

# **Alpata**

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## Contributors

**Fredrick Heinrichs** is a senior finishing a major in history. An aspiring librarian, his interests include early United States history, East Asian history, and the Interstate highway system.

**Daniel Watkins** is first year graduate student in History. He earned his B. A. in history and religion at UF in 2005. After spending a year studying Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, he has returned to pursue an M. A. in Early Modern European History. His current interests lie in 16<sup>th</sup>-century France and the relationship between violence and religion.

**David Andrews** earned B. A. degrees in History and Business from UF in 2006. Exploring M. A. programs in History, his aim is to research Christianity in Scotland from the Irish invasion to the Reformation, examining the melding of Calvinist reform with Celtic Christianity. Loves the Gators with every fiber of his being.

**Stephenie Livingston's** studies to this point reflect cross-disciplinary interests including history, cultural anthropology, religion, music, and art. Her primary interest is in African history and culture, with an emphasis on so-called "indigenous" societies in East Africa. This summer, she will be doing research abroad in Aswan, Egypt through the University Scholars Program, expanding this submission into a senior thesis.

**Matthew Paul Michel** is a senior finishing double majors in history and Spanish. He is interested in the effects of the Spanish and Medieval Inquisitions on religious minorities in Western Europe. After graduation, he hopes to work in the Dept. of State.

**Jennifer Le Zotte** has just completed her M. A. in History at UF and will begin her doctoral studies at the University of Virginia in the fall of 2007. Her interests include the cultural history of the emergence and growth of flea markets, thrift stores, and garage sales in post-World War II America.

**Brady Lee** is a senior majoring in Art History, minoring in Italian. This summer, he received a University Scholar grant to research the Pazzi family's patronage in Quattrocento Florence. After his return from Florence, he plans to complete his undergraduate degree and then continue his education in graduate school.

Cover photo: "Immigrants Landing at Ellis Island"  
by Brown Brothers, New York, New York, ca. 1900.  
National Archives and Records Administration,  
Records of the Public Health Service, 1912-1968  
(90-G-22D-42)

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# Introduction

## Three Hundred Million Immigrants

**Britt Tevis**

When the editorial board began discussing possible themes for the Special Topics section of this journal, a bevy of creative and interesting topics—from Holy War to nutrition—were proposed. Ultimately, we decided to focus on immigration for two major reasons: first, because it is a highly topical issue. Not only has immigration legislation topped current political agendas in Washington, D.C. for years, but also October 18, 2006 marked the day when America officially became a country of 300 million citizens. While countless new mothers claimed that their son or daughter earned the title of “300 millionth American,” many demographers contended that, in fact, the 300 millionth American was most likely an immigrant. According to the Census Bureau, “the nation gains an immigrant from abroad every 31 seconds.”<sup>1</sup>

Months after agreeing to immigration as our topic of choice, the *New York Times* reported that as “the first step in a broad plan to reopen all of the buildings on Ellis Island,” and after extensive repairs, the Ferry Building was made available for public viewing.<sup>2</sup> While we would like to claim to have had advance knowledge of this event, the coincidence speaks to the true currency of the topic of immigration.

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<sup>1</sup> Sam Roberts, “300 Millionth American. Don’t Ask Who,” *New York Times*, October 18, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick McGeehan, “Final Stop for Thousands Of Ellis Island Immigrants Is Reopening After Repairs,” *New York Times*, April 2, 2007.

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The second reason immigration merited special concentration is because of its position as one of the few constants of history and of American history in particular. Immigration, what precipitates it, what comes in its aftermath, what it means in discrete times and places, really feeds into almost every vein of history. The following essays—an essay about the myths that emanate from early American settlement at Jamestown and Plymouth, an essay chronicling nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American Jewish immigration, and a piece about late twentieth-century Haitian immigration—represent broad case studies of varying peoples who came made their way to the United States of America. In choosing these specific cases we attempted to cover three distinct time periods to highlight some of the similarities and differences experienced by groups of American immigrants.

Additionally, we hope that in reading these essays readers will ask more penetrating questions about immigration. Such questions include, but are not limited to: What propelled immigration to the United State during different periods of time? What inhibited immigration during specific historical periods? At what point were newcomers to the United States defined as “immigrants” vs. settlers? Are the terms synonymous? How have different groups of immigrants been received? What does such reception indicate about the character of the United States during specific periods of time? How has the myth of America as a nation of immigrations functioned as a part of America’s collective memory?

# English Immigration in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

**Jenny Durant and Anna Prusa**

“What passes for identity in America is a series of myths about one’s heroic ancestors.”

James Baldwin

In societies throughout the world, folklore inspires national identity and national pride. In the United States, however, myth has merged with fact until we teach our children the story of George Washington and the cherry tree and celebrate Christopher Columbus’s ‘discovery’ of the Americas without questioning the accuracy of these depictions. Often what is taught as truth is the product of exaggerations, facts twisted and altered until they become almost unrecognizable. Yet behind each myth lies a true story, a live person, or an actual voyage. We intend to explore several of these myths concerning early English immigration to the Americas, drawing attention to the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of our understanding of the foundation of Jamestown, the lives of the Pilgrims who journeyed to North America on the Mayflower, and the settlement of Georgia, the thirteenth colony.

## **Jamestown**

As the first permanent English colony in the Americas, we tend to view Jamestown as the epitome of English colonization, a clear example of European superiority and progress and the cradle of American freedom and individualism. Former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O’Connor wrote, “America’s traditions of representative government, free enterprise and cultural diversity have their roots at Jamestown.”<sup>3</sup> In truth, the joint-stock Virginia Company that funded the Jamestown venture, never intended for Jamestown to be a permanent settlement,

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<sup>3</sup> *Jamestown 2007*. <http://www.jamestown2007.org>.



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much less the “birthplace of modern America.”<sup>4</sup> Stockholders in the company hoped to liquidate it for profit after a few years, forcing the colonists to focus on gathering wealth. Historian Jack P. Greene argues in his work *Pursuits of Happiness* that “Virginia’s orientation was almost wholly commercial from the beginning.”<sup>5</sup> The initial inhabitants of Jamestown were not immigrants, seeking to establish a new home in the Americas, but gentleman and entrepreneurs hoping to strike it rich and return to England.

Furthermore, while the charter of the Virginia Company did guarantee the Jamestown settlers the same rights as Englishmen in England, Jamestown was not a democratic society, and the settlement leaders enforced harsh punishments for many of the rights our current Constitution protects. One settler in Jamestown who publicly criticized the governor was sentenced to “be disarmed [and] have his arms broken and his tongue bored through with an awl...[and be] kicked down and footed out of the fort.”<sup>6</sup> Although we have come to believe that American values of democracy and individualism crossed over the Atlantic with early English immigrants to North America, such was not the intention or focus of the initial settlers.

Perhaps the one of the most famous and most romanticized figures of early Jamestown is John Smith. Over the past four centuries, the tale of Smith and Pocahontas has captivated Americans. Pocahontas, the daughter of the leader of the Algonquian confederacy bordering Jamestown, represents the short-lived hope of a peaceful relationship between English settlers and American Indians and, through her marriage to the Englishman John Rolfe, the multicultural nature of the United States. Several scholars of this period, including John Tilton, the author of *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*, have argued that the myths surrounding the interactions of Pocahontas and John Smith “became central to the search for an

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1988), 8.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in David M. Kennedy, et. al, *The American Pageant*, (Houghton Mifflin Company: New York, 2002), 30.

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American *Aeneid*.”<sup>7</sup> The tale became an integral part of the American myth. During the past century in particular we have romanticized the image of Pocahontas dramatically throwing herself between Smith and the war clubs of his captors, saving him from death. In many cases, Pocahontas is depicted as far older than the eleven-year-old girl she was when she first met Smith, adding infatuation as a possible motive for her act; a clear example of this is the 1996 Disney animated film *Pocahontas*, which claims to be “based on historical fact.”<sup>8</sup> Yet the very story of Pocahontas saving Smith’s life is a matter of debate. Smith first recounted the story at a highly opportune moment more than ten years after it had happened, when Pocahontas, then the wife of John Rolfe, was in favor with the English court.<sup>9</sup> Yet despite the research available on the history of Pocahontas and Smith, the romanticized tale of their friendship remains part of the American consciousness. The tale of Pocahontas and John Smith, like much of our folk history of Jamestown, is distorted and exaggerated to validate our national identity as Americans.

### Plymouth

Although Jamestown was founded in 1607, Plymouth is often considered the first permanent English settlement in North America. The history of the *Mayflower* and Pilgrims of Plymouth is considered common knowledge; children often become familiar with the tale of the first Thanksgiving in kindergarten. Yet many aspects of the Pilgrim’s lives are overlooked as we focus almost exclusively on what we deem important: that Thanksgiving celebrates cooperation and friendship, and that the Pilgrims fled England to escape religious persecution, confirming the belief that America is a haven for people of all faiths. A summary of the common retelling runs thus: after a difficult voyage, the Pilgrims reached the New World, landing on Plymouth Rock and founded their settlement nearby. They quickly established friendly relations with the American Indians living in the area, and our

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<sup>7</sup> Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Review: *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*, by Robert S. Tilton,” *The American Historical Review*, (Vol. 101, No. 4, Oct., 1996), 1265-1266.

<sup>8</sup> <<http://disney.go.com/vault/archives/movies/pocahontas/pocahontas.html>>

<sup>9</sup> Richard Shenkman, *Legends, Lies and Cherished Myths of American History*, (Harper Perennial, NY 1988), 110-111.

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Thanksgiving celebrates the first harvest, a celebration of the cooperation between the Indians and the Pilgrims. Very little of this tale is strictly truth. For example, the commonly held belief that the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock is based on “dubious secondhand testimony given by a ninety-five-year-old man more than a century after the Mayflower arrived...based on a story he had supposedly been told as a boy by his father.”<sup>10</sup> The man’s father had arrived at Plymouth several years after the Mayflower, and thus had not witnessed the landing. Furthermore, if the Pilgrims did at some point land at Plymouth Rock, it would have been an exploring party only, composed of men, not the popular image of “men, women, and children and dogs, landing on the Rock directly from the Mayflower,” as Samuel Morison, a former professor emeritus of history at Harvard University points out.<sup>11</sup>

The tradition of Thanksgiving has also been subject to misconception over the years. Very little is known about the first Thanksgiving, only that it occurred in autumn of 1621 and was more of a drawn out, community picnic than a celebration centering around a food-laden wooden table. Surviving records indicate that Thanksgiving was not always celebrated in the fall; some scholars believe in 1623 Thanksgiving occurred in July. Nor was it celebrated every year.

Our misconceptions of the Puritans who immigrated to North America extend beyond the founding of Plymouth. Far from being the rigidly religious, prudish, stoic, and somberly dressed figures of our childhood history textbooks, the Puritans were more progressive and accepting than we often give them credit for. Although we commonly depict the Puritans dressed in dull black or brown clothes, public record and private documents (wills and business records) suggest that the Pilgrims dressed no differently than other people of their class in England at the time. In fact, they often wore clothes dyed a wide range of colors, from “turkey red” to “royal purple.”<sup>12</sup> The ubiquitous black hat with a silver buckle that has come to be almost a “symbol of the Pilgrim Fathers,” was actually a French design, and became popular during the French revolution. Instead the Puritans, both men

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, “New Light Wanted on the Old Colony,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*-15 (June 1958), 360.

<sup>12</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Growing Old in America* (1978), 35-36.

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and women, wore a type of floppy hat common among the English and Dutch on Sundays, while the men wore simple stocking caps during the rest of the week.<sup>13</sup> Although the Puritan heritage of the United States is often referred to in explaining the character of Americans, such as their work ethic or socially conservative views, the prevailing image of the Massachusetts Puritans is the product of misconception.

### Georgia

Georgia was the last of the original thirteen colonies that the English founded. Established in 1733 by John Oglethorpe and several other prominent Englishmen, Georgia is often thought of as simply a penal colony, full of convicts from English prisons meant to serve as a buffer between the more valuable, northern colonies and the French and Spanish possessions to the south. Yet its founders intended the colony to be a place where England's poor could begin anew and build better lives. In a speech before the South Carolina Assembly in 1733, Oglethorpe proclaimed Georgia a "place of refuge" for the "distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe."<sup>14</sup> However, the perception of Georgia as a haven in the New World rapidly spread, and soon the majority of immigrants to the colony were actually laborers, merchants and other hard-working members of the British middle class.<sup>15</sup>

Far from being a brutal colony where individuals worked only for their own survival, the Trustees sought to create in Georgia an egalitarian settlement that recognized and implemented the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and property espoused by John Lock. The founders intended that all settlers have equal portions of land, and thus equal opportunity within the colony. Slavery, in any form, was originally illegal, as was alcohol. Georgian rule was more socialistic than democratic or capitalistic; its leaders valued society over the individual. Thus Georgia, as originally intended, was neither a penal colony nor a bastion of American individualism. Yet while many of the facts concerning the first settlers in America are skewed or forgotten, it is true that the vast majority of English immigrants to the

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<sup>13</sup> Morison, 359-60.

<sup>14</sup> Speech by James Oglethorpe in the South Carolina Assembly (June 9, 1733).

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/83savannah/83facts1.htm>.

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Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries traveled across the Atlantic in search of better lives, for themselves and their children. This belief in the possibilities present in America has become the foundation of our national identity and the American myth. Thus the legacy of the early immigrants pervades the modern United States and the American consciousness.

# Jewish Immigration in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

**Britt Tevis**

The third decade of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of large-scale Jewish immigration to the United States of America. Between the years 1820 and 1924, Jewish immigration resembled an inverted funnel; between 1820 and 1880 approximately two hundred and fifty thousand Jewish immigrants slowly trickled into America, while from 1881 to 1924 roughly two and a half million Jewish immigrants arrived.<sup>16</sup> These two waves of Jewish immigration share some similarities and a number of interesting differences. Prior to 1880, mostly single young men migrated to America, while following 1880 an equal number of Jewish men and women entered.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, most pre-1880 Jewish immigrants came from northern and western Europe, while most post-1880 immigrants originated from southern and eastern Europe.<sup>18</sup> European Jews, who constituted three million of the approximately forty-five million European immigrants who came to America between 1880 and 1924, left indelible marks on American and Jewish history.<sup>19</sup>

Transformations in political and economic realities throughout central Europe triggered Jewish immigration to America. Starting at the end of the eighteenth century and into the beginning of the nineteenth century, significant technological advancements, including improved transportation systems and the initial development of factories, marginalized the importance of Jewish peddlers and merchants.<sup>20</sup> This prompted Jews to leave in search of greater economic opportunities; some Jews moved to urban centers, while others relocated to other countries. Simultaneously, late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political

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<sup>16</sup> Hasia Diner, *The Jews of the United States: 1654 - 2000*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 79.

<sup>17</sup> Diner, *The Jews of the United States*, 94.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

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developments—namely various emancipation movements that, to differing degrees, demanded changes from European Jews—contributed to Jews' decisions to migrate to America during the first half of the nineteenth century. While emancipation offered Jews unprecedented political and social opportunities, the highly unstable nature of such political movements in certain regions, namely central Europe, contributed to the decision of some Jews to journey to America.

Similarly, political and economic factors also motivated post-1880 Jewish immigration. Following the April 15, 1881, assassination of Czar Alexander II, multiple waves of violent outbreaks aimed at Russian Jewry, known as *pogroms*, contributed to increased Jewish immigration. Unviable economic circumstances in eastern Europe, what historian Arthur Hertzberg called the “push” factor of eastern European immigration—for example, a severe lack of employment opportunities—also encouraged Russian Jewry westward. Simultaneously, “the ‘pull’ factor [for eastern European immigrants] was the attraction of America: the still-existing frontier offered land for those who wanted to farm, and the industrialization of America[n]” cities.<sup>21</sup>

The physical process of immigrating proved quite laborious. In addition to the difficulties and expense of obtaining proper travel documentation, travel to America required an uncomfortable two- to three-week journey across the Atlantic Ocean on a massive cargo ship.<sup>22</sup> Ships were ill-equipped to transport the number of passengers aboard and they often contracted illnesses during the trip. Once in America, complications for the immigrants persisted. Increased immigration following 1880 inspired bureaucratic solutions. Immigration centers, the most famous of which was Ellis Island, subjected Jewish immigrants to “incessant pushing, prying, and poking.”<sup>23</sup> Those found “unfit,” admittedly few in number, faced detention and in some cases were even forced to return to Europe.

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<sup>21</sup> Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America – Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History*, (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1989), 152.

<sup>22</sup> Gerald Sorin, *A Time For Building: The Third Migration 1880-1920*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 45.

<sup>23</sup> Sorin, *A Time for Building*, 47.

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Although Jewish American immigrants who arrived prior to 1880 maintained a schizophrenic relationship with later Jewish immigrants, later immigrants benefited from the inroads, institutions, and communal organizations founded by their earlier counterparts. A mixture of benevolence, pity, and the anticipation of anti-Semitism, resulting in part from the arrival of Jews en masse, led already-acculturated American Jews to establish associations that aided new Jewish immigrants with everything from finding homes to finding employment.<sup>24</sup> The largest of such organizations, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), was established in 1892.<sup>25</sup> HIAS agents met immigrants as they took their first steps on American soil and acted as intermediaries between new immigrants and immigration officials. Regardless of the seeming consideration displayed by American Jews, such actions were frequently undertaken as a result of "social insecurity."<sup>26</sup> In order to ensure that the new arrivals would not be too visible, many American Jews during this time advocated the dispersion of new Jewish immigrants to American cities less densely populated than New York, or to desolate farmlands, and some even endorsed limitations on Jewish immigration.<sup>27</sup> Regardless of some American Jews' nativist sympathies, high rates of Jewish immigration continued until 1924.

Once Jewish immigrants found their way past immigration centers and into American society, they retained specific modes of existence and also adopted new traditions. Much like in Europe, most Jewish immigrants settled in already well-established Jewish communities. While the majority of nineteenth-century Americans lived in rural regions, Jewish American immigrants inhabited urban centers.<sup>28</sup> In fact, already by the mid-1840s, one-fourth of American Jewry lived in New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Many Jews who arrived in America also reassumed the occupations that they performed in Europe.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>28</sup> Hasia Diner, *A Time For Gathering: The Second Migration 1820-1880*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 56.

<sup>29</sup> Diner, *The Jews of the United States*, 87.



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Peddling dry goods and clothing often led to the forming of small businesses, which relied on “familial and communal credit networks.” Such reliance on familial ties reinforced the bonds of Jewish communities in America.<sup>30</sup>

In order to “accelerate the prospects of socioeconomic advancement,” Jewish American immigrants willingly adapted the customs of their new homeland.<sup>31</sup> Significantly, educational and cultural change was not only an internal Jewish exercise; rather, American political and economic conditions enabled Jews to influence and partly redefine American culture at large. The adoption of English was the first and arguably most significant internal cultural change weathered by American Jews: “no other immigrant group was quicker” in learning the perceived language of “true” Americans.<sup>32</sup> Jews learned English with such gusto, first and foremost, in order to be able to interact with non-Jewish customers, employers, and employees. The adoption of English by Jewish immigrants not only transformed Jews, but also transformed the English language, and by extension American culture. As Jews in America learned English, Yiddish words such as “*ganef* [thief] and *kibitzer* [an interfering onlooker] and *chutzpah* [shameless audacity] [became] enshrined in the dictionary.”<sup>33</sup>

Jewish American immigrants not only added to the English vernacular but to American culture through their role in the creation and mass distribution of movies and visual arts. The story of Joe Shuster and Jerry Siegel, the co-creators of the comic strip hero Superman, illustrates such a Jewish influence within American culture. An immigrant *par excellence*, “Superman signified the yearning to protect the vulnerable. . . . That is why he reliably fights for ‘truth, justice, and the American way.’”<sup>34</sup> Beyond merely embodying the creation of two Jewish young men, Superman symbolized the experiences of Jewish immigrants. Additional examples of Jewish contributions to American culture

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<sup>30</sup> Diner, *A Time For Gathering*, 60.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Whitfield, “Declarations of Independence: American Jewish Culture in the Twentieth Century,” in *Cultures of Jews: Modern Encounters*, Vol. III, ed. David Biale, (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 384.

<sup>32</sup> Whitfield, 384.

<sup>33</sup> Whitfield, 386.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

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include numerous films, including Samson Raphaelson's *The Jazz Singer* (1927), in which the son of Jewish immigrants, much to his parents' chagrin, makes his way in the gentile world as a jazz singer, and George Gershwin's musical works *George White's Scandals of 1922*, *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924), and *Porgy and Bess* (1935).<sup>35</sup> These works, in addition to innumerable others, serve as examples of Jewish culture that evolved into American culture, much like Jewish immigrants evolved into modern Jewish Americans.

In 1924, acting on fear of communism, nativist inclinations, xenophobia, and racist ideology and, of course, "the best interest of the country," the U.S. Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Act, severely limiting immigration. The act stipulated that immigrants from any given country may amount to two-percent of people from that country already living in the United States according to the Eleventh United States Census of 1890. This ended the century-long period of mass Jewish immigration to America, in which three million Jewish immigrants became Jewish Americans.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 407.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America*, 243.

# Haitian Immigration in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

**Daniel Watkins**

From 1956 to 2000, over 415,000 Haitians emigrated to the United States.<sup>37</sup> This was one of the largest migrations of peoples from a single country to the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. The reasons for this influx of immigrants are numerous and varied and include political, social, economic, and even environmental factors. Facilitating this movement of people is the proximity of the western hemisphere's poorest country (Haiti) with the world's wealthiest country (United States of America). For understanding this phenomenon, however, this paper will answer not only why the emigration occurred but how Haitian immigrant populations were received and survived once in the United States. In answering these questions, it becomes evident that the Haitians during this period underwent considerable difficulties in Haiti, upon leaving Haiti, and even after arriving in the U.S.

## Leaving Haiti

Haitian emigration during the second half of the twentieth century has been described as mainly an economically driven phenomenon. Especially in the 1990s, images of impoverished Haitian refugees flooded the U.S. media. Haitian poverty can be attributed to a multitude of sources; however, one in particular was the fiscal management of the Haitian government. From 1973 to 1980, Haiti's public debt increased "seven fold": from \$53 million to \$366 million, nearly doubling the rate of growth of external indebtedness in Latin America during this period.<sup>38</sup> By the 1976 World Bank standards (setting \$140 per-capita annual

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<sup>37</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, in *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage*, ed. Elliot Robert Barkan (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 521.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Lawless, *Haiti's Bad Press* (Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books, 1992), 116.

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income as the mark for absolute poverty), approximately seventy-five percent of Haitians were victim to extreme poverty.<sup>39</sup> Despite receiving substantial support from other nations (including \$40.4 million from the United States in the first four years of his reign), François Duvalier, political leader of the country from 1957 to 1971, did little to improve the economic situation of the country and its inhabitants.<sup>40</sup>

This poverty manifested itself in numerous areas of society including dramatically poor health conditions. Even as late as 1995, the life expectancy was only 54.9 years for Haitian men and 58.3 years for women.<sup>41</sup> Rural areas especially suffered from outbreaks of tuberculosis and later AIDS. The poverty of Haiti during the last half of the twentieth century constituted a reason for many Haitians to migrate elsewhere.

Haitian immigration, however, was not simply an economic affair; political oppression also compelled many Haitians to leave. Immigration came in waves contingent upon the rapidly changing political situation of Haiti in the twentieth century. The autocratic reign of François “Doc” Duvalier drove many of Haiti’s politicians and social elites out of the country, especially after he declared himself “president for life” in 1964.<sup>42</sup> When Duvalier transferred power to his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, in 1971, more Haitians fled the country.<sup>43</sup> Besides the violence of the *tontons macoutes* — Duvalier’s personal armed force — the Duvalier regime found other ways to negatively affect the Haitian population. One example is from the early 1980s, when the government of Jean-Claude Duvalier destroyed the country’s entire pig population because of the threat of African swine fever.<sup>44</sup> Though this may seem like a reasonable course of

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<sup>39</sup> Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994), 117-118.

<sup>40</sup> Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti*, 108.

<sup>41</sup> Gilbert Saint-Jean, “The Haitian Community of Miami-Dade County: A Cross-Sectional Study of Needs, Access and Utilization of Health Services” (PhD dissertation, University of Miami, May 2004), 44.

<sup>42</sup> Michel S. Laguette, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 75.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony V. Catanese, *Haitians: Migration and Diaspora* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 9.

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action, scholars today still debate over whether or not there actually was an African swine fever outbreak in Haiti at this time or if this was a political move on Duvalier's part.<sup>45</sup> The effect, however, was great on Haiti's rural poor to whom pigs were one of their most valuable financial assets.<sup>46</sup> One of the most popular periods of migration came after the 1991 ousting of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first true democratically elected president. The coup lead thousands of Haitians to flee, bringing with them tales of terrible violence and oppression.<sup>47</sup> Thus, political situations and their effects on the Haitian population drove many to emigrate.

One final condition for Haitian immigration that is often seen as unique to Haiti in the twentieth century was the environment. In fact, the term "environmental refugees" was claimed to have first been used in regard to Haitian boat people during the 1980s.<sup>48</sup> The degradation of the Haitian environment was mainly the result of intense deforestation. Forests were cleared for agricultural purposes to such a degree that by 1999 only two percent of Haiti was considered dense forest.<sup>49</sup> Deforestation led to substantial erosion problems, including mudslides that affected both the rural and the urban populations alike.<sup>50</sup> Heavy rains often had devastating consequences

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., See note 22.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti*, 189-190. Farmer tells of one woman from a provincial town, Gonaïves, who reported that on 2 October 1991 soldiers of the coup forced their way into her home and executed her three younger brothers. Apparently she had no idea as to why her brothers were executed, though Farmer suggests that the popular support of rural citizens for Aristide targeted them as a threat to the new government.

<sup>48</sup> See: J. L. Jacobson, *Environmental Refugees: A Yardstick of Habitability*, Worldwatch Paper 86 (Washington, D. C.: Worldwatch Institute, 1988), and J. L. Jacobson, "Environmental Refugees: Nature's Warning System," *Populi* 16, no. 1 (1989): 29-41.

<sup>49</sup> Catanese, *Haitians: Migration and Diaspora*, 25.

<sup>50</sup> See: Catanese, *Haitians: Migration and Diaspora*, 22. The example is given of Port-au-Prince whose sole generator of electricity is a single hydroelectric dam in the mountains away from the city. Apparently soil erosion caused by deforestation has lead to the clogging of the dam with silt and

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including the destruction of crops, houses, and even the loss of lives.<sup>51</sup> These scenarios gave Haitians yet another reason to flee the country for the United States and elsewhere.

### Coming to the United States

The journey to the United States was not as simple as taking a plane to Miami; the only option for thousands of refugees was to take to the seas with make-shift rafts in the hopes of reaching Floridian beaches. On 24 May 1992, however, President George H. Bush issued an executive order to “return directly to Haiti any fleeing refugees encountered.”<sup>52</sup> In his press release, the president cited the “safety of Haitians” as his main reason for undertaking this policy, hoping to deter Haitian attempts to brave the “600-mile sea journey” for which they were “not equipped.”<sup>53</sup> Though leaders of Haitian refugee groups in the United States and human rights lawyers protested, this policy managed to slow the influx of Haitians into the country and made it substantially more difficult for refugees to reach U.S. soil.<sup>54</sup>

By 1994, President Bill Clinton began a new policy of providing hearings for Haitian refugees to determine if they could establish a “well-founded fear of persecution,” in which case asylum would be granted.<sup>55</sup> Haitians were often brought to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba for processing by the INS (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services) and other organizations. However, determining the status of a potential refugee was in fact complex. As a legal consultant for the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees), Mary Watt spent time in

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sediment, thus making consistent electricity for the country’s capital “problematic.”

<sup>51</sup> Ernest H. Pegg, *The Haitian Dilemma: A Case Study in Demographics, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D. C.: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1996), 36.

<sup>52</sup> Douglas Jehl, “Bush Orders U.S. Ships to Turn Back Haitians’ Immigration,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 May 1992.

<sup>53</sup> George H. Bush, press release, 24 May 1992, in *Encyclopedia of American Immigration vol. 4*, ed. James Ciment (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 1357.

<sup>54</sup> Jehl, “Bush Orders U.S. Ships to Turn Back Haitians’ Immigration.”

<sup>55</sup> Garry Pierre-Pierre, “29 Haitians, Rejected, Return Home,” *The New York Times*, 21 June 1994.

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Guantanamo reviewing asylum cases. She explained how defining persecution was problematic because one had to determine “persecution by whom” and “on the basis of what.”<sup>56</sup> The experience of violence was often not enough to establish a fear of persecution because it lacked a formal motive or a clearly defined persecuting group. Thus, many Haitians struggled to even find their way to the United States.

### **Case Study: The Haitian Population of Miami-Dade County**

Once in the United States, Haitian immigrant populations continued to face challenges. A good example lies in the Haitian-American community in Miami-Dade County during the 1980s and 1990s. The exact number of Haitians living in the area at this time is unknown; however, some estimates have put the number around 375,000.<sup>57</sup> The highest concentration of Haitians was found in the northern part of the county known as “Little Haiti.”<sup>58</sup> The Haitian population revolutionized the culture of this county and especially this particular area. There are Haitian-owned radio and TV stations that broadcast news on Haiti, a number of different newspapers edited in French, and even an elementary school that has been named after a Haitian national icon: Toussaint Louverture.<sup>59</sup>

For Haitians in the Miami-Dade area, numerous stumbling blocks were set before them.<sup>60</sup> In a survey of the Haitian immigrant population of Dade County, sixty-six percent of Haitians interviewed expressed that they were unemployed.<sup>61</sup> The educational level of entrant groups was also a significant difficulty. Fifteen percent of Haitian immigrants had no formal

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with Mary Watt, by author, 22 March 2007, Gainesville, Fla.

<sup>57</sup> Saint-Jean, “The Haitian Community of Miami-Dade County,” 22.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-24.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. The author notes that there are “scores of Haitian lawyers, physicians, dentists, university professors, nurses, police officers, businessmen, bankers, schoolteachers, etc.” in the area. He even states that at that time one municipality was administered by a Haitian-American mayor.

<sup>61</sup> Metropolitan Dade County, “Social and Economic Problems among Cuban and Haitian Entrant Groups in Dade County, Florida,” 37.

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schooling.<sup>62</sup> Haitian-American populations in the Miami-Dade area faced other barriers, including racism and lack of sufficient health care. Though many immigrant groups face some sort of racial barrier upon entering the United States, the situation of Haitians was somewhat unique. In the Miami-Dade area, they endured “triple minority” status because they were “foreigners, Black and Creole speakers.”<sup>63</sup> Moreover, American stereotyping of Haitians in Miami often pictured them as “endemic tuberculosis carriers” from a place of “voodoo and zombies.”<sup>64</sup> These racial stigmas may have been conditions for other detrimental experiences to the Haitian population, including lack of jobs and even availability of health care. Indeed, each challenge simply served to aggrandize the others. The lack of financial means prohibited many Haitians from utilizing health insurance or even seeking regular check-ups.<sup>65</sup> In a study of the Haitian population of the county, only twenty-seven percent had private insurance as compared to forty-six percent of U.S. Hispanics and seventy-two percent of the Miami-Dade population overall.<sup>66</sup> Thus, the experience of Haitians in Miami-Dade County can be seen as fraught with further complications and strife exemplifying the entire experience of Haitians in the latter half of the twentieth century.

### **The Experience of Haitian Immigration**

What this brief snapshot of Haitian immigration has done is de-romanticize the experience of the immigrant to the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. Though the United States has the reputation of being the home of the “American Dream,” this case study shows that the journey of immigrants starting in their home country, on the way to this country, and once in the U. S. is often met with substantial challenges. Despite these challenges, however, the tale of Haitians in this country is also sprinkled with stories of success and triumph. Thus at the beginning of the new millennium, Haitian-

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>63</sup> Saint-Jean, “The Haitian Community of Miami-Dade County,” 48.

<sup>64</sup> John-Thor Dahlburg, “A New World for Hatians,” *Los Angeles Times*, 4 September 2001.

<sup>65</sup> Saint-Jean, “The Haitian Community of Miami-Dade County,” 96-102.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 77.



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American communities have become components to an already diverse cultural landscape that was indeed born through the experiences of immigrants just like them.

# Pilgrim, Monk, or Missionary? Interpreting the Life of St. Columban

David Andrews

Embarking as *peregrini pro Christo*, or pilgrims for Christ, during the sixth century, Irish devotees to the Celtic tradition left their island homeland as self-exiled pilgrims to the continent. Many consider Saint Columbanus, the founder of a new monastic order and force of change in the Merovingian and Lombard churches, the most revered and influential of the *peregrini*.<sup>1</sup> Among the most venerated of Irishmen, Columban is renowned for his lasting influence on monasticism and spiritual life, most notably the introduction of private penance to the continental churches. Columban imparted new ideas and traditions to the lagging spiritual communities of Burgundy and Lombardy, which thereby spread across Europe. He also initiated a renewal of asceticism via the establishment of disciplined communities at Luxeuil, Annegray, and Bobbio.

In his letters and sermons, Columban expressed his concern for the salvation of the multitudes and his desire to spiritually assist heathens in the lands surrounding him.<sup>2</sup> While Columban's role as a pilgrim and a monk is largely undisputed, scholars debate his role as a missionary. In fact, most scholars argue that missionary work ranked very low on Columban's list of priorities. Despite this, it is the contention of this paper that Columban did consider himself a missionary and as a result he made significant spiritual headway in the regions surrounding the communities in which he lived. Columban may not have been a missionary by vocation, but his presence as an innovative monk and devout servant to God made him a missionary by

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this paper I will refer to the saint as Columban.

<sup>2</sup> *Sancti Columbani Opera*—ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol. II, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), xii.

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circumstance.<sup>3</sup> His role as a “holy man” under the reign of Burgundian kings, the messages of his letters and sermons, and Jonas of Bobbio’s *Life of Saint Columban* reveal his intentions and lasting influence in the missionary field. He was indeed a missionary in spite of himself.

To understand Columban’s life as a pilgrim, missionary, and monk, one must consider the meaning of each title. A pilgrim travels from his homeland into unfamiliar territory in the service of God, while a monk is a devout believer who dedicates himself to a rigorous life of servitude and discipline. In his essay on Columban’s life G. S. M. Walker described what it meant to be a pilgrim for the Irish:

The Irish pilgrims—and Columban may be taken as representative of most—looked for sanctuary on earth. They sought a heavenly country...but the urge to travel was turned into Christian channels, so that pilgrimage became associated with mission, and both were subordinate to the spiritual perfection of the monk.<sup>4</sup>

Columban constantly moved and reached out to new peoples; he embodied all the characteristics of an Irish pilgrim. Furthermore, Columban was one of the greatest monastic innovators during the seventh century. As an innovator, he was not only a missionary himself, but also a facilitator of missionary activity in the regions he settled:

To that extent, the monastery as such might be a missionary community; likewise individual monks, provided they were tried and tested, might become missionaries...For some monk, therefore, the monastery was not a lifelong home, but a school for pastoral and missionary work.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> G. S. M. Walker, “St. Columban: monk or missionary?” in *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, ed. G.J. Cumming (Cambridge: University Press, 1970) Vol. 6, 39-44.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, *St. Columban: monk or missionary*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Walker, *Early Christian Ireland*, 383.

Columban engaged in missionary work and equipped his followers for the work he desired to accomplish both in the established churches and in pagan lands.

Columban left his community in Ireland to begin anew. He was an ambassador for Christ, sharing the Celtic tradition with the regions he entered. He was an outspoken religious activist, who imparted his ideals on the established religion, and took the gospel to pagans in surrounding lands. Upon examination of Columban's life, through his letters, sermons, and the accounts of a seventh-century biographer, Columban appears to embody many of the characteristics of a missionary. From pagans to powerful bishops, Columban's preaching and influence knew no bounds. This paper will interpret Columban's ideas, discover major influences in his life, and reveal his missionary activities within continental Europe.

## **Columban and Irish Christianity**

To reveal the purpose of Columban's journey in Europe, one must examine the values and customs of the Irish Church and Columban's mentality prior to his departure from Ireland. Distinct practices in the ascetic communities set the Irish brand of monasticism apart from the rest. The Irish habit focused on individuals' austere and disciplined lives in which suffering for Christ took precedence over all.<sup>6</sup> Irish Penitentials emerged from this movement, including the greatest penance of all: a self-chosen exile known as peregrinatio pro Christo. Such an emphasis on pilgrimage as the prime example of sacrifice is due to the significance of close family relationships in Ireland; leaving one's family and home was considered the greatest renunciation of one's own desires. Therefore, devoted men frequently left their homeland and never returned. They traveled as far away as possible in order to serve God and prove their dedication to suffering for Christ.<sup>7</sup> These pilgrimages often included various spiritual practices including isolation, prayer, preaching, and almost always some form of missionary activity.

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<sup>6</sup> Jean Leclercq, *The Irish Invasion* in Jean Leclercq, François Vanderbroucke, and Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (New York: Seabury, 1968), 31-45.

<sup>7</sup> Leclercq, *The Irish Invasion*, 34-35.

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Born in Leinster, Ireland, in the middle of the sixth century, the young Columban studied under the instruction of Sinil, a distinguished scholar known for his knowledge of the scriptures. In a country whose people were uncannily enthusiastic about the calling to a disciplined communal life, Irish boys commonly gravitated toward religious life.<sup>8</sup> In order to escape the romantic advances of several young women, as a young adult, Columban turned to the monastic life. He left home at the age of seventeen and embraced asceticism. According to Columban's biographer, Jonas of Bobbio, Columban met a holy woman in the wilderness who advised him to go "away, youth away! Flee from corruption, into which, as you know, many have fallen. Forsake the path which leads to the gates of hell."<sup>9</sup> This incident inspired his departure. Once Columban left southern Ireland, he entered the strict community of Bangor, where he met the respected Abbot Comgall. Under Comgall's guidance he "gave himself entirely to fasting and prayer, to bearing the easy yoke of Christ, to mortifying the flesh, to taking the cross upon himself and following Christ, that he who was to instruct others might first on his own instruct himself".<sup>10</sup>

### Columban on the Continent

In 591, Comgall granted Columban permission to leave Ireland for Gaul as a peregrinus, fulfilling Columban's wish to venture even further away from his homeland. In traditional form, Columban left Ireland with twelve other disciples, voyaging to Gaul, a region in Western Europe, and eventually settled in Burgundy, France. There, Columban secured the support of Frankish kings and aristocrats, and supplied them with his spiritual guidance, which in turn instigated religious changes throughout Europe. His ties to the powerful and wealthy elites provided Columban with opportunity to imprint his style of Celtic Christianity throughout his journey. Eventually, Columban's friendly relationships with royal authorities soured due to Columban's reluctance to comply with royal demands. However,

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<sup>8</sup> *Sancti Columbani Opera*—ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, vol. II, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), xii.

<sup>9</sup> Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Saint Columban*, ed. B. Krusch in M. G. H. *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, 1902, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 9.

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Columban continued to wield great influence among the communities in which he lived, especially among many of the bishops whom Columban counseled. Columban's travels from Burgundy, across Francia, into western Bavaria, and finally south to Lombardy, provided him with numerous missionary opportunities.<sup>11</sup>

Upon arrival in the region of Brittany, Columban and his companions entered Burgundy with the zealous desire to change hearts and sow the seeds of salvation in nearby nations.<sup>12</sup> As an Irishman, Columban entered the foreign land with a respected reputation for spiritual discipline and knowledge. He first gained the support of Guntram, King of Burgundy, and then that of Childebert II, under whom Columban founded the monasteries of Annegray and Luxeuil between 593 and 596, respectively. With the support of the Burgundian kings, Columban benefited from liberties similar to those he had enjoyed in Ireland, including the freedom to conduct and rule his community of ascetics without interference from the secular or clerical authorities. In fact, Columban felt so unencumbered that he completely ignored the Merovingian bishops, and installed himself as a religious leader without their authorization, going as far as receiving the blessing of the altar from an Irish bishop.<sup>13</sup> Regarded as a Christian holy man because of his great knowledge of the scriptures, royal authority granted him support despite their conflicts over the role of monasticism in the church and the date of Easter.<sup>14</sup> Such concession from the king is likely to have been a result of the king's desire to foster a united Christian nation. Despite the king's hesitations, he preferred the notion of ruling a nation of subjects under the banner of Christ than ruling a divided people. Columban and his followers profited from the rulers' political strategy. However, it was the holiness of Columban's

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<sup>11</sup> Leclercq, *The Irish Invasion*, 36-41

<sup>12</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Riche, *Columbanus, His Followers and the Merovingian Church* ed. H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford: BAR Publishers, 1981), 59-71.

<sup>14</sup> Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelization of Europe 400-1050* (London: Longman, 2001), 31

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communities and rule that ultimately drew willing followers to the Catholic faith.<sup>15</sup>

More than a new religious educator, Columban acted as a holy man, a Christian saint as described by Peter Brown:

The rise of the holy man coincides with a remarkable revival of the collective sense and morale of the towns in the late fifth and sixth centuries...These impersonal agents had become the bearers of the supernatural among men...the victory of Christianity in Late Roman society was not the victory of the One God over the many: it was the victory of men over the institutions of their past.<sup>16</sup>

Columban contributed to the revival of the Merovingian church. He became the forbearer of a renewed emphasis on discipline and the scriptures. Jonas, remarking on the state of the church upon Columban's arrival, stated that the "love of mortification and the remedies of penance scarcely existed in this kingdom."<sup>17</sup> During the sixth century, the Merovingian church created a stagnant religious environment dominated by the conflicts of greedy feudal lords. Columban instilled the principles of asceticism in the communities surrounding his monasteries, emphasizing obedience, silence, fasting, chastity, mortification, and penance. He also restored a deep knowledge of scripture, an essential element of the ascetic culture. Private penance, purifying the body and soul, and the revitalization of scripture in the Merovingian church brought about a deepened notion of sin and a more frequent reception of the Eucharist.<sup>18</sup> In turn, these results dynamically changed the role and atmosphere of the Merovingian church. It is clear that Columban made a deepening impact on the Burgundian populace's acceptance of Roman Catholicism.

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<sup>15</sup> T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 348.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Brown, *Rise and Function of the Holy Man in The Authority of the Sacred* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 55-77.

<sup>17</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Riche, *Columbanus, His Followers and the Merovingian Church*, 68.

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In his book about missionary life during the early middle ages, Ian Wood suggested maintained that Columban failed in his missionary endeavors. Wood wrote that

In a sense there is good Biblical precedent for Columbanus' decision: as Christ said, 'And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake of the dust of your feet.' (Matthew 10:14) On the other hand, the fact that Columbanus did forget to preach to the heathen rather undermines the picture of him as a missionary.<sup>19</sup>

While Wood admitted that Columban was justified in his decision, he took too much liberty in stating that Columban "forgot" to preach to the Bavarians. Columban did not simply forget, but was convinced not to continue his mission to them because of their "coolness." Moreover, Columban provided Biblical support for his decision and certainly does not refrain from missionary work with new peoples later in his life.

Wood also cited Letter IV, which Columban addressed to his congregation at Luxeuil. Columban stated:

I have written this because of the uncertain outcome of events. It was in my wish to visit the heathen and have the gospel preached to them by us, but when Fedolius just reported their coolness he quite took my mind from that.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, Columban had not yet reached the pagans in Bavaria, to whom he intended to preach to, but this was not for lack of desire to do so. Columban wrote this letter while in Nantes, under guarded supervision, while waiting to be escorted back to Ireland. His intentions were in accordance with his mission, which was clearly to preach to the pagans peoples of Europe. It was his troubles with secular authorities which halted such intentions.

Royal authorities exiled Columban from Burgundy in 610, in part, because he had alienated royal and ecclesiastical support

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<sup>19</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Columbanus, ep. IV, 5.



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by encouraging the growth of his monasteries and transforming the religious character of the surrounding region. When Columban refused to bless the bastard sons of Theuderic, he was finally expelled from Burgundy by King Childebert II.

Once expelled from Burgundy, Columban ventured to Nantes under the supervision of a Burgundian force to ensure his departure from the continent. He interpreted the stalling of this fleet that was to carry him to Nantes as reason to continue his missionary pursuits. Columban evangelized a group of condemned criminals in the town of Besancon, striking off their fetters and commanding them to go to the local church for confession.<sup>21</sup> Even in the custody of the royal guard Columban continued to live as a missionary. Columban explicitly expressed his concern for missions in Letter IV and even pursued those desires when he had no hope left:

Hold yourself therefore to the impulse of the one desire which you know my heart desires. You know I love the salvation of many and seclusion for myself, the one for the progress of the Lord, that is, of His church...but these are longings in me rather than achievements; but in yourself let them be fulfilled, I pray, since in my absence you will be able to know both at least in part.<sup>22</sup>

This letter revealed Columban's regrets about his own inability to fulfill his desires for evangelism during his time spent under the Merovingian kings. Columban expressed a deep urge to influence people not in communion with God. Columban's letter to his congregation at the Abbey Luxeuil, as well as in his other writings, revealed his missionary goals. One can surmise that had secular authorities in Burgundy permitted him to continue his quest, Columban would have ventured further into pagan lands and continued his missionary work. Using Columban's sudden expulsion from the region as justification, Wood wrongly discredited Columban's missionary role. Wood's negation of Columban's missionary work appears presumptuous in consideration of the context of Columban's letter.

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<sup>21</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 34.

<sup>22</sup> Columban, ep. IV, 4.

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In Letter IV Columban also expressed his hope for the salvation of the peoples to whom he preached, stating, "The greatness of my zeal for your salvation is known to Him alone Who gave it, and my longing for the advance of your instruction."<sup>23</sup> Columban advised those who are teaching in his stead, illustrating the anxiety of an abbot torn from his monks and unable to guide his flock away from the wolves circling around it:<sup>24</sup>

Through the devil's tricks they wish to divide you,  
if you do not keep peace with them; for now  
without me you seem to stand less firmly there.  
Therefore be wary, considering the time when they  
do not endure sound doctrine.<sup>25</sup>

This passage suggests that Columban was indeed a source of division but also a great source of influence. The presence of his teachings in a community created disagreement between the secular and religious authorities. His sphere of influence ranged from the lowliest of criminals to the highest of bishops and the landed aristocracy. Columban's letter also displayed his clout among Burgundian religious authorities:

Or concerning others who, defiled as deacons, are  
later elected to the rank of bishops? For some  
exist, whose confessions I have heard on this, and  
who, discussing the matter with my poor self,  
wished to know for certain, whether after this they  
could without peril be bishops...<sup>26</sup>

Writing to Pope Gregory the Great, Columban claimed that many of the bishops sought him as a spiritual guide and that he often heard their confessions, which demonstrates the great sway that he held over many church figures. As illustrated above in his letter to the congregation at Luxeuil, Columban was not afraid to be a divisive figure in order to spread what he considered to be

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<sup>23</sup> Columban, ep. IV, 2.

<sup>24</sup> H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, *Columbanus and his Disciples*, 358.

<sup>25</sup> Columban, ep. IV, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Columban, ep. I, 6

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the truth. That his absence created such disorder indicates the authority he held while in power. Columban's fourth letter, written to his congregation at Luxeuil, showed Columban's concern with missionary work. It also showed that he worried greatly that his influence, and that of his disciples in Burgundy, would abate. Columban's own writings exhibited his role as a missionary, and how he acted as a force of change in the Merovingian church who revived the region and began the reawakening of spiritual life through ascetic practices, penance, prayer, and the reading of sacred books.<sup>27</sup>

As chronicled in Jonas's account of Columban's life, Columban's missionary work significantly affected Burgundy. During his escorted trip back to Ireland, he courageously fled his attendants and took shelter under the protection of Theudebert II, king of Austrasia. Upon his arrival at Theudebert's court, Columban met with an offer from the king, who:

promised to find him pleasant places inside his territories offering every opportunity to the holy man, and having neighboring nations on all sides to be preached to. To these words the holy man [Columban] said: 'If you offer the support of your promise...let me be allowed to stay there a little and see what may be done, sowing faith into the hearts of the neighboring people.'<sup>28</sup>

This quotation shows Columban's concerted effort to secure the promise of missions to the laity in Theudebert's land. Yet, even in this context, Wood criticized Columban. Wood claimed that the mentioning of missions first by the King, not by Columban, exhibits the saint's lack of enthusiasm for missions. Yet, the passage explicitly divulged Columban's desire to remain in the region in order to spread his faith. Perhaps the king knew Columban's missionary zeal and purposely mentioned such work in order to keep him in the region; or perhaps Columban waited to learn of the king's own desires. Whatever the circumstance, it is inconsequential that the king mentioned missionary work before Columban mentioned it.

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<sup>27</sup> Riche, *Columbanus, His Followers and the Merovingian Church*, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 51.

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Despite Jonas's continued account of Columban's role as a missionary, Wood continued to criticize Jonas's work, claiming that the author gives little weight to the saint's concern for missions:

Nor does mission hold Jonas' attention at this point, for he instantly turns from Colmbanus' dealing with the Sueves to an account of the martyrdom of Bishop Desiderus of Vienne and then to two miracles concerning the provision of food in the Bregenz region.<sup>29</sup>

Wood's remark is in fact contradictory. He mentioned the "two miracles concerning the provisions of food," which supports the claim that Columban was indeed a missionary, as miracles were part and parcel of missionary activity during the Middle Ages. Additionally, Jonas's intention in writing his account of Columban's life was to chronicle the entire life of Columban, not simply his missionary activities. Columban was indeed a missionary but also much more. Therefore, Jonas's account described any significant detail of the saint's life.

Much of Jonas's account highlights Columban's missionary activities, including his direct involvement in the conversion of Swabian pagans around the settlement of Bregenz in western Bavaria:

He criticized them with evangelical words, telling them to refrain from sacrifice, and told them to go home. Many of them at that time were converted to the faith of Christ by the blessed man's [Columban] arguments and doctrine, and were baptized.<sup>30</sup>

Upon further consideration of Wood's assumptions concerning Jonas's abrupt turn from Columban's dealings with the heathens to the martyrdom account of Bishop Desiderius of Vienne, it is apparent that Wood's arguments remain unsound.<sup>31</sup> Wood failed

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<sup>29</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 53.

<sup>30</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 53.

<sup>31</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 33.

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to recognize that Desiderius was greatly influenced by Columban in his opinions toward Theuderic and those who opposed Columban's teachings in Burgundy. Thus, Jonas's account of the martyrdom of Bishop Desiderius reasserts Columban's influence in Burgundy.

Columban remained under the protection of Theudebert, King of Austrasia, settling in a small town on the western edge of Germania called Bregenz in 610. Jonas described Columban's experiences in the town of Bregenz, where he would spend a considerable amount of time teaching and preaching prior to his entry into Lombardy.<sup>32</sup> Columban intended to go from Bregenz to the eastern states, in order to preach to the heathen nations. Columban "thought to travel to the frontiers of the Wends, who are also called Slavs, and illuminate with evangelical light their blind minds, and to show the way of truth to those in error from the beginning, through the times of their ancestors."<sup>33</sup>

Columban again wanted to travel into hostile territory, where Christianity had no base. By 612 Theudebert, King of Austrasia agreed that he should be given a site for a monastery in Italy so that he could preach Christianity to the pagan Swabians.<sup>34</sup> Before Columban found his way there, however, Theudebert suffered defeat by Theuderic in an ongoing battle, thwarting Columban's plans. Limited not by willpower but by political forces, Columban was unable to travel east.<sup>35</sup> Without support from local authorities to establish monasticism, Columban was rendered helpless as a missionary. He remained in Bregenz for two years, performing many miracles and preaching to sinners until the opportunity arose for him to travel to Italy.<sup>36</sup>

The Lombard kingdom, ruled by Agilulf and his wife Theudelinda, welcomed Columban into Italy.<sup>37</sup> There, Columban entered a new land, ruled by an Arian king. He was given a ruined church at Bobbio to establish a monastery, where he immediately placed himself at the center of affairs in the Lombard

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<sup>32</sup> Jonas, *Life of Saint Columban*, 54.

<sup>33</sup> Jonas, *Life of Columban*, 56.

<sup>34</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 372.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, *Rise and Function of the Holy Man*, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Jonas, *Life of Columban*, 56.

<sup>37</sup> Agilulf adopted the Arianism, as did his nation, while his wife was a Catholic.

church.<sup>38</sup> It is here at Bobbio that Columban's peregrinatio ended. He died in 615, three years after he established the community at Bobbio, leaving his legacy as an ascetic, missionary, and most of all a great force of change on the continent.

### **Jonas of Bobbio's Life of Saint Columban**

In 618 Jonas arrived at Bobbio and undertook the honorable task of producing a written account of Columban's life. His work, *Life of Saint Columban*, is not a simple expression of piety like many martyrdom accounts, but a detailed history of Columban's career written as hagiography. Using information from Columban's own writings and words, Jonas chronicled numerous cases of Columban preaching to non-believers in the areas he traveled. The account is not simply a missionary chronicle; it contains all the defining moments in Columban's life. Yet Jonas was limited in his attempt to construct a concise account of the saint's life. In order to jump between people and locations, as Columban did during his life, Jonas was necessarily quite hasty in his summarization of certain events. Despite these logistical burdens, Jonas portrayed Columban as a missionary who held great influence over many bishops, was personally involved in conversions, and exhibited charity to the heathen peoples surrounding him.

Ian Wood took issue with the authenticity of Jonas's work. Despite arguing that Jonas was unconcerned with Columban's missionary activity, Wood asserted that Jonas added an exaggerated missionary twist to Columban's life.<sup>39</sup> As made clear by close examination of Columban's letters, however, there was no need for Jonas to embellish Columban's missionary work. His letters provided the primary evidence of his concern for mission. Wood accused Jonas of embellishing the saint's life, asserting a lack of sufficient evidence to paint him as a missionary. Wood wrote:

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<sup>38</sup> Columban's Letter V was addressed to the Pope, accusing the Aquileians of assailing the Catholic church.

<sup>39</sup> Wood wrote that Jonas' emphasis on Theudebert rather than on Columban raises interesting questions.

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Columbanus' own lack of enthusiasm for mission suggests that, far from failing to do justice to his subject's missionary work, Jonas was doing his best to give a missionary twist to the career of a man who was a peregrinus pro Christo...<sup>40</sup>

Columban lacked enthusiasm in no area of his life; Woods' accusations are unwarranted. Jonas had little motivation to embellish the missionary life of Columban. With Jonas embarking on his quest for the details of Columban's life less than a decade after the saint's death, he undoubtedly tapped into reliable resources, relying on multiple first-hand accounts of Columban's life. A primary source with first-hand accounts certainly yielded accurate and reliable information on the subject's life. Therefore, when examining Jonas' *Life of Saint Columban*, one can assume that the information concerning the saint's life is accurate. It is with certainty, upon inspecting all the facts, that Jonas's account is a genuine description of Columban's activities as both a missionary and a pilgrim. As evidenced by the excerpts from Columban's letters and from Jonas's work, one can conclude that Columban was indeed quite captivated and passionate about missionary activity.

A final example from Columban's twelfth sermon to his congregations epitomized his perspective on missions. Columban most likely wrote this to his congregation at Luxeuil just prior to his exile:

Lord, grant me, I pray Thee in the name of Jesus Christ Thy Son, my God, that love which knows no fall, so that my lamp may feel the kindling touch and know no quenching, may burn for me and for others may give light. Do Thou, Christ, deign to kindle our lamps, our Savior most sweet to us, that they may shine continually in Thy temple, and receive perpetual light from Thee the Light perpetual, so that our darkness may be enlightened, and yet the world's darkness may be driven from us. Thus do Thou enrich my lantern with Thy light, I pray Thee...and loving Thee only

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<sup>40</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 34.

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may behold, and before Thee my lamp may ever  
shine and burn.<sup>41</sup>

This passage embodied the sentiment that Columban carried with him during and after his exile from Burgundy. Through his words in this closing prayer, Columban expressed a growing passion for missions.

### Conclusion

Ian Wood took a limited perspective on what it means to be a missionary. Examining his core argument against Columban's work as a missionary, one sees that Wood limited his definition of missionary to preaching to and converting previously pagan peoples to Christianity—"I will confine the word as far as is possible to mean mission to the pagan."<sup>42</sup> He limited his analysis to include only one particular characteristic of what it means to be a missionary: the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity. If one uses this definition to draw conclusions about Columban's life then the evidence depicting him as a missionary would prove scant. However, a missionary is more than a converter of pagans; a missionary is an ambassador to the region he settles. Wood's definition of a missionary is inadequate.

In his letter to the Ephesians the apostle Paul described a missionary when he said "Pray also for me, that whenever I open my mouth, words may be given me so that I will fearlessly make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in chains. Pray that I may declare it fearlessly, as I should."<sup>43</sup> Although the New Testament speaks of the conversion of pagans, it did not do so exclusively when referring to missions. Many of Paul's letters referenced Christian communities that have strayed from the path of righteousness, communities similar to those Columban worked with.<sup>44</sup> Columban's life as a missionary reflected Biblical motifs. Columban denied his mother, wandered through foreign nations, and preached the gospel to both the established church and the unrepentant sinner.<sup>45</sup> Columban did

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<sup>41</sup> Columban, Sermon XII, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> Ephesians 6:19-20, NIV

<sup>44</sup> Including : 1 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians

<sup>45</sup> Jesus calls the disciples to deny their families in Luke 9



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indeed preach to the pagans, as well as strove to influence the churches and authorities under which he lived. Even using Wood's limited view of missions, an argument can still be made for Columban's status as a missionary, citing his desire to reach pagan lands in Letter IV, his burning desire to let his light shine in Sermon XII, and the many examples of the Saint converting pagans and performing miracles in Jonas' account of his life.

Throughout his lifetime, Saint Columban strictly followed the instruction of the Bible in the way he preached, lived a disciplined life, oversaw his monasteries, and not surprisingly, in the way he performed missions. He traveled from Ireland to Burgundy, into pagan lands and finally to Italy before his death. During these travels Columban spoke his heart to the religious and secular authorities who he believed were living in error according to the scriptures. He preached to pagans in the town of Besançon, and performed miracles in Bregenz. He heard the confessions of bishops who sought spiritual advice, and held the counsel with Arian kings. Columban's influence altered the religious character of the European continent during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. His Celtic tradition helped him revive churches and establish new spiritual homes where Christian communities did not previously exist. Perhaps Columban did not intend to convert great numbers of peoples when he first left home, but he did intend to serve Christ as best he knew how. As he said in Letter IV to his congregation in Luxeuil: "You know I love the salvation of many and seclusion for myself, the one for the progress of the Lord, that is, of His church, the other for my own desire."<sup>46</sup> Saint Columban was truly a missionary in spite of himself.

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<sup>46</sup> Columban, ep IV, 4.

# The “cooperation of physical forces” through Humboldtian Isometric Lines

**Fredrick Heinrichs**

Alexander von Humboldt amassed an impressive resume of scientific and human achievements in his lifetime as an explorer and a naturalist, particularly in his expedition to South America from 1799 to 1804. What is surprising about Humboldt's life is that despite his inexhaustible efforts in the political, geographical, and physical sciences he has lost his former prominence. Recently, a biographer of Humboldt commented that he “never made a single, great, paradigm-changing discovery with which his name would be forever linked.”<sup>1</sup> It is this assumption that this paper wishes to challenge. To the modern reader, the name Humboldt might not be as familiar as Darwin; his popularity has not continued past the tributes offered to him at his death and the centennial of his birth.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, his research and findings were instrumental in laying the foundation for and advancing the fields of geography, geology, plant geography, botany, and meteorology. Humboldt initiated the use of isometric lines which proved pivotal in helping to visualize important trends in these sciences.<sup>3</sup> From lines of equal temperature to lines of equal altitude to lines of equal rock formations, Humboldt attempted to simplify and make sense of the daunting number of parameters that described

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<sup>1</sup> Gerard Helferich, *Humboldt's Cosmos* (New York: Gotham Books, 2004), 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 327-329.

<sup>3</sup> Isometric lines connect places on a two-dimensional plane when values are equal. For example, isobars in meteorology connect places of equal atmospheric pressure; the lines drawn on a relief map connect places of equal altitude.

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nature. His use of isometric lines exemplified his ultimate quest to “comprehend the phenomena of physical objects in their general connection, and to represent nature as one great whole.”<sup>4</sup> Humboldt identified recurring patterns existing in all of nature; he represented lines in seemingly unrelated sciences, joining sciences together to create powerful, understandable, and intuitive graphical representations. His scientific findings of natural phenomena are often taken for granted today, despite their importance in changing the way Western culture thought about the earth in his lifetime. The importance of Humboldt's scientific discoveries and his isometric lines in helping to “delineate nature in all its vivid animation and exalted grandeur” deserve Humboldt mention among the top scientific minds in history.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of this research paper is twofold. The first section will deal with Humboldt's application of isometric lines to different sciences, specifically meteorology, plant geography, magnetism, and geology. There this author will discern his conceptions of each subject, his thoughts on his usage of lines, and what he expected to find by utilizing such a system. The second section will concern the degree to which Humboldt's contemporaries and later scientists incorporated these lines into their science. This analysis will show the importance of Humboldt's use of lines and their applications today.

The majority of Humboldt's celebrated works started from his *Personal Narrative* (1814-1829). The *Personal Narrative* originated from *Relation historique du voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent* (1814-1825), of which exists three dense volumes (a fourth was destroyed for unknown reasons). Humboldt used his narrative to do two things: to describe the unique sights and sensations of traveling where most Europeans would never go and to keep everything in a scientific perspective. His descriptions of entering into unknown territory and seeing the Southern Cross for the first time capture one's imagination: “A strange, completely unknown feeling is awoken in

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<sup>4</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E.C. Otte, vol. 1 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

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us ... the stars we have known since infancy begin to vanish.”<sup>6</sup> Throughout his narrative Humboldt mentioned his numerous measurements of temperature that he took in South America, which he took not just from volcanoes, but from sand and air as well.<sup>7</sup> He was driven by an overwhelming desire to record and find information that could be used later even if he did not recognize its future purpose. For example, Humboldt’s interest in the effect that temperature had on the human body led him to question the reasons that the people he came across in Guayaquil had such a low tolerance for extreme temperatures.<sup>8</sup> Through these studies, Humboldt began to assemble his theories of isotherms. Isotherms are locations on a two-dimensional plane where temperature readings are equal, most usually on a map. Drawing lines of equal temperature can be used to show trends of climate, for example, as isotherms visually illustrate changes in temperature from place to place.

When he returned from South America, he worked concurrently on the summary of his South American journey and the technical data of his research, producing one of his first studies in 1807, *Essai sur la géographie des plantes*.<sup>9</sup> Not only did this text create the foundation of plant geography; its map of the Chimborazo showed great strides in the development of isometrics. In his diagram of Chimborazo, Humboldt noted the different plants that grew on the mountain, and with a chart surrounding the mountain, he listed several categories of observations he made at different elevations of Chimborazo. The impressive list of types of observations included the refraction and intensity of light, frequency of electrical phenomena, the blueness of the sky, the humidity, the barometric pressure, the geological structure, and of course, the temperature (even the boiling point).<sup>10</sup> These categories isolated variables so that with

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 34, 50, 68.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander von Humboldt and Aime Bonpland, *Essai sur la géographie des plantes* (New York: Arno Press, 1977).

<sup>10</sup> Michael Dettelbach, “Global physics and aesthetic empire: Humboldt’s physical portrait of the tropics,” in *Visions of Empire*, edited by David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill, 258-292 (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 270.

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further study, one could examine and logically deduce causes of atmospheric and botanic phenomena. Therefore, he linked together temperature and elevation (among a host of other properties) with plant life.

Interestingly, Humboldt created maps of isodynamic lines earlier than his diagram of Chimborazo. Although what he created was not exact (and it was also limited by the still uncertain geography of America), Humboldt made maps connecting lines of equal magnetic force as early as 1805.<sup>11</sup> This theory of isometric lines, as claimed by L. Kellner in a biography of Humboldt, first appeared in a map of magnetic declination by Halley in 1701.<sup>12</sup> Thus it is fitting that the first true usage of these lines came in a document showing magnetic intensity.

It is clear that Humboldt's findings on isotherms were his most successful application of these theories. Beginning with his 1817 work, *Des lignes isothermes et de la distribution de la chaleur sur le globe*, which was paralleled with a map in the *Annales de chimie et de physique* Humboldt showed that the land temperatures to the east of the Atlantic Ocean were less extreme compared with land temperatures found in North America.<sup>13</sup> Humboldt's isothermic lines presented information that was simply recompiling past data, but he arranged it in a way that made it easier to understand. The difference between Humboldt's maps and other charts of information was that Humboldt's maps were the only ones that truly visualized key trends and patterns in temperature, representing a unity of geography, temperature, and climate. His maps joined the sciences as a synthetic visual aid made much simpler and much more accessible than any other chart. Thus, he was able to create works that could be

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<sup>11</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, "Chart of Isodynamic Lines of 1805," in *Journal de physique* 59, from a copy at Harvard College Library, reprinted in "Global physics and aesthetic empire: Humboldt's physical portrait of the tropics," in *Visions of Empire*, 262.

<sup>12</sup> L. Kellner, *Alexander von Humboldt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 94.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, "Carte des lignes Isothermes," in *Annales de chimie et de physique*, 2d ser., 5, from a copy at Harvard College Library, reprinted in "Global physics and aesthetic empire: Humboldt's physical portrait of the tropics," in *Visions of Empire*, 263.

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understood by the general public as well as by the scientific community.

Humboldt also applied his method of isometrics in his essay on the superposition of rocks.<sup>14</sup> In this work, Humboldt emphasized the importance of the isochronism of rock formations.<sup>15</sup> What isochronism described was the connection of rocks of equal age. Humboldt used his own research from the coast of Venezuela as well as more recent research using fossils and rocks from different continents as an argument for isochronism.<sup>16</sup>

After his more focused studies on meteorology and weather, Humboldt returned to a more general view of nature. In 1850, Humboldt released his *Aspects of Nature*, which among many things summarized his expedition to Central Asia and documented animal and plant life along with his developed interpretation of volcanic activity.<sup>17</sup> The scope of material Humboldt tackled in this book attests to his wishes to unify the different fields of nature as much as possible. Humboldt also described in greater detail the methods behind his isothermic work. For example, Humboldt attempted to describe what creates fluctuations in temperature and essentially why isotherms exist. His motivation for finding these fluctuations came from his desire to find “the various causes which produce greater moisture and a less degree of heat in America.”<sup>18</sup> He referred to the role of trees in not only shaping temperature but also providing evidence themselves of the distinction between botanical zones. Differing “stratum of leaves” radiating back into the air in subsequently

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<sup>14</sup> Superposition is the geological concept that rocks deeper in the earth were created earlier.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *A Geognostical Essay on the Superposition of Rocks in Both Hemispheres* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1823), 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 23.

<sup>17</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature in Different Lands and Climates; with Scientific Elucidations*, trans. Mrs. Sabine (New York: AMS Press, 1970).

<sup>18</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature in Different Lands and Climates; with Scientific Elucidations*, trans. Mrs. Sabine, vol. 1 (New York: Readex Microprint, courtesy History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma, 1969), 123.

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different strengths create higher or lower temperatures based on the type of trees.<sup>19</sup> This document went beyond his discussions of the usages of isometric lines as Humboldt had already laid the foundation in developing such lines as his isotherms. By not acknowledging his lines directly in *Aspects of Nature*, Humboldt tried to find new ways to explore the scientific problems for which he had no clear answers. For example, Humboldt questioned the meaning of a correlation between the geologic age of a territory and the presence of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.<sup>20</sup> In addition, Humboldt pondered what other variables factored into his theory of plant geography, since he noted that despite his application of isotherms and elevation, it was by no means a perfect theory: "The distribution of organic beings over the surface of the earth does not depend wholly on thermic or climatic relations."<sup>21</sup> Humboldt understood that the immense complexity of nature was not conducive toward his unifying, simplifying vision; nevertheless, he was determined to present his model to the best of his ability, and he continued to show that drive in his final major work.

Released starting in 1845, Humboldt's *Cosmos* was the ultimate expression of his "synthesizing impulse."<sup>22</sup> First, Humboldt analyzed his magnetic lines, of which he described magnetic force, inclination, and declination (isodynamic, isoclinic, and isogonic, respectively).<sup>23</sup> He described the progress made by colleagues and himself in mapping the world magnetically. Humboldt showed that he had faith in the significance of his measurements and maps despite the possibility that they would not hold true globally.

Later in *Cosmos*, Humboldt discussed his familiar "distribution of heat" and suggested that his system of isothermal lines, isothermal lines (equal summer temperatures), and isochimenal lines (equal winter temperatures) become the

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<sup>19</sup> Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature* (AMS Press), 112-113.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>22</sup> Helfferich, 323.

<sup>23</sup> Magnetic inclination is the dip in compasses caused by the Earth's magnetic field, while magnetic declination is the angle formed between magnetic north and true north.

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foundations of comparative climatology.<sup>24</sup> Humboldt made a very insightful statement that revealed the role of isometrics in science. Drawing parallels to magnetism, he defined the importance of lines in general in his works:

Terrestrial magnetism did not acquire a right to be regarded as a science until partial results were graphically connected in a system of lines of *equal declination, equal inclination, and equal intensity*.<sup>25</sup>

In Humboldt's eyes, his lines of isometric magnetic measurements created the truly scientific study of terrestrial magnetism just as his isotherms created the study of comparative climatology and his zones of plant life created the study of plant geography. Throughout Humboldt's studies of the physical world his reliance on isometric lines varied. Nonetheless, the importance of these lines to Humboldt's success and the future of these fields cannot be underestimated.

After Humboldt's works were released, there were varied reactions in different fields. Humboldt made his most lasting and popular contributions in the field of meteorology. He was mentioned in meteorological works starting in 1823 with John Frederic Daniell's *Meteorological Essays and Observations*.<sup>26</sup> Daniell was an English meteorologist and chemist known for his contribution to currents.<sup>27</sup> In his work, Humboldt was "the celebrated philosopher and traveler" and was considered as popular for his measurements as his philosophy.<sup>28</sup> In 1849, David Purdie Thomson's *Introduction to Meteorology* relied heavily on Humboldt's ideas.<sup>29</sup> His isothermal lines were given their own

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<sup>24</sup> Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 317.

<sup>25</sup> Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 317 [emphasis his].

<sup>26</sup> John Frederic Daniell, *Meteorological Essays and Observations* (New York: Readex Microprint, courtesy History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma, 1969).

<sup>27</sup> *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (Abingdon, Oxon, United Kingdom: Helicon Pub., 2004), 278.

<sup>28</sup> Daniell, 190.

<sup>29</sup> David Purdie Thomson, *Introduction to Meteorology* (New York: Readex Microprint, courtesy History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma, 1971).



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chapter, and drawing upon Humboldt's works, Thomson quoted numerous passages such as Humboldt's account of a meteor shower in Cumana.<sup>30</sup> Humboldt was mentioned on forty-eight pages-by far the most of any one contributor. This evidence clearly shows that by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Humboldt was used as a source for various types of meteorological information, from the amount of feet of elevation needed to lower one degree of temperature to an observation of red hail to the composition of snow.<sup>31</sup>

Francois Arago, a renowned physicist and astronomer, was a close friend of Humboldt's.<sup>32</sup> He asked an aging Humboldt to write the introduction to his 1855 *Meteorological Essays*.<sup>33</sup> There, in addition to chronicling his esteem for Arago, Humboldt alluded to his usage of lines by claiming that Arago's mind "tended ever toward the same leading aims, i.e. generalization of views, the connection of phenomena which had long appeared to stand alone."<sup>34</sup> Expectedly, Arago consulted Humboldt as a source for a description of aurora borealis.<sup>35</sup> Arago referred to Humboldt while determining the intensity of magnetic force.<sup>36</sup> Also in his concluding remarks on terrestrial magnetism, Arago mentioned that Humboldt "has sought to associate many friends of science in the promotion and prosecution of this common work."<sup>37</sup> Arago's comments signified that Humboldt's work was making some degree of impact in magnetism as well as in meteorology.

Humboldt was so intrinsically linked to his meteorological work that even the famed commander of the *HMS Beagle* and avid meteorologist Robert FitzRoy in his 1863 *The Weather Book* had glowing words for Humboldt's "inexhaustible mines of

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 339.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 43, 182, 184.

<sup>32</sup> *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 32.

<sup>33</sup> Dominique Francois Jean Arago, *Meteorological Essays...with an Introduction by Baron Alexander Von Humboldt* (New York: Readex Microprint, courtesy History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma, 1976).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., xviii.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 466.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 290.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 387.

knowledge.”<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the finest example of Humboldt's legacy to meteorology was from J. G. Bartholomew, whose 1899 *Atlas of Meteorology* showcased Humboldt's lines and his isometrics.<sup>39</sup> Detailed maps of isometrics, including some additional maps like isonephs (equal cloudiness) and isohyets (equal rainfall) and isohels (equal sunshine) along with isobars and isotherms, were drawn for the entire world. In the introduction, Bartholomew included Humboldt's isotherms among important works in the “progress of meteorology” and attributed his lines to being “brought down to date by Dove in his great work.”<sup>40</sup>

However, it appears that Humboldt's influence in meteorology dwindled after the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mentions of Humboldt's observations and journeys decreased even though scholars continued to use his isotherms. A textbook of meteorology from 1941 neglected to attribute isothermic lines to Humboldt.<sup>41</sup> His lines continued to be used but their attribution to Humboldt gradually faded away.

Humboldt's significance to plant geography seem to parallel his significance in meteorology; however, among the plant geography and botany communities, Humboldt's impact seems still to be felt. William T. Stearn, in his 1959 work “Alexander von Humboldt and Plant Geography,” recognized that his work “showed the way to correlate plant zones with physical factors” and influenced Darwin.<sup>42</sup> In his 1960 article “Humboldt's '*Essai sur la géographie des plantes*,’” Stearn argued that Humboldt's

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<sup>38</sup> Robert FitzRoy, *The Weather Book: A Manual of Practical Meteorology* (New York: Readex Microprint, courtesy History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma, 1969), 133.

<sup>39</sup> J. G. Bartholomew, *Atlas of Meteorology: A Series of over Four Hundred Maps* (Edinburgh, United Kingdom: The Royal Geographical Society, 1899).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Sverre Petterssen, *Introduction to Meteorology* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941), 205.

<sup>42</sup> William T. Stearn, “Alexander von Humboldt and Plant Geography,” in *Humboldt, Bonpland, Kunth and Tropical American Botany*, ed. William T. Stearn, 116-120 (Stuttgart, Germany: Verlag Von J. Cramer, 1968), 119.

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*Essai sur la géographie des plantes* “ranks as a pioneer work, the forerunner of later phytogeographical works.”<sup>43</sup>

Despite these attempts to acknowledge Humboldt, some scholars question his influence. In a 1981 history of plant geography, Philip Anthony Tott considered Humboldt's *Essai* one of the “early masterpieces of plant geography,” but also noted that “it was with the evolutionary understanding of Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, and ... Hooker that the subject began to take on its modern theoretical dimensions.”<sup>44</sup> Although Humboldt is considered a father of plant geography, scholars still argue over how much credit he truly deserves.

Humboldt suffered an equally cold reception in the fields of geology and magnetism. As in so much of his work, Humboldt was overshadowed mostly by others who specialized in their particular field. William Smith was one of the founders of stratigraphical geology (which was similar to Humboldt's works in the field).<sup>45</sup> Smith was more comprehensive in his study than in Humboldt's geological works. Thus, many scientists gravitated to his work. In magnetism, Arago saw Humboldt's work as vital to his studies; indeed, Humboldt even coined the term “magnetic storm.”<sup>46</sup> However, Humboldt's ideas on magnetic isometrics are not contained in any standard 20<sup>th</sup>-century textbook of magnetism. These books are concerned with more technical and complicated magnetic phenomena than what Humboldt described in his works. Thus, Humboldt's attempts to bring together a wide range of sciences proved to be a weakness. He was eclipsed by later scientists who had more expertise in their specific fields.

Despite Humboldt's failings to gain popular support, historians since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century have begun to illuminate Humboldt's isometrics and its significance to his scientific approach. In Edward F. Dolan's *Green Universe*, Humboldt is portrayed discovering that the lines he drew connecting zones of elevation to proper zones of plant life formed triangles that

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<sup>43</sup> William T. Stearn, “Humboldt's 'Essai sur la Géographie des Plantes,’” in *Humboldt, Bonpland, Kunth and Tropical American Botany*, 121-128, 121.

<sup>44</sup> Philip Anthony Stott, *Historical Plant Geography* (London: George Allen and Irwin, 1981), 3.

<sup>45</sup> *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 1065.

<sup>46</sup> David P. Stern, “Millennium of Geomagnetism” (31 January 2003) [http://www.phy6.org/earthmag/mill\\_4.htm](http://www.phy6.org/earthmag/mill_4.htm) (accessed 4 December 2005).

conformed to the different latitudes.<sup>47</sup> This historian has Humboldt stumbling on his lucky find, but at the same time, his idea was all his doing; he grasped the final link between altitude and plant life. Kellner's 1963 biography gave plenty of insight into Humboldt's data collection and meteorological advantages for his studies, as well as the impact of Halley's magnetic declination on Humboldt's own versions.

In his 1996 article "Global physics and aesthetic empire," Michael Dettelbach makes note of Humboldt's isometrics.<sup>48</sup> He describes Humboldt's isometric lines as resulting in an overall Humboldtian philosophy of a "physics of the earth."<sup>49</sup> He shows an instance when Humboldt realized the common threads between his isometric work in heat and magnetism.<sup>50</sup> Humboldt noted these scientific patterns and called them "the cooperation of physical forces."<sup>51</sup> Dettelbach claims in his 1996 article "Humboldtian Science" that Humboldt's work on isothermic lines were ways of expressing order and equilibrium in the environment.<sup>52</sup> His article confirms Humboldt's philosophy: his measurements were organized in such a way as to increase understanding in ways that lists or narratives could not do. In 2004, Gerard Helferich took this argument one step further in claiming that Humboldt's visual conceptions of isothermic lines were works of art depicting nature. They deliberately attempted to "present apparently discordant data with such visual force that their fundamental interrelations were inescapable."<sup>53</sup>

Humboldt's study of a great range of sciences made him an intriguing scientific figure. Even if Humboldt is not held as

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<sup>47</sup> Edward F. Dolan, *Green Universe: The Story of Alexander von Humboldt* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1959), 144-147.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Dettelbach, "Global physics and aesthetic empire: Humboldt's physical portrait of the tropics," in *Visions of Empire*, ed. David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill, 258-292 (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 261, 264.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 264.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Dettelbach, "Humboldtian Science," in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord, and E.C. Spary, 287-304, notes 482-484 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 295.

<sup>53</sup> Helferich, 229.

## Humboldtian Isometric Lines

the vanguard of any particular science, this paper posits that he was a leader in terms of both the general sciences and the history of cartography and visualization. Although he may not have made a revolutionary scientific finding, he revolutionized the display of information that opened science both to the common reader and the scientific community. He inspired leading scientists (including Darwin) amid the growing compartmentalization of science. Humboldt was the last great universal scientist, bringing insights to a multitude of sciences. Isometric lines were the centerpiece that communicated his valiant efforts to understand the entirety of the natural world. Humboldt's use of isometric lines legitimized his scientific endeavors and gave him the right to be regarded as one of the notable scientific minds in history.

# The Palazzo Pazzi

## From Commission to Confiscation

Brady Lee

The Palazzo Pazzi, the late fifteenth-century residence of the Pazzi family, was a new form in the tradition of the Quattrocento palazzo in Florence. As such, it served as a political statement in the ever-increasing tension between two of the most prominent families in Florence, the Pazzi and the Medici. Located on the Via del Proconsolo, a street on the east side of Florence near the Bargello,<sup>1</sup> the Palazzo Pazzi (Figure 1) became the Pazzi family residence after its completion in 1470.<sup>2</sup> Messer Jacopo de' Pazzi, the leader of the Pazzi family, commissioned architect Giuliano da Maiano to design and build the palazzo as a part of an attempt to challenge his rival Lorenzo de' Medici's social and political hegemony in Renaissance Florence.<sup>3</sup> Its construction catalyzed a series of events that increased tension between the two families, culminating in the 1478 attempt on the life of Lorenzo de' Medici and the murder of his brother, Giuliano. In the aftermath of this coup, commonly referred to as the Pazzi Conspiracy, the Medici systematically set out to destroy the Pazzi family and eradicate every enterprise in which they had been involved.<sup>4</sup> This paper chronicles the construction of the Palazzo Pazzi from commission to confiscation, highlighting the

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<sup>1</sup> Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), first page map.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture* (London: Phaidon Press Unlimited, 2002), 261. Messer Jacopo de' Pazzi is cited as the patron in Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence* (Firenze: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1985), 545.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Schocken Books, 1997), 79.

<sup>4</sup> The best source of information on the events before, during, and after the Pazzi Conspiracy is Lauro Martines's book *April Blood*, 88-137.

## Palazzo Pazzi



Figure 1 – Giuliano da Maiano, Palazzo Pazzi Façade, 1462  
(Saalman, Howard, “The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace” Plate 1)



Figure 2 – Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Palazzo Medici Façade, 1444  
(Thomson, David. Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, Luxury Plate 4)



## Palazzo Pazzi

architectural sources that Maiano used and to which he responded, the architectural precedent that he established, and the Florentine political turmoil that resulted as a consequence of this unique building.

Because the construction of the Palazzo Pazzi prefigured a number of events leading up to the Pazzi Conspiracy, analyzing its presence in Florence will elucidate many social and political aspects of Florentine culture. Art historian Richard Goy asserted that no palazzo had the political significance of the Palazzo Pazzi in Quattrocento Florence.<sup>5</sup> Given the political significance of every palazzo, this statement is quite surprising. Once Cosimo de' Medici, Lorenzo's grandfather, began construction on the huge Palazzo Medici (Figure 2) in 1444,<sup>6</sup> his house became a model for all homes in Florence.<sup>7</sup> Homes modeled after the Palazzo Medici in Quattrocento Florence physically symbolized families' political leanings in relation to the Medici family. For example, Filippo Strozzi, head of the Strozzi family and an associate of the Medici, even consulted Lorenzo de' Medici before building the Palazzo Strozzi in 1490.<sup>8</sup> Jacopo de' Pazzi asked for no such consultation. In fact, no other family challenged the Medici model as blatantly as the Pazzi family, and the resulting political tension justifies Goy's statement.

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<sup>5</sup> Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 261.

<sup>6</sup> Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 68. It is important to remember that the Riccardi added seven bays in 1659. See Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 258.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Burroughs discussed how the Palazzo Medici combined the public and private aspects of architecture, citing the Palazzo della Signoria, which he called "the greatest government building of the city," as the model for the Palazzo Medici's transition from a government building into a private home. See Charles Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 104-105.

<sup>8</sup> For a good discussion on the politics of family home construction, see the section on Renaissance Italy in David Thomson, *Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, and Luxury* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 9-18. Thomson discussed the reason that Lorenzo allowed such a house to be built, stating that even though Strozzi wanted to surpass the Palazzo Medici, it was not a brash challenge. In fact, he adds, Lorenzo made a number of key suggestions on the design before it was built (15).

The architecture of the Palazzo Pazzi was not the only way in which the Pazzi challenged the Medici. As much as architecture fueled the social and political rivalry between the two families, the most extraordinary daily battles were financial. Florence was a banking city and the Pazzi Bank was second only to the Medici Bank in wealth and prestige.<sup>9</sup> Andrea de' Pazzi, Jacopo's father, and Cosimo de' Medici, Lorenzo's grandfather, both made their banks into fiscal titans, which later generations subsequently inherited. However, unlike Cosimo, Lorenzo was never able to set aside his suspicions of Jacopo and the Pazzi, as illustrated by Lorenzo's sour relationship with Pope Sixtus IV, who favored the Pazzi family.<sup>10</sup> In December of 1473, the Pazzi bank loaned Pope Sixtus IV 40,000 ducats for the purchase of the Romangol town of Imola, despite Lorenzo's attempt to prevent the purchase.<sup>11</sup> (Lorenzo had refused to loan Sixtus IV the money for the purchase.) Jacopo also told Sixtus of Lorenzo's opposition to the endeavor, which intensified the tension. In July 1474, the Pope dismissed the Medici as his principle bank and, to add insult to injury, audited their alum accounts.<sup>12</sup> Two years later, in June of 1476, the expiration of the Medici papal alum money went to the Roman branch of the Pazzi bank.<sup>13</sup> These incidents infuriated Lorenzo and gave the Pazzi the confidence to set the stage for a violent confrontation. As historian Lauro Martines asserted in his work, *April Blood*, "Renaissance Florence was going to be too small for the likes of Lorenzo and the Pazzi."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Martines, *April Blood*, 65-72.

<sup>10</sup> For an extensive discussion on the many ways in which Jacopo and Lorenzo tried to undermine and attack each other, *Ibid.*, 76-82, 93-110.

<sup>11</sup> The purchase was for Sixtus IV's nephew, Cardinal Pietro Riario. *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>12</sup> The Pope dismissed them not only because he was slowly giving the Pazzi more business but the account had also plunged in value. Lorenzo protested, saying that this act dishonored his family who had been papal bankers for more than a hundred years, *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>13</sup> This final act did not go unpunished by Lorenzo who, in March 1477, despite advice to do otherwise, pushed a bill through the legislative counsel that "deprived daughters of major inheritances if they had no brothers and were flanked by one or more male cousins." He did this with the Pazzi in mind, which denied Beatrice Borromei, Giovanni de' Pazzi's wife, of her large inheritance, *Ibid.*, 106-107.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

## Palazzo Pazzi

On Easter Sunday, April 26, 1478, Pazzi family conspirators attempted to murder Lorenzo de' Medici in the Cathedral of Florence.<sup>15</sup> Protected by his loyal followers, Lorenzo de' Medici survived. However, Lorenzo's brother, Giuliano, was stabbed approximately nineteen times and was left to die on the cathedral floor. Chaos erupted in Florence. Officials and peasants alike hunted and murdered the Pazzi and their co-conspirators.<sup>16</sup> Authorities publicly hanged Francesco de' Pazzi, the nephew of Jacopo and co-murderer of Giuliano de' Medici, from the government palace window overlooking the Piazza della Signoria. Additionally, Archbishop Salviati and his brother Jacopo Salviati, two men involved with the conspiracy against Lorenzo, were also thrown out of the government building windows. Many more men were hanged, their bodies eventually cut down and torn apart by peasants wanting to (perhaps retroactively) claim loyalty to the Medici family. Machiavelli wrote that the incident yielded "so many deaths that the streets were filled with parts of men."<sup>17</sup> One of the few survivors, Guglielmo de' Pazzi, husband to Lorenzo's sister, was exiled, saved only because his wife begged for his life. He was one of the few conspirators in Florence that day to receive such lenient treatment.

After the initial violence, Lorenzo proceeded to lay siege on the Pazzi family. He was determined to erase all signs the Pazzi family ever existed. Lorenzo and the Lord of Priors, the governing body of Florence, seized all of the Pazzi assets in Florence, including the Palazzo Pazzi and its household goods. They made an effort to sell everything and humiliate the remaining Pazzi with bankruptcy.<sup>18</sup> Lorenzo then turned his wrath on the Pazzi women, who he made change their names or risk becoming rebels. Any man who married a Pazzi woman within three generations of Andrea di Guglielmino, founder of the Pazzi bank,

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<sup>15</sup> For an extensive account of April 26 and the violent days after, *Ibid.*, 111-137.

<sup>16</sup> For an account of the conspirators who were killed in the direct aftermath, *Ibid.*, 124-132.

<sup>17</sup> Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Istorie fiorentine*. Milan: F. Gaeta, 1962, as cited in Martines, *April Blood*, 128.

<sup>18</sup> The financial aspect to this legal assault on the Pazzi was in large part due to the banking rivalry between the two families. See Martines, *April Blood*, 132-137.

was immediately suspected of conspiracy and banned from public office.<sup>19</sup> The erasure was to be so complete, so thorough, that any representation of the Pazzi was destroyed and the maker of any image with the Pazzi name after 1478 would be fined 50 gold florins.<sup>20</sup> Lorenzo annihilated the Pazzi family's legacy, which was all there was left to do once the violence against the conspirators was complete.

But what of Messer Jacopo de' Pazzi? What was his role in the coup against the Medici? As the lead conspirator, he left the cathedral that Sunday morning planning to ride with between fifty to one hundred mercenaries into the government square, to lead the revolt against the Medici. Unfortunately, during his entry into the square the city's emergency bells rang, alerting Jacopo that at least one Medici brother was alive and that the murder attempt had failed.<sup>21</sup> Jacopo fled the city, only to be caught a day later. He was tried, convicted as the chief conspirator and traitor in these events, and hanged out of the same window as his nephew.<sup>22</sup> Authorities compromised and allowed him to be buried in the family crypt at Santa Croce. However, Jacopo did not remain buried. Four days of heavy rain, threatening to ruin the cereal crop, had men voicing God's supposed displeasure with an unholy man being buried on a holy site. Jacopo was then exhumed and buried in unconsecrated ground, only to be dug up again by a group of boys enticed by Medici supporters. They dragged his body around the city, parading and laughing until they finally came to Messer Jacopo's home. The boys knocked on the door and cried: "Who's in there? Who's inside? What, is there no one here to receive the master

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<sup>19</sup> As stated in note 13, the inheritance law also affected these Pazzi women. With their male relatives either dead or exiled, they were not able to inherit anything. Martines aptly stated, "...[the Pazzi women] had little hope of marriage. Her best bet would be to settle for entry into a convent." *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>21</sup> The city's emergency bells are the key reason for Jacopo's exodus. The bells were heard outside Florence's walls, prompting every church and building in the area to ring their bells as a warning that something terrible was happening in the city. Soldiers planning to enter the city to support the Pazzi would also have heard these bells and immediately known the attempt had failed, and thus abandoned Jacopo and his troops. *Ibid.*, 121-124.

<sup>22</sup> For an account on his macabre journey, *Ibid.*, 129-132.

## Palazzo Pazzi

and his entourage?"<sup>23</sup> They then left Jacopo de' Pazzi, murdered and desecrated, outside the confiscated Palazzo Pazzi, the source of much of the growing tension with the Medici and, undoubtedly, where much of the conspiracy was planned.

To understand how the Palazzo Pazzi visually challenged the normal Florentine house model, one must look at the precedent for all family houses in the region, the Palazzo Medici.<sup>24</sup> The Palazzo Medici was a three-story structure with boss, rusticated masonry on the ground floor, channeled rusticated masonry on the first story, and ashlar masonry on the second story, each separated by a small dentilled cornice. This technique made the Palazzo Medici appear tall and strong. Round-headed bifold windows sat on each of the top two stories. The huge cornice that rested atop the second story completed the aesthetic. Significantly, even though the crowing cornice was proportional to the rest of the building, its size visually crushed the second story and made the top of the house appear awkward.<sup>25</sup> This cornice was the only part of the façade of the Palazzo Medici that received criticism; it also was the feature most altered in subsequent palazzo designs. The Palazzo Pazzi was the most prominent example of such deviation.

The rivalry between Medici and Pazzi motivated Jacopo's attempt to architecturally trump the Palazzo Medici with his own house on newly purchased property on the Via del Proconsolo.<sup>26</sup> According to architectural historian Leonardo Ginori Lisci, despite the new "alliance" created by the marriage of Lorenzo's sister Bianca to Guglielmo de' Pazzi in 1459,<sup>27</sup> the construction of the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>24</sup> For a good discussion of the Palazzo Medici, see Fredrick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1979), 166-168.

<sup>25</sup> The smooth ashlar rustication scheme exaggerates this issue. See Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 69.

<sup>26</sup> The best discussion in English of Jacopo's property can be found in Howard Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," *The Art Bulletin* 46 (September 1964), 388-391. The source of Saalman's argument is partially based on another book in Italian by Arnolfo Moscato, *Il Palazzo Pazzi a Firenze* (Roma: Ufficio Stampa, 1963).

<sup>27</sup> Martines mentioned this marriage while discussing the rise of Lorenzo de' Medici as the leader of Florence (p. 94), and wrote another chapter explaining

Palazzo Pazzi worsened the already strained relations between the two families.<sup>28</sup> The façade of the Palazzo Pazzi, designed by Giuliano da Maiano, includes a Medicean three-story scheme with boss rusticated masonry on the ground floor.<sup>29</sup> The stonework also frames the entrance door. A dentilled cornice begins the first and second stories, each supporting nine round-headed bifore windows.<sup>30</sup> Small circular oculi windows sit above each of the bifore windows on the second story, separating it from the top of the building (Figure 3). The absence of a cornice, even if one was never intended, in combination with the oculi windows, gives the Palazzo Pazzi a decorative charm that contrasted favorably against the great cornice of the Palazzo Medici.<sup>31</sup> Jacopo intended the Palazzo Pazzi to serve as both a literal and figurative representation of Pazzi superiority.

The tight confines of the Via del Proconsolo frame an intriguing visual element of the Palazzo Pazzi. Goy stated that the narrow street combined with the termination of the rusticated stonework at the ground floor made the Pazzi home appear more imposing.<sup>32</sup> Michele Furnari observed that the light stucco liberated the top two stories of the façade from the rusticated stonework on the ground floor.<sup>33</sup> Sgraffito, low-relief sculpted and painted forms made of plaster, which decorated the first and second stories on the façade, partially dispelled the notion of light-dark contrasts on the building and added to the Palazzo

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the reasons marriage was viewed as a status tool, including first hand accounts of Lucrezia Tornabuoni's search for a bride. See Martines, *April Blood*, 25-36.

<sup>28</sup> Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 545.

<sup>29</sup> For architectural perspective on the palazzi of Florence and the elevation and ground plan drawings of the Palazzo Pazzi, see Michele Furnari, *Formal Design in Renaissance Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1995), 123-124.

<sup>30</sup> Furnari, *Formal Design in Renaissance Architecture*, 124.

<sup>31</sup> Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 304.

<sup>32</sup> Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 261-262.

<sup>33</sup> Furnari also stated that the contrast was comparable to Brunelleschi's pietra serena work in the Old Sacristy and the Pazzi Chapel, a source of the Palazzo Pazzi and Giuliano da Maiano. See Furnari, *Formal Design in Renaissance Architecture*, 124. Burroughs stated that the contrast of the ground floor and elegant upper floors is carried to an extreme. See his book, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade*, 89.

## Palazzo Pazzi



Figure 3 - Round-headed bifore windows on Palazzo Pazzi  
(Moscato, Arnoldo. Il Palazzo Pazzi a Firenze page 24)



Figure 4 - Floral Decoration  
on round-headed bifore  
windows (Moscato, Arnoldo.  
Il Palazzo Pazzi a Firenze  
page 26)



Figure 5 – Pazzi coat of arms (<http://www.aboutflorence.com/firenze/pazzi-cospirazione.html> Accessed October 31, 2006)



Figure 6 – Detail of dolphins on the courtyard capital (Saalman, Howard, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace" Plate 2)



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Pazzi's contrast with the Palazzo Medici.<sup>34</sup> Even though none of the sgraffito has survived, Lisci believes it was painted to resemble ashlar, similar to the Palazzo Bardi alle Grazie.<sup>35</sup> However, due to the variety of figurative and decorative motifs on other palazzi of the period and the Pazzi family's blatant challenge to the Palazzo Medici façade design, it is more likely that the first and second stories were more ornately made.<sup>36</sup> This façade scheme was not unprecedented, yet it was another divergence from the Palazzo Medici's model.

Two other noteworthy details on the Palazzo Pazzi include the floral decoration on the round-headed bifore windows (Figure 4) and the Pazzi coat of arms (Figure 5). The Pazzi coat of arms was placed on the corner of the first story façade.<sup>37</sup> Martines stated that the Pazzi derived their coat of arms from the French ducal family and their rich military history during the Crusades, using crosses and battlement towers to symbolize their war for Christianity.<sup>38</sup> Twin dolphins also located on the capitals of the columns inside the courtyard (Figure 6) signified generosity and freedom.<sup>39</sup> The decoration on the round-headed bifore windows is

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<sup>34</sup> Goy gave a small explanation of sgraffito in Florence at that time, citing the first Renaissance example inside the Palazzo Medici courtyard in Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 262. Hartt says that what is now smooth *intonaco* was doubtlessly intended for sgraffito in Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 304.

<sup>35</sup> Lisci based this knowledge on his reading of Marchini. See Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 549. n. 5.

<sup>36</sup> For an extensively researched source on sgraffito façades and courtyards, see Gunther Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration in Sgraffito und Fresco 14. Bis 17. Jahrhundert* (München: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1964).

<sup>37</sup> The coat of arms on the side of a family home was used for more than identification. Goy discussed the symbolic location of the coat of arms on the Palazzo Medici in Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 258. A slightly more thorough examination was given by Burroughs, who even likened the Palazzo Medici to the idea of the medieval enclave in its relation to the church and piazza of San Lorenzo. See Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace*, 105-107.

<sup>38</sup> Martines discussed the origins of the Pazzi family and how those events became part of the sculptural symbolism in Martines, *April Blood*, 62-64.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-65. Goy mentioned another symbol that is on the columns of the courtyard in the Palazzo Pazzi, the vase. He stated the vase represented the

also important. Martines claimed the two sails on either side of the circular flower motif visually connected the Pazzi with their involvement in overseas commerce and the Angevin Prince René of Anjo.<sup>40</sup> Lisci stated that the sails signified the family's commercial and maritime success, while architectural historian Howard Saalman stated that the vines and fruit on the windows symbolized the growth of the Pazzi family through "patient cultivation."<sup>41</sup>

Even though the Palazzo Pazzi no longer served as the residence of the Pazzi family following the Pazzi Conspiracy in 1478, the Palazzo Strozzi (Figure 7), commissioned in 1490 by Filippo Strozzi, is one significant example of a family home that used the Pazzi house as an architectural model.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Benedetto da Maiano, Giuliano's brother, built most of this house.<sup>43</sup> Two of the three façades on the Palazzo Strozzi were very similar to the Palazzo Pazzi in elevation, designed with one entrance and nine window spaces. Another similarity between two buildings was the treatment of the area below the crowning cornice, where the Palazzo Strozzi has an empty frieze space on the façade above the second story (Figure 8). Using a concept similar to the oculi windows on the Palazzo Pazzi, either Benedetto or Simone del Pollaiuolo used the frieze to rid the Palazzo Strozzi of proportionality issues created by an enormous Medicean crowing cornice.<sup>44</sup>

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sacred flame that Pazzino de' Pazzi had brought back from the First Crusade to the Holy Land. See Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 262.

<sup>40</sup> While the events represented in the Pazzi symbols may have never happened, the Pazzi and other families believed them because they enjoyed their prestigious origins, Martines, *April Blood*, 63.

<sup>41</sup> Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, p. 546. Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 392-393.

<sup>42</sup> Hemsoll briefly mentioned the political climate of building a palazzo after the Pazzi Conspiracy in David Hemsoll, "Giuliano da Sangallo in the new Renaissance of Lorenzo de' Medici," *The Early Medici and their Artists*, (London: Caldra House Ltd, 1995), 192.

<sup>43</sup> Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 81.

<sup>44</sup> It is generally accepted that Giuliano da Sangallo made the model (Murray, 81), Benedetto da Maiano built the house, and Simone del Pollaiuolo (or Cronaca) designed the cornice. See Martucci, Roberto, and Bruno, Giovannetti. *Florence*. (Venezia: Canal & Stamperia Editrice, 1997), 83.

## Palazzo Pazzi

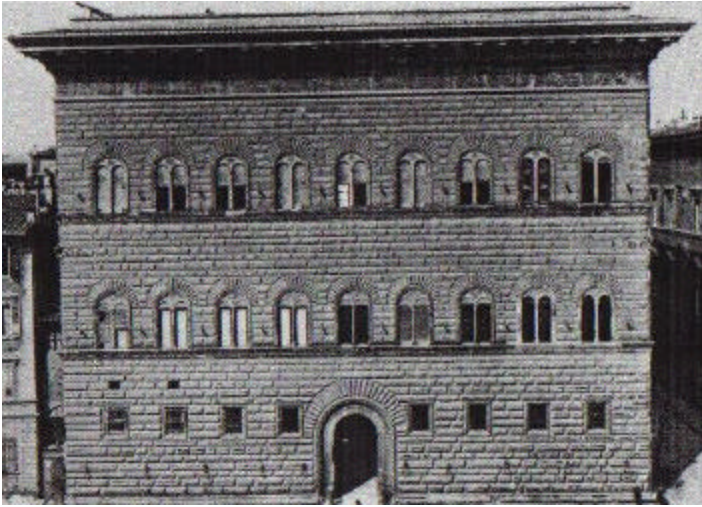


Figure 7 – Benedetto da Maiano, Palazzo Strozzi, 1489  
(Benevolo, Leonardo. The Architecture of the Renaissance, 205

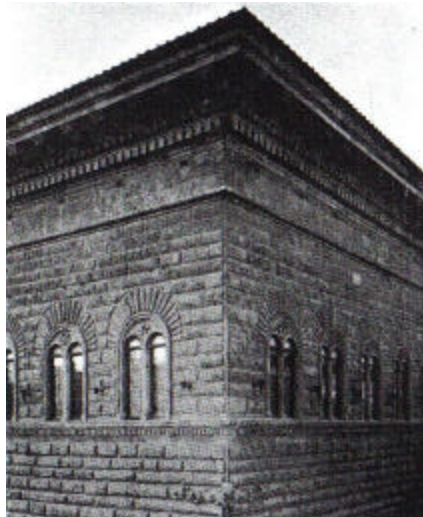


Figure 8 – Cornice detail of the Palazzo Strozzi  
(Lisci, Leonardo Ginori. The Palazzi of Florence: Their History and Art Plate 166)

Giuliano da Maiano's (Figure 9) significance in the history of the Pazzi architects has evolved. Historians have redefined his role in the creation of the Palazzo Pazzi, shifting it from tentative attribution as the architect, to that of the main candidate for the design of the Palazzo Pazzi.<sup>45</sup> In addition to Maiano's traditionally cited payment claim in 1478 (Figure 10),<sup>46</sup> his earlier work on the Pazzi Chapel at the church of Santa Croce (Figure 11) exposed him to Filippo Brunelleschi's ideas and concepts, which strengthened the attribution of the Palazzo Pazzi to his name.<sup>47</sup> Somewhat ironically, Filippo Brunelleschi, the architect who did not receive the commission for the Palazzo Medici, significantly impacted the architectural rivalry between the two families.

The relationship connecting the Palazzo Pazzi and Palazzo Medici can be seen as an ironic microcosm of the Filippo Brunelleschi's relationship with Cosimo de' Medici, who commissioned Brunelleschi to design the Old Sacristy adjoining the transept of San Lorenzo that served as the Medici family mausoleum. This relationship ended when Brunelleschi did not accompany Cosimo to Venice following the exile of the Medici from Florence.<sup>48</sup> After the return of the Medici family to Florence in 1434, Michelozzo di Bartolommeo became the Medici family architect.<sup>49</sup> While Cosimo was waiting to begin his new palazzo, Brunelleschi accepted Andrea dei Pazzi's commission in the early

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<sup>45</sup> Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, p. 261. Lisci rejected the old hypothesis that attributed the Palazzo Pazzi to Filippo Brunelleschi because it was built between 1459 and 1469, by which point Brunelleschi had already been dead for fifteen years. See Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 545.

<sup>46</sup> A document shows Giuliano da Maiano's claim for 1800 lire of outstanding debt for his work for the Pazzi, discussed in Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 388 and Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 545.

<sup>47</sup> Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 165.

<sup>48</sup> Cosimo and the Medici were exiled because they paid the *catasto*, the Florentine graduated income tax, incorrectly. See Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings* (London: Zwemmer, 1993), 147-152.

<sup>49</sup> For a good discussion on their relationship, see Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings*, 147-152.



Figure 9 – Woodcut of Giuliano da Maiano  
Vasari, Giorgio. Lives of the Most  
Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects page 463

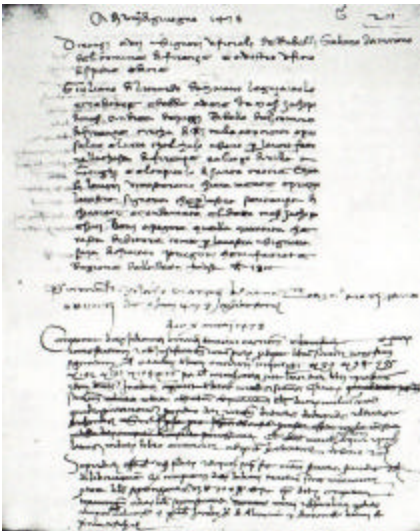


Figure 10- Document with  
Maiano's Claim  
(Moscato, Arnoldo. Il Palazzo  
Pazzi a Firenze page 69)

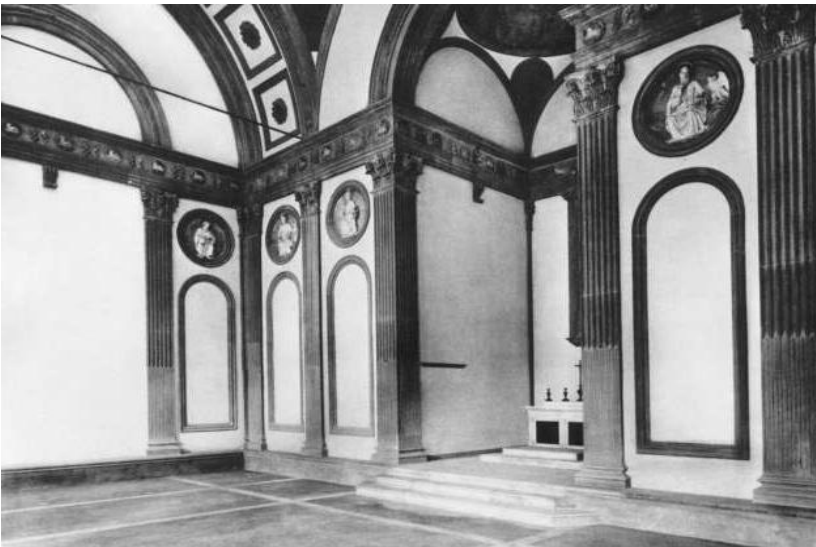


Figure 11 - Filippo Brunelleschi, Interior of the Pazzi Chapel  
(Barolsky, Paul, "Toward an Interpretation of the Pazzi Chapel"  
Plate 1)

## Palazzo Pazzi

1430s to design and build the Pazzi Chapel.<sup>50</sup> When Cosimo finally decided to build the Palazzo Medici in 1444, Michelozzo, instead of Brunelleschi, won the competition for the commission. This decision infuriated Brunelleschi, but his anger was short lived.<sup>51</sup> His death two years later left the Pazzi Chapel incomplete.<sup>52</sup> Significantly, since he died a Pazzi architect, his work can be seen as the bridge needed to understand the visual elements of the Palazzo Pazzi in response to the Palazzo Medici.

At first glance, the episode of Brunelleschi, the Pazzi Chapel, and the Palazzo Medici may seem insignificant in the context of the Palazzo Pazzi. Yet, from these events, one can trace a path from Maiano and the Palazzo Pazzi to a building Brunelleschi designed and built: the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa (Figure 12).<sup>53</sup> The oculi windows above the round-headed windows of the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa (Figure 13) were exactly the same architectural form as the oculi windows on the Palazzo Pazzi.<sup>54</sup> While it is probable that Maiano would have seen the

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<sup>50</sup> Eugenio Battisti explained the problems with dating the Pazzi Chapel by examining the different tax returns and the dates found on the walls of the chapel. See Eugenio Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi* (Milano: Electa, 2002), 222-229. Cosimo waited to begin his house because he did not want to create jealousy among the Florentine people. See Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 66-68. Saalman gave a good history of the Pazzi family in relation to both the Medici family and the Pazzi Chapel. See Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings*, 210-223.

<sup>51</sup> Brunelleschi smashed his model of the Palazzo Medici when Cosimo did not accept his design. Hartt, *History of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 166 and Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 68.

<sup>52</sup> Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 31. For questions pertaining to Brunelleschi and the Pazzi Chapel, see Battisti *Filippo Brunelleschi*, 250-255.

<sup>53</sup> The Palazzo di Parte Guelfa was Brunelleschi's addition to the Parte Guelfa's building complex. See Diane Finello Zervas, *The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi and Donatello*, (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1988).

<sup>54</sup> The comparison of the architectural form is not new ground, which can be found in Quinterio, Francesco. *Giuliano da Maiano "Grandissimo Domestico"* (Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1996), p. 319. However, the addition of the Pazzi Chapel as a connecting architectural concept between the two architects something that I have not found in my research.





Figure 12 – Filippo Brunelleschi, Palazzo di Parte Guelfa (Zervas, Diane Fienello. The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi & Donatello Plate 73)



Figure 13 – Detail of the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa (Zervas, Diane Fienello. The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi & Donatello Plate 74)



## Palazzo Pazzi

Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, the connection is not based simply on speculation about his familiarity with Florentine architecture. Architectural historian Frederick Hartt suggests that Maiano worked on the façade or porch of the Brunelleschi designed Pazzi Chapel.<sup>55</sup> Maiano's work makes it almost certain that inside of the Pazzi Chapel he saw the same oculi window form that is on the façade of the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, where the four windows are topped with roundels.<sup>56</sup> There is the same oculi window form on the second story of the Palazzo Pazzi, which made a visual statement against the huge crowning cornice on top of the Palazzo Medici. How ironic for Brunelleschi to have created a solution to the only flaw of the building that he did not get the commission to build, only to have it come from the hands of Giuliano da Maiano, one of his followers.

Some scholars find Maiano's designation as the architect of the Palazzo Pazzi problematic. Most notably, Howard Saalman came to a different conclusion using the documents Arnolfo Moscato used in 1963 to attribute the Pazzi home to Maiano. Saalman stated that Moscato's work, *Il Palazzo Pazzi a Firenze*, used two pieces of documentation: a set of Florentine tax returns, called the *portate al catasto*, for Jacopo and his brothers between 1447 and 1469,<sup>57</sup> and a document that showed Maiano and his brother Benedetto's 1478 outstanding debt claim for 1800 lire.<sup>58</sup> With this documentation, Moscato explained Del Badia's observation that the last three southern windows are closer together than the other six, calling it an addition based on

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<sup>55</sup> Hartt cited Maiano's stylistic similarity and the 1478 payment claim. See Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 165.

<sup>56</sup> For an interpretation of the roundels in the Pazzi Chapel as a possible representation of the heavenly city, see Paul Barolsky, "Toward and Interpretation of the Pazzi Chapel," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 32 (October 1973), 228-231.

<sup>57</sup> The *catasto* was for Jacopo de' Pazzi and his two brothers (Authorship, 388), named Piero and Antonio, who died in 1464 and 1451 respectively, Martines, *April Blood*, genealogies, xvi.

<sup>58</sup> The claim in the document says, "nella chasa di Firenze e a luogo di villa a Montughi e al capitolo di Santa Croce" in Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 388.

Jacopo's new property for which he bartered in 1462.<sup>59</sup> On this assumption Moscato resolved the dating and later indirectly attributes the palazzo based on Maiano's claim for the 1800 lire in 1478.<sup>60</sup>

After his explanation of Moscato's work, Saalman began to counter argue the traditional date and architect normally attributed to the Palazzo Pazzi. Saalman asked, how, if construction of the building began before Jacopo acquired the southern three bay spaces in 1462, the entrance door could still be in the middle of the nine bay space façade.<sup>61</sup> He asserted that with this discrepancy there is no chance that the building had been completed in the 1460s, adding that the 1800 lire that Maiano claimed in 1478 was not stated as long overdue.<sup>62</sup> He then stated that Maiano's claim of 1800 lire (equivalent to about 450 Florins) was not nearly enough money to base an attribution. Instead, Saalman thought that the documents suggested Maiano worked on furnishings more than the design of the building, citing a comparably valued 1700 lire intarsia payment that Maiano earned in 1462 for the Badia in Fiesole.<sup>63</sup> Based on this information, Saalman attributed the home to the architect Giuliano da Sangallo, with work beginning in the 1470s.<sup>64</sup>

Many historians have discussed the 1800 lire payment that Maiano claimed in 1478. Unlike Saalman, Lisci wrote that Maiano's claim of 1800 lire equated to a substantial amount of money, converting it into fifteen-million lire at today's rate (1985), and added that Maiano received this as compensation for work not exclusively done on the Palazzo Pazzi.<sup>65</sup> Significantly, however, this payment was most likely not the only payment the Pazzi family made to Maiano. As previously discussed, Lorenzo's merciless assault against the Pazzi family destroyed most of the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 389.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 389. The documents are discussed further in Moscato's chapter on the attribution of the Palazzo Pazzi in Moscato, *Il Palazzo Pazzi di Firenze*, 41-78.

<sup>61</sup> While discussing the documents, Saalman questioned why Messer Jacopo was still recalling the fact that his father lived in that house, concluding that the omission of Andrea's name in 1469 was significant. Ibid., 390-391.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 391.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 391.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>65</sup> Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 546.

## Palazzo Pazzi

Pazzi's possessions, which included accounting documents.<sup>66</sup> As a result, one may never know how much Maiano (or any other architect or worker for that matter) was paid for work on the Palazzo Pazzi. Unfortunately, the lost documentation diminishes the importance that Saalman placed on the sum of money, and makes any argument using the documents much more difficult to substantiate.

Saalman's attribution of the Palazzo Pazzi to Giuliano da Sangallo, instead of Giuliano da Maiano, despite the poor documentation, merits attention. Saalman's suspicion that the Palazzo Pazzi was not built in the 1460s suggested that Maiano was not the only architect in Florence who was available to complete such a project.<sup>67</sup> Saalman then suggested that the floral decoration and original concept of the Palazzo Pazzi suggests Sangallo brought a more romantic version of Roman imperial architecture to Florence, something that Maiano would not have done.<sup>68</sup> Based on his case against Maiano, Saalman attributed the Palazzo Pazzi to Sangallo for two reasons. First, he suggested that even though Sangallo's return to Florence is not documented, the gap in his work from April 1472 to 1479 allows for the possibility that Sangallo garnered the commission.<sup>69</sup> This claim supports his assertion that the Pazzi house was built right

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<sup>66</sup> The Florentines were strict record keepers, thus in the weeks and months after the failed attempt on Lorenzo's life, the Lord of Priors made it known that all of the creditors and debtors of the Pazzi needed to come forward and make their claims known (201). This diligence made it possible for Martines to make a list of everything they had at their disposal by 1486 (211), which included 56 smallish notebooks, 127 record and account books, and eight bundles of papers. All told, it was a substantial amount of documentation, none of which, it seems, still exists. See Martines, *April Blood*, 201-213.

<sup>67</sup> The decline of Michelozzo and the death of Bernardo Rossellino made Maiano one of the main architects in Florence in the 1460s, Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 391. Andrew Butterfield stated that Giuliano and his brother Benedetto ran one of the most successful workshops in Quattrocento Florence, adding that Giuliano was the *capomaestro* of the Duomo starting in 1477. See Andrew Butterfield, "Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fiesole 13-15 Giugno 1991," *The Burlington Magazine* 137 (August 1995): 552.

<sup>68</sup> Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 392.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

before the Pazzi attempt on the lives of the Medici brothers, even suggesting that the Della Rovere family, family of Pope Sixtus IV, may have sent Sangallo specifically to work for the Pazzi.<sup>70</sup> Second, he cited Sangallo's sketchbook (Figure 14), which has forms very similar to twin dolphins on the capitals of the columns in the courtyard.<sup>71</sup> However, these assertions overlooked key issues.<sup>72</sup>

Even if one were to accept the date Saalman gave the Palazzo Pazzi, which is already on unstable ground, the practical context of Florentine patronage suggests that Sangallo would have been unable to accept the commission for the Pazzi home. In fact David Hemsoll, in his work *The Early Medici and their Artists*, makes two points that negate the notion that Sangallo would have even *sought* the commission of the Palazzo Pazzi.<sup>73</sup> First, Hemsoll comments on Vasari's assertion that Sangallo was very loyal to Lorenzo de' Medici, a patron who gave him many commissions.<sup>74</sup> A loyal Medici artist would not have attempted to work for the Pazzi. Second, Hemsoll attributes the Palazzo Scala, a home built in north Florence for Bartolomeo Scala, a supporter of the Medici, to Sangallo.<sup>75</sup> Work began on the Scala home after 1473, which means at best Sangallo could have worked one or two years on the Pazzi home. Considering Sangallo's loyalty to

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>71</sup> The dolphins are found in the frieze designs of the Barberini Codex and antique capital designs in other sheets. Ibid., 392-393.

<sup>72</sup> There is a third reason, although it cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Saalman explained that in terms of Sangallo's style, the plan and elevation of the Palazzo Pazzi, especially in the courtyard, were similar with the villa at Poggio a Cajano because "these plans are affected by practical compromises with overall symmetry." The irregularly spaced windows of the façade on the villa at Poggio a Cajano were Sangallo's way to create interior symmetry, something that was not contingent on also having a symmetrical exterior. According to the Saalman, a similar concept was at work at the Palazzo Pazzi in an attempt to make the largest possible *salone*, one of three rooms on the *piano nobile*. Ibid., 393.

<sup>73</sup> Hemsoll chronicled Giuliano da Sangallo as an architect for Lorenzo de' Medici in David Hemsoll, "Giuliano da Sangallo in the new Renaissance of Lorenzo de' Medici," 187-205.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 187-188.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 191. Hemsoll declared the best source for Sangallo is G. Marchini, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Florence, 1942).

## Palazzo Pazzi

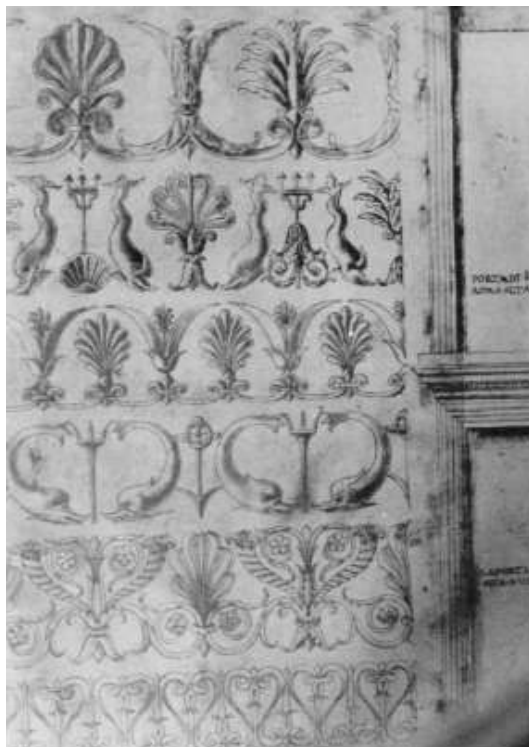


Figure 14 – Sangallo's Sketchbook  
(Saalman, Howard, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace" Plates 5  
and 6)

Lorenzo and other architectural obligations, it is therefore extremely unlikely that Giuliano da Sangallo would have been simultaneously commissioned to work for the both the Pazzi and Medici.

Assigning a date for the commission of the Palazzo Pazzi remains important. I do not think that a date of 1458, which both Goy and Lisci tentatively suggested,<sup>76</sup> is readily distinguishable in relation to Murray's more accepted date of 1462.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, it is important to distinguish these two dates from Saalman's range of between 1472 and 1479.<sup>78</sup> Something was certainly happening before Pope Sixtus IV changed the papal alum money from the Medici to the Pazzi, and contrary to Saalman's claim, the Pazzi had more than enough money before the years leading up the Pazzi Conspiracy to challenge the Medici in any aspect of life.<sup>79</sup> Could the time between the marriage of Bianca to Guglielmo de' Pazzi in 1459 and the banking competition in the early 1470s be filled by the Pazzi family's architectural statement? Placing the beginning of construction of the Palazzo Pazzi in 1462 links the progression from the marriage to the papal alum accounts and provides a very plausible chain of events that led up to the violent Pazzi Conspiracy. Because Jacopo's 1462 acquisition of land and subsequent construction on the property are consistent with the political situation, 1462 should remain as the correct date that Giuliano da Maiano began building the Palazzo Pazzi.

In the aftermath following the Pazzi Conspiracy in 1478, one is left to wonder how much of the Pazzi estate was destroyed. How many clues vanished in Lorenzo's purge after his brother Giuliano's murder? Are the payment documents truly unavailable? Was the sgraffito on the façade damaged? It was certainly not maintained. How much of an architectural impact would the Palazzo Pazzi have made if it were not doomed as a

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<sup>76</sup> Goy suggested that the Palazzo Pazzi was begun after 1458, but adds that it was perhaps 1462 in Goy, *Florence, the city and its architecture*, 261. Lisci gave comparable dates, stating that it was probably built between the years of 1458 and 1469 in Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 545.

<sup>77</sup> Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 79.

<sup>78</sup> Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 392.

<sup>79</sup> Martines, *April Blood*, 76-82.

## Palazzo Pazzi

confiscated artifact so soon after its completion? These are questions that may never be known. But, even amid the frustration of lost and destroyed hints in the search for answers concerning the Palazzo Pazzi, one can assume that whatever happened, the events surrounding the construction of the Palazzo Pazzi undoubtedly shook Florence to its very foundations. From Brunelleschi's rise and fall as the Medici architect to Giuliano da Maiano's acceptance of the commission for the Palazzo Pazzi, no other building in Quattrocento Florence had quite the same impact as the Pazzi home architecturally, politically, and aesthetically.

# Between Black and White Legends Torture in the Legacy of the Spanish Inquisition

Matthew Paul Michel

The Spanish Inquisition's use of torture in obtaining confessions has received what some scholars call an excessive amount of attention. This issue has proved equally attractive to both serious historians and anti-Spanish polemicists. Striking a middle path, recent historians seek to revise the "Black Legend" of the Spanish Inquisition, absolving it of unrestrained institutional terror without exonerating the tribunal of all misconduct.<sup>1</sup> Proponents of this moderate theory, notably Henry Kamen, Edward Burman, Edward Peters, and Joseph Pérez, focus on legal records and other archival documents from the period rather than the often unreliable accounts of "eyewitnesses" and propagandists. Scholars of the revisionist school argue not that the focus on the Inquisition's use of torture is inappropriate, only that it is misdirected. Traditional scholarship focused excessively on the horrors of the torture chamber, an ordeal faced by a minority of those brought before the tribunal, to the exclusion of far-reaching trends such as censorship, the *autos-de-fé*, and the effects of the secret tribunal on the popular consciousness.

## The "Disastrous Instrument of Wrong": Traditional Approaches to the Inquisition

Perhaps the earliest scholarly treatment of the Inquisition's use of torture in English during the modern period is

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<sup>1</sup> Also applied to the Spanish conquest of the Americas, the term "Black Legend" or *leyenda negra* refers to the perception of the Inquisition as the site of exceptional malice and refinement in torture. The origins of the term itself are much debated, but the earliest source I have found is Julián Juderías y Loyot, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica*, (Madrid: 1914).



## Between Black & White Legends

Henry Charles Lea's magisterial *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols., New York and London, 1902-1907), a massive undertaking that offers an unprecedented look into the inner workings of the tribunal without relying on anti-Spanish polemical tracts or Protestant propaganda. After analyzing archival records of trials, abjurations, and *autos-de-fé*, Lea concluded that the popular interpretation of the Inquisition as an instrument of unprecedented malice had no historical basis. In fact, Lea frequently compared the Holy Office favorably to its medieval predecessor, the Papal Inquisition. He noted that in Rome torture was often employed on those who had already confessed, both to determine the true extent of their transgressions and to obtain further names of heretics. The Spanish Inquisition, by contrast, considered torture an extraordinary measure and took great care to elicit free confessions without force. Additionally, there were many situations in which examination was forbidden in Spain but was permissible and indeed mandatory in Rome, including cases involving only the presumption of heresy. Lea concluded that Spain's use of torture was a "last resort when the result of a trial left doubts to be satisfied, while Rome's was a matter of course."<sup>2</sup>

Lea also viewed the civil authorities with disdain when compared with the Inquisition. *Corregidores*, or secular municipal administrators, in particular, had access to far more gruesome torture methods: the *garrucha*, or pulley-torture; the *toca*, or ordeal of water; the *potro*, or the rack; the *mancuerda*, which were hot irons for the feet; hot bricks for the stomach and buttocks; *garrotillos*, known as bone-breakers; the *trampa* to tear the legs; and the *bostezo* to distend the mouth.<sup>3</sup> Nor were these macabre instruments reserved for particularly heinous crimes, but employed as a daily matter of criminal justice. Lea even cast much of the blame for the mistreatment of prisoners of the Holy Office on the lay officials it employed. Because it used torture intermittently and had no regular staff of its own, the Inquisition relied on public executioners, whose methods were identical with those of the secular courts. Thus over-zealous laymen, the only functionaries of the court ever actually to lay hand on the

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<sup>2</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

prisoners, committed all abuses.<sup>4</sup> The Inquisition therefore did not explicitly refine its torture methods but actually confined itself to only a fraction of the means available to public officials.

Typical of many nineteenth-century historians, Lea did not refrain from offering moral judgments on his topic; indeed, he condemned the Inquisition as a “disastrous instrument of wrong,” a “system of so-called justice more iniquitous than has been evolved by the cruelest despotism,” and avered, “its work was almost wholly evil.”<sup>5</sup> Yet he placed blame not on the inquisitors themselves, who he claimed were acting out of earnest if erring conviction, but on the patristic authorities: St. Augustine, John Chrysostom, and the other church fathers who propounded sentencing unrepentant heretics to death, both as punishment for deviance and to protect the faithful from contamination. The greatest crime of the Inquisition was not the application of torture itself, but that it fostered a society of intolerance and violence in the name of religion. In retrospect, perhaps it is unsurprising that an American historian would be particularly grieved by the fusion of state and religious authority that the Inquisition represents.

The most obvious weakness of Lea’s approach is his lack of statistical data. Of course, this fault is not entirely uncommon for historians of this period, and it may be considered one of the limitations of the early modern era. Lea noted that, given the chaotic nature of the archives themselves, it was “impossible to compile statistics of the torture-chamber.”<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, it became extremely difficult for Lea to prove his thesis that the Inquisition was relatively benign without some sort of statistical framework to contextualize his study. In part to avoid this criticism, he attempted to describe the scene on a local level. According to the record of the Toledo tribunal between 1575 and

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<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that Lea accepted this particular rule at face value, apparently without considering the possibility it was ever disregarded. This tendency is common among revisionist scholars, who embrace evidence of a humane Inquisition as readily as the old propagandists believed descriptions of its malice.

<sup>5</sup> Lea, 533. Were the book’s 1907 publication delayed by ten years, how differently might the experience of the First World War have affected the judgments expressed in this passage?

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

## Between Black & White Legends

1610, physical examination was invoked in about thirty-two percent of heretical prosecutions, a figure Lea qualified as “probably less than the average.”<sup>7</sup> A report of the tribunal of Valladolid for 1624 showed that of eleven cases of Judaism and one of Protestantism, eleven were tortured and, in 1655, all of nine cases of Judaism were subjected to torture. Thus Lea suggested that the frequency of torture depended very heavily on the personality and disposition of the individual councils involved, a fact that may help explain the difficulty of compiling exact figures. Lea defended his analytic approach and to an extent dismissed the value of raw numerical data, stating: “They are simply a measure of the greater or less activity of the tribunals and not of the principles involved.”<sup>8</sup> More important is understanding the mindset beneath the practice.

### **By the Inquisitor’s Hand: Archival Documents in Assessing Cruelty**

As has been noted, Lea focused exclusively on archival texts in assessing the nature of torture and the extent of its practice. The only outside perspectives he included were the sensationalized accounts of Protestant exiles and anti-Spanish propagandists. There are numerous problems with this approach. Foremost, by relying on the Inquisition’s own account of its operations, he implicitly accepted the organization’s truthfulness and made no provision for intentional inaccuracies. Admittedly, the Inquisition did not flinch from detailing the most horrific details of individual torture sessions, as notaries dutifully recorded the imploring shrieks and incoherent ramblings of suspects. It may be argued that any tribunal willing to include such incriminating particulars would scarcely have reason to lie about anything else. Yet the very act of exaggerating these accounts renders them largely unbelievable to readers unfamiliar with the actual event. It is conceivable that individual inquisitors chose to stretch the truth in order to blunt the credibility of anti-Inquisition propaganda, but more likely simply as a warning to

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 36

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 35.

the public at large.<sup>9</sup> At the opposite extreme, there are numerous incidents that appear to have been sanitized: Lea recorded the “hideously suggestive” case of Blanca Rodriguez Matos, at Valladolid, whose record indicates that she was examined 21 May 1655, and died the same day.<sup>10</sup> Despite the obvious implication, the transcript contains no overt acknowledgment that the prisoner’s death resulted from her examination, suggesting that there were some crimes for which even the inquisitors were reluctant to take direct responsibility.

The nature of the transcripts as archival documents deserves special attention. The Holy Office compiled these records to verify testimony and for the instruction of other inquisitors, not for public scrutiny. Inquisitional documents, however meticulously detailed, provide only a narrow and expurgated view of the proceedings to which they bear witness. It may safely be supposed that the secrecy-obsessed Inquisition never imagined a time in which records of its most intimate proceedings would be broadly available to scholars and academics, rather than securely locked away in its labyrinthine archives. Nevertheless, repeating the Inquisition’s accounts verbatim does little more than reproduce the scene as viewed by the Holy Office, perpetuating the inquisitors’ own view of their activities. Though scholarship has yet to construct one, a credible external perspective is crucial to a complete study of the tribunal’s use of torture.

## **Revisionist Models: Debunking the “Black Legend”**

Following Lea’s study, many scholars began to examine the Inquisition’s own archives to learn how the Holy Office perceived itself. Expanding on Lea’s method, Edward Burman sought to measure the extent of the tribunal’s operational effectiveness by placing it within the proper social and political context. The result shows a surprisingly humane Inquisition, concerned, as had never before been suggested, with accuracy and justice in its verdicts. This analysis further distanced

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<sup>9</sup> This, of course, raises the question of how the inquisitors would have expected the common people to receive word of these accounts, as the transcripts remained secluded in the archives. Perhaps they assumed that some rumor of the documents’ contents was bound to reach the people and acted accordingly.

<sup>10</sup> Lea, 23.

## Between Black & White Legends

scholarly opinion from the previously unquestioned “Black Legend.”

Burman’s analysis of early modern European legal codes reveals surprisingly extensive (though often ineffective) safeguards built into the Spanish Inquisition’s examination procedure. Despite considerable attention to detail, the standards for interrogation were riddled with ambiguities that led to abuse. One example is the frequency of torture; according to canon and civil law, prisoners could only be tortured once, so sessions were merely “suspended” rather than formally “ended” at the conclusion of each day’s work. Although the provision was originally intended for the protection of suspected heretics, in practice this legalistic and perhaps illusory distinction allowed the ordeal to be prolonged almost indefinitely. Another decree required torture to be carried out by a public executioner only in the presence of an inquisitor, a representative of the local bishop, and a doctor. The latter stipulation proved remarkably flexible, as Inquisitor-General Torquemada himself hedged that in cases of expediency the interrogator might simply be a “learned and faithful man” (*hombre entendido y fiel*) designated by the inquisitor. As might be imagined, this clause became a convenient loophole for abuses.<sup>11</sup> Yet regardless of the serious potential for misconduct, the very presence of such laws indicates the Holy Office was far more concerned with establishing correct and just procedure than many other medieval European judicial institutions.

One of the chief claims of the “Black Legend” is the belief that the Spanish Inquisition was prolific in its application of torture, constantly innovating and refining new forms of cruelty. Burman states that evidence from the period does not support this macabre claim. Records indicate that very few victims actually died under torture, or suffered permanent injury or disfigurement (i.e., loss of limb) as a result of an examination. This suggests that prisoners of the Holy Office on the whole fared relatively well, at least compared with contemporary secular courts. As might be expected, however, the “ferocity of torture

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<sup>11</sup> Edward Burman, *The Inquisition: Hammer of Heresy*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1984), 146. It is worth noting that Torquemada’s successor, Fernando de Valdés, reversed this decision and insisted that the inquisitors be present. This was in part to avoid what he felt was a rise in abuses of the practice.

varied from inquisition to inquisition,” and the “personality and zeal of individual inquisitors were the determining factors.”<sup>12</sup> Despite the horrific visions of unabated cruelty and suffering conjured by Poe in “The Pit and the Pendulum,” there was no mode of torture unique to the Spanish Inquisition, and its three most common methods, the *garrucha*, *toca*, and *potro*, first appeared in the medieval institution. Voluntary confession in the torture chamber was generally sufficient to avoid torture altogether, and the sight of the implements available to the interrogators apparently prompted many suspects to take advantage of this escape clause. After relating the case of an English sailor arrested on the (probably spurious) charges of spying and Protestantism, Burman comments at length on this man’s treatment relative to other judicial bodies of the era: “It must be remembered that the Spanish Inquisition was certainly no worse than contemporary secular courts in other countries—including England—and no more vicious in its application of torture than the Inquisition in earlier centuries in France and Italy.”<sup>13</sup> Any account to the contrary is dismissed as “an error due to sensational writers who have exploited credulity.”<sup>14</sup>

This apparent vindication of the Holy Office begs the question, if accounts of torture were so exaggerated, why was the Inquisition able to inspire such fear? Ultimately, the pervasive atmosphere of secrecy, enhanced by unnamed accusers and unspecified charges was far more terrifying than the actual examination. Burman goes so far as to say that “secrecy and the fear it engendered were the main weapons of the Spanish Inquisition, perhaps even more than the torture itself.”<sup>15</sup> The paranoia and vindictiveness fostered by the tribunal’s machinations is clearly illustrated by the so-called “Edicts of Grace.” These were periodic calls from the Inquisition for all heretics to come forward and for the faithful to report others known to them. This led to a chain reaction of fear, denunciations, and counter-denunciations that often degenerated

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 150. This line, with many others on the topic, is taken almost word-for-word from Lea’s book, underscoring the reliance of Burman along with numerous later scholars on the earlier work.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 143.

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into physical violence. Burman stresses the essentially personal nature of such conflicts, noting, “gossip and revenge [as] the main causes of the strife and suffering under the Inquisition.”<sup>16</sup> The risk of false testimony was immense, particularly when those accused of heresy or judaizing often had business or personal relations with their accusers. Yet this cyclical process of obsessive mutual scrutiny perpetuated the Inquisition’s own existence and proved a highly effective form of control over much of the Spanish populace.

The effects of hearsay and rumor are further illustrated by accounts of incarceration. Inquisitional prisons, far from the wretched dungeons legend makes them, were “no worse than others at that time.”<sup>17</sup> There were in fact frequent cases of prisoners seeking transfer from overcrowded secular prisons, in particular friars and priests who made heretical statements or even confessed to being judaizers in order to move into the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. As late as 1820, an inquisitional prison was described by the authorities of Cordoba as “safe, clean and spacious” compared to the municipal prison. A qualification to this rosy picture is needed: these cases refer to the permanent prisons, or *casas de penitencia*, rather than to the more bleak *cárceles secretas* used to break suspects during interrogation. Still, Burman notes that “complaints about treatment were no more frequent than in any other penal system” while the policy of requiring newly released prisoners to swear never to reveal anything they had seen or experienced while imprisoned inevitably made the rumors worse.<sup>18</sup>

### **New Approaches: The Inquisition in Context**

In summary, present opinion among Inquisition scholars suggests that past historians have been too quick to accept contemporary accounts of the Holy Office as an omnipresent, tyrannical body. More recent approaches have challenged this idea through emphasizing the tribunal’s fundamental weakness as an institution. Most vocal in this respect is Henry Kamen, who stresses the absurdity of the notion that fifty or so inquisitors could exercise direct authoritative control over the bulk of the

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 146.

Spanish populace. For the Holy Office to achieve the sort of power it is supposed to have wielded, it would require an extensive bureaucracy, a reliable system of informers, regular income, and the cooperation of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>19</sup> In reality, it possessed a large but hopelessly erratic network of familiars, suffered from perpetual financial difficulties, and was constantly embroiled in disputes over jurisdiction (especially in the Crown of Aragon). Noted historian Edward Peters also casts doubt on the ability of the Holy Office to effectively police all of Spain, noting that for much of its existence the tribunal barely managed to finance itself. Drawing once again from archival records, this time from the Council of Castile, he observes: "The Inquisition was dramatically understaffed and underfinanced, uncertain as to its purpose and ambiguously responsive to challenges to its authority and legitimacy."<sup>20</sup> Like Kamen, Peters asserts that the tribunal had only a marginal impact on society after the first few decades of crisis. They agree with Burman that the greatest damage to the Inquisition's reputation resulted from its own rule of secrecy, which silenced the tribunal's potential defenders and gave victory to its enemies by default.

A common concern in the discussion of the methods of the Spanish Inquisition is the criticism that foregoing scholarship is one-sided, relying on too narrow a base of documentation for support.<sup>21</sup> Although the recent availability of vast archival texts has helped restore balance somewhat, some scholars continue to depend exclusively on the Inquisition for their information, as though it were a "uniquely reliable source."<sup>22</sup> As already discussed, archival documents are dubious for the same reason they are so valuable: they represent only the view of the tribunal's actors, perpetuating their perspective while excluding all others. Furthermore, the very nature of secret trials raises doubts

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<sup>19</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 315.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 90.

<sup>21</sup> Ironically, many of the critics themselves suffer from this same dependence: Kamen and Pérez in particular rely heavily on archival transcripts compiled by inquisitors and notaries. Their defense is that they recognize this limitation and seek ways to nuance their analysis around it.

<sup>22</sup> Kamen, 318.



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concerning the reliability of witnesses and the quality of testimony, which often came from individuals ordinarily unqualified to testify including those considered infamous.<sup>23</sup> Under the circumstances, a certain degree of relativity of perspective seems almost unavoidable.

By contrast, minimal progress has been made towards understanding the social or ideological conditions in which the Holy Office operated. Recently, revisionist scholars have emphasized the fundamental popularity of the institution, showing that rather than an unnatural imposition by extremist zealots, it was a logical expression of prevailing social prejudices. As such, the Inquisition merely institutionalized the common attitudes already present in society.<sup>24</sup> It is on these ideological aspects that future scholarship must concentrate; to fully appreciate the tribunal's origin and legacy, greater research is necessary on the social and cultural framework in which the Inquisition operated. Who were the inquisitors, and from where did they draw their support? How were they able to convince successive monarchs of their office's great value to the state? Why were they motivated to enforce religious orthodoxy on a populace largely ignorant of doctrinal affairs? These and other questions must be answered before the field can leap forward again as it did a century ago when Henry Lea first examined the inquisitorial records, ushering in a new age of research and breaking decisively with that bane of Inquisition scholarship, the Black Legend.

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<sup>23</sup> Peters, 92.

<sup>24</sup> Kamen, 320.

# **Monks, Kings, and Empresses**

## **A New Approach to Understanding the Christianization of Nubia**

**Stephenie Livingston**

The ruins of an ancient black civilization remain in modern southern Egypt and northern Sudan, an area which is today overwhelmingly Muslim in religious and cultural orientation. However, the magnificent kingdoms of Nubia were actually Christian for centuries before and after the rise of Islam. Many scholars of this Christian period in Nubia tend to concentrate on a detailed narrative by John of Ephesus of the Christianization of Nubia, neglecting the process which caused his "official conversion" to take form. The appropriate approach to the problem of conversion requires that adequate consideration be given not only to the result of the process, but also to the ways and means by which it was achieved.<sup>1</sup> This paper, therefore, will illustrate the conversion of Nubia not as a single fixed event or a series of fixed events, but rather as a transitional process. Moreover, there is sufficient evidence to show that Christian roots were deeply embedded in the culture of Nubian society. Converted Nubian kings and other local influences, such as "wondering monks,"<sup>2</sup> in the centuries prior to the "official conversion" in 540 C. E., introduced Christianity to the region and allowed Christian beliefs to spread.

In the recent past, the majority of scholars have focused on a limited body of sources to develop a consequently limited picture of the Christianization of Nubia. The account of the

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<sup>1</sup> Rita Lizzi, "Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy," *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990), 157.

<sup>2</sup> Bogdan. Zurawski, "The Service Area in North-Eastern Corner of the Monastery on Korn in Old Dongola. A preliminary report," *Nubica III/1* (1994), 319-360.

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conversion of Nubia by John of Ephesus has shaped the current definition of how Nubia's Christianization took place. Scholars often fail to treat fragmentary and "non-traditional" evidence, such as archaeological remains. Moreover, intellectuals of Christian Nubia fall short by failing to orient Nubia in a wider geo-political context as it serves to enhance the understanding of Nubia's Christianization as a broad and complex process. This has led to various narrow views which miss the more extensive reality of Nubia's Christianization. In order to broaden this picture, we need to consider other bodies of evidence in order to "complete" the picture. This evidence includes consideration of Nubia's intercultural environment, archaeological record, and other written sources which have remained neglected. This evidence changes the picture dramatically. It creates a broader geographical and chronological Christianization, while emphasizing a greater African influence, rather than a primarily European influence. Also, by presenting the conversion of Nubia as a transitional process, rather than a sudden occurrence, we can understand the true conviction of faith felt by the Nubian people, rather than their conversion being simply a matter of political expedience.

In addition, Christian Nubia as a period has often been treated by scholars as an insignificant phenomenon on the fringe of the Islamic history of North Africa and the near East. This approach implies that Nubia quickly adopted Christianity and then abandoned it for Islam, almost as quickly.<sup>3</sup> In actuality, Nubian Christianity, as it is often referred to due to its unique qualities, neither suffered an early demise, nor became completely extinct after the official adoption of Islam. Christianity in Nubia lasted intact as the official religion from the sixth century well into the fifteenth century, at which time Nubian Christianity did not suffer sudden extinction, but rather a broad transition to Islam.<sup>4</sup> The view that Nubia simply jumped from one faith to

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<sup>3</sup> P. L. and M. Shinnie, "New Light on Medieval Nubia," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 3 (1965), 263. The authors of this article, along with others which they cite, states that Nubia quickly adopted Christianity and then abandoned it for Islam.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Bowers, "Nubian Christianity: The Neglected Heritage," *African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 1 (1985), 3. States that Nubian Christianity simply became extinct with the onset of Islam.

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another as it was beneficial to the Nubian people drastically under-estimates the importance of Christianity in Nubia.

In 451 with the Council of Chalcedon which was an ecumenical council that took place from October 8 to November 1, 451, at Chalcedon (a city of Bithynia in Asia Minor), today part of the city of Istanbul on the Asian side of the Bosphorus and known as the district of Kadiköy. It is the fourth of the first seven Ecumenical Councils in Christianity, and is therefore recognized as infallible in its dogmatic definitions by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. It declared the Eutychian doctrine of monophysitism, the dogma of the single nature of Christ, partly divine, partly human, heretical, and set forth the Chalcedonian creed, which describes the "full humanity and full divinity" of Jesus, the second person of the Holy Trinity. The imperial household officially adopts Chalcedonian Christianity, and subsequently that sect becomes associated with the support of imperial rule and policy, while its opposite becomes associated with opposition to Byzantine rule. Especially in Egypt, its region of greatest strength, and other frontier areas. By the 540s an interesting situation has developed within the royal household. Justinian, as emperor, naturally favored the Chalcedonian perspective, which came to be known as the Melkite or Imperial theological position. However, amazingly, his wife Theodora supported anti-Chalcedonian Monophysite Christianity. It is here that John of Ephesus's story of Nubia's "official conversion" begins.

According to John of Ephesus, a presbyter named Julian, a Monophysite exile, asked the Byzantine empress Theodora to send him as a missionary to Nubia. She informed Emperor Justinian of the proposed undertaking and subsequently "promised to send the blessed Julian." However, when Justinian later heard the person the empress intended to send was a Monophysite and not a Chalcedonian, he was not pleased.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, Justinian did not want a Monophysite church to the south of Egypt, where at this point he was attempting to establish a Melkite patriarch in Alexandria to challenge the anti-Chalcedonians at the source.<sup>6</sup> He consequently dispatched his

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<sup>5</sup> John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, OS 9.

<sup>6</sup> James A. Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian* (University of Texas Press: Austin, 2002), 63.

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own (Chalcedonian) mission, equipped with gold and baptismal robes, and sent orders to the Duke of Thebaid to help it on its way.

When Theodora learned of Justinian's rival mission, she counteracted by sending an intimidating letter to the Duke of Thebaid:

Be warned that if you permit his [Justinian's] ambassador to arrive there before mine, and do not hinder him by various pretexts until mine shall have reached you, and passed through your province and arrive at his destination, your life shall answer for it, for I will immediately send and take off your head.<sup>7</sup>

The duke valued his head and considered it more prudent to incur Justinian's wrath than Theodora's. Being "too well acquainted with the fear in which the queen is held to dare to stand in [her] way," he delayed Justinian's envoy.<sup>8</sup> Theodora was therefore at least the temporary victor, as the missionary Julian and his fellow ambassadors reached the region of Nobatia first. They were apparently received without hesitation; an army was sent to meet them and they were shown into the presence of the Nobadian king. During his stay Julian baptized the king, his nobles, and many others. After Julian's return to Constantinople, another missionary, Longinus, was appointed to succeed him in charge of the Nubian mission, but it was not until about 569 that he arrived in Nubia, and for nearly eighteen years there was no Monophysite mission in Nubia. Earlier attempts had been forestalled by Justinian, and so "aware that he [Longinus] was watched and would not be permitted to leave, he disguised himself and put a wig on his head, for he was very bald," and Longinus was able to leave Byzantium for Nubia.

There are several reasons why Justinian did not take stronger action against Theodora's mission. First, the mission coincided with a raging plague, and Justinian badly needed Theodora's support during the crisis. Second, the Christianization of Nubia played a key role in Justinian's foreign

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<sup>7</sup>John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, OS 9.

<sup>8</sup>Evans, 62.

policy, which the emperor realized would be served just as well by Theodora's mission as it would be by his own. According to the court historian Procopius, in 531 Justinian "got the idea of making the Aithiopians and Homeritae his allies with a view to damage the Persians."<sup>9</sup> Justinian understood Nubia would make a geographically strategic ally in this process.<sup>10</sup> He also hoped the Nubians, once converted, would control the Blemmyes, nomadic raiders who preyed on the villagers of Upper Egypt and slew hermits isolated there. Even before the rival missions were organized, Justinian had already begun to create spiritual bonds of similar beliefs in Nubia when he officially closed and suppressed the Isis cult at Philae, and it seems that much of the defacement of this Ptolemaic temple took place at this time.<sup>11</sup>

Traditionally, John of Ephesus's account has been accepted as the sole authoritative history of the Christianization of Nubia. There is serious reason, however, to doubt its veracity. First, despite his inclusions of vivid descriptions like that of the missionary Julian, who "from the whole of the third to the tenth hour [would sit] in caves full of water with the whole people of the region, naked or, better, wearing only a cloth, while he could perspire only with the help of water,"<sup>12</sup> John was not an eyewitness to the conversions taking place in Nubia. It was rather from Constantinople that he received and documented information about the missionary work being undertaken there. There exists, however, a much-neglected text by John of Bisclar, a Chalcedonian who did in fact witness the Nubian mission and whose account adds much to our understanding of the process. John of Bisclar studied in Constantinople, and it was there that he began to write his *Chronicle*, a history whose introduction spells out the author's mission to continue the work of the famous ecclesiastical historian Eusebius into John's own time. In the *Chronicle*, John contradicts his Ephesian counterpart, claiming that it was not until 568 that the "people of the

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<sup>9</sup> Procopius, trans. H. B. Dewing, *History of the Wars* (Loeb Classical Library: London, 1914).

<sup>10</sup> Derek A. Welsby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians, and Muslims Along the Middle Nile* (The British Museum Press: London, 2002), 18.

<sup>11</sup> Welsby, 31.

<sup>12</sup> John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, OS 11. John of Ephesus was only present during Empress Theodora's audience with Julian.

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Maccurritae received the faith of Christ.” Likewise, John of Bisclar states, in 573 a delegation from Makuria arrived in the capital of Constantinople bearing gifts for the emperor “of elephant tusks and a giraffe, and stated their friendship with the Romans.”<sup>13</sup>

And additional doubt is cast on John of Ephesus’s testimony by an entry in the chronicle of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius, which states that in 719 the Church of Nubia transferred its allegiance from the Greek Orthodox Church to the Coptic Church.<sup>14</sup> This evidence suggests that Makuria, the politically dominant Nubian kingdom, was subsequently Chalcedonian for over two hundred years. John of Ephesus leaves out this very significant detail, signaling his partisan stance on religious matters; having been silent about the conversion of Makuria, he may also have omitted information about forms of Christianity already present in Nubia. And while his silence has nevertheless led some scholars to doubt that Makuria was Melkite at this time, the enmity between Makuria and Nobadia is confirmed by John’s own accounts of Longinus’s mission to Alwa and may indirectly prove his knowledge of Makuria’s conversion to Melkite Christianity.<sup>15</sup>

According to John of Ephesus, in 580, at the request of the King of Alwa, Longinus went south to spread the gospel among the people of that kingdom. The journey was hazardous, and due to the hostility of the Kingdom of Makuria, which had been converted by Justinian’s Orthodox mission and was unwilling to help spread what it considered heresy, he was not able to go by the customary river route. Instead, Longinus had to travel far to the east, for the Maccurritae were “on the look-out in

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<sup>13</sup> G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia* (Polish Academy of Sciences: Warsaw, 1975), 27.

<sup>14</sup> F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton University Press, 1985), 189-190. Peters here quotes D. Baldi, *ENCHIRIDION LOCORUM SANCTORUM*, 1955, 447-448, reprinted, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1982. Baldi gives Eutychius’s account from his history of the world, written in 867 C. E., in Arabic, *Nazm al Gawahir* (Chaplet of Pearls), also known in Latin as *Annales* or *Eutychii Historia Universalis*.

<sup>15</sup> L. P. Kirwan, *The Emergence of the united kingdom of Nubia*, SNR61 (1980), 136. Kirwan Argues Makuria was not converted to Melkite Christianity and the Melkite faith did not exist in Nubia.

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all the areas of [their] kingdom, both in the mountains and in the plains.”<sup>16</sup> Upon his arrival in Soba, the capital of Alwa, Longinus seems to have had rapid success in converting the king and his followers. However, his encounter with “certain [Phantasiasts] Axumites” in Alwa reveals that Christianity may actually have been spread to that kingdom by Christian Axumites before the arrival of Longinus, and it also explains the king’s request and understanding of the missionaries.<sup>17</sup> Adding to this evidence is the fact that many tombstones in Makuria are in Greek and that the prayers for the deceased inscribed on them are those in use in the Orthodox Church during this period. There was also a Melkite Bishop of Taifa in Nubia at one time, so it may well be that the account by John of Ephesus has overstated the Monophysite case.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, an examination of additional source material paints a picture much more colorful than the one created by John of Ephesus. Archaeological and literary sources point to royal Christian influences prior to 540 from both Nubian royalty and Axumites. In fact, the earliest evidence of a royal Nubian Christian is preserved in the Book of Acts, which records an Ethiopian man “believing Jesus Christ is the Son of God” and being baptized by Philip in the year 37.<sup>19</sup> This Ethiopian man is described as a “eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians” who had “charge of all her treasure” and who had traveled to “Jerusalem to worship.”<sup>20</sup> Here some explanation is required. Nubian kings were regarded as too holy to deal with secular functions, which were instead managed by the queen mother, who used the title “Candace.”<sup>21</sup> If indeed the queen mother was Christian, it is not unreasonable to assume the entire Nubian royal family was also Christian at this early date.

Moreover, Nubia’s Christianization was almost certainly influenced to a large extent by the Christian kingdom of Axum

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<sup>16</sup> John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, OS 17.

<sup>17</sup> John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, OS 20.

<sup>18</sup> Evans, 64.

<sup>19</sup> The ancient kingdom of Ethiopia corresponds not to what is Ethiopia today, but to the nation of Kush during the Kushite period in Nubia.

<sup>20</sup> Acts 8:26-40.

<sup>21</sup> David E. Jones. *Women Warriors: A History* (Brassey, Inc.: Washington, D. C., 2000).



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(located in modern Ethiopia) as early as the fourth century. According to the fourth-century historian Rufinus, Axum was Christianized in the early to mid-fourth century by the Bishop of Tyre and his missionaries. The queen of Axum and her son Ezana were quickly converted by these nine missionaries; according to Rufinus, they were glad to accept the Christian faith and “sought greatly to detain [the missionaries] and begged them to return.” Ezana became the first Christian king of Axum, and Christianity is thought to have become the official religion of that kingdom at some time during the 320s, as evinced by an inscription by Ezana and a change to Christian coinage in Axum.<sup>22</sup> In the relevant victory inscription, King Ezana describes his invasion of the Nile Valley and his activities in Upper Nubia during the post-Meroitic period around 325. Here Ezana is described battling the “Noba” at Meroe “through the power of the Lord in Heaven” and plundering Nubia for months.<sup>23</sup> It seems logical that a Christian king would have wished his newly conquered subjects to learn of his religion. Ezana’s presence in Nubia and Axum’s close proximity further planted the seed of Christianity among the Nubians. Significantly, Ezana’s conquest coincided with increased missionary activities from Egypt, recorded in 324.<sup>24</sup> Thus, with increased pressure from Christian Egypt in the north and the rise of state Christianity in southern Axum, Christian influences now surrounded Nubia, creating a religious atmosphere through which the faith could grow there.

The most striking evidence for Christianity in Nubia well prior to the “official conversion” of 540 is an inscription by Silko, king of Nobatia, in the Temple of Mandulis. In this inscription Silko describes himself as “King of the Noubades and all the Aithiopians” and recounts the conduct of three campaigns against the Blemmyes, declaring that “God gave me the victory.” The inscription is generally thought to describe Silko’s alliance with

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<sup>22</sup> Heinrich Schafer, *A History of Ancient Aethiopian Kingship* (London, 1905), 81-100. According to Schafer and sources found in this collection, Christianity became the official religion either in 325 or 328 and began to be converted sometime prior to 325.

<sup>23</sup> Schafer, 82.

<sup>24</sup> J.-P. Migne, *Vitæ patrum, sive, Historia eremiticæ libri decem: auctoribus suis et nitori pristino restituti ac notationibus illustrati*, (Gamier Fratres, Paris: 1849), 71.

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Justinian and their joint victory against the Blemmyes. Traditionally, this Silko has been identified as the sixth-century king in John of Ephesus's account who turned away Justinian's missionaries, indicating he was quite content with the Monophysite belief. However, this inscription has recently been discovered to be much older than was previously thought, dating to perhaps as early as the first half of the fifth century.<sup>25</sup> That being so, Silko cannot be the king of Nobatia mentioned by John of Ephesus; rather, he must have been a Nobatian king who was a Christian a century before the arrival of Theodora's mission. A letter found during a 1976 excavation at Qasr Ibrim provides further evidence for this early date; the letter, written on papyrus, dates to about the same time as the Silko inscription and presumably came from the royal archives. It is written by the Blemmyan king Phonen, who makes it clear that he is the enemy of this same Silko and who subsequently records a summary of the conflicts between the two kingdoms.<sup>26</sup> These two pieces of evidence together point to the possibility that Silko may have influenced the growth of Christianity in the earlier Ballana period to the same extent Byzantine missions did in the Christian period. It is likely that Silko had accepted the Christian creed and at the very least declared Christianity as the new religion of the Nubian court.

Archaeological remains further emphasize the scope of the Christian presence among the general Nubian population prior to 540. Throughout the fifth century, Nubian worship of the old gods of Egypt and Kush seems to have declined, and Nubia seems to have been transitioning during the same period from being a land of old-style Egyptian temples to being one of Christian churches. The Temple of Taharqo at Qasr Ibrim, for example, seems to have been converted into a church well before the traditionally attested date of 543 based on the date of ceramics found in the temple's sanctuary chamber, part of the modifications associated with its conversion to Christian use. These astonishing materials are dateable to the late Ballana period, suggesting a date for this modification in the very early sixth century before the "official conversion."<sup>27</sup> In addition,

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<sup>25</sup> Welsby, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>27</sup> F. L. Griffith, *Oxford Excavations in Nubia*, LAAA 13, nos 1-2, 17-37. 51.

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Christian symbols have been found carved on this same pottery after its initial firing, a phenomenon that suggests the infiltration of Christianity into the kingdom of Nobatia during the Ballana period. The carving of a cross motif has likewise been found on the wall of a rock-cut tomb at Qasr Ibrim above the head of the deceased; this same tomb also contained pottery dateable to the late fourth century.<sup>28</sup> The most dramatic change, however, seems to have been at the personal level in funerary practice. For millennia the peoples of Nubia had provided the dead with elaborate tombs, rich funerary gifts, and ritual offerings; near the end of the fifth century, however, this practice changed drastically. In the Nubian city of Sesebi, archaeologists have discovered a shift from pagan to Christian funerary practices, which were much simpler, at precisely this time.<sup>29</sup> This is further evidence of the early movement of Christianity into Nubia, a process inevitable in areas located so close to the Egyptian border and where there considerable contact existed between Nubians and merchants and travelers from Christian Egypt.<sup>30</sup>

There is one more tantalizing but frustrating piece of evidence which raises the even more extreme possibility that Christianity may have made inroads into Nubia from Egypt well before the fifth century through the activities of Egyptian "wandering monks."<sup>31</sup> For many years Egypt was the center of the Christian monastic movement, housing the most rigorous monks and some of the most creative minds of the period. Initially, monks were hermits who withdrew from the cities and towns of Egypt to live in desert caves. However, there also existed "wandering monks" who traveled throughout the deserts surrounding Egypt and Nubia. Recently discovered in the eastern deserts of modern Egypt, hidden for hundreds of years beneath various monasteries, are what may be the oldest monastic cells ever discovered, dating to the fourth century.<sup>32</sup> Early Egyptian monks such as the ones who inhabited these cells may very well

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<sup>28</sup> A. J. Mills, *The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim: a Report of Egyptian Antiquities* (Egypt Exploration Society: London, 1982), 48.

<sup>29</sup> D. N. Edwards. "Three Cemetery Sites on the Blue Nile," *ANM* (1994), 177.

<sup>30</sup> Welsby, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Zurawski, 319-360.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Slackman, "In Egyptain desert, cells of the earliest Monks," *The New York Times* (2005). Sec. C, 8.

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have come into contact with Nubians at some point. Unfortunately, no actual evangelistic work which may have taken place survives in existing documentation, so the possible Nubian activities of these monks cannot be proven definitively and must remain conjectural.

And despite these early Christian inroads, the Christianization of Nubia was not the instant process presented by John of Ephesus. Paganism was deeply embedded in Nubia and did not yield to Christianity easily; in fact, pagan legends, myths, and traditions of magic were ultimately assimilated into Nubia's Christianity. For example, apotropaic devices like the symbol of the cross were used by the Nubian Christians to ward off evil spirits blamed for sickness, bad luck, and death; consequently, newly baptized Nubians were quickly branded with the symbol of a cross on their foreheads with red-hot irons.<sup>33</sup> Cross motifs were also scratched and painted on walls of tombs to keep away the "forces of evil which might appear from four directions."<sup>34</sup> Another reminder of the importance of magic and superstition to Nubian Christians is their ritual protection of the faces of the deceased, a traditional guard against evil spirits flying through the air and entering the body through the openings of the face. In a number of episcopal tombs at Faras, the mastaba are pierced directly above the head of the deceased, a practice presumably connected with the pouring of libations to the dead and linking the Nubian Christians with their pagan predecessors.<sup>35</sup>

Likewise, magical texts dating to well after the "official conversion" have been unearthed at the site at Qasr Ibrim. A white painted inscription on a strange rectangular pottery vessel found there was formulated to provide divine protection for the contents of the vessel; it calls for divine damnation and threatens

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<sup>33</sup> B. Rostkowska, "The Visit of a Nubian King to Constantinople in AD 1203," in *New Discoveries in Nubia: Proceedings on the Colloquium of Nubian Studies, The Hague, 1979*, ed. Paul van Moorsel (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1982), 113-16.

<sup>34</sup> Zurawski, 209.

<sup>35</sup> Bogdan Zurawski, "The Nubian Mortuary Complex," in *Nubian Culture Past and Present: Main Papers Presented at the Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986*, ed. Tomas Hägg (Almqvist & Wiskell International, Stockholm, 1987), 416.

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blindness to anyone who dares touch its contents.<sup>36</sup> Another widespread practice throughout Kushite Nubia was the burial of foundation deposits which, it was hoped, would magically protect and maintain the building. The presence of such foundation deposits well into the twelfth century indicates that Christian Nubians performed foundation ceremonies which lie more in the realms of magic and mysticism than in mainstream of Christian religious practices.<sup>37</sup> Large numbers of inexpensive cups and plates were buried beneath the floors and foundations of the houses at Meinarti in the period between 1000 and 1150; these deposits of pottery defy rational explanation.<sup>38</sup> Like their predecessors, Christian Nubians sought to secure protection against demons and evil spirits, further suggesting a gradual, difficult transition from paganism to Christianity long after the "official conversion" of 540. Paganism was not simply forgotten; it remained, assimilated, in Nubia's own unique Christianity.

Finally, just Christianity did not become established quickly or easily in Nubia, nor did it cede overnight to Islam. Nubian Christianity's demise, just like its birth, was both gradual and complex. Following the prophet Muhammad's death in 636, his followers began to move across North Africa. Islam spread quickly throughout Egypt, but Nubian Christians, despite overwhelming pressure to submit and convert, stubbornly resisted its tide for over seven centuries before finally making a gradual, if rocky, transition to the new faith. The nomadic tribes of the deserts to Nubia's east, overrun and converted to Islam by waves of immigrants from Arabia, eventually began to pressure the Nubians themselves. Some Nubian factions sought an advantage by allying themselves with the leadership of these tribes, confirming their alliances by strategic marriages and the promotion of Muslim children to key roles in Nubian society and eventually to the throne itself. With increased Islamic conversion, additional desert tribes began to crowd against and spill over the Nubian defenses.<sup>39</sup> The Nubians thus found themselves reduced to isolated enclaves in the midst of large numbers of Arab-

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<sup>36</sup> Welsby, 66.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> William Y. Adams, "Sudanese Antiquities Service Excavations at Meinarti," *Kush Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* 11-12 (1963-64), 173.

<sup>39</sup> Bowers, 7.

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influenced nomadic tribes which they could not contain; under such pressure, Nubian society was eventually absorbed into the populations that had overrun it.

However, this absorption, which culminated in the overthrow of the last surviving Nubian kingdom, Alwa, around 1500, did not spell the ultimate end of Nubian Christianity. Archaeologists have uncovered evidence that a Nubian Christian sub-kingdom was still functioning officially, complete with king and bishop, after the fall of Alwa. Contemporary documents and graffiti refer to a certain Kingdom of Dotawa, which appears to have avoided the “depredations” of its Muslim neighbors and acted as the “patrons and protectors of the church” for over a century.<sup>40</sup> Other small communities of Christians may have survived in Islamic Nubia even longer; a sixteenth-century Portuguese missionary in Ethiopia reported that a Nubian delegation arriving there in the 1520s begged the Ethiopians to supply them with trained religious leaders, which the Ethiopians were unable to do. Another record from the same period mentions a group of Nubians who were “neither Christians, Muslims, nor Jews, but they live in the desire of being Christians.” And as late as 1742, the Nubian servant of a Franciscan in Cairo told of an isolated Christian community still in existence in his homeland, in the region of the Third Cataract, despite persecution.<sup>41</sup> Even today, a number of practices which are clearly Christian in origin still play a part in Nubian popular religion. Well into the 1960s, for instance, in the old Nubian settlement at Kulb, women in labor were seen invoking assistance from the Virgin Mary and the angels. Similarly, the cross motif previously discussed is still commonly used in Nubia today, indicating a pattern of assimilating Christian practice into Islam that very much resembles the way ancient Nubians assimilated magic and superstition into contemporary Christianity.

Taking this vast array of literary and material evidence together, then, it seems clear that the conversion of Nubia cannot

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<sup>40</sup> W. Y. Adams. *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (Princeton University Press: London, 1977), 534.

<sup>41</sup> William Y. Adams, “The Twilight of Nubian Christianity,” in *Nubia, récentes recherches: actes du Colloque nubilogique international au Musée national de Varsovie, 19-22 juin 1972*, ed. Kazimierz Michalowski (Musée National: Warsaw, 1975), 11-17.

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be attributed simply to the famous sixth-century imperial Byzantine missions. Tribal kings and queens converted to Christianity years and even centuries before the “official conversion,” which dramatically increased the growth of Christianity in Nubia but did not introduce it. Additionally, many ordinary Nubians likely heard the Christian message from Egyptian and Axumite merchants or received it from “wandering monks” in the deserts of the Middle Nile long before 540. When these facts are kept in mind, it becomes apparent that the Christianization of Nubia was actually a broad, complex process during which the Nubians synthesized various existing religious forms with new Christian practices to form their own unique Christianity over many centuries. In the end, the conversion of Nubia must be viewed as a “conversation between cultures,” a fascinating blend of Byzantine, Egyptian, Ballana, Kushite, and Axumite influences which found their ultimate expressions in a vibrant Christian culture which, despite oppression and pressure, endured for over a millennium and continues to influence northern Sudanese culture today.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Salim Faraji. “Nubian Christianity: A Transitional Culture in Late Antique Africa,” (Quotation from a Ph. D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, awaiting publication).

**Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*.**

New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

In *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*, Robyn Muncy asserts that middle-class white women professionalized their values with the development of child welfare and family-related policymaking during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout the course of this discussion Muncy also argues for continuity from Progressive-era reform to New Deal legislation. Recounting the history of a triad of female-dominated institutions—Hull House, the Children’s Bureau, and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy—Muncy follows the era of female reform control to its apex and explicates its demise. In so doing, Muncy’s time line encompasses the 1920s and therefore more closely adheres to the chronology followed in explorations of the settlement house movement, such as Ruth Hutchinson Crocker’s *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930*, than to that of studies limited to Progressive-era reform.

Unlike scholars such as Robert Wiebe and Michael McGerr, who cap Progressive reform in 1920, Muncy sees an undeniable nexus between the reform movements of the Progressive era and the wave of legislation associated with the New Deal. For Muncy, the impulse for change did not abruptly halt at the ushering-in of a time of prosperity and reemerge during the Great Depression; reform efforts were maintained throughout the 1920s. The same women who formed the core political and personal networks began in settlement houses and with specific roots in Jane Addams’s Hull House sustained the reform tradition and even created their own “female dominion” within the national sphere of policymaking.

Hull House and the ideals of the settlement house movement provided the initial impetus for female dominion building. According to Muncy, women who controlled these institutions relied heavily on other women for financial and administrative support in order to maintain control over their institutions. Before the federal government’s role in the female reform movement solidified, settlement houses depended largely



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on wealthy society women for funding and support. Additionally, Muncy argues that by staking new claims over matters dealing with children and family, these women were directly responsible for the establishment of several new professions. These new opportunities, which extended the nurturing instinct beyond the boundaries of the home, invoked a new cult of "true womanhood." Throughout this discourse, Muncy underscores the professional ambitions of the individual players; as a result, her claim that these female communities were "bound together by a common commitment to new roles for women in the larger society"<sup>1</sup> seems overstated at times, much to the exclusion of legitimate concerns for societal well-being.

In the book's first two chapters, Muncy creates an intimate portrait of life at settlement houses that instills in the reader a distinct sense of immediacy. This level of contact is soon abandoned, however, and conspicuously absent throughout the rest of the work are revealing details and cultural data concerning the mothers impacted by the Children's Bureau and Sheppard-Towner Act. Muncy does complicate the mission of the female dominion by briefly assessing popular opposition on the part of immigrant and lower-class mothers, but she stops short of providing solid evidence of cross-class interaction. The individual sketches that are most thoroughly executed, such as those of Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, and Grace and Edith Abbot, offer few examples of personal interaction and provide sparse insight into distinctive incentives, once again relying on Muncy's overarching assumption that political ambition uniformly inspired these women's efforts.

Despite this reliance on post-structural interpretation through the reduction of relationships to power struggles, Muncy contributes a vital work on Progressive-era and female reform history. She gives ample evidence for the existence of expansive, deliberately crafted networks between women's groups and the women who moved into policymaking. The sources from which Muncy draws are varied and comprehensive, permitting a detailed explanation of the interconnectedness of female-dominated movements, institutions, and federal bureaus. She takes full

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<sup>1</sup>Robyn Muncy. *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 36.

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advantage of a wide range of evidentiary materials on settlement houses, utilizing both secondary and primary sources and extending her research to government documentation and personal letters. Muncy also successfully argues that certain markers of the female dominion's success, specifically federal support and advocacy of certain family-related issues, led directly to the dominion's eventual submergence beneath traditional male political structures. Overall, this is an extremely important study that provides a nuanced analysis of female reform in the early twentieth century.

Jennifer Le Zotte

**Bryan Ward-Perkins. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.**

Peter Brown's seminal work *The World of Late Antiquity* dramatically altered the way historians view and conceive of Europe between the second and ninth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Brown's conception of a world dominated by the rise of Christianity posits a gradual, organic evolution from the Roman to the medieval. Central to this argument is a theory of accommodation in which the Germanic tribes surrounding the Roman empire were slowly and gradually assimilated into Roman society and culture. It is this notion of a peaceful transformation of late Roman culture that Oxford historian Bryan Ward-Perkins challenges in *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Arguing directly against Brown on that point, Ward-Perkins claims that the coming of the Germanic peoples was "very unpleasant for the Roman population" and in fact marked the beginning of the ultimate collapse of Roman civilization throughout the late antique period(10).

Ward-Perkins divides his book into two sections, the first of which examines the political fall of the Roman Empire. He begins by highlighting a growing tension between Germanic peoples and Roman citizens; unlike Brown, who argues that these groups peacefully intermingled during this period, Ward-Perkins asserts that textual sources show an animosity between Romans and "barbarians." This tension, Ward-Perkins argues, resulted in the eventual clash of Germanic and Roman military forces, which in turn precipitated a significant decline in the Roman Empire. The resultant political instability within the empire led directly to civil wars that further destabilized Roman efforts to prevent Germanic invasion. Eventually, the dramatically weakened imperial government ceased to function, and Germanic leaders replaced Roman officials as the exercisers of authority throughout the former Western Empire. Far from being a natural "evolution" of the empire, Ward-Perkins claims, this process was a brutal,

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971).

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uninvited shift in the Roman world that truly represents an imperial “fall.”

The importance of these challenges to previous scholarship notwithstanding, it is Ward-Perkins's subsequent treatment of late Roman *cultural* decline that represents his biggest contribution to the study of Late Antique Rome. In this second section, Ward-Perkins employs an innovative archaeological approach to analyze the material culture of post-invasion Rome and subsequently identifies a significant decline in that culture. A meticulous analysis of Roman pottery, for example, reveals a steady decrease in both ceramic complexity and geographical distribution during the period corresponding with the Germanic invasions. Additionally, the author conducts a study of bovine leg bones recovered from archaeological excavations throughout the empire, concluding that Roman cattle shrank dramatically between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages(145). Based on this evidence, he argues that an overall decline in food production occurred immediately following the barbarian invasions. By looking solely at the complexity of material culture during this period, Ward-Perkins avoids casting subjective judgments on the quality of Roman culture, which thereby makes his analysis quite effective. The result is a narrative of the late antique world that features a significant political and cultural decline. Here, Rome's fall to the Germanic tribes is not a gentle transition from Roman to medieval but instead the abrupt end of Roman civilization both politically and culturally.

What Ward-Perkins successfully presents in this work is a convincing challenge to previous conceptions of a gradual transition into the medieval world. In its stead, he revives traditional understandings of a fall of Rome with new arguments and evidence. His narrative is beautifully written and easy to understand, and his argument is useful for both the undergraduate and the professional scholar.

Daniel Watkins