

This contribution aims to exemplify through a case study focused on Germany, how the late fifteenth-century availability of printed classical texts, whether for teachers or for students, facilitated an internationalisation of local textual traditions, sometimes with cultural tensions as a result. Printed books were commodities which modified both ways of engaging with texts and ways of producing manuscript texts. At the same time, pre-existing ways of making and using books formed the expectations of customers which producers of printed books sought to meet or, in a world of international commercial competition, even to exceed, by introducing innovative features which matched the evolving needs of potential buyers. We find a complex interplay of intellectual demands for change, institutionally established user expectations and the need for printers and publishers to create economically viable commodities, where printed books shaped a pre-existing and continued manuscript based literary culture.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, printed books were produced for teachers and students in Europe who already had clear expectations of what a book was and should do. The way people in the late fifteenth century engaged with literature changed as a result of the complex interaction between ideological wishes for change, well established user requirements and textual practices – not least in the settings of schools, universities, and the clerical, legal and medical professions – and finally the necessity for printers and publishers to produce something that met customer expectations and yet had distinguishing features which would enable them to compete with the output of their competitors.[1]

Works of Horace, Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BCE), have been part of the literary canon in the Latin west for some 2100 years. They were studied after pupils had learned the basics of grammar and had read more elementary texts. His poems are linguistically and, in the post-classical Christian world, especially culturally challenging, unease about the reading in school of texts by pagan authors being voiced regularly from the third century onwards.

His work is associated with an extensive body of commentaries and glosses, some with roots in late classical antiquity, but many being later, not least created from the twelfth century onwards.

The first printed edition of Horace appeared in Venice in 1471 or 1472 (Horatius, Venice: Printer of Basilius, *De vita solitaria*), some twenty-five years after the Gutenberg Bible, the first European printed book. This is roughly in line with other classical texts; the first classical author to appear in print was Cicero in 1465 while, for instance, Vergil's *Aeneid* was first printed in 1469.[2]

The 1472 edition contained the six constituent parts which make up the complete works of Horace: *Carmina* ("Songs," also referred to as "Odes"), *Epodoi*,[3] *Satirae* ("Satires," often called "Sermones"), *Epistolae* ("Letters"), *Carmen saeculare* (a poem commissioned for the "Secular Games" held in Rome in 17 BC), and *Ars poetica* ("the Art of Poetry"). Twenty-two other editions of Horace's complete works appeared in the fifteenth century, as well as some forty-four editions which contain at least one of the six component parts of his works.

This contribution takes as its starting point the only German edition of Horace's complete works, published in Strasbourg on 12 March 1498 by Johann Grüninger (*c.* 1455– *c.* 1533). It is the only one of the twenty-three fifteenth-century editions of Horace's *Opera omnia* to have been printed outside Italy.[4] It is one of only two non-Italian Horace editions to contain printed commentaries.[5] It is the only fifteenth-century Horace edition to contain illustrations. Finally, its printed text is laid out in three columns, presenting a page view completely different from the printed text of all other editions of Horace or of any other classical text.

We seek to demonstrate how this edition aimed to enable teachers relatively easily to convey up-to-date humanist information about classical texts in a way which did not challenge strong ethical norms. The contribution thus seeks to nuance the notion that a moralising reading of classical texts was incompatible with a humanist approach. Drawing on comparisons with printed books with manuscript anno-

2. The very basic school texts of Donatus, *Ars minor*, and Aesop's fables, versions of classical texts, appeared much earlier.

3. An *Epodos* was originally the concluding part of a tripartite poetical composition and the word may be translated as 'concluding song,' but by Horace's time it was a genre on its own.

4. ISTC counts twenty-four *opera omnia* editions. ISTC ih00445000 records *Opera omnia.* Leipzig: Landsberg, 1492. In this it follows BMC III 637. There is no shared title page, the parts often survive in separation and were certainly offered for sale separately, as evidenced by annotations of purchase prices. Following GW, I consider them as six separate editions, although it could be argued that they were in fact eight separate editions.

5. The other edition being ISTC ih00483000, the Lyon 1499/1500 edition of Horatius *Sermones et epistolae* [Lyon]: Wolf, 1499/1500 with the commentary of pseudo-Acron, and edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius.

6. This is based on the copies recorded by ISTC comparing them with those listed in GW.

7. Horatius, Firenze: Miscomini. ISTC and GW 13458 record some 120 surviving copies held in 109 different public institutions. It is surprising that Stadler 27 states that this edition is so rare that she has only been able to inspect one copy very briefly.

8. Karl von Baden (1476–1510), titular Markgraf and canon in Strasbourg and Speyer, later also Cologne.

9. "Ideo germani apud exteros barbari iudicamur et qui bene apud nos instituuntur (quid perraro euenit) doctrina et statu crescunt cum ipsi preceptores alexandrini toto uitae spatio apud uocatiuum et Socratem currentem Platonemque disputantem in miseria delitescant. Non enim possent (si res exigeret) hospitem aut aduenam uirum prestantem latine excipere non eleganter salutare non comiter alloqui." Wimpfeling *Isidoneus*, sig. C4 *recto*. ("That is why foreigners think that we Germans are barbarians and those among us who are well educated– which happens very rarely – grow in learned reputation, while teachers who rely on the grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei spend their whole life hiding behind phrases like 'vocativum,' 'Socratem currentem' and 'Platonem disputantem.' For they cannot, if the need were to arise, greet a guest or an eminent foreign visitor correctly in Latin, cannot address him tastefully, cannot speak with him in a pleasant way.") '*Isidoneus*' is a word made up by Wimpfeling, who explained how it consists of Greek words meaning 'in,' 'way' and 'youth.' So, the whole title means something like 'Introduction to the Education of Young People in Germany.'

10. See for instance the sections *Vtilitas linguae latinae* and *De gymnasio pro pueris prima grammaticae rudimenta nactis institutendo*, in Wimpfeling *Germania*, sigs. e3 *verso* to f1 *recto*.

11. Sig. [*2r], Jacobus Philomusus Locher's letter addressed to Karl, Markgraf of Baden, dated 19472. Iurilli, *Orazio* 47, takes Locher's statement at face value.

12. Most recently as an uncontested fact ("fest steht") by Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke* 158. For Bentley see Stenuit, "Horace" 784, note 13.

tations based on university lectures, given by teachers using the same Italian Humanist sources as the editors of the Strasbourg edition, the article aims to show how the edition functioned in a specific teaching environment at the crossroads between the international commercial distribution of texts in the form of printed books and a very local and personal manuscript book production by students attending lectures.

This is not a rare book. Some 260 copies are recorded in public institutions[6] and an unknown number survives in private hands. It is by far the fifteenth-century Horace edition which survives in the largest numbers, a distant second being the Florence edition from 1482 of which 120 copies are recorded in public institutions.[7] Other editions survive in substantially lower numbers. Marks of use in nearly all inspected copies of the Strasbourg edition add to the impression that we can be relatively sure that it had an impact. There are several further reasons why this edition attracts attention.

Its editor, to use a modern phrase, was Jakob 'Philomusus' Locher (1471–1528), who dedicated it to Karl, titular Markgraf of Baden.[8] The letter of dedication places the edition in a Rhenish cultural world, emphasising the need for German princes to be able to compete internationally by having at their disposal men who could match the cultural achievement of Italian and French envoys, by demonstrating equal Latin linguistic and rhetorical skills.

Despite Locher's controversies with Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) and others, this was a shared concern in the Rhenish humanist environment. In 1497, the year before the publication of Locher's Horace edition, Wimpfeling had repeatedly expressed the same concern in his *Isidoneus germanicus*: a poor command of Latin was the reason why 'we Germans' were considered 'barbarous' by foreigners, even the few who were well educated not being able to greet visiting dignitaries in elegant Latin.[9] Wimpfeling reverted to the theme in his oration *Germania* from 1501, addressed to the burghers of Strasbourg, where he especially framed it in terms of competition with France.[10] In his letter of dedication Locher wrote that he had based the text of Horace on ancient manuscripts available in Germany.[11] This statement should be read within the context of the German cultural rivalry with Italy and France, but Richard Bentley (1661–1742) took it as fact and it is still repeated as such.[12] However, in two important articles Bernard Stenuit has shown that for the Horatian texts themselves Locher depended on one of the editions printed in Venice from 1492 onwards that contained four commentaries, those of An-

13. On pseudo-Acron in the fifteenth century see Formenti, "Corpus pseudacroneo."

14. Stenuit, "Le texte d'Horace" and Stenuit, "Horace" refers to the 1492 edition Horatius, Venezia: Pincius, 1492/93. ISTC iho0455000. For the later editions containing these texts see ISTC iho0456000; iho0457000; iho0458000; iho0459000; and iho0460000.

15. Only one single fifteenth-century copy of Horace is recorded by ISTC as having been printed on skin, a copy of the first edition, the copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France of the *editio princeps* (Horatius, Venezia: *Printer of Basilius, 'De vita solitaria'*). See CIBN H-268.

16. Pieper, "Schulfibel" 66.

17. Pieper, "Schulfibel" suggests that the elitist theme may be based on a poem in the 1490 edition of Arrivabene by Franceso Superchi also called Philomusus, but there are no textual similarities to suggest any relationship beyond both authors generically recalling the theme of Horace, *Carm.* 3.1.1. Similarly, the textual analysis which led Pieper to the conclusion that there is an intertextual relationship with a poem by Landino in the 1482 edition and a poem by Locher seems feeble. The shared topos of bringing a forgotten author back to life is too common for us to assume any relationship. There are no significant verbal similarities and the two poems are written in two different metres, Locher's in elegiac distichs, while Politianus's is Aeolian (the second Asclepiadean).

18. "O vos lectores tetricis semonibus aures / arrigite et doctum uatis adite nemus." "O readers, prick up your ears for these stern works and enter the grove of the learned."

tonio Mancinelli, pseudo-Acron,[13] Porphyrio, and Christoforo Landino. Stenuit[14] shows that where Locher deviated from the Venetian text, he followed textual suggestions made in Mancinelli's commentaries produced in the same editions. The coordination between Locher's printed text and his commentary is not perfect, however: he sometimes expresses a preference for a reading which his text does not reproduce. Stenuit assesses Locher's text as poorly established, while granting that the edition is interesting for its innovative inclusion of numerous woodcuts.

Like all fifteenth-century folio editions of the works of Horace with commentaries, it is printed on chancery size paper, measuring about 300×400 mm per sheet, the smallest of the standard paper sizes.[15] The small folio format would contribute to a conclusion that this was not a book aimed at the very top-end of the market.

An argument has been made that the Strasbourg edition was aimed at a market more elite than the Florentine edition in which the commentaries of Landino were first printed.[16] This suggestion is based on a poem of four lines, two elegiac distichs: "qui venis Aonii nemoris spectare sorores / illotis manibus ledere sacra caue. / Non hec monstrantur fatuo spectacula uulgo / huc ueniant quorum mens benedocta sapit." Here Locher tells the reader that the poems are not for the thoughtless masses, and that one should come to them with clean hands and a wise mind.[17] This generically echoes the sentiment of Horace's *Odi profanum uulgus et arceo* (*Carm.* 3.1; "I hate the uninitiated crowd and keep them at bay"), and sets the scene for a moralising reading of Horace's poems, but it contains no suggestion of a social hierarchy of suitable readers. The short poem follows immediately after a longer poem of ten elegiac distichs, also by Locher, which provides a context. The burden of this poem is that Horace has something to offer a wide range of people or, more precisely, a wide range of buyers: the word *eme* ("buy") in the imperative, is repeatedly addressed at people with different emotional and intellectual inclinations. People of all market segments are, however, exhorted not only to pay, but also to pay attention to Horace's learned and stern poems.[18] 'Stern' is an unexpected description of Horace's poems for us and is suggestive of how Locher wanted to direct their reading in a moralising direction. None of this, however, would support the view that he sought an audience more elitist than buyers of other commented editions of Horace's complete works.

## The layout

The essential layout is one of three columns. The width of the columns is standardised, reflecting a consistency imposed by the physical equipment used by the typesetter to manage the layout. In the *Carmina*, *Epodes*, and the *Carmen saeculare*, the two lateral columns each measure 44 mm, while the central column allows lines up to 65 mm, many individual lines being much shorter. In the *Ars poetica*, *Sermones* and *Epistulae* the maximum length of the lines in the central column is 77 mm. This reflects the metre of these poems, hexameters, which regularly have more syllables than most of the lyric metres used in the other works. Here the lateral columns are therefore narrower, namely 36 mm.

## The text of Horace

In the central column we find the text of Horace's poems printed in a roman type, measuring 89 mm per twenty lines, that is to say that it would have measured 89 mm per twenty lines if it had been 'set tight.' However, here the type is 'leaded': the printer created extra blank space between the lines of text by inserting metal strips between the lines of type. Printers often used leading to enable users of the printed books to write their own manuscript interlinear notes or glosses, in which case the printer could use strips of metal which had the same length as the lines of text. But in this instance leading was done to make room for the printing of glosses, on one or two lines between the lines of the text, so varying, shorter units of leading must have been used. Each poem begins with space for a capital letter to be supplied by hand, a guide letter making it clear what letter should be supplied. Typically in red and/or blue, if professionally supplied, this would have been a strong visual indication of the beginning of each poem. However, as we shall see, Grüninger signposted this in numerous different ways and users or owners of many copies did not think it necessary to supply the initial, making do with the guide letters in their blank spaces, again suggesting that for most, this was a useful book not one bought as a luxury object.

## The headlines

Each poem is preceded by a headline, identifying the category of Horace's works to which they belong, for instance that it is an Ode,
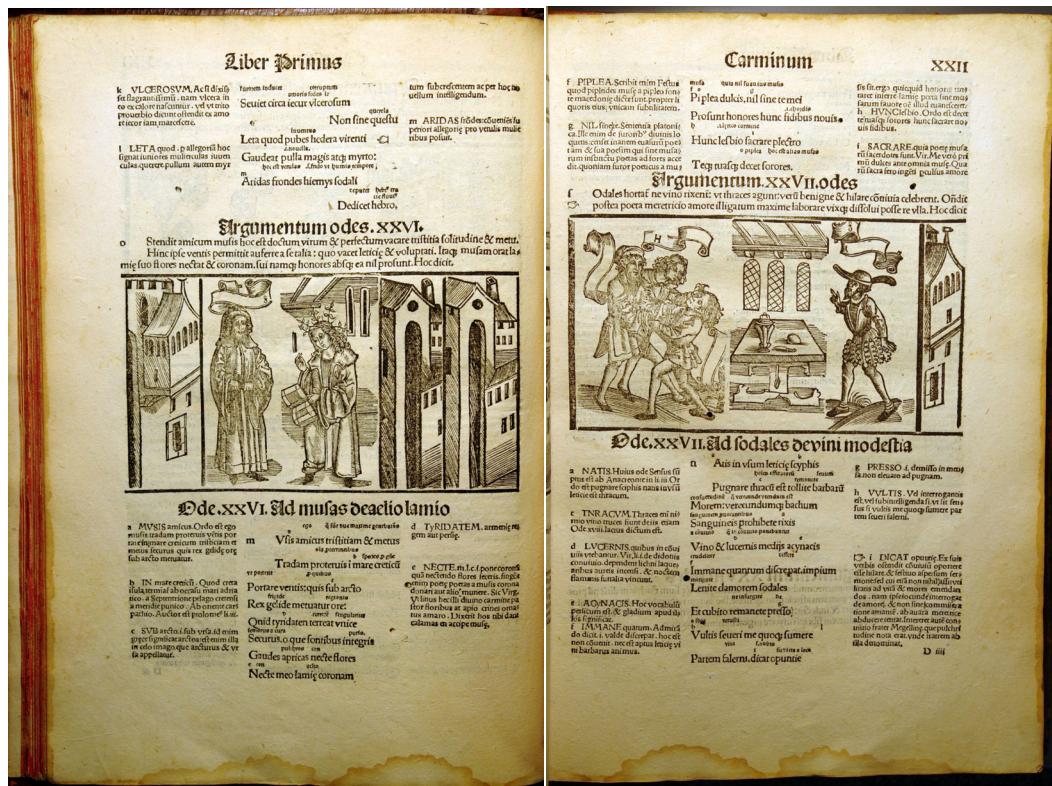
Figure 1: Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sigs. Diii *verso* and Div *recto*.

the number of the book, the number of the poem, and a brief indication of the content. The text is based on that found in the editions printed in Venice from 1492 onwards, probably written by Mancinelli, but Locher omitted the traditional information on the metre, and occasionally he modified the wording. Grüninger used a large gothic type measuring 147 mm per twenty lines. The headlines with their large font size make it easier to navigate one's way through the book. However, short as they are, they are not neutral finding aids. In many cases they set a clear strategy for reading the text. *Carm.* 1.27, *Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis*, ("Wine cups are made to have fun" see fig. 1 above) is stated to be an exhortation from Horace to his friends to drink wine in moderation. This may be good advice, but Horace's poem does not mention moderation.

## The interlinear glosses

Interlinear glosses, in Latin, are printed in a very small gothic type, some 48–52 mm per twenty lines.[19] The glosses provide elementary explanations of the meaning of words through the provision of synonyms. The glosses found here were probably chiefly aimed at expanding the range of vocabulary and idioms of the students, to

19. BMC I 112 measures 48 mm, GW says 52 mm. Because we never get more than two lines together, it is not feasible to give exact measurements.

achieve *copia*, a richness of expression. There are few paraphrases and no vernacular translations, which would more straightforwardly have been an aid for students to understand the text. All the glosses that I have examined, by no means all of those in the volume, can be shown to have been extracted from the commentaries printed in the Venetian Horace editions from 1492 onwards.[20] In the Venetian editions no distinction was made between information of a glossing nature and information of a more explanatory nature, but the material Locher has selected for the glosses is found verbatim in the Venetian editions within their extensive commentaries on the passages in question. Locher identified and segregated this type of information to match the needs of a specific teaching environment. Based on other evidence, Maximilian Schuh has made a strong case that in standard German university practice glosses and commentary were dictated in two separate procedures, first glosses and then commentary;[21] Locher's segregation of the material would suit such a teaching context, a theme which will be discussed further below.

It has been suggested that this edition is unusual among incunables in printing interlinear glosses (Pieper, "Schulfibel" 64). They are, however, frequent in north-European elementary school books, not least in books printed in the western parts of the German-speaking lands. We mostly find them in printed editions aimed at a basic level of instruction, including Latin grammars aimed at the very elementary level of Latin teaching.[22]

## The commentary

On each side, a column of commentary flanks the central text column. These are printed in a roman type, measuring 64 mm per twenty lines, larger than the font used for interlinear notes but smaller than the roman font used for Horace's poems themselves.

The commentary is sequential, from top to bottom first in the right and then in the left column. This means that it is not necessarily closely associated with the word on which it comments. Each marginal comment is, however, preceded by a *lemma*, a single or a few words from the text to which the commentary relates. These are set in capital letters of the same roman type as the rest of the commentary. Furthermore, a single lower-case letter, still of the same roman type, anchors the commentary to the text where it is matched by a small interlinear

20. Horatius, Venezia: *Pincius*. ISTC ih00455000.

21. Schuh, *Aneignungen* especially 194–95. His conclusion is further supported by the manuscript notes in Leipzig printed editions made by students attending the same lectures. A gloss in one book never occurs as a marginal comment in another.

22. Just over 50 known fifteenth-century editions of Alexander de Villa Dei have interlinear glosses, for instance, and many even use their presence as a promotional statement, as do editions of Aesop. We also find printed interlinear glosses in editions of Adam Magister, Cato, Donatus, Aesop and for instance the 1495 edition of Adam Magister, Cologne: Quentell (ISTC ia00046000). Likewise in numerous editions of the verse school text *Poeniteas cito* by Guilelmus de Montibus, one of which was printed by Grüninger around 1497.

superscript letter. This ready-made help for linking text and commentary was already used in manuscript law texts in the twelfth century.[23] In the earliest printed editions of the *Corpus juris ciuilis*, such reference letters were only printed with the marginal notes, while the matching letters within the text itself had to be inserted by hand. Perhaps that was because making space for printing these letters in the text itself required leading all the lines, a laborious procedure and expensive in paper. However, in general, printers increasingly sought to produce merchandise that required as little additional post-production manual intervention as possible. The earliest occurrence which we have found of reference letters printed both in the margins and in the text is Johannes Antonius de Honate's edition of the *Corpus juris* from Milan in March 1482 (ISTC ij00548300).

The market for high-value law texts was fiercely competitive, and it would seem that printers and publishers of legal texts felt that this was now a reference system which they had to deliver in its complete form: buyers were likely to prefer editions where they did not have to complete the reference system themselves, nor to pay someone else to do it for them. The take-up was fast. Almost immediately we find the full system in Venetian and Lyonnais editions of the *Corpus juris*. The first occurrence in a printed edition of canon law of this full cross-refencing of notes and text was from Basel also in 1482, an edition of the canon law text of Gratian, and it was fast followed by other Gratian editions.[24] The rapid take up by one publisher of a feature used by another, gives us a strong impression of the fiercely competitive environment of the production of printed books. Another example of the rapid competitive modification of existing textual corpora has been studied in detail for the fifteenth-century production of the Bible by Jensen, "Printing the Bible."

Grüninger first used the system in his Gratian edition from 1484, fourteen years before he deployed it in his Horace edition in 1498. While it was by then a firmly established feature in expensive editions of the laws, it was an innovation for Grüninger to introduce the system to a literary text; I have found no other fifteenth-century example. This suggests that the commercial pressure under which printers and publishers operated led to a greater fluidity in their approach to different genres, features hitherto reserved for one genre being introduced to others in order to help a product gain an advantage in the market. It also suggests that, using a feature which previ-

23. See, for instance, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS BAV Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. A.31.

24. Gratianus, Basel: Wenssler ISTC ig00371000. This edition which was completed on 5 Sept. 1482 was immediately followed by Gratianus, Venezia: Herbort, completed on 21 Oct. 1482. ISTC ig00372000. The first time it was used by Grüninger was in Gratianus, Strasbourg: Grüninger, completed on 4 Sept. 1484. ISTC ig00375000.

25. Iurilli, "Corpus oraziano" 154 describes Mancinelli's commentary as "un commento maturato nello Studio romano… un'esegesi attenta sia *all'artificium* stilistico che al contenuto filosofico, e aliena ormai dal pregiudizio gnomico-pedagogico di ascendenza medievale."

26. Niutta, "Zarotto" 23, describing the absence of moralising content in Mancinelli and (25) identifying the ethical readings of Landino as a residue of a medieval tradition. For a fifteenth-century controversy around Landino's commentary see Di Benedetto, "Fonzio."

27. For the long tradition of ethical readings of Horace see for instance Friis-Jensen, "Horatius Liricus et Ethicus," Fredborg, "Virtue" and Fredborg "Ars poetica." Also Chronopoulos, "Ethics."

28. Badius, *Silvae,* Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 1492. ISTC ib00003000. The *Silvae morales* is divided into twelve books, the ten first of which are dedicated to a moralising theme each. It includes twelve whole poems by Horace and one extract. The moralising reading is also privileged in Badius's editions of his own commentary with those of others, first from 1503 and much reprinted since, the first part being Horatius, Paris: Badius, 1503.

29. For instance, the *argumentum* to *Carmen* 1.5, sig. a6 *verso*, "Inuectiva in meretricem auaram. Sed ridens illam more suo uexat." "An invective against a mean prostitute. But he abuses her in his usual laughing manner." This is, as ever, derived verbatim from Landino.

ously was associated with the most expensive books, Grüninger and Locher took great care to create a product which required little or no manual intervention by the user. This would make it possible for a wide group of university teachers to use the edition, making it easier for all and reducing the risk of less confident teachers getting lost even with the relatively small amount of commentary produced by Locher.

As mentioned above, the establishment of the Horatian text was the focus of Bernard Stenuit's contribution, and he importantly found that all of Locher's marginal notes that engaged with the establishment of a correct text were based on the commentary of Mancinelli. However, by contrast, the much more frequent non-textual marginal observations, are preponderantly based on Landino's commentary, although they very occasionally draw on Mancinelli. All material found in Locher's marginal notes so far examined can be shown to derive from the commentaries contained in the Venetian editions produced from 1492 onwards.

Mancinelli's commentary can be placed in the Roman environment around Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428–98), an important Rome-based Humanist with a strong philological interest.[25] Its focus on philology and rhetoric has been described as distinctively humanistic, and "alien from the gnomic and didactic prejudice predominant in the middle ages." By contrast, the commentary of Landino has been described as retaining a residue of the medieval focus on a moralising reading of Horace.[26] Seeing Landino as a throwback to the past rather than as evidence of contemporary practice disables us from understanding how integral ethical readings of texts were in schools and universities which we call humanist. It could be argued more convincingly that Landino's – and Locher's – humanist ambitions are not diminished by their strategies for steering the reading of Horace in an ethically acceptable direction. Indeed, the evidence suggests that a moralising aim was as integral to humanist teaching of Horace as it was in the high Middle Ages.[27] This is equally supported by the French humanist Badius Ascensius, whose first commentaries on selected poems and excerpts from poems by Horace appeared in 1492 in his unambiguously named *Siluae morales*.[28]

The moralising nature of Locher's commentary is supported, rather than modified, by his selection of phrases from Landino, pointing out that Horace's tone was habitually ironic and humorous.[29] While this is closer to a modern reading of Horace it was yet another way in which he could mediate the ethically challenging themes of the poems.

More specifically, Locher's moralising commentary illustrates how he engaged with the live contemporary issue about the desirability of Christian schoolboys reading pagan authors. His promotion of the reading of classical poets in schools or universities had pitted him against Wimpfeling, among others, who objected on Christian and ethical grounds to their being taught to teenage boys in universities.[30] We may see Locher's strong guidance towards a moralising reading as integral to his response to the fierce objection to his promotion of the reading of classical poets.

It may be possible to direct the readers' attention away from undesirable passages by attracting their attention elsewhere, and it may also be possible to interpret passages in a moralising direction. But sometimes nothing can hide the undesirable message of Horace's poems. We do not find that even the most challenging poems are omitted from Horace's complete works;[31] however, on a few occasions, the commentator gives up. In *Epode* 12, Locher's first marginal comment acknowledged the offensiveness of the text. He provided very few glosses and left unexplained the most sexually loaded words, often the words which might especially have required glossing to enable a students to grasp the meaning of the text.[32] Similarly in *Epode* 8, Locher left the most offensive words without commentary, provided very few interlinear glosses and cut the preceding summary of the poem short, saying: "It is rather obscene what is said in this ode."

There is also a non-verbal element associated with Locher's commentary. We find a printed *maniculum*,[33] a hand with a finger pointing to passages that Locher sought to single out as especially important (see fig. 1). This is a feature which one would typically expect readers to add by hand, deciding for themselves what is important, part of a personal engagement with the text, but here even this aspect of textual engagement has been pre-decided. In many cases, but not all, the indicated passages may be taken to be moralising, and often, but again not always, they relate to passages which are listed in an index called *Directorium ad uirtutes* ("Index to virtues"), a finding aid unique to this Horace edition.

## The illustrations

Above the headlines we find woodcut illustrations. A few illustrations in the edition are printed from a single wood block but, with a few exceptions, the illustrations immediately preceding a poem are

30. The controversy has been well documented and discussed by Délégué, *Théologie*. See also Stenuit, "Horace" 782–83.

31. The strategy of textual omission is one which Fredborg, "Virtue" 207 has noticed in one twelfth-century manuscript only.

32. Horatius, Strasbourg: Grüninger, sig. Rii *verso* on Epodos 8: 'Satis tamen obscena sunt quae hac ode dicuntur' and sig. Rvi *recto*, on Epodos 12: 'Satis obscena que hac ode dicuntur.'

33. On the role of the *maniculum* in general see Sherman, "Manicule."

made up of impressions from more than one block. There are illustrations at 168 points in the book, 101 different woodblocks used and re-used over and over again, making a total of 623 separate woodblock impressions.[34] Thirty-one of the 101 blocks deployed were made for this edition, whereas eight were originally made for Grüninger's version of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494–95,[35] forty-nine for his Terence edition from 1496,[36] seven for his 1497 edition of some of Locher's own works,[37] and finally six for Grüninger's German-language *Plenarium*.[38]

In the Terence edition, the main source of the woodcuts, the width of the text block corresponded to the width of five illustrative wood-blocks (fig. 2). Adapting pre-existing wood blocks to the complex layout of the Horace edition posed some technical challenges for Grüninger. He deployed a number of tactical solutions which left irregularities in the fixed layout. He used pared down, narrower versions of some of the scene-setting blocks, when he was short of space. On the other hand, where he had a surplus of space, he created double frames between illustrations or sometimes he made one or several frames for the illustrations and one for spaces left blank. On other occasions, he left blank spaces unframed next to or between framed illustrations.



Figure 2. Terentius, *Comoediae*. Strasbourg Johann Grüninger, 1 November 1496. The British Library, C.3.c.16, sig. o vi *verso*, with an illustration made up of impressions from five separate woodblocks.

34. I have not myself undertaken a count of the illustrations. For these figures and the fundamental information on the woodblocks see Kristeller, *Bücher-Illustration* 89, note 83. Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke*, 151–58 has recently examined Grüninger's use of images from an art historical perspective. The blocks being reused may be the reason why she pays little attention to the Horace edition, her brief account of which relies on largely out-of-date publications.

35. Brant, Strasbourg: Grüninger which was first published between 11 Feb. 1494 and 23 May 1495. ISTC ib01081000. Also, later Grüninger editions.

36. Terentius, Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC it00094000.

37. Locher, Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC il00264000.

38. *Plenarium,* Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC ie00087500. This edition of the Gospels and Letters of the New Testament in liturgical order was published on 28 Mar. 1498, sixteen days after the Horace edition, but evidently the wood block made for it were already available.

The conjoint use of blocks of different sizes required the typesetter – the compositor – to pack out gaps to ensure that the material for printing was firmly fixed in a printer's forme. On several occasions we observe slippage of the typeface surrounding the illustrations, possibly suggesting that it was difficult to pack the variously sized woodblocks solidly enough for the text block to remain stable in the forme during the printing process. The resulting wobbly lines stand out in the otherwise regular layout.[39] (See fig. 3). All this must have made the work of the compositors much slower and therefore more expensive. Of course, the additional paper needed to make space for the illustrations will also have added to the production costs.

In the Terence edition the images functioned as finding aids and as an aid to memory. Some blocks indicated whether the scene in question is set indoors or outdoors. Individual blocks could with relative ease be adapted to be reused in all Terence's comedies, with their recurring, if differently named, standard characters: the young men, the cunning slave, the lovely prostitute, the madam, the old man, etc. They had scrolling name panels above each person and the illustrations worked as a visual guide to the characters that appear in a specific scene, which of course also made reading easier.

39. See eg. sig. Lii *recto*.

Figure 3. Horatius, Opera. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Ev *recto*. The type of the headline under the illustration has slipped.
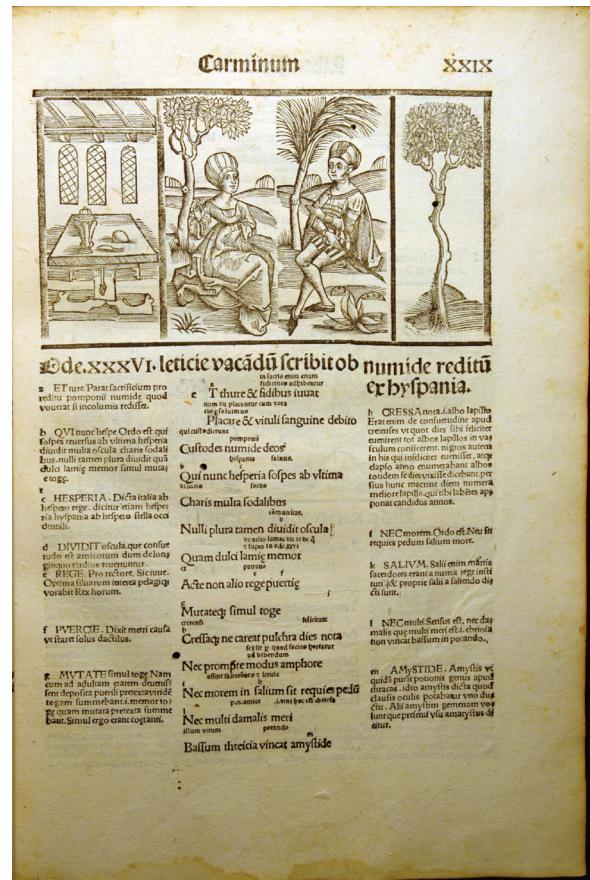
40. Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke* 155 seems to suggest that they may be meaningful.

When reused in the Horace edition, the names of the Terentian characters have largely been eliminated, leaving blank the scrolling name panels above the figures, but often they still contain a few letters creating a rather puzzling effect (see illustration 4).[40] The suitability of the stock characters of the Roman comedy to illustrate Horace's lyrical poems is perhaps questionable and it is sometimes hard to see how the characters and the poems relate. The reused cuts never achieve the specificity they had in the Terence edition. The repeatability is also uncertain for many of the figures cut specially for the Horace edition. On occasion one gets the impression that blocks are used simply to fill up space, such as in illustration 4, where the four figures represented bear no obvious relationship to the text of the *Carm.* 1.4.1 *Soluitur acris hiems*. On other occasions Grüninger seems to have completely given up finding illustrations that match the poem in question (see fig. 5). Perhaps he made the most of the investment he had already made, reusing existing blocks to render his book more attractive for the smaller additional cost of making comparatively few new blocks for this edition.

Figure 4. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Avi *recto*: *Carmen* 1.4.1 *Soluitur acris hiems*. It is hard to identify any relationship between the poem and the illustration. Note also the remaining superfluous letters in the scrolling name band above the figure at the right.

Figure 5. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Bi *recto*. Ode 1.6 where it seems that Locher and Grüninger gave up finding illustrations to meet either the requirement of the poem or the established layout.

Some of the newly cut blocks are more directly relevant, for instance one showing a man with a lyre Horace – or perhaps it is Locher 'Philomusus' himself – but it is not easy to understand why this block is included before some poems and not before others.

Nonetheless, in the Horace edition, the illustrations structure the pages clearly, indicating where a new poem begins. This was also signposted by the use of different font sizes, with the result that each poem is visually very strongly delimited. Furthermore, images can serve a mnemonic purpose, if a more generic one than in the Terence edition. For instance, the illustration to *Carm.* 2.5 (sig. Fiii *verso*) can be read as representing a dashing young man and a bashful young woman, giving a visual illustrative and a mnemonic indication of the message of the poem, as also expressed by its headline: *Non tentandas puellas innubilas*, ("You must not seduce underage girls").[41]

This role also seems to be performed by the frequent repetition of an image of an older man with a right index finger lifted in a gesture that can be understood as admonitory.

The frequent reuse of illustrations from the *Narrenschiff* has an unequivocal moralising function,[42] and even the images of young

41. Sig. Fiv *verso*.

42. Eg. sig. Fii *recto*.

women, which to a modern eye might seem endearing, may in some contexts have been read, or at least have been meant to have been read, as warnings against the temptations of female charms. This reading would be supported by the interpretative apparatus, which to a modern reader seems to present a generically misogynistic attitude, an attitude which is not completely alien to Horace himself.

Even if not consistently, to some extent at least, the images are part of "guiding the processes of textual mediation"[43] in a moralising direction, distracting from a perturbing, and even more perturbingly ambiguous, sexual permissiveness of the poems. This is not invariably so, however, and a careful joint reading of poems and images leaves one with the impression that the chosen layout imposed a requirement to select woodblocks for each poem, a structural need which perhaps was greater than the need for meaningful deployment of images.

43. In the words of Enenkel, "Illustrations" 167.

Figure 6. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Eiii *recto*. The wheel of fortune, from a block made for the 1494 *Narrenschiff* edition (sig. a iii *verso*), illustrates the instability of human life, a recurrent Horatian theme. The inclusion of the figure named `Mercurius' is more puzzling. Note that the two constituent blocks are of different height, and that they jointly did not match the width of the text block. Packing was required in both directions to stabilise the forme from which the page was printed.

## The *Argumenta*

Before the illustrations – on very few occasions after them – comes a short *Argumentum*, a summary of the poem, running across the width of all three columns. It is set in the same roman type as the text of Horace.

The *Argumentum* to *Carmen* 1.27 (*Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis*, "Wine cups are made to have fun") warns against fighting – representing the message of the poem better than the headline which we examined above (see fig. 1). Next it warns that if you get involved with a prostitute you will have a troublesome time, and there is hardly any remedy for it. While the woman in question is not explicitly identified as a prostitute, Horace may have intended to suggest that she was by comparing her with Charybdis. But this is not clarified in the commentary or elsewhere and would not have been understandable to the school level reader, had the *Argumentum* not guided their reading in that direction. Warnings against prostitutes, women in general and sex outside marriage – the latter of which is of no concern in Horace's poems – are often the focus of the *Argumenta*.

At the end of each *Argumentum* the message is invariably reinforced by the concluding words: *Hoc dicit* ("That is what he says"), sometimes abbreviated to '*h. d.*' These words explicitly impose the offered summary as the one true meaning of the poem and have some importance, as they are the only substance added by Locher himself to the interpretative apparatus of the poems found on the text pages. Everything else can be found in the pages of the Venetian edition on which he based himself.

The font size chosen for the various elements on the page indicates their hierarchical importance. The order is first Horace's poetic text, followed by the *Argumentum*, printed in the same type. The headlines to the *Argumenta* are in the same large gothic type as the headlines to Horace's text, so in terms of typographical prominence the text of the *Argumenta* has the same weight as the poetical text. However, the *Argumenta* are set tight, that is not leaded, and go across the whole width of the page, indications that Locher had no expectation that a teacher would provide either linguistic explanation or substantive commentary on them. In terms of typographical prominence, the *Argumenta* are followed by the marginal notes and finally by the very small, and elementary interlinear glosses. It is the *Argumenta* which most consistently direct the reader towards a moralising reading, and this is reinforced by their typographical prominence.

## The running headers

Finally, at the top of each page, there is a running header and, on each *recto*, also a folio number both in the same larger gothic type. The folio numbers are important because they provide the reader with the ability to navigate the volume independently of the structure provided by the works of Horace themselves. As noted above, alone among Horace editions from the fifteenth century this edition has an index of morally noteworthy passages, *Directorium ad uirtutes*. The *Directorium* does not refer to the structure of the poetry but to the folio numbers. This means that it was designed to be used with this edition only, not with any other edition, where the same text would not appear on the same folio. Jointly with the folio numbers the *Directorium ad uirtutes* makes it easier to read the supposedly moralising statements in separation from the texts, simultaneously decontextualizing individual statements and guiding the potential reading of entire poems in a specific direction.

Such fragmented, moralising reading is not as unfamiliar to a modern reader as we might think. We may know it best from contemporary reading strategies for religious texts which, if read integrally, would pose religious and ethical problems, but we also find a modern on-line Horatian reading tool which presents the Horatian texts as an assemblage of wise but decontextualized sayings and even less than the *Directorium* directs readers towards a reading of whole

Figure 7. A screenshot from the web resource *Goodreads*.

poems, least of all those which could offend our contemporary sensitivities[44] (see fig. 7).

44. See online.

More broadly we know the potential for the fragmentation of reading offered by word searching of digital text, which enables each reader to focus on those aspects of a text which meet their pre-existing expectations. Even more radically Artificial Intelligence 'reading' of texts enables words to be systematically decontextualized and potentially reinserted into new, machine-generated contexts, often unknown and unknowable both to the creator of the text and to a human reader.

## The three-column layout

With its three-column layout Locher's edition stands out from all other printed editions. The Rome edition from about 1474,[45] which was the first edition to print both text and commentary, gives first the text and then, sequentially, the Porphyrio commentary and the pseudo-Acron commentary. The slightly offbeat edition from Treviso from 1481 produced first the commentary of Porphyrio as continuous text separately from the works of Horace. But from sig. aiii *recto* onwards the commentary of pseudo-Acron was produced on the same page as the text of Horace.[46] There the text itself is contained in one column of standard width but of varying height, on both rectos and versos aligned with the inner margins of the text block, and surrounded by commentary on three sides.[47] This 'commentary-on-three-sides' layout is next found in the Florence edition of Horace with Landino's commentary from 1482, and in the later Venetian editions of Horace with Landino. The same layout is adapted to accommodate the three commentaries of Porphyrio, pseudo-Acron and Landino from Venice 1490/91,[48] and finally the numerous editions which added a fourth commentary, that of Mancinelli from 1492 onwards (see fig. 8). After the Treviso edition the only two fifteenth-century exceptions to this layout are the edition of the *Ars poetica* by Tilman Kerver from Paris in 1500, in which the text of Horace and the commentary of Badius Ascensius are produced sequentially, and the three-column layout of our Strasbourg edition.

45. Horatius, Roma: de Wila. ISTC ih00472000.

46. Horatius, Treviso. ISTC ih00451000. The Milan 1485 edition of Horace with Porphyrio and pseudo-Acron followed the approach of the Treviso edition.

47. Towards the end of the Treviso edition the layout changes again, now to two columns, the small amount of commentary no longer justifying the commentary-on-three-sides approach.

48. Horatius, Venezia: Arrivabenus, ISTC ih00454000.

The earliest example of the systematic use of commentary-on-three-sides layout is from 1476 in the Venice edition by Jacobus Rubeaus of Vergil.[49] The format rapidly became the vastly predominant approach for classical poetry and indeed for classical prose. The commentary-on-three-sides approach is numerically extremely predominant in the survival of fifteenth-century Horace texts, as indeed it is

49. Vergilius, Venezia: Rubeus, ISCT iv00166000. BMC VII p. xiii says: "Possibly the earliest instance of such an arrangement applied to a literary text." More than that, it seems to be the earliest printed instance of this arrangement for any text.

Figure 8. Commentary-on-three-sides layout. Four lines of text by Horace, the rest is commentary. Horatius, *Opera*. With the commentaries of Antonio Mancinelli, pseudo-Acron, Porphyrio and Cristoforo Landino. Venice: Philippus Pincius, for Bernardinus Resina, 28 Feb. 1492–93. The British Library, IB.23625, sigs a1 *verso* and a2 *recto*.
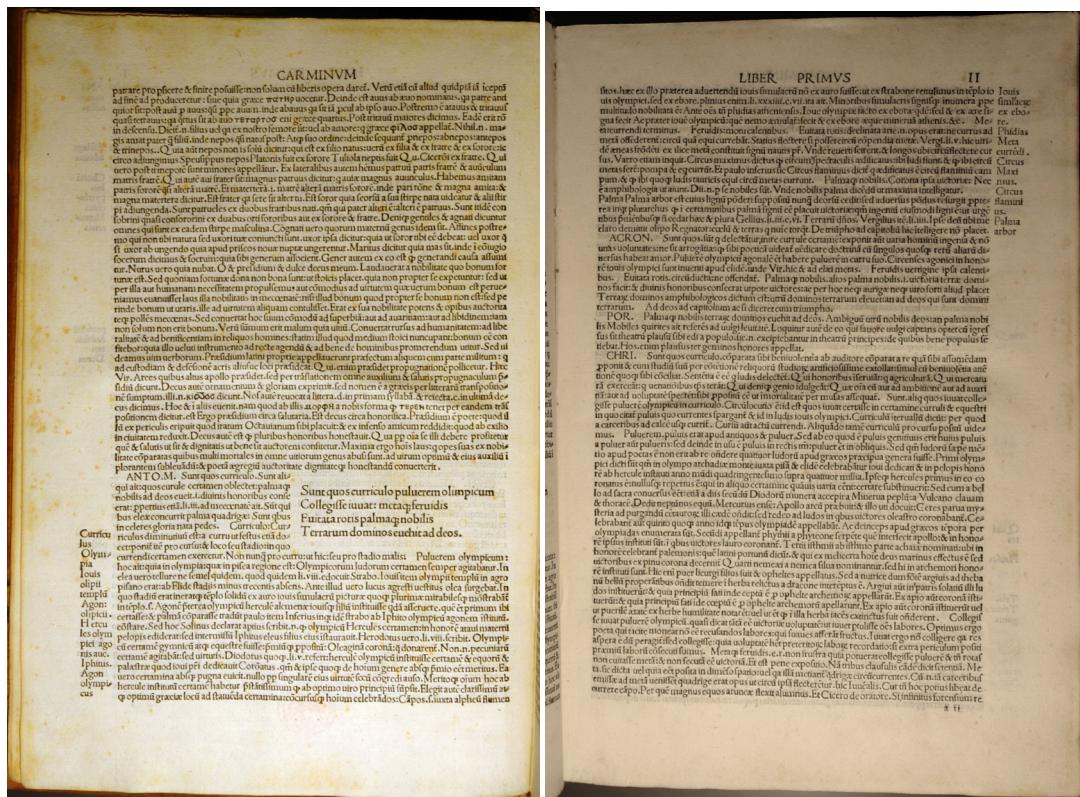


50. Adding up the numbers indicated by GW.

51. I have looked at all forty-three Horace manuscripts in the British Library, and four in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. I have seen the following in digital form: fourteen on Gallica, thirty-one in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, eight in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, two in Bonn University Library, one in Trinity College, Cambridge, one in Bamberg State and University Library, one in Dillingen, one in Düsseldorf, one in Heidelberg and one in the Czech national library in Prague. The ninety-seven Horace manuscripts in the Vatican Library are all depicted and described in Buonocore, *Codices.* I have additionally seen eighteen of them in digital form.

for other commented classical texts. The number of recorded Horace copies with this layout surviving in public institutions alone comes to 821,[50] that is roughly the same number as the total of surviving pre-modern Horace manuscripts. It is perhaps not surprising that some modern scholars have taken the 'commentary-on-three-sides' layout as the norm. However, while it does exist, it has proved hard to document the systematic use of this type of layout in manuscript books.[51] Having looked at some 220 Horace manuscripts, and numerous other fifteenth-century manuscripts of classical poets, I have so far identified only four which share most but not all of its characteristics. Two of these manuscripts were, like the printed editions, produced with text and commentary conceived jointly in this layout from the outset. One is an undated, possibly Italian, fifteenth-century manuscript (London, British Library, Harley Ms 2556) probably made for school use. It only differs from the printed layout in allowing two boxes of text on one page, whereas in the printed editions you only have one box of text. By allowing two boxes of text one would

need less advance planning to achieve a distribution of text and commentary which used the paper to best advantage. The other (Praha, Narodni Knihovna III G 15) is from the German-speaking area and is very similar to the printed layout, from which it mainly differs in that the text box is pushed to the outer not to the inner margins. It is conceivable that this manuscript postdates the printed books.[52]

Two Horace manuscripts at the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 34.19 and Ms Plut. 34.9) also display this layout, although neither does so consistently and one of them only on one page. In these two manuscripts it looks as if commentary and text were not planned together in one production phase. There will be others like these, and it may be that this layout was more prevalent in manuscript books with poor survival rates, low status volumes for school use where text and commentary were produced in at least two separate processes. Printers may have been familiar with manuscripts which broadly presented this lay-out, as the result of two or more separate production processes, and used them as models but now for a pre-planned and systematic use of the layout. However, it does not seem premature to conclude that the overwhelming, if short-lived, prevalence of this approach only began with printed books from the mid-1470s. Its advantages for producers of printed texts are not hard to identify. With large amounts of commentary, it provides maximum flexibility in managing the distribution of text and commentary, reducing the amount of paper required for producing an edition; paper costs was the most significant upfront investment in the production of a printed book. While it is easy to lay out the text so that you enable others subsequently to fill the three margins with commentary to a greater or lesser extent, it requires significant preplanning to match text and commentary to make best use of the page. This amount of preplanning is worthwhile if you are hoping to sell many books – printed – rather than just one or a few manuscript books.

This layout, however, offered the reader little help with matching text and commentary, not least in the Venetian editions which produced four commentaries, so that a reader needed to match the text with four different passages often one or even two pages apart. This probably suggests – as does the vast amount of commentary itself – that the Venetian editions were aimed a much more confident and learned readership who required less support than those at whom Locher and Grüninger aimed their edition.

Although the commentary-on-three-sides layout was a fairly re-

52. It is dated to 1400–33, possibly in error for 1443 as it contains a manuscript date of 1443. This inscription is however in a much later hand. The online record refers to Truhlar, *Catalogus* n. 540.

cent standard it was well-known to Grüninger and to Locher. We know already from the work of Stenuit that the two men were familiar with the Venetian editions which laid out their commentaries like this. The question is therefore what induced them to choose the three-column layout instead. There are at least two parts to an answer to this. When texts and commentary were produced jointly in manuscripts we often see a two-column approach, similar to the one Grüninger used for his Terence edition. Nor is it rare for manuscripts to facilitate a three-column approach, whether the commentary may have been produced in one or more separate operations.[53]

53. I am grateful to Dr Karen Margareta Fredborg who suggested the importance for my theme of distinguishing between manuscripts created with three columns from the outset and those where subsequent owners used available margins, achieving a three-column approach.
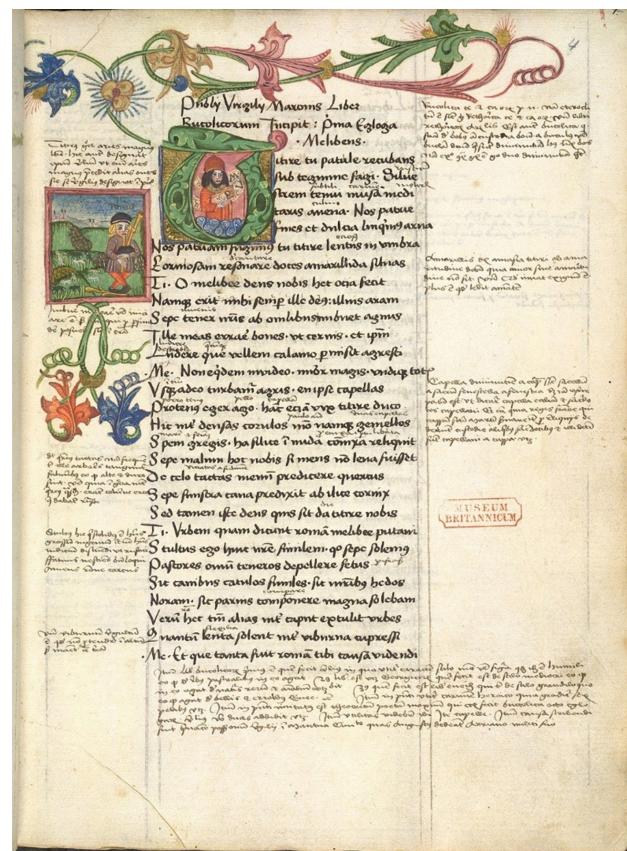


Figure 9. Vergil and other authors. Germany or Austria (Melk?), c. 1473. A manuscript of a classical text prepared for a three-column layout. The British Library, Burney MS 272.

But more specifically I wish to suggest that Grüninger and Locher produced a layout which very precisely matched the needs of a target audience of teachers. Fifteenth-century editions of Horace and of other classical poets printed in Leipzig do not include printed commentaries. However, we find that numerous surviving copies have copious manuscript commentaries in the two margins and glosses between the lines. The books were produced specifically so that students could themselves systematically add interlinear glosses and commentaries by hand in two marginal columns. This was a for-

malised three-column approach, as we can see in many copies of these Leipzig editions, in which ruling supplied by hand structures the page into three columns (see fig. 10 and 11).
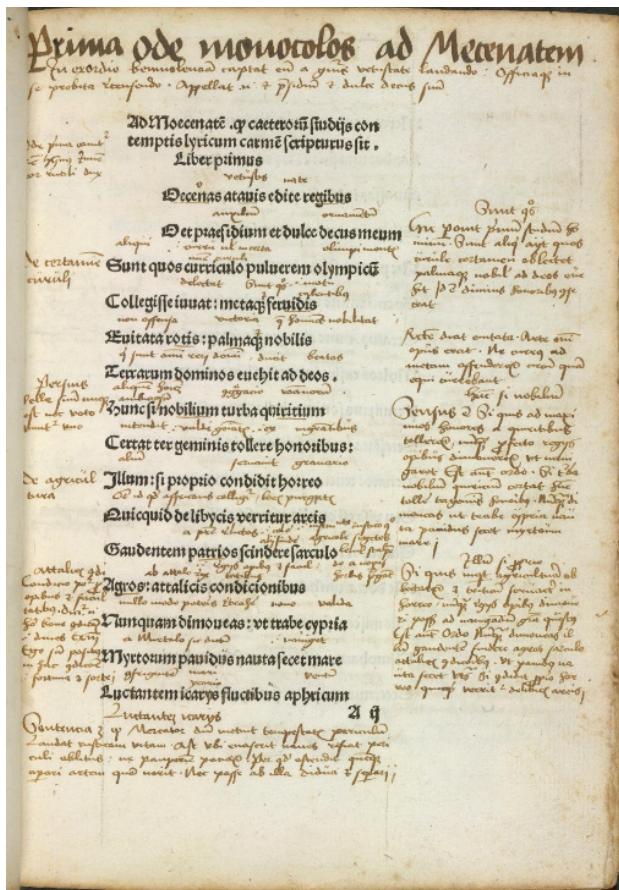


Figure 10. Horatius, *Odae* [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1492] GW 13502. The British Library, IA.11867, sig. aii *recto*.
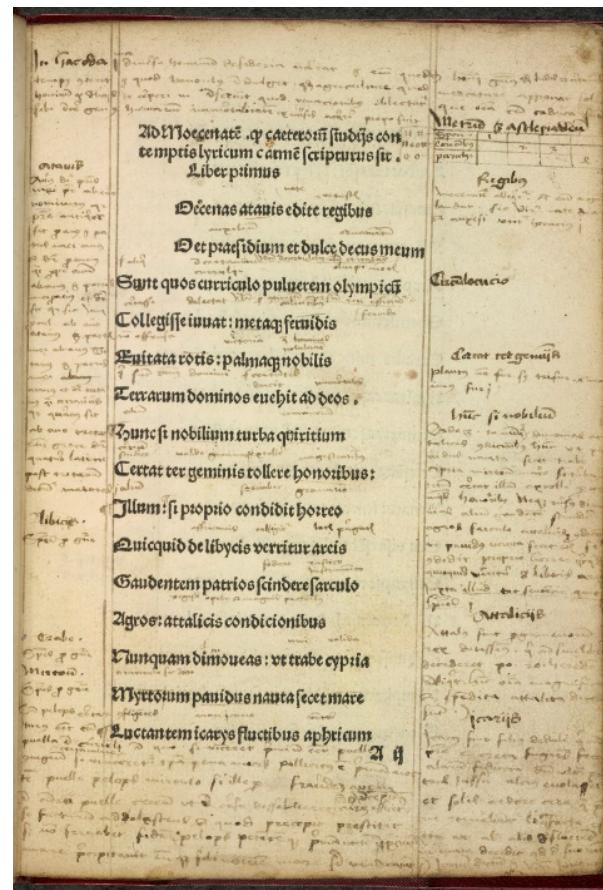
Figure 11, Horatius, *Odae* [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1492] GW 13502. The British Library, IA.11865, sig. aii *recto*.

The layout of the printed texts in the Strasbourg edition is therefore the same as that which we find in the printed Leipzig editions once students had added notes from the lectures they attended.

We saw that the Strasbourg edition was based on the commentaries found in Venice editions. An examination has in recent years been undertaken of interlinear and marginal glosses in Leipzig editions of classical poets, many of which had been made by students who in the 1490s attended lectures of a teacher in the University of Leipzig called Honorius.[54] These were extraordinary lectures on classical texts, including Horace, which neither in Leipzig nor elsewhere

54. Johannes Honorius Cubitensis. See Jensen, "Exporting."

were part of the university curriculum, and the lectures were aimed at arts faculty university students, typically in their mid to late teens. The far fewer surviving editions of Horace from other German cities suggest that they too were aimed at students being taught at this level in extraordinary lectures.

It was possible to prove that Honorius derived the texts he read to his students from commentaries which were contained in Venetian editions. When it comes to Horace, we even know which edition Honorius owned, the basis for the content of the lectures that he gave on Horace. In Leipzig Honorius, however, had to do the work himself to generate the comparatively restricted amount of material which he wanted to dictate so that his students could add it as interlinear glosses and marginal comments. He reduced, extracted and arranged the extensive content of the Venetian editions, to present his students with up-to-date Italian approaches to the text in a form and a quantity which was compatible with the teaching context in which he and his students worked.

For his Strasbourg edition Locher used the same Venetian texts as Honorius did for his Leipzig lectures, and Locher like Honorius was aware that the amount of information in the Venetian editions went well beyond what it would be manageable to convey to students. Based on the commentaries in the Venetian editions, Locher undertook the same sort of work as Honorius, but he did not do it just for his own students. A buyer of Locher's edition found that all the intellectually demanding and labour-intensive steps in dealing with the Humanist commentaries had already been taken for him. These included the digesting, abridging, organising and presenting of the overwhelming amounts of information in a format which matched the teaching practice of universities, at least in German-speaking lands.

Thus, the layout of Locher's pre-selected and pre-digested volume reflects the appearance of how a student's own copy of the text should end up looking after the lectures, whether completely or partially in manuscript. The printed Leipzig editions with their space for interlinear glosses and two columns of marginal notes were aimed at students, and they produced individual parts of Horace's works separately, so that a student would not have to buy an expensive opera omnia, without knowing if there would be lectures offered in more than a small part of the corpus. By contrast, the Strasbourg edition was not meant to facilitate the work of students in a lecture room, but that of their teachers.[55] The edition provided what the teacher needed and not more than was needed. Locher made contemporary,

55. As suggested by Pieper, "Schulfibel."

56. Edinburgh University Library, shelfmark CRC Inc.F.8. See online.

57. The copy in Kežmarok, Lyceálna knižnica (Slovakia), contains numerous interlinear glosses, supplementing the printed glosses. It is likely to have been used in the environment of the University of Cracow, as we on sig. V 6 *recto* find a manuscript *Intimacio Magistri Pauli Crosnensis.* Paul from Krosno, now in Lithuania, got his MA from Cracow in 1506 and began teaching at Cracow in 1508. On Paulus Crosnensis see Glomski, "Fifteenth-Century" 140. It is not realistic to assume that all students attending lectures in Cracow around that time could have a copy of this Horace edition, and that teaching would have been structured around it. If this were a student copy it would suggest that the lecturer only provided glosses and no commentary. This seems unlikely, and may be that this is a volume prepared by a teacher. See online. It is bound with a copy of Lucanus, *Pharsalia* Venezia: Bevilaqua, from 1498. ISTC il00307000. This copy is annotated in the same hand. The edition is essentially unsuitable for student use and this would further suggest that the whole volume belonged to a teacher.

58. Miethke, *Studieren* chapter 19, emphasises the group dictation in class rooms as an important part of the manuscript production of texts.

up-to-date humanist Italian commentaries accessible also for a broad range of university teachers so that their students in turn could have access to the same level of information as the students of the intellectually self-confident Honorius. This of course does not exclude that a student could have owned and used a copy. A full investigation of all copies has not been undertaken, but while there is limited evidence of interaction with the marginal commentary, several copies contain notes supplementing the interlinear glosses. For instance in the copy now in Edinburgh University Library, the regularity, complex structure and tidiness of the notes, suggest that we are confronted with the preparatory work of a teacher further adapting the information to the level of his students.[56] The copy now in Lyceálna knižnica (Kežmarok, Slovakia), on balance also suggest that this and the other item in the volume were owned and annotated by a teacher, probably not in Germany but in Poland.[57]

Ensuring that Horace's poems were read in such a way that they did not become too culturally challenging or offensive was integral to this process of digesting the Venetian commentaries for German teachers. Even the innovative practice of tying text together with guide letters is part of this picture of a book made to support teachers as much as possible in their work. A practice which had been designed for complex legal texts was introduced to a literary text for university use, leaving little room even for a teacher to misunderstand what commentary belonged where.

Thus heavily dependent on a continued manuscript production by students in university classrooms,[58] this edition is equally a product which was only possible in the economy of printed books, a teachers' tool based on the most up-to-date humanist editions, presented in a layout which matched the reading and teaching practice of universities at least in German speaking lands.

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*GW.* Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.

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ANA M. GÓMEZ-BRAVO

# The Origins of *Raza*

## Racializing Difference in Early Spanish

**Abstract**

The concept and terminology associated with the Spanish *raza* developed as a culturally and linguistically situated metaphor during the medieval period and first decades of the early modern period. The early biologization of *raza* appears after a first conceptual transfer from the textile field reinforced through semantic overlapping transfers from gemology and metallurgy lexicons. A second push toward this biologization came from an administrative language that leveraged existing though unsystematized vocabulary of (marked) selective reproduction. These developments played a key role in the early racialization of difference.

## 1. Introduction: Language and Semantic Fields

The enduring flexibility of race as a concept has necessitated recent studies to include a definition of both race and racism as a way to situate a discourse that harnesses the different meanings in which the terms can be used and understood. The importance of elucidating the nature of race both as a concept and a term cannot be overstated, as it underlies any understanding of racism.[1] In these pages I examine the early shaping of the concept of race in the context of the study of the Spanish term *raza* and its semantic fields from its earliest documentation in the fourteenth century to the early decades of the second half of the sixteenth, a time period critical for the formation of the semantic fields of *raza*. I present *raza* as a culturally and linguistically situated metaphor built as a transfer from technical language into a coopted everyday vocabulary, facilitated by common familiarity with the term and through the pressures of religious and administrative language. I pose that the early biologization of *raza* appears after a first conceptual transfer from the textile field reinforced through semantic overlapping transfers from gemology and metallurgy and, to a lesser degree, veterinary lexicons. A second push toward this biologization came from an administrative language that leveraged existing though unsystematized vocabulary of

1. See for example the arguments in Arias and Restrepo.

(marked) selective reproduction. My study shows some of the ways in which the Church and the monarchy helped spread and institutionalize *raza* at a pivotal juncture in the formation of a unified Christian state and of imperial expansion and key protocapitalist developments.[2]

Here, I would like to argue not only that medievalists and early modernists can and should engage Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit), but also, and perhaps more importantly, that medieval and early modern studies can significantly contribute to those theoretical frameworks. From CRT, there have been calls to establish a genealogy of racism, whose emergence has been linked to modernity (for example Goldberg 14–40; West). In contrast, the consideration of premodern racialization decenters Modernity and challenges a discourse that leans on Linnean or Enlightenment developments and ignores their undissolved intellectual roots. As Meer has underscored, there is a pressing need for CRT to "overcome, on the one hand, a historical narrative on the emergence of race as an explicitly secular and 'modern' phenomenon – one that has its genesis in Atlantic slavery and Enlightenment-informed colonial encounters (an account that has become entrenched as the prevailing view)" (386). Recently, Geraldine Heng has argued that the invention of racism can be dated back to the Middle Ages, presenting an idea of race that essentializes difference and establishes power differentials.[3] By necessity, a study on early race formations will involve a chronological inquiry and be in step with the call for an interdisciplinary approach issued by LatCrit, clearly expressed by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal, which "challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses and insists on analyzing race and racism [...] by placing them in both an historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods" (314). In its emphasis on concept formation and its tight link to language developments, my study connects with LatCrit's calls to take into consideration language issues (for example in Iglesias 646–59) in a field where studies are largely published in English and on English discourse, resulting in what Pearce has called "the new English colonialism." When we use the term 'race' to discuss texts written in a language other than English, can we be sure we are cognizant of the semantic fields denoted by key terms in texts written in a language other than English in a particular time period? What do we lose when language considerations disappear and we use English as the master language on race? What can we gain from considering the terminology in lan-

2. For the determining role of the medieval period in the making of the modern state, see for example Gordillo Pérez; Pérez Johnston.

3. Also relevant are the studies in Eliav-Feldon *et al.* The subject of racism has spawned a wealth of studies, whose sheer number makes it impossible to cite here in full. For further references, see the bibliography cited in the studies mentioned in these pages.

guage-situated conceptual mappings? ¿Qué cambios se operan si, en lugar de hablar de "race in the Middle Ages and the early modern period," hablamos de la *raza* en la Edad Media y la temprana Edad Moderna? From a related outlook, Crump has proposed LangCrit, Critical Language and Race Theory, as a theoretical and analytical framework. Although Crump refers to English discourse and to the intersections of race, racism, and racialization with language and identity, this proposal usefully calls attention to the centrality of language issues and to the urgency for scholars to engage them. As Aoki states, "Under a mimetic theory of language, language is thought of as representing something stable and preexisting, that is 'out there' in the world" (260), creating the illusion of immutability and reliable referentiality. Instead, scholars have underscored the fluid and mutable nature of constructed racialized discourse (for example Rattansi, esp. 56–57). Of central importance to the study of racism is the assessment of how language has played into the construction of race for sociopolitical purposes and conversely, paraphrasing Charles Mills, how "the Racial Contract norms (and races)" language. Goldberg has argued that racism itself is a discourse, speaking of "the field of racialized discourse," analyzing the strategies of racialized discourse formation (41–60), and arguing that racism "is not a singular transhistorical expression but transforms in relation to significant changes in the field of discourse" and that *race* "creates the conceptual conditions of possibility, in some conjunctural conditions, for racist expression to be formulated" (42). Following a similar line of inquiry, my study examines how those conceptual conditions of possibility were facilitated by early semantic developments of *raza* that were linked to the early creation of specific discourses serving institutional needs. The "sociohistorical conjuncture," in which racialized discourse develops identified by Goldberg, is thus joined by a language conjuncture, which looks to account for the very mechanisms of language formation and change in a situated manner. Further, I would like to argue that telling the story of the very terms that build racializing discourse is the first step in being able to account for the narrative and can become a powerful tool for an epistemological framework with which to analyze race. One instance of how this approach helps advance some of the main issues brought up by CRT is the interconnection of the concept of whiteness in the making of a semantic field that early on connected whiteness with beauty, light, purity and immaculateness, along with blackness and its related (negative) terms as their opposite, in the context of *raza*. Here, I show the im-

portance of accounting for discourse conceptual convergence through metaphor and of understanding how such conceptual metaphors are harnessed by institutional power, leveraging the layered meanings language has acquired over a period of several centuries. As Lee and Lutz have reminded us, pointing to the usefulness of historical perspectives, "we do not start each new era with a clean slate; instead, we stand on the bedrock of earlier forms of racial consciousness and practices of racial exclusion and inclusion" (5), adding that "what happened in the past is not seen as behind us, rather it is always with us as a reservoir that is being tapped constantly to support racist ideas. Although racism is being acted out continuously in our society and finds new modes of expression, it is a profoundly historical phenomenon. To understand and combat racism, we must understand its complex and multiple historical beginnings" (10). In this sense, my study connects with Lee and Lutz's call for "cognitive decolonization" and "the need for critical 'readings' of how power operates and how it transforms, and reforms, social relations, through racial categories and consciousness" (4), as I present the ways in which early racializing power operated in and through language. My study builds on this critical frame by showing some of the ways in which we may engage the medieval and early modern periods by applying transdisciplinary conceptualizations.

## 2. Concepts and Terminology

A matter that has brought significant complexity to studies on the Spanish *raza* and *racismo* (generally translated as 'race' and 'racism' respectively) is that of the terminology and the concomitant shifts in meaning through a relatively long time span. The earliest dictionary entry, in the 1970 edition of the Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la lengua española*, conveys that *racismo* was coined as a result of developments in political and anthropological fields.[4] The definition was kept verbatim in successive editions of the dictionary published until 2001. As far as it is currently possible to document, in all evidence *racismo* seems to have entered Spanish in reference to the new vocabulary being coined in Germany by 'extreme nationalist' ideologies linked to antisemitism. Some of the earliest documentations of the word appear in two 1925 essays by Peruvian author José Carlos Mariátegui entitled "La elección de Hindenburg" [The Election of Hindenburg] (*Figuras* 1: 196, 200) and "El anti-semitismo"

4. "Exacerbación del sentido racial de un grupo étnico, especialmente cuando conviene con otro u otros. 2. Doctrina antropológica o política basada en este sentimiento y que en ocasiones ha motivado la persecución de un grupo étnico considerado como inferior."

[Antisemitism] (*La escena* 285), and in a 1927 essay, "El Nuevo gabinete alemán" [The New German Cabinet] by the same author (*Figuras* 2: 146). In these essays, the term appears italicized or between quotes in all occurrences, signaling it as a new word, and is coupled with fascism, with German extremist nationalism, and with antisemitism.

Many discussions on early racisms in a Spanish context begin with a discussion of the term *raza* and place significant value on the date in which the word is first documented and on the particular meaning it conveys, mostly when it is used in reference to humans (for example Burns; Hering Torres, "'Raza';" studies in María Elena Martínez *et al.*). The argument that the terms 'race' and 'racism' were not used in the premodern period has served to create a divide between the premodern and modern periods causing a ripple effect in our understanding of periodicity. The development of an idea of race has at times been conceptualized as making the transition from culture to nature as it passed from religion to science, from a religiously dominated epistemology to the beginnings of modern science, leading to the idea that a biological understanding of race is tied to the shift from an internal to an external understanding of difference.[5] A number of scholars have called into question an analysis based on simple dichotomies and teleologies (for example Bethencourt; Hering Torres, "Limpieza," "Purity;" María Elena Martínez *Genealogical*; Nirenberg, "Was There"). Lampert has pointed out that Balibar's work on neo-racism and Fredrickson's work on culturalism can help us understand racism as a complex issue where cultural and religious components play as important a part as somatic or biological ones (see also Buell). Also of central importance on the issue of periodicity is the work of scholars who have been critical about placing modernity as the axis for concept formation (for example Lee and Lutz 8-12; Varo Zafra 211–12).

The richness of the scholarship on the nature of the conceptual subtleties of the Spanish terms *raza* and *racismo* is witness to the complexity of issues associated with them. A number of scholars have emphasized the role that Spain and Portugal have played on the plural history of race as well as the role of religious difference and persecution in the framing of the concept of race (*e.g.* Balibar and Wallerstein; Edwards; studies in Greer *et al.*; Mariscal; Sweet). Significantly, the impact of Spanish in other languages is highlighted in works on race such as Smedley's widely read *Race in North America*, where the author hypothesizes that the English term 'race' was ad-

5. For an analysis of some of these complex issues, see for example Lampert-Weissig.

opted from the Spanish *raza*, stemming from a vocabulary on animal breeds, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to Spain's hegemonic situation within Europe (37).[6] Scholars have also noted the links in the development of racism with capitalism (Balibar and Wallerstein) and colonialism (Quijano).[7] Further, the relevance of the role that blood (Anidjar), genealogy (Nirenberg, "Race"), skin color (Hering Torres, "Colores;" Fuchs), and notions of *limpieza* and pollution (Hering Torres, "Limpieza," "La limpieza;" María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical*) play (or not) in the study of race has also been weighed.

In an instance of what Koselleck called "temporal intertwining" centered around language (29–30), contemporary scholars have noted that the uncritical use of 'race,' 'racial' and related terms in earlier scholarship helped perpetuate some of racism's tenets (for example, Burk 177). One such instance is Ochoa and Pidal's talk about a Jewish race ("raza judía," "raza judáica") and of converso Antón de Montoro as being "poor and of Jewish race" ("pobre y judío de raza") in their edition of the *Cancionero de Baena* (xxxiii; xxxiv; xxxvii; xxxviii). Similarly, other scholars such as Márquez Villanueva used the term when referring to conversos, for example speaking of them as "brothers in race" ("hermanos de raza" 539). Others simply apply the term in its contemporary use retroactively, as does for example Caro Baroja in his *Razas, pueblos y linajes* ("Races, peoples, and lineages"). To complicate matters further, early scholars in at least some cases may be merely and uncritically reproducing the terminology found in the documents they discuss, seemingly attributing a later meaning to medieval and early modern vocabulary (see for example Sicroff's use of "raza" in *Los estatutos* 41). In addition, twentieth-century Spanish translations of Latin texts have regularly used *raza* for the Latin *genus* and other terms, projecting discussions of *raza* back several centuries by setting them in old texts where, in fact, the term was not used. As an example, Alonso de Palencia's *Cuarta Década* describes animosity against conversos in Córdoba "sub voce violate religionis a gentili neophitorum," which is rendered "al grito de haberse violado la religión por la raza de los neófitos" ("at the cry of religion having been violated by the race of the neophytes")[8] in the 1970s Spanish translation (1: 72; 2: 86). The problematic translation of *gens*, *genus*, and *natio* as *raza* has been widespread, leading scholars such as Bartlett to point out the drawbacks posed by such rendering of the terms. In fact, fifteenth-century authors like Lope de Barrientos (self )translate the Latin *genus* as *linaje* (lineage) in Old Spanish (text in Martínez Casado, *e.g.* 46–47) and it is similarly the translation of-

fered in the entry "genus" in Fernández de Santaella's *Vocabulario* ("Tomase tambien por linage"). Furthermore, some translations by later critics have been widely taken as verbatim quotations from primary sources and, because of their importance, cited as key witnesses to early racial thought. Sicroff's quotation of Martínez Silíceo's admonishment to refrain from accepting a horse that is not thoroughbred or "of race" ("de raza") in a letter asking Pope Paul III (1534–49) to withdraw his support of the son of a converso for a position as canon in Toledo's church (142) has been cited as evidence of an early understanding of *raza* in the terms of genealogy taken from animal breeding. However, such use of *raza* is in fact just Sicroff's translation of "genus" in its various cases in the Latin text: "[…] non admitere equos in suum stabulum, non *generos equos* etiam si gratis darentur, primum nanque quod in eorum emptione queritur est *genus,* unde prodierint quandoquidem, *equorum quidan sunt genere nobiles* alis vero contra nos autem qui ceteris animantibus prestamus, de optimo dabimus eos *homines qui generis sunt obscuri,* quippe a parentibus recens adhuc sue pravitatis retinent" (BNE Ms. 13038, fol. 134v) [emphasis added and original spelling preserved]. Sicroff summarizes the passage thus:

> Una sorprendente analogía brota bajo la pluma del arzobispo, quizás un recuerdo de su infancia campesina, cuando compara el problema debatido al del tratante de caballos. A éste, si le ofrecen un caballo imperfecto, aun regalado, no lo aceptará en su cuadra, porque lo que más le importa es la *raza del animal*. Esta es su preocupación principal, aun cuando se cree que *el caballo es de raza noble*. Sin embargo, cuando se trata de esta *raza oscura de conversos*, hay quienes quisieran admitirlos a los mejores puestos en la Iglesia cuando todavía tienen en los labios la leche de la reciente perversidad de sus antepasados.

> (A surprising analogy springs up under the archbishop's pen, perhaps a memory of his peasant childhood, when he compares the problematic issue under debate to that of the horse dealer. This horse dealer, if offered an imperfect horse, even as a gift, will not accept it in his stable, because what matters to him most is the *race of the animal*. This is his main concern, even when *the horse* is believed to be *of noble race*. However, when it comes to this *obscure race of converts*, there

are those who would like to admit them to the best positions
in the Church when they still have on their lips the milk of
the recent perversity of their ancestors) [emphasis added]
(142).

Thus, in Sicroff's rendition, Martínez Silíceo set the noble *race* of a horse
in contrast with the obscure *race* of conversos, directly linking the term
and concept of *raza* to the conversos and to horse breeding in the con-
text of *limpieza* statutes. Similarly, the quote from the 1530 entry in the
Colegio de San Clemente books documenting the acceptance of Die-
go de Castilla to the Colegio has been repeatedly cited as containing a
statement on Diego de Castilla's blood purity or *limpieza*. The docu-
ment is cited as containing the attested proof that he is free from Jew-
ish, Muslim or heretic ancestry required to enter the Colegio, thus al-
legedly providing one additional link between a genealogical *raza* and
blood purity or *limpieza*: "si por un lado pertenecía a raza muy aristo-
crática (pues su familia era del linaje del rey don Pedro, aunque por lí-
nea bastarda), por otro lado era de estirpe hebrea" ("if on the one hand
he belonged to a very aristocratic race – for his family belonged to the
lineage of King Don Pedro, although via a bastard line – on the other
hand he was of Hebrew stock"). However, the quote is not found in the
document, which is written in Latin and does not contain any referenc-
es to *raza*,[9] but is rather a text taken from Caro Baroja's own and often
quoted statement on Diego de Castilla's ancestry (*Los judíos* 298–99),
which has been (mis)taken as a textual reference to the Colegio de San
Clemente's records. The use of the term in these texts has received much
interest on the part of scholars as it is thought to present key evidence
on early ideas on *raza*. For these reasons, it is clear that a precise under-
standing of the term in its early attestations is a key point of departure.

## 3. Conceptualizing *Raza*

Merely documenting the historical occurrences of a word in an at-
tempt to elucidate its meaning can provide but a partial understand-
ing of the development of the concept it denotes. Current trends in
conceptual theory can help understand the importance of combin-
ing the study of field-specific concept development and situated
manifestations of language. Álvarez Moreno has emphasized the sus-
tained importance of the 'linguistic turn' in any historical considera-
tion, a call that also resounds in Koselleck's emphasis on the mediat-

9. Archivo del Colegio de España,
*Libri Admissionum,* n. 3, fols.
113v–114r; Acta Sodalium VII n. 11.
For the documentation on Diego de
Castilla, see also Pérez Martín
690–91.

10. For relevant considerations on concept formation and the importance of historicizing political concepts, see for example Chignola and Duso; Martín Gómez.

11. The publications on applications of conceptual theory to historical research are too numerous to cite fully in these pages. In addition to the studies cited here, see for example studies gathered in Oncina Coves.

12. On the vast scholarship on metaphor, see for example Barcelona; Ricoeur; Santos Domínguez and Espinosa Elorza; Sweetser; Trim**.**

13. Of key importance to these developments is the early work by Lakoff and Johnson as well as, more recently, the work of other scholars such as Soriano Salinas and those gathered in Hampe; in addition to the ones cited in these pages.

ing role of language and its centrality in conceptual and social history (20–37), as well as in the work of other authors (for example Roy Harris, and studies in Carrasco Manchado). Such emphasis in turn makes concept formation interdependent with the study of terminology in a wide chronological continuum.[10] Conceptual theory has also been instrumental in underscoring the stratigraphic nature of concept formation, which builds on the accumulation of meanings from the past and emphasizes the need to engage literary scholarship (Varo Zafra)[11] and in-text historical contextualization (relevant considerations in Navarro). In addition, many scholars have pointed out the fundamental role that metaphor plays in semantic change, its function in conceptual domains and concept formation, along with its power of conceptual representation. From a CRT perspective and in reference to contemporary discourse, scholars have shown how metaphors, for example those relating to food and animals, have been used to negatively characterize multiracial identities and how such metaphors have helped maintain racialized hierarchies (Ali; Williams; also Mahtani). Of central interest to the study of *raza* undertaken in these pages is the situated nature of metaphor formation, along with the need to understand how interrelated metaphors can form metaphor systems and how conceptual metaphors are generated from knowledge structures (Ibarretxe-Antuñano).[12] Also important is multivocity as an essential feature of metaphor that rests on the range of sematic networks it forms.[13] This methodology encourages moving beyond the mere etymological inquiry and simple lexicographic study and helps interrogate the relation between term, semantic field, and conceptual domain. Further, as Cornejo has pointed out, the study of metaphor is best undertaken as a culturally-patterned link of language and concept, inviting a situated study that takes into consideration individual languages and cultures and is more inclusive than universalistic stances or pan-European ones like Spitzer's (on which more below).

The need to take into account the epistemic conditions that factor into the constitution of the text has been underscored by such scholars as Busse, who opts for a depth semantics that combines lexical, conceptual, syntactical, and textual considerations that incorporate historical and discourse analysis approaches (esp. 114–20). Also highly relevant to this study are some of the main contributions of historical sociolinguistics, which emphasizes that language needs to be analyzed in its social context, with consideration of sociocultural and sociohistorical factors, commanding a variety of texts that include literary output and documents in the original language. Historical sociolinguis-

14. Schwartz's recent work on the term *Ghetto* shows the ways in which a consideration of semantic layering can yield rich results.

tics helps explain the factors and processes of both change and actuation, emphasizes language lability, and also points to the importance of semantic layering, by which a word becomes enriched with layers of meanings through time, creating semantic substrates (Lloyd).[14] But these substrates are not fossilized or petrified strata, rather they become embedded active components as the word accrues meaning through time. Historical sociolinguistics also provides the tools to examine the ways by which language change is enacted linearly via transmission and broadly through wider nets via diffusion (for example studies in Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre). Mesthrie has called attention to the socio-geographic and historical nature of the language of race, ethnicity, religion, and castes, as well as to the "heavy reliance on metaphor" of religious discourse (363). From a similarly historical sociolinguistic standpoint and with a particular focus on Spanish, Anipa has highlighted the importance of engaging language-specific studies that include literary sources as well as the work of early grammarians when determining the reasons why certain language innovations become actuated and when identifying the processes by which such innovations become embedded in language. Conceptual theory scholars have similarly identified different tools and sources that may be enlisted. These include dictionaries as cultural products that bear witness to traditions that function for a given community at a particular time (Carriscondo Esquivel). In addition, the particular discipline-specific knowledge can be leveraged, as it has been for example in the study of 'nation' (also of 'revolution') (Šarić and Stanojević). In the same vein, Franzinetti has highlighted the relevance of lexical considerations in the study of nationalism, ethnicity and race. Further, the meanderings of terminology vis-à-vis the semantic field or fields associated with them and their shifts have been deployed to examine such divergent approaches as continuity vs. conceptual break hypotheses in racial thinking (Mallon). For the purposes of this study, a most productive approach involves intersectional studies that facilitate an exploration of a variety of texts that show how shifts in the semantic field(s) of *raza* facilitated a conceptual change that involved overlapping trade, religious, administrative and other discourses.

## 4. Origins

Etymological inquiries into the word *raza* have raised more questions than they have answered. The most often quoted authority,

Corominas-Pascual's *Diccionario crítico etimológico,* followed Spitzer in assuming that *raza* had probably developed as a semi-learned form from the Latin *ratio, -onis* meaning "calculation, account," but in the sense of "nature, kind, species" ("índole, modalidad, especie"), a meaning that, according to Corominas-Pascual, was "biological" referring to "species" ("en el sentido biológico o de especie" 800). Corominas-Pascual hypothesized that it entered Old Spanish (Castilian) through a probable borrowing from other Romance languages, most likely Catalan or Italian. Menéndez Pidal (363) and García de Diego (904–05) had proposed that *raza* entered the language through a direct evolution from the Latin *radius > *radia* ("ray," "line"), an evolution only possible in Old Spanish. Menéndez Pidal pointed out that *radia* would result in *raza* and *raya*, in a path similar to the dual evolutions of other words, such as *badius > bazo, bayo, gaudium > gozo, goyo,* and **medianetum > mezanedo, meyanedo* (363). Corominas-Pascual accepted García de Diego and Menéndez Pidal's etymologies but only to hypothesize two Old Spanish terms for *raza.* Corominas-Pascual followed Lida (175–77) in assuming that an early Old Spanish *raza,* meaning 'defect in the weave' would have influenced with its negative connotation of 'defect' another *raza,* one that, following Spitzer, Corominas-Pascual stated had entered Old Spanish from the Latin *ratio* via another Romance language (800–01). Corominas-Pascual accepted Spitzer's general proposition that the meaning from *ratio* as 'species' would easily devolve into *raza* meaning race (801). The Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la lengua española* offered only one etymology, *radius > *radia,* for *raza* until 2001, grouping the different meanings of the term under a single entry. The current version of the dictionary lists different etymologies according to meaning and assigns the biological *raza* an etymology from the Italian 'razza' following Spitzer probably via Corominas-Pascual.

The work of Spitzer had a significant influence in early etymological inquiries into Italian *razza,* Provençal *rassa,* French *race,* Catalan *raça* and Spanish *raza* among others, as he heavily postulated an origin from the Latin *ratio,* which Spitzer argued had become related to 'ethnicity' in Latin texts. For Spitzer, the link of *ratio* to 'ethnicity' would have been a Platonic-inflected "notion of *rationes rerum* of distinctive parts of the whole leading to the semantic development 'types'" through the adaptation of Augustine and then Thomas Aquinas. In proposing this change, Spitzer emphasized a conceptual development in which considerations of language change seemed sec-

ondary ("Ratio" [1948] 152), and thus encouraged significant and inadequately explained leaps in semantic development and transfer. For Spitzer, the resulting term "races," meaning "natures of things" would in time lose memory "of the philosophical background, God's ideation," which was Spitzer's significant purpose in tracing race's origin to *ratio* ("Ratio" [1948] 152). The context of Spitzer's work is of particular importance here, as his 1933 article was explicitly situated as a response to what he saw as materialistic and biological conceptualizations of the term in Nazi Germany. In 1948, Spitzer corroborated his theory "that the Latin *ratio* in a learned form is at the bottom of our modern expressions for 'race'" ("Ratio" [1948] 147). As he remarked in his 1948 article, his 1933 piece on the Italian *razza* (300–01), where significantly he also linked *ratio* and *natio*, was informed by a "malicious pleasure to propose to Germany the idea: 'Das Wort, das heute im *Gegensatz* zu 'Geist' verwendet wird, hat also einen höchst geistigen Ursprung'" (The word used today as *opposed* to 'spirit' thus has a most spiritual origin) ("Ratio" [1948] 147). While defending his *ratio* > *race* etymology, Spitzer's avowed aim was to emphasize a spiritual over a biological meaning "of the Italian *razza*, from which the other languages seem to have borrowed" ("Ratio" [1948] 147). As critics have noted, Spitzer was looking to denounce Nazism's biological understanding of humans and to underscore the spiritual origin of humanity through his etymology of *Rasse*, which Spitzer found had become biologized when language had been separated from God (Apter 27; Rosenstock 274–75). Spitzer states as much in his 1948 piece: "What a significant comment this affords on the modern 'racial' beliefs! As these are 'abandoned, forsaken' by God, so the notion of divine participation is lost in the term 'race.' It is not merely a pun if I say that modern racialism is not only 'geistverlassen' (as I intimated in my first paper) but also 'God-forsaken'" ("Ratio" [1948] 152; "Ratio" [1941] 138). However, as Apter has shown, Spitzer's emphasis on defending a meaning of *genus*, *progenies*, or *species* for *ratio* > *race* would actually play into a "racing" of philology (25–40), as it racialized early European languages and linked them to twentieth-century definitions of 'race.' Spitzer's open discussion of his work vis-à-vis "modern racialism" makes it clear that such early etymological inquiries into 'race' are linked to the same forces surrounding the appearance of new term *racism* (*rassismus*) in the early decades of the twentieth century and to a Nazi biologization of 'race.' In linking the evolution of words meaning 'race,' even in a non-Romance language like German (*rasse*) to the Italian's *raz-*

*za* and to an evolution from the Latin *ratio*, Spitzer treated European languages as homogeneous, such that all national languages were ultimately linked to the same Latin origin and to "great thinkers such as Plato, Philo, Augustine, and Saint Thomas" ("Ratio" 158).[15] Various aspects of Spitzer's linear etymology from the Latin *ratio* into European languages were debated and ultimately discarded by some scholars. Most notably, Contini detailed the reasons why an etymology of Italian "*razza*" stemming from Old Occitan "*rassa*," and this from "*ratio*" proposed by Spitzer is untenable, and Terracini and Sabatini each offered their own critiques. The lack of conclusive evidence led such scholars as Coluccia to call for further research.[16] However, the link proposed by Spitzer between race and *ratio* and between *ratio* and *gens* had a lasting conceptual impact on later theories on the origin of the word, as exemplified by Coromines-Pascual and their etymology of the Old Spanish *raza*. Thus, the association between early race and human classification entered scholarly debates early on, with the deployment of etymological inquiry helping make such a persuasive argument that even though serious objections were raised questioning Spitzer's propositions, the link weighed heavily in subsequent studies.

## 5. *Raza* as Negative Mark or Defect

The earliest attestations of *raza* in Old Spanish show a semantic field of defect, expanded to include dirt, stain, darkness, and damage through its uses and associations in textile and gemological lexicons. Through its early adoption in moralistic and religious discourse, *raza* was also used metaphorically to mean 'sin.' These mappings fostered a binary system of opposites that presented cleanliness, immaculateness, whiteness, and perfection as polar opposites of *raza* and its related terms. In addition, textile, gemological, and religious discourse fostered an expanding semantic network of *raza* to include language of hidden faults and public detection, of covering and uncovering. Establishing the ways in which such mappings were set up necessitates a detailed examination of the textual sources.

The first dictionary definition of *raza*, or its variant spelling *raça*, appears in Alfonso de Palencia's 1490 *Universal Vocabulario* where *raça* is a defect that may appear in a piece of clay pottery ("Ignia. son las raças que salen en las vasijas de tierra").[17] Palencia appears to have taken the entry from one of the medieval versions of Sextus Pompeius

Festus's lexicon, which Palencia quotes directly elsewhere in his work (*e.g.* entry *natio*), and which reads: "Ignia. vitia vasorum fictilium" (93), and thus translates the Latin *vitium* as *raça*. Nebrija's *Vocabulario español-latino* (*c.* 1495) lists two entries for *raça*: "Raça del sol. radius solis per rimam" ("a sun ray seen through a groove or slot") and "Raça del paño. panni raritas" ("a sparse line in the weave of cloth"). This *raça* as textile defect refers to a sparse line or thinness in the weave which may be detected by holding the cloth up against the sunlight. Textual evidence suggests that in Old Spanish *raza* meaning a defect in textiles, listed in Nebrija's definition, became adopted early on as a metaphor for human faults, as expressed in the widely used proverb "No hay paño sin raça" ("There is no cloth without *raça*") or its variant "en el mejor paño cae la raça" ("On the best cloth falls the *raça*"), which in its different variations bore the meaning of 'No one is without defect.' It appears thus used in texts from the fourteenth century onwards, as in Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita's *Libro de buen amor* (1330–43): "Diz la dueña, sañuda: 'Non ay paño sin raça / nin el leal amigo non es en toda plaça'" ("Says the woman, enraged: 'There is no cloth without *raça* / nor is there a loyal friend in every place") (94cd). Versions of the proverb appear in *Seniloquium* (*c.* 1450), and later in Gaspar Gómez de Toledo's 1536 *Tercera parte de la Tragicomedia de Celestina*, as well as in several entries in Hernán Núñez's proverb collection, his *Refranes o proverbios en romance* published in 1555, and in Sebastián de Horozco's sixteenth-century *Teatro universal de proverbios*.[18] The proverb appears explicitly used in a religious context in works such as Francisco de Osuna's 1530 *Abecedario spiritual* (LXIIIIr). Later, Gonzalo Correas's 1629 *Vocabulario* includes the significant addition of "mancha" ("stain") in the well-known proverb: "En el buen paño kae la mancha; o la rraza" ("On the good cloth falls the stain, or the raza") (122).

The expressions that couple *raza* with other terms used to describe textile defects or problems such as *polilla* ("moth damage") also became metaphors for defects or damage in different contexts, clearly signaling the textile field as particularly productive of metaphors of human traits. In his *Cancionero de Baena* poem *Ferrand Manuel*, "boz mala vos gique," written in the first half of the fifteenth century, Juan Alfonso de Baena mockingly states his intention to speak freely and rightfully with a tongue unhindered by *raza* or *polilla*: "Fernand Manuel, por que versefique / donaires mi lengua sin raça e polilla" ("Fernand Manuel, so that in verse may tell / amusing things my tongue without *raça* or *polilla*") (642, lines 9–10). Similar-

18. The texts for *Seniloquium*, Gómez de Toledo and Núñez read, respectively: "En el escarlata cae la raza" ("On the scarlet cloth falls the *raça*") (*Los 494 refranes* 45, n. 141); "No te marauilles que en el mejor paño cae la raça" ("Do not marvel that the *raça* falls on the best cloth") (97); "En buen paño cae la raça" (2619), and "En el escarlata cae la raça" (2666). Sebastián de Horozco's rendition reads "Mal parece la raça en el paño fino" ("*Raça* looks badly on fine cloth") (1758).

ly, and following the vocabulary of textiles, mentions of knives and cutting off pieces of cloth where a *raza* may be found should be understood as part of the same extended textile metaphor, however much the knife may also imply a menace to the life of an individual or group. Written in 1407, Francisco Imperial's *Decir a las siete virtudes* is an admonishment for the king to combat the seven great dangers to the Kingdom, which Imperial presents as seven snakes or beasts.[19] In Imperial's *decir*, the red knife is the instrument that will cut all faulty matter, which will result in the praise of the king's justice – "será ¡mira! el cuchillo bermejo / que cortará doquier que falle raça" ("it will be, look!, the red knife / that will cut wherever it finds *raça")* *(Cancionero de Baena* 316, lines 395–96). In her study of Imperial's poem, Lida was the first to note the early figurative use of the textile *raza* (175–77). The same textile metaphor appears in a poem in *Cancionero de Baena* written in the first half of the fifteenth century by Gómez Pérez Patiño, also used in a political context:

> Muchos vienen a conçejo
> vestidos de piel de engaño
> a de lieve veo paño
> que sea limpio de raça.
> Non se torna más la baça
> blanca por seguir el baño.
>
> (Many come to council / dressed in a deceitful skins / I
> easily see cloth / that is clean from *raça.* / The dark one does
> not turn / whiter in the bath) (630, lines 51–56).

The association of *raza*, cleanliness and darkness as related to both skin color and to stains appears in this and other texts and points toward possibilities of semantic expansion for *raza* that would be leveraged through later periods in the construction of race and racialized ideas of various human groups both within Iberia and in colonial and imperial contexts. Significantly, in his poetic gloss to the textile proverb, Horozco relates *raça* to *beta* (vein), *señal* (mark), *mancha* (stain), *manchado* (stained), *mancilla* (blemish), and *pecado* (sin) as something closer to anyone "vil" (vile) and of "sucia casta" (dirty caste) but not found in anyone "limpio" (clean) and of "buen linaje" (good lineage) and "alta sangre y nobleza" (high blood and nobility), while contrasting several times *raça* and *plaça* (public square), both in rhyme position, as the public sphere where *raça* will be revealed (1758). Eve-

19. There is no current consensus among Imperial scholars on the interpretation of the meaning of the *bestias*, particularly the *Juderra*, which may refer to the Apostle Judas Iscariot as betrayor, to the Jews, or to both, in addition to being given other values. See for example discussion in Gimeno Casalduero 206–09, 212.

ryday language shared by all social strata related to commonly used textiles fostered the widespread use of the proverbs and added to the metaphorical productivity of the textile lexicon.

The semantic proximity of *raza* in the sense of 'defect' to a broader conceptual vocabulary of 'stain,' 'blemish,' 'fault,' 'darkness,' and 'imperfection' was largely based on the association of the trade terms in common textile vocabulary, as is evident in the legislation warning against fraud in the sale of defective cloth. In his *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, finished in 1551, Alonso de Santa Cruz relays the legislation issued by Isabel and Fernando, including the royal prohibitions against selling cloth that had any "canilla o marra o raza o mancha" ("rib, deficiency, *raza* or stain") (1: 133). Later, the 1559 *Cortes* in Toledo record the petition to the king for measures ensuring that shearers and tailors don't fail to fulfill their duties to examine the cloth closely in order to discover the *faults* in the weave, including "*razas*, or darns, or stains, or ribs" ("han de descubrir las *faltas* que ay en los paños de razas o zurzidoras o xuarda o canillas: de lo qual viene mucho daño al reyno y a la republica" 5: 826) [emphasis added]. The 1537 Valladolid *Cortes* had similarly denounced "los muchos fraudes que se hazen en los paños que se labran en estos rreynos, encubriendose la rruyn labor dellos e muchas raças e surciduras e otras tachas" ("the many frauds done in the cloths that are woven in these kingdoms, covering their poor quality and many *raças* and darns and other flaws") (*Cortes* 4: 689). Textile *razas* could be detected by examining the cloth against the light, which would show any thinness. Ongoing legislation through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and later centuries repeatedly ordered the cloth shearer to closely examine cloth in order to detect any defect: "sea obligado de catar el paño si ouiere canilla, o barra, o raça, o mancha; y auiendola sea tenudo de lo descubrir luego al dueño del tal paño, y no a aquel que lo vendio; porque no aya lugar de surzir, y adouar y encubrir los daños que tuuiere" ("is made responsible for examining the cloth to see if it had any rib, barre, *raça* or stain; and, if it had, he may be held responsible for disclosing it to the cloth's owner and not to the one who sold it so that [the seller] will not have the chance to darn, mend and cover up the damages it may have" Celso, 278v). Individual city ordinances (*ordenanzas*) reproduce the same language and accuse cloth shearers of hiding the *razas* they find, as may be seen for instance in the city ordinances of Jerez de la Frontera ("los tales tondidores encubren las munchas raças que en los tales paños ay") (Carmona Ruiz and Martín Gutiérrez 224), while Córdoba's ordinances detail the fines imposed to the sale of cloth with "raças o manchas o notorio defecto"

("*raças* or stains or known defect") (González Jiménez *et al.* 318). The terminology with which the term *raza* is linked in such legislation is revelatory of its semantic and lexical networks, being negatively connoted and notably associated with stain and damage, and with defects detectable as specific marks. The legislation addresses the widespread concern that these marks were not obvious on a first glance and were thus easy to conceal unless closely examined. Thus, legislation makes it obvious that *raza* was also inserted onto yet another semantic network, that of inner defect, concealment and (un)covering. This signifying web was reinforced in the language of gemology and precious materials.

The vocabulary of gemology, minerals, and precious metals points to an association of *raza* with cracks, hairlines and stains, always in the context of a defect. Its application to minerals had been put forth in Palencia's definition of *raça* as a defect in pieces of pottery made with clay. It appears used widely in the context of precious gemstones, in for example the 1515 letter by Vasco Núñez de Balboa: "Sepa V.M. que se trajo desta esta isla rica una perla entre las otras, que pesaba diez tomines, muy perfecta, sin ninguna raza ni mácula, y de muy lindo color, lustre y hechura" ("Your Majesty should know that from this rich island was brought one pearl among the others that weighed ten *tomines*, very perfect, without any *raza* or stain, and of very nice color, luster and shape") (Medina 141).[20] *Raças* could also mar valuable stones like marble, which, as a 1557 document conveys, ideally should be "muy buen mármol blanco sin raça ni pelo ni beta ni cama sino en toda perfición" ("very good white marble, without *raça* or hairline or vein or indentation, but completely perfect") (Gómez-Moreno 233). Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) described a New World stone named *quetzalchalchíuitl*, which had no stains ("manchas") when in a perfect state, but was otherwise marred with "raças y manchas y rayas" ("*raças* and stains and lines") (2: 915). Similarly, Sahagún described some mirrors made out of a polished stone, which were precious when well polished and without *raza* ("sin raza"), as well as some very white stones that had "vetas o raças" ("veins or *raças*") in other colors (2: 919). Due to the inherent difficulty in identifying the defects in gemstones with a superficial glance and without a closer examination, the language used in these contexts is one of discovering the hidden inner defect, linking with an expanding vocabulary of disclosure and uncovering, as seen for example in Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557):

20. I would like to thank Gregorio Saldarriaga for calling my attention to this passage.

Muchas perlas pasan por sanas que no lo son, e los ojos,
cebados de su buen resplandor e talle e otras circunstancias,
no mirando en lo demás, se engañan, porque aunque estén
cascadas e sentidas por algún golpe o por otra ocasión, no se
vee su defeto, salvo poniéndolas entre los dedos al transpa-
rente resplandor del cielo, dándoles el sol; e así luego veréis
algunas que están quebradas o cascadas en lo interior e
secreto o medula de las perlas, o si tienen algún pelo o raza.

(Many pearls pass for unblemished when they are not, and
the eyes, filled by their nice radiance and shape and other
qualities, not looking at the rest, are deceived, because
although they may be cracked and damaged by some blow or
by another reason, their defect does not show, except by
holding them between the fingers to the transparent glow of
the sky, facing the sun; and so soon you will see some that are
broken or cracked inside the hidden pearl center, or whether
they have any line or *raza*) (2: 208).

A metaphorical use of *raza* taken from the vocabulary of gems and pre-
cious metals and signifying inner blemish and stain appears in the work
of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who relays a father's admonishments
to his son, advising him to carefully keep the advice for good living in-
herited from his ancestors as though it were gold. These pieces of ad-
vice, continues to relate Sahagún, are precious stones: "Es lo que nos
dixeron y lo que nos avisaron y encomendaron que lo guardássemos
como en cofre y como oro en paño, porque son piedras preciosas muy
resplandecientes y muy polidas, que son los consejos para bien vivir,
en que ni hay raça ni mancha: son muy limpios" ("It is what they told
us and what they advised and entrusted us to keep in a chest like a gold-
en treasure, because their pieces of advice for good living are very shin-
ing and very polished precious stones, in which there is neither *raça*
nor stain: they are very clean") (1: 429). In the same context, Sahagún
relates how the father encourages his son to look up to the fame, bright-
ness and illustriousness ("su fama y el resplandor y claridad") of his an-
cestors and then turn the gaze to himself in order to discover his per-
sonal *raças* and stains: "conocerás las faltas que tienes y las raças y man-
chas que hay en ti" (1: 425). Sahagún makes further use of *raça* in the
context of gems, often in a metaphorical sense to denote a stainless or
blemishless person: "Es como una piedra preciosa sin tacha ni sin raça"
("He is like a precious stone without flaw or *raça*") (1: 488). In the 1521

*Comedia Ypólita*, the metaphorical uses of *raça* similarly refer to the faults that may be seen in an individual "like in poorly forged metal" ("Y aun le verás luego raças / como al metal mal forjado") (284). The text cautions that *raça* and fault may be covered under a coat of enamel: "y se esmalta / y se cubre raça y falta" (293; also 298). Conversely, perfection consists on the absence of *raza*. The fifteenth-century poem "Calabaça" in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* claims that the lady it addresses was made so polished by God that there is no hairline or *raça* left in her: "quel señor que te crio / tan bruñida te saco / quen ti sola no dexo / vn pelo ni vna rraça" (Dutton 2: 529). Like textile vocabulary, the language of gemology inserted *raza* in a semantic network of a lexicon denoting stains and defects that were internal and hard to detect visually, while at the same time linking *raza* with defect, stain and darkness. Conversely, the absence of *raza* conveyed perfection, cleanliness and light. The language of gemology, metallurgy and mineralogy would reinforce the semantic network of the textile *raza*, while the privileged socioeconomic level it referenced encouraged the language of preciousness to enter into the field. A third type of *raza* would contribute to *raza*'s semantic network with a meaning of defect and illness.

The term *raza* used in medieval and early veterinary (or *albeitería*) treatises is overwhelmingly documented as designating a semantic field of 'crack,' here in reference to the ailment ("enfermedat") that horses and mules may develop in their hooves.[21] This ailment was common enough to be used in the misogynistic proverb "Ni muger sin tacha, ni mula sin raça" ("No woman without flaw and no mule without *raça*") in Núñez's *Refranes* meaning that there exist no woman or mule without defect (5216). *Raza* as hoof crack is first documented in the *Libro de los caballos* (*c*. 1275) (Sachs 39–40, 144), a work that would constitute an important source for all later writing on equine veterinary through the sixteenth century. Fourteenth-century author Juan Álvarez de Salamiella has a detailed description and treatment of *raça* in his Libro de menescalia et albeyteria along with a miniature illustrating the treatment (fol. 33r–v). The fifteenth-century *Delas enfermedades* similarly includes "rraça" in its brief description of horse ailments (220v). The thirteenth-century *Libro de los caballos* appears to be an important source for the Catalan work generally known as *Libre de la menescalia*, which actually bears different titles in the various manuscripts and was written sometime between 1424 and 1436 by Manuel Dies. Dies's book was translated into Old Spanish as *Libro de Albeyteria*, first published in 1495, reprinted in 1499, with the author's last name changed to Díez.[22] The ailment *rasa* is discussed in the manuscripts of

Dies's work (fol. 54r) and in its Old Spanish version *Libro de Albeyteria*, providing instructions for the appropriate treatment (35r–v). Dies's work was a great editorial success in the Old Spanish translation, going through many editions from the late fifteenth century on. Bernat de Casses's manuscript on various aspects of horse care, begun in 1496 and intended for King Fernando though finished in 1544, also deals with the ailment, sometimes using different spellings ("rassa" fol. 8v, "rases" fol. 81v, "raça" fol. 98r). Similarly, equine veterinary works such as Pedro López de Zamora's posthumous 1571 *Libro de albeyteria* use the term *raza* only to refer to the hoof crack (37r–v, 43r–v). Popular treatises on riding techniques such as Hernán Chacón's 1551 *Tractado de la cauallería* de la gineta include veterinary information and similarly describe *raza* as the common ailment and provide possible remedies (42, 47–48). Pedro de Aguilar's hugely popular work on riding technique is his 1572 *Tractado de la caualleria de la gineta*, written in 1570. Aguilar uses the term *raza* only when discussing the common horse ailment in the appropriate section in the book (60r, 61r–62r). The ailment appears mentioned in later books on horseback riding like Bañuelos y de la Cerda's 1605 *Libro de la jineta* (83). Although this *raza* as hoof ailment has a semantic field that is clearly related to the *raza* as line or crack from the vocabulary of textiles, metallurgy and gemology, the term's use in veterinary seems to have been mostly circumscribed to technical language on equine care and not have been as productive in metaphorical and common language usage as the *raza* from the textile and gemological fields. Though the veterinary term is semantically and lexically linked to the gemological and textile *razas*, significantly these latter two were the ones actuated in metaphorical applications for human traits.

## 6. *Raza* as Metaphor for Inner Faults

The commonplace familiarity of the language of textile and, to a lesser degree, gemstone defects seems to have facilitated its transfer to the language used in the assessment of human behavior and inner qualities and its adoption into texts that aimed to expose the intentional hiding of one's *razas* from the eyes of others. The development of a language of inner human traits could thus be constructed in line with well-established vocabulary that associated *raza* with fault and stain and contrasted visible and invisible traits that encouraged actions of surveillance and uncovering.

The metaphorical use of *raza* and its conceptual mapping were established in the common language by the fourteenth century so that the term functioned with the same meaning of 'fault' or 'defect' without a need for direct textual allusions to the textile or gemological fields, as may be seen in such works as Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* (1330–43). In this work, the term appears in a section discussing the power of money and, more concretely, its power over simoniac monks, who make up for their shortcomings and *raças* with money: "con el dinero cunplen sus menguas e sus raças" (504c). *Raça* also appears used in a political context to refer to the ills and problems of the kingdom. Juan Alfonso de Baena (*c.* 1375–1434 *c.*), in a poem giving the king political advice, praises the king's justice for all, big and small, rich and poor, and the king's success at eradicating all *raças* from his kingdom: "por lo qual señor quitastes / del reino todas las raças" ("Para Rey tan exçelente" 766, lines 1183–84). In the poem "Buen Maestro, pues que vedes," an unnamed author addressed Fray Diego de Valencia (*c.* 1350–1412 *c.*) with a biting question on the *raças* that go-betweens cover and that refer to illicit sexual behavior ("pues encubren tales raças") (*Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* 339, line 16). Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (*c.* 1345–1425) criticized the great *raça* of Catalina, whose sexuality was the object of caustic verses: "Para en plaça muy gran raça / te ponen los dezidores" ("In public a great *raza* / the poets place on you") (*Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* 127, lines 9–10). In contrast, fifteenth-century poet Fray Íñigo de Mendoza addressed his sister, doña María de Herrera, abbess of the Monastery of Las Huelgas, praising her grace without *raza*, such that it could dare being displayed in public ("en plaça"): "una graçia tan sin Raza / con que qualquiera señora / en estos tienpos de agora / Osaria mostrarse en plaça" ("Vos prima de los Herreras," Dutton 2: 425, lines 22–25). In "Gentilhombre de quien só," fifteenth-century poet Antón de Montoro, a tailor, advises fellow converso Rodrigo de Cota to be properly clothed when he goes out into public spaces ("plaças") so that no one will find *raça* or defect in him ("y que no vos pongan Raças") (Dutton 2: 420, line 202). Similarly, in the rendition of the immensely popular *Disticha Catonis* by Gonzalo García de Santa María, *El Catón en latín y en romance* written in 1493, the reader is encouraged to refrain from exposing a friend's *razas* in public:

> Los vicios e tachas que son vergonçosas
> de tus amigos encubre en la plaça;
> ca si como necio dixieres la raça

> de tu amigo, de las tales cosas
> te inculparan, ca son vituperosas"

> (The vices and flaws that are shameful / in your friends hide
> to the public / for if foolishly you spoke of the *raça* / of your
> friends, of such things / you will be blamed / for they are
> reproachful) (92, lines 545–49).

Conversely, the same work advises the reader to publicly denounce
faults so as not to be accused of having an evil *raza* or of covering up
those of others ("encubre mucho maldades ajenas") (111, line 878):

> Lo que tú sabes que es muy mal fecho
> nunqua te calles, mas dilo en plaça;
> porque, callando, no te noten raça
> de ser malvado e muy contrafecho.

> (What you know that is very badly done / never keep quiet,
> but speak about it in public / so that, for keeping silent, they
> will not mark in you *raça* / of being evil and wicked) (111, line
> 873–76).

Earlier moralistic works had used *raza* in this same sense of person-
al fault. In his late fourteenth-century *Doctrina*, which contains his
advice to follow a Christian life and which continued to be used well
into the sixteenth century (Del Piero 6–38), Pedro de Veragüe advis-
es against recurring to slander in order to cover one's own faults: "Sy
por encobryr tus *raças* / yerro de otro profaças, / quando vieres lo que
caças, / llorarás" ("If to cover your *raças* / you criticize another's fault
/ when you see what you get / you will cry") (Del Piero 65, st. 104). In
his prologue, Veragüe speaks in general but also in particular terms
about his own defects, shortcomings, vain and vile habits, and about
the errors and stain in which he fell, as well as his guilt ("defectos,"
"menguas," "vanas e viles costunbres," "yerros e máculas en que caý,"
"mjs grandes culpas") (Del Piero 39–40), framing his work as a con-
sideration of his faults and his repentance. Veragüe further reminds the
reader of the duty not to take the name of God in vain, as well as to ob-
serve the holidays, to which he adds the advice of avoiding public spac-
es such as taverns and public areas or squares, of which comes a great
*raça*: "Escusa camjnos e caça. / Desto sale muy grand raça: / juegos,
tabernas e plaça" ("Avoid roads and hunting. / Great *raça* comes from

this: / gambling, taverns, and the public square") (Del Piero 47, stanza 28).

In poetry, the contrast *raça-plaça* played out as 'hidden defect' versus 'public domain' was buttressed by the shared rhyme of the two words made popular by rhymaries like Guillén de Segovia's (143 A 15). The various instances in which *raça* is associated in rhyme position with *plaça* ("public square" and also a "public place or space"), as in the verses by Montoro, Veragüe and Villasandino quoted here, are directly intended to contrast a personal, inner, and unseen *raza* to the public arena, counterposing both spheres, public and private by capitalizing on the semantic field of *raza* as hidden defect.[23] *Raza* thus stands out as an inner defect that was hidden from plain view because it was hard to detect with a cursory glance due to its inner nature or because it was covered by active agents looking to make it invisible. The fifteenth-century author of the poem "Con grandes quexas quede" advised a distrust of polished appearances and dazzling trappings and instead encouraged casting a deep and keen look within a person in order to detect the thousand harmful *razas* they hide:

> no cureys delos arreos
> quellos no hazen al monje
> que las muestras muy polidas
> son ansi luego engañosas
> mas miradas y tendidas
> tienen de dentro escondidas
> mas de mil rraças dañosas

> (don't mind the clothes / for they don't make the monk / because the polished appearances / are at first misleading thus / but examined and laid out / they have hidden inside / over a thousand harmful *raças*) (Dutton 1: 175, lines 34–40)

Such broadening of the metaphorical uses of *raza* as internal both to individuals and to the beautiful but deceitful clothes that cover them would help build a strong link between *raza* and fault in the context of moralistic and religious discourse. The adoption of *raza* vocabulary into such discourse encouraged the overlap of the semantic fields of *raza* and sin. Palencia's translation in his *Universal Vocabulario* of the Latin *vitia* from Festus's *De verborum* as *raças* quoted earlier points to an express link of *raça* and the semantic field denoted by the Latin *vitium*, which Palencia renders as sin, dishonor, blemish

23. For the central role of the *plaza* as a town's public space reflected in these texts, see Martín Cea.

and stain marked as perpetual and irrevocable ("El vicio o tacha es perpetuo por causa no sanable inreuocable;" "vitium por pecado es desonrra, fealdad, e manzilla" entries *Uicium* and *Uitia* respectively.[24] Such semantic correspondences clearly helped the use of *raça* to refer to 'original sin' in particular, allowing authors like González de Eslava (*c.* 1534–1601 *c.*) in his *Obraje divino* (coloquio 1) to build the textile *raza* as an extended metaphor for original sin as the *raza* with which all humans are born:

> PENITENCIA. De esta tela el mal nos vino,
> porque en fin cayó la raza
> en este paño tan fino.
> LETRADO. ¿Con qué raza se dañó
> paño de tanta excelencia?
> PENITENCIA. Con raza de inobediencia,
> cuando el mando quebrantó
> de la Suma Providencia.
> LETRADO. ¿Y acá qué culpa tenemos
> de lo que no cometimos?
> PENITENCIA. En Adán todos caímos,
> y con la raza nacemos
> de los padres que tuvimos.
>
> (PENANCE. From this fabric evil came to us, / because the *raza* finally fell / on this thin cloth. / LAWYER. With what *raza* was damaged / cloth of such excellence? / PENANCE. With *raza* of disobedience, / when it broke the command / of the Great Providence. / LAWYER. And here what guilt do we have / of what we did not commit? / PENANCE. In Adam we all fell, / and with the *raza* we are born / of the parents we had) (32).

The conceptualization of original sin as *raza* was tightly intertwined with the ongoing controversies in the medieval and modern periods over the power of baptism to effectively wash sin from converts to Christianity. A strong attempt to end these controversies was made at the Council of Trent, which led to the forceful issuing of a resolution in 1546 affirming the power of baptism, as Alonso de Santa Cruz relates in his *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V* (*c.* 1550), where he refers to the *raza* of sin: "Y quien negase ser remitida la pena del pecado original por la gracia de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que se infunde con el bautis-

mo, ó afirmase no quitarse todo aquello que traía consigo sabor ó raza [*sic*] de pecado, fuese descomulgado" ("And whoever denied that the guilt of original sin is remitted by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which is infused through baptism, or claimed it did not take away everything that brought with it flavor or *raza* of sin, would be excommunicated") (4: 548). Mary's immaculate conception similarly commanded a vocabulary that incorporated *raza*'s semantic network. The poem "Por ser tan preclara la mas que perfeta" published in the 1511 *Cancionero General*, authored by Mosén Juan Tallante on "Our Lady's Freedom from Original Sin" ("Otra obra suya sobre la libertad de nuestra señora del pecado original"), used *raça* in the context of Mary's freedom from original sin and described Mary as "no taca ni raça ni niebla ni humo / mas fulgido templo de gran resplandor" ("neither flaw nor *raça* nor fog nor smoke / but shining temple of great brightness") (Dutton 5: 119, lines 67–68). Blackness and whiteness, darkness and light, stain and immaculateness were the *raza* axes on which the figure of Mary was articulated in the 1549 *Cancionero espiritual*:

> La sapiença bien la nombra
> espejo de resplandor
> inmaculado
> no escurescido de sombra,
> ni de raça ni negror,
> ni nublado
> La luz que della salio
> la docto de tal blancura,
> tan sin nota
> que nunca en ella cayo
> manzilla de negregura
> ni vna gota.

> (Wisdom well names her / mirror of resplendence / immaculate / not darkened by shadow / or by *raça* or by blackness / nor cloudiness / The light that came from her / gave her such whiteness / so without blemish / that never on her fell / stain of blackness / one single drop) (22–23).

Mary's whiteness and immaculateness refer both to her body and to her moral qualities and thus help make *raza* somatic in a tangible way. Similar chromatic associations were reflected pictorially in visual art, where the baptism of black recipients is shown to both whit-

en their soul and 'beautify' their black skin (Brewer-García; Harpster, esp. 86–90). The link between *raza*, stain, blackness, and baptism in moralistic and religious discourse, along with the emphasis on dichotomic contrasts between inner and public, stained and clean, helped foster a dominant discourse of rightfulness that supported a binary association of cleanliness, perfection, whiteness, and beauty with moral rectitude and Christianity. Conversely, dirt, faults, defects, blackness, sin, moral turpitude, and *raza* were linked to religious minorities and to religious deviance. The continuities between these semantic associations of whiteness and those found in the modern period described by Dyer (esp. 58–60) should be apparent. Echoing Derrick Bell and Cheryl Harris, I would argue that the notion of whiteness worked to assert the hegemonic rights and privileges of Christianity, while giving religious validity to a symbolic conceptual web. These associations would help construct the superiority of whiteness and would strongly factor into the discourse of clean blood in *limpieza* statutes.

## 7. *Raza* and *Limpieza*

The basis for the statutes of blood purity or *limpieza de sangre* was laid out in Pedro Sarmiento's 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto*.[25] The impactful success of these statutes in the legal discrimination of anyone with Jewish or Muslim "*raza,*" which prevented them from holding office in Church, city and state institutions, is credited to Martínez Silíceo in 1547 (Sicroff 135–91). Silíceo pressed for their institution in Toledo's church, receiving royal support to the effect: "que no sea admitido ni reçebido en ella por capellán persona que no sea xpiano viejo, sin raça ninguna de converso ni moro" ("that may not be admitted as chaplain any person who is not an old Christian, without *raça* of converso or Moor") (text in Horozco, *Relaciones* 81). In the language of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, which is generally translated as 'purity of blood' but literally means 'cleanliness of blood,' there is the consistent formulaic statement requiring that the individual is or should be "of clean people, old Christians, without *raza* of Jews, Moors or anyone condemned by the Inquisition" ("de gente limpia, cristianos viejos, sin raza de judios, moros ni penitenciados por el Santo Oficio"). Founding regulations ("constituciones"), like those of the University of Salamanca's Colegio de Santa María from 1522, include the questions that must be asked from witnesses

25. The scholarship on the statutes of purity of blood is too numerous to detail. Sicroff's classic study is a good starting point. See also Hering Torres "Limpieza," "La limpieza;" Hernández Franco; Pérez García, as well as other studies cited here.

interviewed about any applicant for a post in the Colegio ("opositores a las prebendas vacantes en este Colegio de Santa Maria"). The witnesses were asked to state if they knew whether or not the applicant and all his past and present relatives were Muslim, Jewish, Marrano, converso or pagan, or whether any of them descended from any such group or had any such stain or *raza*:

> que ellos ni ninguno de ellos no es moro, ni judío, ni marrano, ni confeso, ni pagano ni viene ni desciende de casta ni linaje ni origen de ellos, ni tenga tal mácula ni raza, ni el dicho N., opositor, haya estado, ni algún ascendiente o pariente suyo, en la Inquisición, antes son de limpia casta y generación de cristianos viejos, y gente honrada, y por tales siempre habidos y tenidos, y, si saben que tenga alguna raza de ello, o está en forma de tenella, declaren por qué línea y parte le toca.

> (that they or anyone of them is not a Moor, or Jew, or Marrano, or converso, or pagan nor do they come or descend from a *casta* or lineage or origin of them, or have such a stain or *raza*, nor have the said [Name], applicant, or any ascendant or relative of his, been in the Inquisition, but are rather of clean *casta* and descent of old Christians, and honest people, and by such they have always been taken and considered, and, if they know that he has any such *raza*, or is in shape of having it, let them state by which line and side it touches him) (Sala Balust 290).

Although a detailed examination of the term *casta* used in this and similar texts exceeds the limits of these pages, it should be noted that it is semantically connected to (good) lineage and to the Latin *genus* during the time period, as delineated by Nebrija's definition, which links all three terms: "Casta: buen linaje. genus .eris" (*Vocabulario*), and later by Covarrubias, who linked it to noble lineage ("Casta. vale linage noble y castizo, el que es de buena linea, y decendencia"). In contrast, *raza* continued to denote a defect or stain in an individual that was, or was related to, a member of a religious minority. When *linaje* appears in formulaic expressions of *limpieza*, as for example in "*raza* of Jewish lineage," *raza* clearly refers to the defect carried by an undesirable lineage and is not used as a synonym of *linaje*. The expression is found for example in the 1554 document mandating the adoption of *limpieza* statutes in Granada: "sean xpianos viejos lim-

pios sin ninguna raça de linaje de judíos" ("that they should be clean old Christians without any *raça* of lineage of Jews") (Horozco, *Relaciones* 80), or in Salucio's 1599 *Discurso*, where there are various mentions of having "alguna raça" ("some *raça*") and to "la raza del linaje" ("the *raza* of their lineage") and "raça de reconciliados" ("*raça* of those reconciled by the Inquisition") (40, 47). The meaning here is unambiguously a defect in the lineage that was conceptualized as a hereditary condition that was passed on to offspring much like a disease (Gómez-Bravo "Food, Blood," "El judaísmo"). In some contexts, and within the language of *limpieza*, there appear *razas* not associated with religious minorities but rather with people dedicated to performing degrading manual labor, though from the standpoint of *limpieza* statutes, the *razas* linked to manual work were not considered as damaging, as stated for example in Hermosilla's 1573 *Diálogo de los pajes* (40). Further, early statute documentation shows a broadening of the field of *limpieza* to include racial minorities from America and Africa alongside religious minorities as may be seen in the Spanish documentation studied by Carabias Torres for 1553–56, which shows that the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca stipulated that applicants should be "sin raza de moros, ni judios, ni yndios, ni guineanos" (without *raza* of Moors, Jews, Indians, or Guineans) (Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca Ms. 2.224, fol. 84v) (871). In addition, the language of *limpieza* was also projected onto Native American practices, as for example in the explanation provided in Juan de Betanzos's 1551–57 *Suma y narración de los incas* on the need for the wife of the Inca to be directly ("derechamente") of Inca lineage, untainted by low-born Guacchaconcha *raza* ("sin que en ella hubiese raza ni punta de Guacha Concha") (117).[26] These conceptual transfers point to the development of overlaps between religious and socioeconomic and racial discrimination that hinged on *limpieza* and a negative *raza*.

Although *limpieza* statutes have been rightfully given key importance in the development of racialized language and thought, in fact similar or identical language and formulae appear in earlier texts and in different (legal) stipulations and contexts associating *raza* and (bad or diseased) blood. In his 1473 will, Fernan García Barba de Figueroa stipulated that his sons and grandsons must marry "senpre con cristianas vellas e non de pouco convertidas nin infeitas da mala raça de mouros ou judios ou de outra mala sangre" ("always with old Christian women and not recently converted nor infected with the bad *raça* of Moors or Jews or any other bad blood") (López Ferreiro 32). If they did not comply, they would lose their inheritance rights. As Rucquoi

26. The Guachaconchas were poor, low-born relatives: "Guacchaconcha, que quiere decir Deudos de pobre gente e baja generación" (117).

has remarked, an emphasis on blood as repository of chivalry and a link of chivalry to notions of blood purity appear prominently in texts from the beginning of the fifteenth century (esp. 95–98). The early sixteenth-century *Corónica de Adramón* presents a similar formula in a chivalric context, where the knight utters the oath "that he is engendered from legitimate marriage and that he deserves [the order of chivalry] on account of both his parents and his four grandparents, and that he would deserve it even if it were far greater, for there was not in him or in his ancestors *raça* or mixture of bad blood" ("que es engendrado de legytymo matrymonyo, y por entranbos padres y sus IIII auelos la mereçe, y sy muy mayor fuese, la mereçya, no avyendo en él ny en sus anteçesores rraça ny mescla de mala sangre") (397). Legal documents and wills would continue to charge heirs to preserve the family's *limpieza* ("sin raza"), as in the case of Juan de Escobedo and Constanza de Castañeda's will dated in 1576 (Matilla Tascón 46), or later in Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de Olivares's in 1642, which stipulates that the inheritance line be of "limpia sangre de toda mala raza, y de toda infección y mácula" ("blood clean of all bad *raza* and of all infection and stain") (Matilla Tascón 190).[27]

Significantly, the phrase "sin raza" used in the wording of the wills cited above is found in the fifteenth century with the same meaning in different (con)texts. Magistrate and poet Gómez Manrique portrays himself as a noble without *raça* ("hidalgo syn raça") in his slanderous address to converso poet Antón de Montoro ("Poeta de la nobleza" Dutton 2: 227, line 6).[28] The clear implication in the poem is that *raza* left an imprint on the language and therefore the writing of the conversos and was aimed to silence converso poets. Other authors similarly state that good poetic writing is free from *raça* or fault ("trobar sin rraça"), as does fifteenth-century poet García de Astorga in his slanderous "Escudero nunca vi" (Dutton 1: 181, line 16). The opposition between the writing abilities of a noble without *raza* and those of a converso was further emphasized in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poetry and other texts as part of the arguments for or against an individual's abilities in royal and municipal administration. The language of *raza* and *limpieza* also appears as common language when referring to the quality of individuals and their ability to serve the monarchy. One such example is the report that Galíndez de Carvajal wrote for King Carlos V around 1522, when there were still members of the king's Counsel that had served under Queen Isabel and King Fernando. In the document, Galíndez de Carvajal informs the king on what he knows about a particular individual being "limpio" or having "una raza

27. Wills could also reinforce institutional *limpieza* statutes, as did the 1573 will of Luis de Requesens, which provided for the foundation of a Colegio at the Universidad de Alcalá stipulating as a condition for admission that potential students be "limpios de raza de moro y judío" (Matilla Tascón 25).

28. On Montoro as *mediano* converso and some of his exchanges with Gómez Manrique and other poets, see Gómez-Bravo "Ser social." A well-known quote from Cervantes in his 1615 *Entremés del retablo de las maravillas* sets a converso *raza* as an impediment to see his plays: "ninguno puede ver las cosas que en él se muestran, que tenga alguna raza de confeso, o no sea habido y procreado de sus padres de legítimo matrimonio; y el que fuere contagiado destas dos tan usadas enfermedades, despídase de ver las cosas, jamás vistas ni oídas, de mi retablo" (976).

de converso" ("a *raza* of converso") (126) or whether someone "tiene un poco de converso" ("has a bit of converso") (124, 125). *Limpieza* formulae similarly appear in petitions (*memoriales*) to the king involving proofs of nobility and clean blood documents for Spaniards looking to be given benefits in Spain or abroad, as for example in Juan de Ocón y Trillo's 1596 *memorial* asking for an official post in the Indies where he states he is "de limpia generación, sin ninguna rraça" ("of clean generation, with no *raça*"). Ocón y Trillo requests that it be certified that he and all his family, past and present, are old Christians, of clean generation, with no *raza* of anyone condemned by the Inquisition: "de limpia generación, sin ninguna rraça" (Fernández 449, 451). Even the requirements to be in the Monteros de Espinosa, the king's bodyguards, included that of being "of clean lineage, without *raza* of Moor or Jew" ("de linage limpio, sin raça de Moro, ni Judio") (Argote de Molina, *Discurso sobre la Montería*, published with its own pagination at the end of his edition of the *Libro de la Montería*, 3v). The pressure mounted throughout the Iberian kingdoms to adopt the statutes as condition for appointment into the royal administration and city government, leaving out those with "raza de Moro, Judio, o Penitenciado por el Santo Oficio" ("*raza* of Moor, Jew or condemned by the Holy Office"), or "los que tuvieren alguna mala raza" ("those who had a bad raza"), and requiring appointees to be "limpios" through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as may be seen for example in the laws of the Kingdom of Navarra (Elizondo 485–88). The language of *limpieza* helped push the metaphorical adaptation of *raza* as inner personal defect into religious and legal discourse by building on a semantic network that included stain, old nobility, and cleanliness, which were projected as internal and predicated upon the blood and were thought to correlate with mental abilities. It is significant that *raza* would acquire a positive meaning in a systematized way during the second half of the sixteenth century through an innovation in royal administrative writing that was adopted by legal language. This other, positive *raza* coexisted with *raza* as defect or flaw without overlap until their semantic fields started moving closer together at a later period.

## 8. *Raza* as Positive Mark

*Raza* acquired a positive semantic field as a result of a royal initiative to create a particular horse breed marked by branding and resulting from selective breeding. In Spanish, the link between *raza* and horse

29. The full definition reads: "Raza: la casta de cauallos castizos, a los quales señalan con hierro para que sean conocidos. Raza en el paño, la hilaza que diferencia de los demas hilos de la trama. Parece auerse dicho quasi Reaza, porque aza en lengua Toscana vale hilo, y la raza en el paño sobrepuesto desigual. Raza en los linages se toma en mala parte, como tener alguna raza de Moro, o Iudio."

30. The royal *privilegio* for its publication was granted in 1601. On del Rosal and his work see Gómez Aguado's introductory study in *Diccionario* (XIII–XXI).

31. The entry in del Rosal's work reads: "Raça, falta en el paño, es *Ráritas*, y así la llamaron Raléa que era rareza de pelo, y despues pasó a significar la falta de Linage, que así tambien decimos hablando del Linage: *en el mejor paño cae la mancha*. Después pasó a significar el Linage y Descendençia indiferente-mente. Aunque Raça de paño parece del Griego Racos, que es el paño ruin y roto. Pero Raça de sol, *Racha*, o *Raja*, del Griego Ragas, que es la hendedura en la madera; y de allí *Raya*, que es señal de la hendedura."

breeding has greatly rested on the entry in Sebastián de Covarrubias's 1611 *Tesoro,* which also includes the other semantic fields of *raza* that have been discussed here. In his dictionary, Covarrubias explains in very clear terms the different meanings of the word in the entry *raza*, which can mean 'stock,' the *casta* or breed of thoroughbred ("casti-zos") horses that are marked with an incandescent iron so that they may be clearly identifiable. After referring to the textile *raza*, Cova-rrubias gives the meaning of *raza* in relation to humans, stating that "when in reference to lineages, *raza* is taken as a negative term, mean-ing for example having a *raza* of Moor or Jew."[29] This latter meaning also appears in his entry for "Old Christian:" "Cristiano Viejo, el hombre limpio que no tiene raza de Moro, ni de Iudio. Christiano nueuo por el contrario" ("Old Christian, the clean man that does not have *raza* of Moor or of Jew. New Christian is its opposite"). In con-trast, Covarrubias links *generoso* (of noble descent) to *raza* in hors-es but not in humans. It should be noted that Covarrubias was not the first to provide such detailed meaning of *raza*. It is in Francisco del Rosal's etymological dictionary *Origen y Etimología de todos los vocablos originales de la Lengua Castellana*, written well before Cova-rrubias' and published *c.* 1610,[30] that the negative sense of *raza* first appears applied to humans in a dictionary. Del Rosal is very explicit in explaining the meaning of *raza* as a result of merging semantic fields and etymologies that held overlap. He explains that *raza* refers to a defect in the weave, from which it came to mean a fault in the lin-eage, quoting a version of the well-known proverb "the stain can fall on the best cloth." Del Rosal lists a third and last step in the seman-tic transformation of the word *raza*, which from a defect in the weave and in lineage became a term simply meaning lineage or descent. Sig-nificantly, he makes the conceptual link between *raza* and 'crack' and 'lines' through etymology, making *raza*'s semantic shifts rest on the Greek terms meaning 'meager and broken', 'crack', and 'line' from which *raza* would have originated.[31] Regardless of the soundness of these etymologies, del Rosal's dictionary shows an awareness of se-mantic correspondences and of metaphorical innovations applied to humans that are the result of conceptual mappings. Although del Rosal does not openly acknowledge it, a meaning of *raza* 'simply' re-ferring to lineage hinged on a complex and particular development regarding animal biology and reproduction that is documented in the fifteenth century and gained traction in the sixteenth, and one that brought *raza* and *casta* further together, as explained in the next pages.

32. "Enxienplo: toma dos fijos, uno de un labrador, otro de un cavallero; críense en una montaña so mando e disçiplina de un marido e muger. Verás cómo el fijo del labrador todavía se agradará de cosas de aldea, como arar, cavar, e traher leña con bestias; e el fijo del cavallero non se cura saluo de andar corriendo a cavallo, e traer armas, e andar arreado. Esto procura naturaleza. Asý lo verás de cada día en los lugares do byvieres; que el bueno e de buena rraça todavía rretrae dó viene, e el desaventurado de vil rraça e linaje, por grande que sea e mucho que tenga, nunca rretraerá synón a la vileza donde desçiende; e aunque se cubra de paño de oro, nin se arree como enperador, non le está lo que trahe synón como cosa enprestada, o como asno en justa o torrneo" (108–109). Just before this passage, there appears a parallel statement: "En esto conosçerás tú las personas, quáles de rraýz buena o mala vyenen; que el que de linaje bueno viene, apenas mostrará synón dónde viene, aunque en algo paresça, todavía rretrae dónde viene; pero el vyl e de poco estado e linaje, sy fortuna le administra byenes, estado, onrra e manera, luego se desconosçe e rretrae dónde viene, aunque mucho se quiera ynfingir en mostrarse otro que non es, como algunos han acostunbrado de lo asý fazer. Pero es verdad quel fijo de la cabra una ora a de balar, e el asno, fijo de asno, de rrebuznar, pues naturalmente le viene" (108). The main source or Martínez de Toledo's work is the third book of Andreas Capellanus's *De amore, De reprobatione amoris* (*c.* 1185), which he translates until the beginning of the interpolated passages, ending abruptly.

Although *raza* in an animal context appears mostly in reference to a crack in the hoof of equines, as seen above, a particular passage in Alfonso Martínez de Toledo's 1438 *Arcipreste de Talavera*, also known as *Corbacho*, has often been cited, starting with Lida, as the singular and earliest example showing *raza* as linked to humans (176). The passage is noteworthy because of the links it shows to the vocabulary of horses. According to the exemplum narrated in the text, you can take two sons, one of a farmer and the other of a gentleman and bring them up together away in a mountain under the care of the same husband and wife. You will see, the text argues, that the son of the laborer will delight in toiling the land and in being among the beasts. On the contrary, the son of the gentleman will naturally lean toward horseback riding and will put his care in arms and other such accoutrements. This you will see day after day, says the text, that one who is "good and of good *raza*" will always show his origin. However, the wretch that comes from a vile *raza* and lineage, however high he climbs and however much he obtains, will always betray the villainy from which he descends. Because of the attention this passage has received, it is important to understand the details of its origin. The passage appears to be an interpolation of unexplained origin that breaks the narrative and that, as Ciceri points out in the introduction to her edition of Martínez de Toledo's book, appears without any attempt of a justification, and interrupts the narrative to the point where it is rendered meaningless (18, 37–38).[32] Presumably, the interpolation would have been introduced after 1438, when the author states he finished his work. The extant manuscript, copied by Alfonso de Contreras, dates from 1466 and contains the interpolation, as do the later print versions. In addition to such breaks in the narrative, Ciceri has shown the many divergencies between the manuscript and print textual traditions, all of which present errors and other problems, most recently in the introductory study to her edition (31–39). To complicate matters further, just before the quoted passage, there is an almost identical one that conveys similar content on the importance of lineage, but one where the term *raza* is absent, with *raíz* ("root") and *estado* ("estate") appearing as the terms linked to *linaje*. The passage states that those from a "good or bad root" will show their origins, that those of good lineage ("linaje bueno") will always show themselves as such, while the "vile and of lowly estate and lineage" will always appear accordingly regardless of their attempts to disguise where they come from (108–09). The two passages would thus seem to point to two different interpolations, as sig-

naled for instance in the use of different renderings of the repeated phrase "dó viene" and "dónde viene." At this point, it will be useful to review other early documentation of Old Spanish *raça* in relation to genealogy and animal breeding, starting with Manuel Dies's veterinary treatise discussed before. The Old Spanish translation of Dies's work follows the Catalan text closely in many parts, including, most notably, a key section in the first chapter, which introduces some considerations on horse breeding. Among other instructions, the text itemizes the ideal characteristics in a stallion for, it states, horses above all other animals take after their fathers. For this reason, anyone desiring "to have good and beautiful *raza* and *casta*" must carefully select a good stallion as well as a suitable mare:

> Capitulo primero, en que manera deue el cauallo ser engendrado. El cauallo deue ser engendrado de garañon que aya buen pelo y sea bien sano y muy enxuto de manos, canillas, rodillas y piedes, y deuen mirar en esto mucho que en el no haya mal vicio alguno, porque entre todos los animales no se falla otro que al padre tanto sea semejante en las bondades, belleza, ni talle, ni en el pelo, y por el contrario en todo lo malo, por ende mucho es necessario a qualquier persona que hauer codicia raça o casta buena y fermosa, cercar garañon muy escogido en pelo, tamaño, y en la bondad, y la yegua creçida y bien formada y de buen pelo.

> (First chapter, in which manner the horse should be engendered. The horse must be engendered by a stallion that has a good coat and is very healthy and has slender front hooves, shins, knees and back hooves, and they must very much see that it has no bad vice, because among all the animals there is not another that is so similar in goodness, beauty, or size, or in the hair to the father, and conversely in all bad traits, therefore it is very necessary to anyone who covets having a good and beautiful *raça* or *casta*, to look for a stallion that has choice hair, size and goodness, and a mare that is fully grown and well-formed and has a good coat) (1499: 7r).

The Old Spanish text closely follows the Catalan and translates "rasa ho casta" (14v) verbatim as "raça o casta." It is important to note that the term was an innovation in Dies's Catalan text, as it is absent from the *Libro de los caballos,* its thirteenth-century source, and from its

main source, the *Liber marescalcie* by the Italian Lorenzo Rusio, which favors the term "generare."[33] The Catalan text is also of interest for our purposes here because it uses the verbal form *retraga*, from *retraure* ('to resemble, to take after'), which the Old Spanish translation renders "sea semejante," but which we find in the interpolations in Martínez de Toledo's section discussed before. Significantly, the interpolation found in Martínez de Toledo's passage quoted previously contains a reference to the equine context counterposing the legitimate thoroughbred horse and the ass interloper, stating that even if the one of "vile *raza* and lineage" covers himself in gold cloth or gets decked out as an emperor, he will wear such attributes like something borrowed, like an ass in a joust or tournament" (full quote in note 32 above). These testimonies are meaningful because of their early date and because of the link they seem to point between this text and Catalan language on horses. It is well known that Alfonso Martínez de Toledo frequently traveled to Catalan-speaking areas and that his writings show the impact of Catalan, as they contain a number of Catalanisms (Padilla Carmona). However, though the language of the passage does appear to reveal links to Catalan, the fact that the text in question is an interpolation makes the matter of its origin more complicated, as it is not clear that it was penned by Martínez de Toledo. Another similar, though not identical, usage of *raça* in Catalan is found in Jaume Roig's misogynistic *Spill* or "Mirror" (*c.* 1460), which blames women for seeking noble husbands, of old *raça* ("d'antiga raça") (line 503). Significantly, a second Catalan text, Francesc Oliver's fifteenth-century translation of the well-known French work by Alain Chartier *La Belle Dame sans merci includes* 'rassa' as an innovation of the Catalan translation. Thus, the French line "Qui a faulcon, oisel ou chien" is rendered into Catalan as "Qui ha falcó, ocell ho ca de rassa" (35, line 385). However isolated, these instances do show the development of the term in Catalan as well as points of contact with Old Spanish. Other isolated instances show that the term *raza* in Old Spanish bore a particular association with horses.

Although most early Spanish attestations of *raza* are found in a veterinary context as discussed earlier, the few that appear in other contexts are always in reference to horses, and, in particular, to horses owned by *caballeros*, nobles, or other notable figures. One instance is *Siervo libre de amor*, written *c.* 1439 and in which its author Juan Rodríguez del Padrón talks about a *raza* of wild horses that descends from the horses, mares and palfreys of the noble protagonists,

Ardanlier and Liessa: "cauallos saluajes de aquella raça" ("wild horses of that *raça*") (106). Similarly, in a 1516 document, King Carlos refers to "the colts of our *rraça*" ("los potros de nuestra rraça") (Cedillo 474), and fray Antonio de Guevara (1521–43) talks of a "raça de caballos" in reference to the Greek Diomedes's horses (*Epístolas familiares* 158), from which issued the famed horse Seyano, named after its owner, the Roman Consul Gneo Seyano. The same author uses the phrase "cavallos de buena raça" in reference to horses in the stables of the "great lords" ("grandes señores"), whose groom's efforts to tame such horses serve as a comparison to the work of tutors ("ayos") of young princes and lords in his 1529 *Relox de príncipes* (666). Published in 1544, Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Diálogo de mujeres* uses a related comparison when alluding to women's reproductive role as mares 'of *raça*;' "Es razón / que sirvan de lo que son, / como cavallos de caça / o como yeguas de raça / para la generación" ("It is reasonable / that they serve for what they are for / like hunting horses / or like mares of *raça* / for reproduction") (77, lines 390–94). In his 1549 translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Jerónimo de Urrea generally uses *raza* where the Italian text reads *razza* in relation to horses, as well as to male individuals in a chivalric and warfaring context. Urrea obviously expected *raza* in such textual context – often in rhyme position – and as translation to be intelligible to a Spanish public. However, the lack of direct correspondence between Spanish *raza* and Italian *razza* in common language during the period is evident in Cristóbal de las Casas dictionary, his 1570 *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*, where the Spanish *raça* appears only with the meaning of "sunray" and with that of the textile *raça* ("Raça del sol," "Raça de paño") (228v). The Italian *razza* is paired with *casta* and *generación* in both the Italian *razza* and the Spanish "*casta o generación*" entries ("Razza: Casta o generacion") (114v), ("Casta o generacion. Prole, razza") (173r).

The number of cases in Old Spanish using *raza* in an animal context before the second half of the sixteenth century is significant in its scarcity. Old Spanish texts seem to have resisted the adoption of the term *raza* in the context of horse breeding. Apart from Dies's translated work, treatises on horse husbandry and veterinary simply do not use the term *raza* except when discussing the hoof ailment. A case in point is that of Pedro de Aguilar's *Tractado de la caualleria de la gineta* mentioned previously. On chapter 5 on the "generacion de los cauallos" ("horse breeding"), where Aguilar emphasizes the importance of the stallions and mares being of good *casta*, Aguilar

uses the geminated expressions "casta y origen" and "generacion y linaje" where Dies's work had used *raça* and repeats the usual assertion that horses more than any other animal take after their parents and grandparents: "La casta y origen de los cauallos se viene totalmente a perder y diminuyr por no tener quenta con su generacion y linaje, porque para tener entera bondad y virtud se requiere que sean de muy buena casta y origen. Porque entre todos los animales no se halla otro que tanto en lo bueno a sus padres y abuelos semeje como el cauallo y por el contrario en todo lo malo" ("The *casta* and origin of the horses is totally lost and diminished by not caring for their generation and lineage, because to have complete goodness and virtue it is required that they be of very good *casta* and origin. Because among all the animals there is none other that resembles their parents and grandparents both in their good properties as well as in all bad ones as the horse") (5v–6r). Aguilar's work does use the term *raza* only when discussing the common horse ailment in the appropriate section later in the book (60r, 61r–62r). Similarly, veterinary works such as Pero López de Zamora's *Libro de albeyteria* use the term *raza* only to refer to the hoof ailment (43r–v, 50v, 88v) but favor *casta* when discussing breeding. Most authors share López de Zamora's understanding of the vital importance of controlling horse breeding, for horses of bad *casta* cannot produce good horses:

> y muchas vezes las males [*sic*] condiciones y efectos y enfermedades de los cauallos vienen del defecto y culpa de la generacion, y porque de cauallos de ruyn casta naturalmente no pueden salir cauallos leales y buenos, conuiene que haya para este proposito cauallos buenos, de buen tamaño, talle y color. En el Andaluzia, que es el origen y fundamento de la casta y linaje de los Cauallos de España, hay orden y constitucion en todas las ciudades, villas y lugares donde hay casta de los tales cauallos, que sacan y nombran vna persona principal que tenga cuydado y obligacion (porque no se pierda la casta de los buenos cauallos) de buscar para el dicho efecto de la generacion dellos, cauallos castizos, de ley, de buen tamaño, color y talle, y de buen concierto, carrera y boca, y bien juntado de pies y manos, y sanos de todas las pasiones y enfermedades ordinarias que se hazen en pies y manos.

> (and many times, the bad conditions and effects and diseases of the horses come from the defect and fault of the genera-

tion, and because from horses of base *casta* cannot come loyal and good horses naturally, it is advisable that there be good horses, of good size, shape and color for this purpose. In Andalucia, which is the origin and foundation of the *casta* and lineage of the Horses of Spain, there is order and constitution in all cities, towns and places where there is *casta* of such horses, for them to select and name an important person to have the charge – so that the *casta* of the good horses is not lost – to search, for the said purpose of their generation, *castizo* horses, of legal measurements, of good size, color and shape, and of good conformation, gallop, and mouth, and with naturally well-situated front and back hooves, and free from all afflictions and illnesses that ordinarily appear in the hooves) (1r).

López de Zamora adds a long, emphatic explanation on how any illness or ailment in the father has been observed to be passed on to the offspring. The references to Andalucía are meant to point directly to King Felipe II's efforts, as we will see in the next pages.

Significantly, considerations on horse breeding also appear prominently in legal texts, where the term *raza* is conspicuously absent. Fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century legislation on horses appears primarily concerned with ensuring the steady supply of a sufficient number of horses suitable for use in war. The *Novísima Recopilación* repeats the laws by Kings Enrique III and Enrique IV, and by Queen Isabel and King Fernando (3: 606–07), which are also quoted in Hugo de Celso's 1538 *Reportorio* (entry "cauallos"), forbidding taking horses out of the kingdom and fostering the breeding of horses ("de buena casta") over the more profitable one of mules.[34] The texts of the 1537 Valladolid, 1538 Toledo, 1548 Valladolid, and 1559 Toledo *Cortes* denounce the loss of the horse *castas* due to the neglect of their owners and of the towns and establish protective measures (*Cortes* 4: 678; 5: 106–07, 455, 850). Legal texts mandate the protection of horses and mares that had the characteristics considered optimal for breeding. The desirable characteristics were those that made the horses ideal for use in warfare and were carried by the mares who would transmit such characteristics to their offspring. One of the key features was height (*marca*), but gait and gallop, mouth, color, shape, disposition and lack of hereditary diseases were also very much considered. The different colors of the horse's coat and particular birth marks were assigned a value as they were under-

34. City ordinances mirror this legislation. For instance in Córdoba (González Jiménez *et al.* 289–91, 297, 497).

stood to correlate with horse temperament. Beauty was also valued for itself and as a sign of quality. Laws were significantly expanded in 1562 when King Felipe II built on laws issued by previous monarchs that forbade the use of male donkeys for breeding with mares and mandated that only specially-selected horses and mares of good *casta* be used, also ordering towns to keep a demarcated space for breeding. The king assigned heavy fines for those not following the law and gave tax exemptions to horse owners as well as other incentives (*Novísima Recopilación* 3: 606–08).[35] King Felipe II issued a similar royal provision for the towns in 1563, heading the document with a reference to the sad neglect of the horse "cría y raza" and the lack of horses in the kingdom, favoring the use of *casta* elsewhere in the lengthy document (text in Galende Díaz and García Ruipérez 191–92).

All the legislation regarding horse breeding from medieval times until the latter part of the sixteenth century, including that issued by King Felipe II, overwhelmingly uses the term *casta*, often paired with *cría* (meaning "procreación de los animales" or "animal reproduction" in Covarrubias) in the geminated expression "casta e cría," and often repeats the goal of controlling horse breeding using the formulaic expression "para que la casta de los caballos se conserve y aumente así en número como en bondad" ("so that the *casta* of horses may be preserved and increased both in number and goodness"). The term *raza* appears sporadically in legislation during this time span, at times with "de casta," "de raza," "de marca" (used in reference to height) used interchangeably when referring to protected horses (for example the 1542 Navarrese prohibition to taking horses out of the kingdom, Elizondo 770). The first time the term *raza* appears in the *Novísima Recopilación* is in the 1669 laws by King Carlos II, who adds fines and prohibitions to the laws issued by his predecessors, but for the first time introduces the term in the text of the law in reference to protective measures for horse "razas" (3: 609). The term appears in the *Novísima Recopilación* from that date onward. The qualitative semantic leap of *raza* attested by the legislation of 1669 had taken place a century earlier through a purposeful effort on horse breeding by King Felipe II.

In contrast with its scattered uses documented in earlier texts in reference to horse breeds, the term *raza* starts to be consistently used in 1567, in the specific context of the efforts to create a controlled horse breed by King Felipe II at the newly established stables in the city of Córdoba. Following the many documented laments of the loss of good horse *castas* seen above, purportedly the king's first and fore-

35. Protective measures also included stringent legislation, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, forbidding the sale or the smuggling of horses out of the kingdom. See for example Ezquerra Revilla; Carmona Ruiz.

most efforts were directed toward creating a special horse breed ("raza") that would be his own, and which would be achieved through careful selection of horses and mares in order to achieve a breed with the ideal horse traits.[36] The purposefully selected horses that resulted from these efforts have been credited for becoming the renowned Andalusian (Spanish) horses as stated for example in López de Zamora's *Libro de albeyteria* quoted above and in the work of contemporary scholars like Altamirano.[37]

A great number of the extensive documentation relating to King Felipe II's own newly created stables in Córdoba is housed at the Archivo General de Simancas in Valladolid. The significance of this specific royal documentation for the constitution of a Spanish horse breed or *raza* has been underscored by scholars such as Altamirano and Renton. The language of the documentation is highly significant in that it uses *raza* in a way that is unprecedented because it is purposeful and systematic. Significantly, Alfonso Carrillo Lasso, *caballerizo mayor* (stablemaster) of the royal Cordoban stables during 1622–25, published a book on the Cordoban stables (*Caballeriza de Córdoba*) in 1625, where he offered a definition of raza: "Que cosa es Raza: Para declararme bien he menester dezir que cosa es Raza. Es vna decendencia de padres a hijos, hermosos los vnos y los otros por la mayor parte esperimentada por muchos años, y estimada de todos, las demas no se llaman razas, ni castas, porque acaso sale vno bueno" ("What *Raza* Is. In order to explain myself correctly, I need to state what *Raza* is. [*Raza*] is a descent from fathers to sons, beautiful the former and the latter, for the most part proven through many years and esteemed by all; the others are not called *razas*, nor *castas*, because there may just be a good one that comes from them") (ch. 6, 15–16). It is clear that Carrillo Lasso was conscious about the fact that this particular use of the term, which he directly linked to the king's efforts in his book, was newly minted and needed to be explained. Thus, here we see the semantic shift of *raza* moving in step with royally mandated changes in breeding practices, to gain a more focused meaning of selective breeding. Initially, the term *raza* appears frequently combined with *cría* or with *casta* in the documentation, in part as an effort to disambiguate a term that had long-established associations with defects and horse ailments. The term *cría* served to clearly approximate *raza* to the semantic field of reproduction, while the term *casta* associated it with both lineage and procreation. Although the term *casta* also appears in the documentation relating to the royal regulations discussed here, sometimes in the geminated ex-

36. On the selection process that led to the specific physical configuration of the 'pure race' Spanish horse see Altamirano. The particular characteristics ("calidades") of the "raça y deçendencia" (9) and "orígen y raça" (11) of these horses (Guzmanes or Valenzuelas) were praised in Bañuelos y de la Cerda's 1605 *Libro de la jineta* (esp. 9–17). The term is almost exclusively applied to horse breeds. One exception is Fernández de Oviedo's mention of a Castilian pig breed "raza o casta de Castilla" newly introduced by the Spanish in Cubagua (2: 194).

37. On the constitution of the Cordoban stables, see also García Cano, "Caballerizas." Although traditionally these horses have been called *andaluces* or Andalusian, scholars such as Altamirano have argued that the more accurate term is *españoles* or Spanish.

38. *Raza* appears paired with *casta* several times in these documents, for example in one by King Felipe II regarding the financing of his Cordoban stable in 1567: "se compren yeguas de vientre conforme a la orden que sobre ella hemos mandado dar para la raza y casta de caballos que hemos mandado hacer en el Andalucia" (Altamirano, *Historia*: 67); and in other royal documentation related to the king's *raza* initiative: "Por cuanto en la bondad y calidad de los padres que se han de echar a las dichas yeguas y en la orden y modo que ha de haber en echarlos consiste principalmente la buena casta y raza de los potros y caballos" (Altamirano, *Historia*: 71).

39. I explore the conceptual developments surrounding *casta* in the medieval and early modern periods in a separate study, currently in preparation.

40. For example in documents in Ezquerra Revilla 275–80, and in city ordinances like Plasencia's (Lora Serrano 322, 325–26).

41. "que se comprase cierta cantidad de yeguas de vientre para la raza de caballos que hemos mandado criar en el Andalucia" (Altamirano, *Historia* 71). "reservando los padres que son menester para la dicha Raza" (Altamirano, *Historia* 77); "se comience, conserve y acreciente la raza" (Altamirano, *Historia* 133); "De la raza se han multiplicado más de novecientas cabezas" (Altamirano, *Historia* 143); "Y como quiera que está ordenado las yeguas que ha de haber en esa Raza" (Altamirano, *Historia* 147).

pression "raza e casta," the two terms *raza* and *casta* are not used interchangeably.[38] The term *casta* continued to be used with the meaning found in Nebrija and later in Covarrubias and del Rosal, as related to 'lineage,' *genus*, 'generation' and 'procreation.'[39] In contrast, the specific semantic and syntactical uses of *raza* do point to a particular meaning that combines selective breeding with ownership and branding marks, and is also used in a very situated way to allude to the particular horses in the royal Cordoban stable. In the documentation relating to the royal initiative and the subsequent legislation mandated for the towns, references to "cría y casta" are replaced or accompanied by a new emphasis on the "cría y raza." [40] The telling expressions that are used throughout the royal documentation point to a very specific meaning of *raza* as the particular breed of royal horses being created in the Cordoban stable, for example: "crezca y se aumente la dicha raza" ("the said *raza* may grow and increase") (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 45); "conseruación y acrescentamiento de la raza de cauallos que tenemos en la ciudad de Córdoua" ("preservation and incrementation of the *raza* of horses we have in the city of Córdoba") (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 101); "caualleriça y raça" ("stable and *raza*") or conversely "raça y caualleriça" (for example in Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 45, 48, 54, 58, 59, 80, 84, 88); "mi raza y caballeriza de Córdoba" ("my *raza* and stable in Córdoba") (Altamirano, *Historia* 77); "Raza de su Magestad" ("His Majesty's *Raza*") (Carrillo Lasso 23). Similarly, along with his *raza* ("mi raza"), King Felipe II created the new post of "governor of the *raza*" ("gobernador de la raza") in 1567 (Altamirano, *Historia* 151, doc. AGS 273). Syntactically, the term *raza* is used in these documents as a determinate noun preceded by 'the' ("la raza") or 'my' ("mi raza"). Thus, many references are not to "caballos de raza," which might be interpreted as "purebred" or "thoroughbred," but to "caballos de la raza" or "de mi raza" ("horses of the *raza*," "of my *raza*") always in reference to the horses in the Cordoban stable and thus meaning 'of this particular brand or *raza* of horses.' Similarly, royal documentation talks of "the raza of horses that we have ordered be raised in Andalucia," the horse fathers reserved "for the said *raza*," with efforts successfully reported as having multiplied into nine hundred heads of "the *raza*," and other such expressions.[41] Diego Ramírez de Haro's sixteenth-century *Tratado de la brida y gineta* echoes the calls in the legislation for protective measures of horse breeding in his treatise on "la raça," which contains familiar advice throughout his work about selection and breeding as well as ide-

al characteristics of "la raça," "la nueua raça" ("the new *raça*"), "la buena raça" ("the good *raça*") or "nuestra raça" ("our *raça*").

After 1567, and due to the adoption of royal measures, the term *raza* grows in use and consolidates a specialized meaning that associates *raza* with selectively and purposefully bred horses that are branded with iron so as to be recognized, which in fact exactly matches the first definition of *raza* offered in Covarrubias's dictionary ("Raza: la casta de cauallos castizos, a los quales señalan con hierro para que sean conocidos").[42] The link between *raza*, horses and branding marks also appears in the entry *marca* or mark in Covarrubias's dictionary, where he links it to horse *raza*: "A los cauallos de raza les ponen su marca o hierro" ("Horses of *raza* are given their mark or iron"). In fact, the 1572 instructions for the establishment of the king's Cordoban *raza* state that the Cordoban stables need to staff a farrier or *herrador* to mark the colts with the king's iron brand, and specify that the colts ("potros") are to be branded every April (García Cano "Caballerizas" 70–71). The documentation explicitly links *raza* and *marca*: "los caballos de mi raza y con mi marca" ("the horses of my *raza* and with my brand") (Altamirano, *Historia* 75). The brand of the Cordoban stables would be a crowned R (or a variation) to signal royal ownership (Altamirano, *Historia* 97). Branding was by necessity also practiced by some of the staff on their own horses, since one of the perks offered to some of stable's staff (a *yegüero* in this case) was the ability to keep their mares in the royal facilities, though they were marked accordingly: the 1617 will of Diego Alonso states he had "siete yeguas de vientre questán de mi hierro y señal" ("seven reproductive mares that have my iron brand and mark") in the king's demarcated pastures ("dehesas") (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 116). A brand (*hierro*) that gained particular renown was that in the shape of a heart used to mark the famous horse breed created by Juan de Valenzuela (Bañuelos y de la Cerda's *Libro de la jineta* 16). Although it was practiced since earlier centuries, it eventually became mandatory for all owners to mark their horses with owner-specific brands ("hierros i sellos proprios," law of 1671, *Tomo tercero* 295). Earlier legislation includes the 1586 laws on horse breeding for Navarra, which refer to the branding ("señalar," "marcar," "marca," "señalados") of the mares and horses approved for breeding and to their offspring as an established practice (Elizondo 911–12). Branding for discarded ("desechados") offspring with a D would also become mandatory later (law of 1750, *Novísima Recopilación* 611). Although unrelated to the king's *raza* efforts, it

42. Significantly, in his *Orlando furioso*, Urrea keeps the lexical and conceptual association between *raza* and brand in his rendering of "Altri dicean: — Come stan bene insieme / segnati ambi d'un marchio e d'una razza!" literally, linking *marca* and *raza*: "Decían otros: -Bien son para en uno, / de propia marca y raza señalados" (Canto XVIII, stanza 89, p. 1126–27).

should be noted here that, at a time of active slave trade in Spain, iron branding would help create associations between the bodies of horses and the bodies of slaves, who, like horses, were iron branded (*herrados*), in their case with an S and a nail (*clavo*), thus marking an individual as slave or *es-clavo*. Slaves were also often branded with the slave owner's name and his city of residence. Tangible socioeconomic links between slaves as human chattel and equines were further signaled in sale transactions, as slaves commanded similar prices to those of mules and horses.[43]

King Felipe II's efforts to purposefully create a horse *raza* were extended to horse breeding outside of his royal stables and orders were issued to the cities so that the same amount of purposeful selection and breeding would be exercised by local town authorities, with a particular emphasis that the horses and mares used for breeding come from Andalucía. The royal "raza," branded with the king's mark, was intended to provide the seed for others since the king allowed the excess horses, or the "fruit resulting from the *raza*," not needed for his service to be sold "at advantageous prices" and the mandatory approval of the stallions by local authorities was waived (documents in Altamirano, *Historia* 77, 79). Similarly, the geminated expression "raza y cría de caballos," used in royal orders (*cédulas reales*) related to the creation of Córdoba's dedicated pastures or *dehesas* for the benefit of the king's *raza* starting in 1573, was mirrored by the language of city regulations (García Cano *La Córdoba* 563–80). *Raza* language and royal regulations were widely adopted as part of city ordinances, as may be seen in the case of the town of Écija (in Martín Ojeda 298–304). Écija's city ordinances were confirmed by a royal document in 1576. These ordinances regulated breeding practices that their language states may help avoid causing damage to "the horse *raça*" and help increase the "raça y cría," avoiding the general destruction of the horse *raça*.[44] These ordinances also provide for the creation of designated pasture land so as to remedy the harm caused by poor pastures to the horse *raça* ("quán diminuida está la raça de los cavallos por razón de los ruines pastos" 303). The language of *raza* as linked to horse breeding appears in other city ordinances following the same timeline. For example, the ordinances of the city of Carmona regulate horse breeding and use only the term *casta* until 1568, when the term *raza* appears alongside the newly created pasture enclosures (*dehesas*) destined for horse breeding and care (in González Jiménez 95–101, 150–51, *raza* in 151n). Thus, *raza* appears marked not only through branding but also by spatial demarcations

43. Covarrubias, s.v. "esclavo," gives a different (learned) reading of these markings, interpreting them as the legal expression "sine iure," but the documentation overwhelmingly refers to the iron branding as "S and nail." The studies on Spanish slavery that note branding practices are too numerous to detail. See for example Fernández Chaves and Pérez García 114–16; González Arévalo 115–25; Martín Casares 390–96; Stella.

44. "el daño que reçibiría la raça de los cavallos" (301); "y que la raça y cría de los cavallos vaya en el aumento y perfiçión que conviene" (302); "la universal destruyçión de la raça y cría de los cavallos" (302).

following the royally mandated creation of dedicated enclosures, with city regulations mirroring royal language.

A positive meaning for *raza* was adopted and institutionalized with the help of royal orders to create a selective horse breed that had the particular characteristics desired for warfare. While *casta* retained the general meaning of lineage and reproduction, *raza* acquired a more focused meaning that referred to purposeful breeding, selective physical traits that were aligned with temperament and behavior, and was marked by branding and assigned a demarcated physical space.

## 9. Conclusion

The language of *raza* is the result of a metaphorical, conceptual, and terminological transfer from the fields of textiles, gemology, and precious materials, and to a lesser degree equine veterinary, moving from a meaning of 'hairline,' 'crack,' and 'defect' to a general meaning of 'defect' when applied to humans, and particularly when referring to inner qualities, following developments that were shaped during the medieval and early modern periods. Religious and moralistic discourse helped locate this inner human defect in individual moral qualities and then biologize it as located in the blood. Such biologization was successfully institutionalized during the same time period through the statutes of blood purity and particularly applied to religious minorities in a way that located religious difference in the body, while also factoring into the subsequent racialization of Africans and Native Americans. The language of *raza* included a semantics of uncovering 'inner faults' and adopted a complex semantic network that hinged on the dichotomies of cleanliness and filth, sin and baptism, and color (light and dark), with implications both physical and symbolic, most emphatically in the form of whiteness vs. blackness. These traits were understood as being both internal and external. This negative *raza* came to coexist with a positive *raza* that became incorporated into everyday language through administrative and then legal language stemming from royal efforts to foster selective horse breeding marked by branding. As scholars have pointed out, *raza* and *casta* would continue to be used differently through later centuries and *casta* would remain the choice term for articulating human lineage and heredity.[45] *Raza* as metaphorical and then somatic defect and the later *raza* as marked breed would help establish wid-

45. See discussions on the meaning of *casta* and *raza* for example in Hill 197–238, and María Elena Martínez "The Language."

ening and overlapping conceptual mappings for a human *raza*. The emphatically positive and emphatically negative meanings worked to biologize *raza* in ways that had enduring impact as they would be leveraged to formulate theories of both racial superiority and inferiority.

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