

Attending to Early Modern Women, June 2018, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Choice of Action as Agency: Early Modern Women's Choreographies of Virtue, Status, Dissent, and Subversion

Workshop Leaders:

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Workshop Description:

This workshop will ask participants to search collaboratively for the many ways that early modern gendered agency was chosen, gained, lost, and negotiated through learned bodily disciplines like dance, intentional kinetic trajectories through religious rituals in the church and community, choreographed movements performed by women dancing on stage, and symbolic political actions performed by positioning themselves in a court or colonial context.

We will consider different theoretical and disciplinary approaches to physical *performance*, and we will discuss the unstable quality of *agency* as we interrogate the primary sources that we have assigned as readings. We will solicit examples from the participants to illustrate how nonverbal patterns of movement can still “speak” and enable women to do interesting cultural and ideological work.

In smaller groups, we will examine the intersection of religious discourses of femininity and communal dance practices such as wedding dances and parish processions in late-medieval to early modern England. Through prescriptive conduct literature and sermons, we will ask whether these social dances were ever discussed as gender-neutral acts or whether they were represented by patriarchal texts as transgressive, specifically feminine acts. These texts illuminate how presentations of dance in religious texts revolved, to a large degree, around gendered bodies, with holy dancing male bodies contrasted with profane female ones. Although such a gendered approach does not appear to have greatly impacted dance practice in early modern England, this deeply gendered approach to transgressive action intensifies patriarchal discourses and attempts to constrain female movement and agency. Furthermore, many of these texts also connected female dance with Catholic “idolatry,” layering perceived transgressions in ways that were used to justify limitations of female religious action.

Furthermore, we will look into Protestant and Catholic Englishwomen's social trajectories that allow them to perform their religious identities and build both social and spiritual agency within their local communities and their larger faith communities. We will ask where early modern Catholic and Protestant women's ritual physical actions were the same and where they differ. To do this, we will examine movement within three frameworks: in their interior spiritual life; within the domestic space of their homes; and in public. For instance, what kinds of movements were prescribed for female spiritual renewal, salvation, or licit agency? How did Catholic and Protestant women physically navigate conflict that stemmed from their religious beliefs and practices? How did

women use movement to gain or protect their agency within their neighborhoods or social networks? Did pilgrimage function as an intentionally traced path through geographical space that constructs women's belief and identity?

Similarly, we will investigate the way that early modern discourses of witches' monstrous, satanic inversions of virtuous Christian bodily movements inform the way that English travel writers perceived the dances and rituals performed by racialized "others" in America and Africa. By examining a literary masque text that describes a highly stylized court performance of witches dancing in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, a description of a witches' "sabbath" ritual that involves transgressive dancing, and a short excerpt from John Smith's description of Amerindian women performing a "hellish" "Virginia maske," we will consider what kinds of agency early modern witches were imagined to be seeking and how pre-existing ideologies of gender and Christian virtue informed early attempts to "read" the moving bodies of racialized others in potential English colonies.

Finally, we will reflect on the ways early modern women could make intentional kinetic choices to augment their political or religious agency and status. Focusing on seventeenth-century Rome, we will explore women's movements in public space, as well as within the convent, with particular attention to how women related to the norms and regulations governing their movements. Queen Christina of Sweden will provide a central example of how a conscious manipulation of social and ceremonial movement protocols that were well established within the city was instrumental in creating Christina's identity as a queen during her residency in Rome. Christina's trajectories included frequent visits to convents, which invite us to consider how women's movements were prescribed and imagined inside the convent walls. Probing intersections of social status, piety, and mastery of kinetic codes and choreographies, we will ask how movement could negotiate agency both inside and outside the convent walls.

Readings, Part I (Lynneth Miller)

Michael Birkenhead, *Recoverie of Paradise*, 1602

"List vp they head, plucke vp a good courage; celebrate with ioy the Natiuity of they Sauour; daunce now and be merry, not as Herodias did, but as Dauid did, leape vp in affection as high as heauen, where they Sauour now sitteth, not in the lap of his mother, but on the right hand of his father in all glory and maiestie. Come then, my brethren, let vs sing vnto the Lord, let vs hartely reioyce in the strength of our Saluation. Let Israel reioyce in him that made him, and let the children of Sion be ioyfull in their King: Praise his name in the daunce, sing praises vnto him with Tabret and Harpe: yong men and maidens old men and children, praise the name of the Lord, sing Iustily vnto him with a good courage" (pp. 61-62)

Thomas Playfere, *The Meane in Mourning*, 1596

"And therefore if the women mette Dauid playing and singing, *Saule hath slaine his thousand, but Dauid his ten thousand*; howe much more then ought all the sonnes and

daughters of Ierusalem, all christian men and women, to meete Christ playing vpon the harpe, and singing that newe song to the lamb with the foure and twenty elders . . . there is a time to weepe, and a tme to laugh, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce. Why art thou then so heauy O my soule, and why art thou so disquieted within me? What man? Plucke vp a good heart: trust in God: thinke vpon the honorable passion, and gladsome resurrection of Christ. And then though thou wert neuer so much afflicted, yet euen in the fiery furnace of affliction, reioyce with ioy vnspeakeable and glorious. Daunce now, not as Herodias did, but as Daiud did. Leap vp in affection, as high as heauen" (pp. 111-112)

Robert Wilkinson, *Lot's Wife*, 1607

"And sometime wee must come among women, and tell them as the Prophet *Esay* doth, of many prettie superfluties, and sinnes of supererogation; as for the example, their stretching and casting out their neckes, as if they were in distresse and gasping for aire; their minsing and shuffling, and tinkling with their feete, as if they were still meditating and practising to daunce; for euen for these things the Prophet threateneth desolation vpon them, as Christ for each idle word conuenteth to the day of iudgement, and *Lots* wife for but looking backe had a iudgement heere" (pp. 33-34)

John Walsall, *A Sermon Preached at Paul's Cross*, 1578

"But true Christians carefully endeuouring to shewe themselues conformable to their profession of Christ, are nothing, or verie little, and a verie few, esteemed and set by. But this is not to be woondered at: for the verie word of God and the true peaching thereof is now so contemned and dispised, so crossed, and maliciously and of set purpose ouer wharted, that euery vaine fidler, and vagabound Piper in the country doth carrie away the vnthankfull people, euen vpon the Lorde his holy Saboth dayes, and other times dedicated to his seruice, and that from ye hearing of Gods holy worde and worshipping of him, vnto carnall, vnchristian, and filthy dauncinges, the verie nource of carnal talke, of horrible blaspemie, of damnable fornication, of pride, of theft, of disobedience to God, to rpince, to parentes, to all superious. The fithines of the vsuall dancing moued the auncient fathers often and sharpely to inueigh against it in their dayes, but what woulde they haue done, if they had liued in this present age? Chrisostome saith, *vbi saltus lasciuus, ibi diabolus certe adest*, where wanton dauncing is vsed, there the diuel is certainly present. And in the same homilie, they that daunce nowe a days, desire not the Iohn should be headed, but the soules of such as are in their company should be destroyed. Likewise Augustin vpon the third psalme saith, *obserua diem Sabbati, non carnaliter, &c.* that is, keepe the Saboth day, not carnally, not with Iewishe vanities, which abuse and prophane their rest, and make it a cause of lendenesse. Again, saith Augustine, speaking of the rest vpon the Saboth day, *non dico vt delitteris, quem admodum Iudaei solent. Melius est enim toto die fodere, quam saltare die Sabbati*, my meaning is not (saith Augustine) that thou shouldest spende the Saboth daye vainely, as the Iewes vse to doe. For it is better to digge and delue all the day, then to daunce vpon the Saboth daye. If we had grace, that one example of the murdering of innocent Iohn Baptist, by occasion of wanton dauncing, might set before our eyes how daungerous a matter it is to frequent the common dancing places. And how streightly the holy ghost

doth commaund mortification, subduing of our wanton affections, holinesse in thought, wordes, workes, eyes, tongues, generally and particularly, this ye haue learned by the often hearinge and readinge of the scriptures: and therefore ye cannot be ignorant, but must needes knowe and confesse howe vnseemely, how vnchristianlike, how displeasent to God, and offensiue to good ment he accustomed dauncing of men and women vppon the dayes before named is, yea, and that their maner of dancing may veie well and truely be called (as Augustin calleth it) *a flattering Diuell, a sweete poyson, a sinfull pleasure, or a pleasaunt sinne*. And so far are thoy from hope to reformo this deformed dancing, as we lamentably see many placed in authorite to like well thereof, and rather maintaine irreligious dancers, then esteeme and hearken vnto the iust complaint of godlie preachers, which openly in sermons, priuatly by supplications, and euery waye haue laboured for the suppressing of this notable cause of many mischeuous inconueniences. It is deeply layed to our charge, that we speake against all maner of recreations. And yet is it well knowen thta we like and vse recreations . . . wherof they can neuer truely and comfortably assure themselues, which let loose the bridle of their affections, and, as it were, sell their bodies and soules to riotous, vnchaste, and vngodly dauncing, and such other carnall delightes, so horrible frequented by the common sort of people in many places of this Realme, to the trustrating of our labours, the hinderance of the gospell, the increase of wickednesse, and therefore to the greate ioy of Sathan and all his adherents" (Folio C.iii.r- C.iiii.r)

Adam Hill, *The Crie of England*, 1595

"Prophanation of the Sabaoth is another of the euident sinnes of England. We are willed to hallow our Sabaoth, Gen. 2.23, Exo.20.11, Exod. 31.17, Deut. 5.14, Heb. 4.4, Jer. 17.21, 22, 23, 24, Ezech. 20.12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19. and yet in all places, and of the greater part of the poeple of this land, the sabaoth is prophaned with dauncing, stage-playing, bearbayting, bowling, and with all manner of abhominations. And not onely the holy word of God, but the ancient fathers and the ciuill Law doo speake of the sanctification of the sabaoth. *Augustine* on the 32 psal. saith, it is better to digge than to daunce on the sabaoth. *Chrisostome* in his 48. homily saith, where wanton dauncing is, there no doubt the diuell is present: for God hath giuen vs these members not to daunce, but that we should walke modestly, and not to daunce impudently after the manner of Camels (for not only women but Camels daunce vndecently) but that we should stand in the companie of the Angells: and if the bodie bee deformed by dauncing, how much more is the soule? in these daunces the diuell daunceth: with these daunces they are deceiued of the ministers of the diuell. *Ambrose* in his 3. booke of Virgins, thus writeth: what say ye, O holy women? you see what ye ought to teach and vnteach your daughters: she danceth, but the daughter of an harlot; for she that is chast and shamefast, teacheth her children religion, and not dauncing. And as these inueigh against dauncing, so doth Lactantius against stage-playing" (pp. 16-17)

Laurence Humphrey, *A View of the Romish Hydra and Monster*, 1525

"There was such a flattering Papistical Preacher, William Fitzosbert, otherwise called Long-beard, who in his Sermons entised the people to rebel against their King, *Richard*

the first, whose Theme was taken out of *Esay*: *You shal draw with ioy waters out of the wels of saluation*. A faire allurement whereby hee got after him many thousand followers, as fond people wil hearken to the whistle, and daunce after the pipe of such Popish Libertines" (pp. 112-113)

Francis Rollenson, *Sermons*, 1611

"This life is a time of *weeping* and *mourning* to *Gods Children*, but a time of *laughing* and *dauncing* to the *Sonnes of Beliall*; the *Righteous* mourne to see the *Vngodly* daunce, and the *Reprobate* laugh to see the *Elect* weepe" (p. 72)

Thomas Cartwright, *A Commentary Vpon the Epistle*, 1612

""Secondly, in regard of the *vse* of the word, we are to come to the Word, not to learne to maintaine our owne errors and heresies, or to mainetaine our sins. As because of the drunkennesse of *Noe*, or by the filthinesse of *Lot* with his daughters to take occasion to maintaine drunkennesse and whore domes, this is an horrible abuse of the Word: In *Amos* wee see them rerpoued that would play with *Dauids* instruments, hauing no skill or Art, that isno heart to vse them wel; whereas *Dauid* had skill by them to stir vp his affections: So do they that mainetaine their filthy dances by *Dauids* dancing" (pp. 201-202)

William Burton, *Ten Sermons*, 1602

"When Patriaches and Prophets came, men had no list to heare them, nor to folow them, because they brought spirituall things which are not sauoured of flesh and bloud: but when Anti-christ came, with a number of masking and mumming Masse Priests, in all glorious shew to the eye, with piping and singing, with bely cheare, with their Robinhoods, and morrice dances, and all their relegion like a stage play, ful of carnal delights, and bewitching vanities, the men wold run, and heare, and follow, and thinke nothing too much, or too deare to vphold that filthy Sinagogue (or sinke rather) withal" (p. 168)

Edwin Sandys, *Sermons*, 1585

"Herode without all reason and iudgement promised to his daunsing daughter whatsoever shee should demaund, and his keeping of promise was euen as vnaduised. They want iudgement that forsake the freshe liuing springes, and drinke of a puddell, tat contemne the sauing word of God, and bee altogether addicted to mans vaine and deceitfull doctrine, that forsake christs merits by sticking to their owne. They want iudgement that call vpon dead Saints, when they may and should call only vpon the liuing God; who hath promised when we crie both to heare and to helpe vs. They are destitute both of reason and iudgement who vowe that which lieth not in their power to performe." ("Twelfth Sermon, pp. 194-195)

Laurence Humphrey, *A View of the Romish Hydra and Monster*, 1525

"A peece and a part of this religion is a Vow, not of forced chastity, but of voluntary cruelty, which the Pope giueth presumptuously, and the Popelings take foolishly . . . Is not their owne Law contrary to this? Is not there forbidden euery oth that is the hande of iniquity? And is it not an vniust band when wee sweare the spoile of Princely blood? . . . No wise man will allowe the rash vowe performed by Herode for the beheading of Iohn Baptist at the motiue of a dauncing damsel the Daughter of Herodias." (p. 23)

Daniel Price, *Spiritual Odours*, 1613

"The third abomination is greater, women weeping for that monster that Devill of lust, or that devil of Idolatry, women shamelesse idolaters. The devil had no other engine in Paradise but the woman, she was the wheele to turne about all the world. Ahabs Iezebell is his instrument to slay the Prophets, Herodias daughter to strike of Iohn Baptist his head . . . whether it be that women by their nature are more flexible, or by law lesse lyable to punishment, (though very many of them haue beene holte worthy Saints and Martyrs of God), yet many haue beene most faithfull servants to their infernall Master, they be the loadstones and loadstars in all evill, the Iesuit not more serviceable to the Pope then Idolatrous women to the devill." (p. 21)

Ronald B. Bond (ed.), *Certain Sermons*, 1987

" He wynged not at the whoredom of Herode, although he wer a kyng of greate power, but boldly reprovod hym for his wicked and abhominable living, although for the same he lost his hedde. But he would rather suffer deathe then see God so dishonored by the breaking of his holy precept, then to suffer whoredome to be unrebuked, even in a kyng. If whoredome had been but a pastyme, a daliaunce and a thyng not to bee passed of (as many coumpt it now a daies), truly Jhon had been more then twyse madde, if he would have had the displeasure of a king. But Jhon knewe right wel how filthy, stynkyng and abhominable the synne of whoredome is in the sight of God; therefore would not he leave it unrebuked, no, not in a kyng. If whoredome bee not laawfull in a kyng, neither is it lawfull in a subject . . . It is therefore necessary, by the determinacion and consent of the Holy Ghost and the apostles and elders, with the whole congregacion, that as from idolatry and supersticion, so likewise we must abstain from fornicacion and whoredom. Is it necessary unto salvacion to abstain from idolatry? So is it to absein from whoredom. Is there any nigher waie to leade unto dampnacion then to bee an idolater? No; even so, neither is there a nerer waie to dampnacion then to be a fornicator and an whoremonger." (pp. 176-177)

Thomas Sutton, *England's First and Second Summons*, 1616

"For thy loue thou hast espoused that vnto the world, for thine affection thou hast wedded that vnto thine Herodias, for they zeale thou hast enflamed that with the loue of thy owne wanton Dalilah: thou bowest in mine house, but thou worshippes Rimmon" (p. 142)

Thomas Becon, *A New Postil*, 1566

“The conscience answereth: thou speakest much of comforte, but I fele it not. I fele rather the contrarie, that the worlde is mery and full of pleasure. But the Christians mourne, and are euer vnder the crosse. Iohn Baptiste is beheaded. But Herode and his harlotte Herodias are frolike and mery. And euen so it goeth it with vs. The worlde enuieth vs a byte of breade, and euery man thincketh, that whatsoever mischief he doth to a Christian, it is well done, when in the meane while ye pope, the Cardinales, the Bishoppes, and all that hate the gospel, liue all in pleasure and iolytie, in reaste and peace, in idleness and heartes ease, and without all affliction and trouble . . . but the holy ghost, which is the conforter of the Christians, is the spirite of truth, whiche inwardly conforteth vs with most certain, sounde, and sure consolation. Therefore although Iohn haue not that comforte, that Herode with his hore, hath, but is caste of them into prison, where he lieth most miserably afflicted and withoute all consolation, tyll at the laste he looseth his head, yet the holy ghost conforteth and confirmeth him, and secretly in his hearte speaketh vnto him on this maner: Be of good courage, O Iohn, and let no aduersitie dismaye thee, neither be thou discomforted, that you art so miserably and vniustly caste into prison, and that the wicked worlde doth so hate thee and reuile thee . . . this consolation and confirmation doth so replenish Iohns hearte with ioye, that he doth not only feare death, but he also geueth God thanks, that by this meanes he is deliuered from this body of synne, and translated and remoued vnto euerlasting life” (p. 266-267)

Readings, Part II (Susan Cogan)

Interior Spiritual Life

Elizabeth Isham’s Book of Remembrance, ff. 4v-5r.

http://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/Isham/index_bor.htm

About this this time¹⁷ which \I/ take to be the 8 or 9 yeare of my life my Granmother begun to be sumthing ill and after a while fel into a fever by which she was so weake that wee doutted of life but \through/ thy goodnes O Lord and my parents using those meanes which thou hast \ordained/* she was sumthing recovered. and my mother at this time yet so weake that she continued from this time goeing with a stafeso well that she came daly to see her, my Aunt Denton also being with her was* noe small comfort unto her with my Aunt Stutifildescomming afterward to see her and hearein I praise \thee/ O Lord both for my Auntes and frindes even above that I am able to express because they are thine; II cor 9.8 8.7to whom I pray to make all grace to abound in them in this time of my Granmothers sicknes I comming dayly to see her lighted upon her Bookes (which lay in her windor)¹⁸wherein she much delighted and I gathered spirituall flowers out of the garden of her sweetnes wherein one booke I found of the nessissity of Repentance and in another the effects of faith (\and how/ far without faith it is impossible to please God) and I afterwards lighting upon prayes for this purpose writ them downe for my owne use, for at \this/ time, as I remember I learned to writ having a natureall inclinacion thereunto,

And now doth come into my mind som \other/ things which \afore/ * those times I did (afore my Grammothers sicknes) my mother gave every one of us a Psalme booke , in which I much delighted because of the verce and haveing learned \Psalmes/* I sung them. thinking I did well; by the immitacion of others althought I did not so fully understand them nether sing according to the tune for which my mother reprovred us for, but my Granmother thinking it to be good for us to learne the Psalmes my mother Answerred as I remember to this effect that wee could not with that reverrance Col 3.16sing them as ought to be. (I Cor. 14.15) after this time I had no mind or was very dull to sing the Psalmes therefore it would have ben better if wee could have learnt; that which by nature other \[illeg]/ Children I have \hard/ sing afore my age at this time; about 3 yeares after this¹⁹ my brother learning to sing my father would have had mee learne also, for the benifit of my lungs being troubeled with a horsnes, but herein I confess my dulnes having no mind to learn, \but/ now comming to a fuller understanding of this Act I condemne my neclygence herein calling to mind the Kingly Prophet David who commited most of his Psalmes to him that excelleth on divers tunes or instruments; besides his songes of degrees²⁰, and althought the cheefest matter which is required is the intencion of the hart uttering words of devine knowledge, yet in these gifts \both/ or Musick and Rhetorickof singing and Eloquence[e?] is the heart inflamed with the more alacrity and vigour and our....

18. This may be a reference to William Perkins' anthology, A garden of spirituall flowers .

19. This would be about 1621 .

20. Psalms 119-133, called the Songs of Degrees in the Authorised Version or Gradual Psalms in Roman Catholic use, probably used in pilgrimages or processions.

Warwickshire County Record Office, CR1998/Box 84, ff. 12-16. Small paper book of spiritual devotion (anon, late 16th/early 17th)

To a certaine Lady of whome he had speciall charge he encourageth her to persever in virtue & to doe good unto her neighbours as a meane to attaine to virtue & contemplation

Epist. 29

Yf yo^u knew the great contentment I received in yo^r Letters you would write often though the divill labored never soe much to hinder yo^u & yf yo^u knew how greate afavour I esteeme yt, that yo^u should have affiance in me & in every occasion bouldly try men without feare I thinke yo^u would esily be freed from the imaginations *which* the devill doth put into *your* head of my displeasure, I esteeme not soe lightly maddam of this that god have put yo^u into my handes that I would be greved *with* any thing *which* concerne yo^u weare yt never soe greate much less *with* that *which* is not paynefull but rather full of content & comfort I beseech yo^u for the love of Christ to aske him whether I love yo^u or noe & I hope he will let yo^u understand that I love yo^u, sith he is the louer of truth & well knoweth yt to be soe Doe yo^u not know that this is a decay of the devill to ouercome the weake doe yo^u not knowe that he doth ronge to his neighbour that thinketh soe of him yo^u know how to comfort & perswade others that thinke ~~yo^e~~ they are not loved yo^u know how to excuse & defend those that are absent why doe not yo^u take to *your* selfe the counsel yo^u geve to others why doe yo^u not *procure* to rememdy the doubt & Incredulity of *your* owne minde as well as that of others: haue noe such thought for the love of Christ crusified: but have confidence & be assured that *our* Lord doth love yo^u &

hath geuen unto me atrew love of *your* soule & adesire to doe for yo^u what soeuer is shalbe needfull until v obtaine that Crowne for *which* god hath called yo^u & to furder yo^u to such an end shalbe to me avery great & speciall ioye. doe not say nor yet thinke that the state wherein yo^u liue is lett to *your* Salvation this is a mere temptation of Sathan to make yo^u leave yt & soe to draw yo^u to him, our Saviour hath not called yo^u but lo thend he might save you to whome infinite thanks be geuen that he hath hether to *preserved* yo^u & will I doubt not keepe yo^u in the good yo^u have begonne though the enymie doth never soe much storme and rage as yt. And yf yo^u thinke yo^u are not soe well recollecte*d* within *your* selfe as were meete to doe service to soe high a lord I am glad to se yo^u desyrous & to longe after soe greate & spirituall agood but yet in such sorte not with standinge as that yo^u should not thinke but yo^u serve god in that yo^u doe Somtymes a soule may doe God greater service beinge not retyred with the exercises of spirituall deuotions but onely desiringe them.

then yf shee were to her wishe recollecte*d*, for God would often have us leave the sweetnes & contentment we have in him aloane to attend to the good & comfort of his Children. The Patriarch Iacob loved greatly the faire Rachell & to obtaine her for his wief he served seaven yeares at the end whereof they haue him Lya without his knowledge & when he complained hereof they answered yt was not the costome of that Country to geue the yonger daughter in marriage before the elder but yf he loved the other soe much he should serve other seven yeares & he should haue her *which* he did & [^]soe[^] obtaine*d* her. Whosoever desireth the beauty of spirituall & heavenly contemplation he desieth well but he must first haue the other life full of payne & labour & imploy himselfe to serue & doe good to others in *which* yf he perseuer god

will giue him the other when he seeth tyme, in the meane space he is contented that we desire that & doe this he doth not well that delighteth in eternall business neither is he to be commended that complayneth of them but he doth the will of *our* lord that hath his handes laboring in the service of his neighbour & his harte desiringe the quiet repose of heauenly contemplation, not that this desire should cause complaynts or discontent but that he should beare the one with

patience and love the other put his handes in the one & his eyes on the other obey in the one & pray for the other And as I haue said God is moore pleased that some should serue him in the first life *which* is paynefull & troublesome then in the second *which* is full of quiet & repose for we often cover our owne selfe love & desier of ease & unwillingnes to labor under the coller of gevinge *our* selves to praer and therefore *our* Saviour *which* knoweth much better what we want than we our selves & the nature of o[u]r desires hath care to direct & guide our life as is most convenient And soe ought he that is his servant to beleeeve and therefore except of his devyne ordinance with humble thanks. And yf yo^u say *his* your employment is good, but yo^u are could & neglygent & doe not serue god as yo^u would & ought yt pleaseth me well that yo^u both thinke & saye soe, for I much bewaile him that should thinke to preuaile with God without askinge mercy I would haue v to acknowledge *your* selfe evill & neglygent, soe shall yo^u by the mercy & goodnes of God obtayne pardon & receave euery day greater favours blessings perswade *your* selfe also notwithstandinge that as yo^u are, God doth yet tender & love yo^u *provided* alwaies that yo^u perseuer & fight under his banner & not turne *your* backe God is contented with yo^u & I remayne also content & seeinge *your* fathers both [^]celestiall[^] in heaven & spiritual in earth are contented be yo^u also content with *your* selfe not soe as yo^u leave to

goe forwardes in Godes service but that you be not dismaied nor fearefull of the liefte yo^u leade beleve that *our* Lord is pleased with *your* present estate and thereof I assure yo^u in his name & doubt yo^u not but he will comfort yo^u and enrich yo^u with his celestiaall graces beare these wordes in mynde be faithfull to god turne not from him listen not to the counsell of the divill nor of flesh and bloude be bould to trust in god & to offer *your* selfe to dye for his love rather then to leave that *which* yo^u have begonne & yo^u shall soone see how faithfull god is to those that remayne constant in his warr the holly ghost be allwaies with yo^u & preserue & comferte yo^u.

Domestic/Public

Warwickshire County Record Office, CR1998/Box 60/Folder 3, f. 11; Mary Throckmorton to her father, Thomas.

My good father my humble duty remembred beinge glade to here of your good health I am to informe you what succes your man had for shoottinge in your libertie. upon tewsdays morning last he had the flauders mare with him when he had shoott at the fowle he tyed his mare to the hedg whilste he fatched the fowle in the meane time Sir Thomas Terringham and too more came over the water and did take away the mare, Reeve perceiuinge them came to them with speed intreatinge them for the mare, ther was no answere from but swearinge and would not geue him leaue to speake, but sent me worde that he had sent to me and nowe I should send to him. I knowe not wherin he hath sent to me, without it we [illeg] in forbiddinge him to shoote. I stayed that daye to see whether the mare sholde be sent home. I was to be Jested at, wherupon I desired Ridley to wryte me a letter to my uncle howe I was Iniured, his answere was to gadson which Carride the letter ~~he answered~~ that it was his sonne Tomas doeinge and lett him answere, and asked withall, who was my Clarke he sayed he knewe not, he asked whether Ridley were at home, he did tell him yt upon frydaye after Sir Thomas Terringham did send me a letter wherin he doth ⁱⁿ bitter tearmes a gainst Ridley. I haue answered his letter like a woman very submissively if that will serve. for I perceive that they can not indure to be tolde of theyr faults; nether can I abide any wronge but I must make it knowne to them. upon saterdaye last I did send the Cater over to terringham for sym rabbits the warriner did tell him he shoulde haue very good, when to the house to speak with my lady she would not be seene but sent worde by her man that she had no more then for her owne use, so I haue them from Ickley. I hope ther will not be any ^{preiudice} to you herein, then for my parte I care not what they conceive. I haue sent you the coppies of my letters and the letter which was sent me. your mault makinge goeth forwarde very well the time is very good. Thus humbly desiringe your dayly blessinge and desiringe god to send you a merry Christmas I leave you to the highest from Weston the xxvth of december.

your ever obedient

daughter

Mary Throckmorton

Huntington Library, Hastings Papers HA 4821
c. 1607, Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon to her husband.

Sweete harete, I haue receaued your letter by Harvy, and wheras you speake of my keeping the nurse still, that came from my Awnte Leighe. I wryte you worde longe ago what the reason was, the nurse I had, which caused her staye, beeing alltogether unexperienced how to dress or tende a chylde; soe that had I sente the other awaye, the chylde woulde haue binn spoyled for wante of tendinge, I doo not desyer to augment your charge, nether woulde I haue binn soe simple to haue kepte her had not I had use for her, and now that nurse I haue whom I thanke god the chylde dothe as yett lyke as well, as of any, yett I muste keepe the other for a liddle tyme, tell shee can dress itt perfettly I had much adoo to gett a nurse fitting for the chylde, and on in the towne I had mayde choyce on, which the wyues that knew beste, aduysed mee unto, butt the chylde woulde not drawe her breste, soe that I was forsed to gett an other, with whom I hope in god the chylde will doo well; I haue had choyse of mayni nurses and for theyre paynes in couming they haue had mony thowghe not much which hauing non my selfe to laye owte tell your couming downe the deaike hathe payed itt for you, if you sencure urgetely of me I haue giuen you no cause to thinke I spende you any thinge unfittingly nether doo I increase your expences excepte itt bee in yeelding to your will in euerythinge howsoeuer unanswerable to my desyor yet my indeuors shall bee to giue you contentment though I haue had in that as yett butt small requytall butt my greatest desyer is to see my La: heere this jurney which if your willingnes bee answerable to her

Ladyships fauors to us bothe I shall haue juste cause to accounte my self very happy and thinke your loue is no less to mee then myne to your selfe which I will euer increase and neuer allter, I was wished to lett you knowe that my Grandmother is somthing discontented Mr Garfielde telling me shee uttered speches to him aboute sowme assurance which you showlde giue her

aboute the payment of me Lady Dorothis porsion, shee sayd nothing to mee therefore I cannot explayne her mynde only Mr Garfielde deliuered me to sende you worde shee is not well pleased. your couminge not att your appoynted tyme, forceth mee to trouble you thus farr intreatinge you to take sowme order that I maye haue att owre lady daye, the fifty pounce which by your allowance I showlde receaue att that daye, besydes tenn poundes that I am unpaid of [illeg] semas rente, wha[t] greate use I haue of itt, I assure myselde you will consider, for I am to paye forty powndes I borroes att miclemas laste, and knowe not what to doo excepte I receaue my allowance from you, that daye, therefore I praye you not to deferr me as hetherto you haue done, and thus lettinge you know your little one is well I thanke god, I sease your further trowble with thes skribled lynes restinge euer unfaynesly Your very assured louinge wyffe tell Deathe

Eliza:

Huntingdon

Public

The National Archives, SP14/216/2, f. 76 r&v

ii Dec. 1605 The examination of James Garvey serv[an]t to Sr Everard Digby

Saieth it was comonlie voiced in his Mrs howse afore alhallowtide that his Mr entended about alhallowtide to hunt at Dunchurche & his Mr kept divers horses in diett & breath as was spoken for that p[ar]pose:

Saieth about 10 daies before alhallowtide he waited on his Ladie to Colton Mr Throgmortons howse wch Mrs Vaux it semed had borowed: & his ladie Mrs Vaux & Mrs brokesby: & one Mr Darcy ... together from ... Sr Everards howse to Coton.

Saieth about Bartholimew tide last, his ladie roade to St Wenefreds well: from Gatehurst: first daie to deyntrie: 2 to Gran-tz; 3 to Winters 4: to Mr Lacons: 5 to Shrewsberie: 6 to holte: 7 to the well: they staid at the well but one night: & returned the first day ^to holt^ to Mr Banesters at Wem: 3 to Mr Lacons againe; & se returned to gatehorst.

Saieth ther were in that iorney the ladie digby Mrs Vaux: Mr Broskeby & his wiefe. Mr darcy one Thomas digby a tall gentleman: one fishe a litle man: Sr Fraunces Lacon & his daughter, & too or 3 gentelmen more went w[i]th them, from Mr Lacons to the well. Ambrose Rockwood went w[i]th them...to Mr Lacons; & they saw Rookwoods wife coming another waie to Mr Lacons: the rest were servants that waited on the s[aid] companie: so they wer in nomber about thirty p[er]sons in that iorney: to his thinking: amongst whom ther was one called litle John s[er]vant to Mr darcy or Mrs vaux.

Readings, Part III (Elisa Oh)

Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography* (1589), trans. Mary Stewart Evans

Some say this dance is common in the Canary Isles. Others...maintain that it derives from a ballet composed for a masquerade in which the dancers were dressed as kings and queens of Mauretania, or else like savages in feathers dyed to many a hue. This is how the canary is danced. A young man takes a damsel and...they dance together to the far end of the hall. This done, he withdraws to the place from when he started, continuing the while to gaze at the damsel; then he regains her side anew and performs certain passages after which he withdraws again. The damsel now advances, does likewise before him and then withdraws to her former place, and they both continue to sally and retreat as many times as the variety of passages permits. And take note that these passages are gay but nevertheless strange and fantastic with a strong barbaric flavour. You will learn them from those who are practised in them and you can invent new ones for yourself. (179-180)

John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England...* (1624)

[I]n the meane time, Pocahontas and her women entertained Captaine Smith in this manner. In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting upon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the English betooke themselves to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended, and the beholders where were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter.

Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaves, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises. These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred in like manner they departed.

Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Love you not me? love you not me? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, other singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging. (182-183)

James Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (1613)

The Examination and Euidence of Grace Sowerbvttts, daughter of Thomas Sowerbvttts, of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster Husband-man, vpon her Oath, Against Iennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Iane Southworth, prisoners at the Barre, vpon their Arraignement and Triall, viz.

And being further sworne and examined, she deposeth & saith, that about halfe a yeare agoe, the said *Iennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Iane Southworth*, and this Examinee (who went by the appointment of the said *Iennet* her Grand mother) did meete at a place called Red banck, vpon the North side of the water of Ribble, euery Thursday and Sondag at night by the space of a fortnight, and at the water side there came vnto them, as they went thether, foure black things, going vpriight, and yet not like men in the face: which foure did carrie the said three women and this Examinee ouer the Water, and when they came to the said Red Banck they found some thing there which they did eate. But this Examinee saith, shee neuer saw such meate; and therefore shee durst not eate thereof, although her said Grand mother did bidde her eate. And after they had eaten, the said three Women and this Examinee danced, euery one of them with one of the blacke things aforesaid, and after their dancing the said blacke things did pull downe the said three Women, and did abuse their bodies, as this Examinee thinketh, for shee saith, that the black thing that was with her, did abuse her bodie... And being further examined touching her being at Red-banke, shee saith, That the three women, by her before named, were carried backe againe ouer Ribble, by the same blacke things that carried them thither; and saith that at their said meeting in the Red-banke, there did come also diuers other women, and did meete them there, some old, some yong, which this Examinee thinketh did dwell vpon the North-side of Ribble, because she saw them not come ouer the Water: but this Examinee knew none of them, neither did she see them eat or dance, or doe

anything else that the rest did, sauing that they were there and looked on. These particular points of Euidence being thus vrged against the Prisoners: the father of this *Grace Sowerbutts* prayed that *Thomas Walshman*, whose childe they are charged to murther, might be examined as a witnes vpon his oath, for the Kings Maiestie, against the Prisoners at the Barre: who vpon this strange deuised accusation, deliuered by this impudent wench, were in opinion of many of that great Audience guilty of this bloudie murther, and more worthy to die then any of these Witches.

Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Queens* (1609), ed. Stephen Orgel

It increasing now to the third time of my being used in these services to her majesty's [Anna of Denmark] personal presentations, with the ladies whom she pleaseth to honor, it was my first and special regard to see that the nobility of the invention should be answerable to the dignity of their persons. For which reason I chose the argument to be a celebration of honorable and true fame bred out of virtue, observing that rule of the best artist, to suffer no object of delight to pass without his mixture of profit and example. and because her majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers and have the place of a foil or false masque, I was careful to decline not only from others', but mine own steps in that kind, since the last year I had an antimasque of boys; and therefore now devised that twelve women in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, etc., the opposites to good Fame, should fill that part, not as a masque but a spectacle of strangeness, producing multiplicity of gesture, and not unaptly sorting with the current and whole fall of the device.

His majesty [James I], then, being set, and the whole company in full expectation, the part of the scene which first presented itself was an ugly hell, which flaming beneath, smoked unto the top of the roof. And in respect all evils are, morally, said to come from hell, as also from that observation of Torrentius upon Horace his *Canidia*, *quae tot instructa venenis, ex Orci faucibus profecta videri possit*,¹ these witches, with a kind of hollow and infernal music, came forth from thence. First one, then two, and three, and more till their number increased to eleven, all differently attired: some with rats on their head, some on their shoulders; others with ointment pots at their girdles; all with spindles, timbrels, rattles or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise, with strange gestures...I prescribed them their properties of vipers, snakes, bones, herbs, roots, and other ensigns of their magic, out of the authority of ancient and late writers...

These eleven witches beginning to dance (which is a usual ceremony at their convents, or meetings, where sometimes also they are vizarded and masked)...At this the Dame entered to them, naked armed, barefooted, her frock tucked, her hair knotted and folded with vipers; in her hand a torch made of a dead man's arm, lighted; girded with a snake. To whom they all did reverence, and she spake...

[Dame]: You fiends and furies, if yet any be

¹ who, equipped with so many poisons, might seem to have come from the mouth of hell.

Worse than ourselves, you that have quaked to see
 These knots untied, and shrunk when we have charmed,
 You that to arm us have yourselves disarmed,
 And to our powers resigned your whips and brands
 When we went forth, the scourge of men and lands;
 You that have seen me ride when Hecaté
 Durst not take chariot, when the boisterous sea
 Without a breath of wind hath knocked the sky,
 And that hath thundered, Jove not knowing why;
 When we have set the elements at wars,
 Made midnight see the sun, and day the stars;
 When the singed lightning in the course hath swayed,
 And swiftest rivers have run back, afraid
 To see the corn remove, the groves to range,
 Whole places alter, and the seasons change;
 When the pale moon at the first voice down fell
 Poisoned, and durst not stay the second spell;
 You that have oft been conscious of these sights,
 And thou three-formèd star, that on these nights
 Art only powerful, to whose triple name
 Thus we incline, once, twice and thrice the same:
 If now with rites profane and foul enough
 We do invoke thee, darken all this roof
 With present fogs. Exhale the earth's rott'nest vapors,
 And strike a blindness through these blazing tapers.
 Come, let a murmuring charm resound
 The whilst we bury all i' the ground.
 But first see every foot be bare,
 And every knee...

[Charm 9] About, about and about,
 Till the mist arise and the light fly out;
 The images neither be seen nor felt;
 The woolen burn and the waxen melt;
 Sprinkle your liquors upon the ground
 And into the air, around, around.
 Around, around,
 Around, around,
 Till and music sound
 And the pace be found
 To which we may dance
 And our charms advance.

At which, with a strange and sudden music they fell into a magical dance full of preposterous change and gesticulation, but most applying to their property, who at their meetings do all things contrary to the custom of men, dancing back to back and hip to hip, their hands joined, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange

fantastic motions of their heads and bodies. All which were excellently imitated by the maker of the dance, Master Hierome Herne, whose right it is here to be named.

In the heat of their dance on the sudden was heard a sound of loud music, as if many instruments had made one blast; with which not only the hags themselves but the hell into which they ran quite vanished, and the whole face of the scene altered, scarce suffering the memory of such a thing. But in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building figuring the House of Fame, in the top of which were discovered the twelve masquers sitting upon a throne triumphal erected in form of a pyramid and circled with all store of light. From whom a person, by this time descended, in the furniture of Perseus, and expressing heroic and masculine virtue, began to speak.

[The great queens “personated” by Anna of Denmark and her ladies descend from a magnificent stage architecture throne, and at Fame’s behest, ride around in triumph in Fame’s own chariots with the hags “led as captives, bound/Before their wheels.” Descriptions of the noblewomen’s masque dancing follows.]

Here they lighted from their chariots and danced forth their first dance; then a second, immediately following it; both right curious and full of subtile and excellent changes, and seemed performed with no less spirits than of those [queens] they personated...After it, succeeded their third dance, than which a more numerous composition could not be seen, graphically disposed into letters, and honoring the hame of the most sweet and ingenious prince, Charles, Duke of York; wherein, beside that principal grace of perspicuity, the motions were so even and apt and their expression so just, as if mathematicians had lost proportion they might there have found it.

Readings, Part IV (Camilla Kandare)

Excerpts from *Della Corte di Roma e delle sue cerimonie* [Pietro Palazzi], *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. Lat 12475.

Ceremonies thus are all the external demonstrations, that through bodily acts manifest the veneration, the respect, and the esteem granted the Person to whom they are made, such as kneeling, bowing, nodding the head, kissing the hand, taking off the hat, giving precedence, coming a longer or shorter way to encounter them, accompanying them a longer or shorter distance, and all other ceremonies, that show respect and esteem...

In every well ordered city there needs to be various sorts of ceremonies to distinguish between the status and the quality of such Persons, as merit more or less honoring. [...] Especially at the Court of Rome, where foreigners from all parts of the world gather, and where everyone aspires to live freely, and to not be subjected to anyone, but the Supreme Pontiff, who is the Master and the highest Prince of the city...

The ceremonies of the court, and particularly of the Court of Rome, are so integrally connected, and arranged by such just proportion, that it is not possible to change one, without upsetting the balance of the others; all the most noteworthy Personages, that

appear at the Court of Rome, by the Ceremonial are divided into three classes, and each class has its own particular protocol, and because this protocol is organized in such a way that it sustains a proportionate relationship between them, each time that the protocol is altered for one, it makes it necessary to alter the protocol for the others also, in order to maintain the necessary proportions; thus if such Personages who belong to the first class notice, that the second class is receiving greater honors, those of the first class are just in requiring, that their own honors be accordingly increased, so as to preserve the proportionate distance, that needs to exist between the first and the second class...

Sometimes foreigners come to Rome, who either by whim, or because of an ambition to stand out by introducing novelties, do not want to regulate their conduct according to custom, or to observe the Ceremonial; instead they aspire to make themselves innovators by asking for more, or performing less, than has always before been practiced in that Court, and they say, that the world is changing, that the Court is changing its customs, that the old practices no longer exist, that one no longer does what was done in the past, and that all things change. And by referencing various misuses, rather than proper examples, they attempt to practice the former, and to fashion the ceremonial according to their own preference; but such people are not praiseworthy, and their opinions do not receive approval, if not by others like them, who themselves want to profit by such deeds.

Excerpt from a chart showing the protocol for receiving visitors in a Cardinal's palace, c. 1700. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale II-23.

	Reception by Cardinals	Reception by the gentlemen of the household	Accompanying by Cardinals	Accompanying by the gentlemen of the household
Cardinals	Four, or five steps of the stairs	At the carriage	To the carriage	
Royal ambassadors and the nephews of the current Pope	One, or two steps outside the second door of the chamber	At the carriage	Descend one step of the stair and pretend to step down a second step	To the carriage
Ambassadors of Savoy and Tuscany	By the second door of the chamber	Close to the carriage	Close to the top of the stairs	To the carriage
The Duke of Bracciano Contestabile Colonna	Close to the second door of the chamber	Close to the carriage	Three, or four steps outside the chamber	To the carriage
Ludovisi, Savelli, Chigi, Altieri, Pamfilio, Odescalchi, Borghese...	Three thirds of the chamber	Not very close to the carriage	Two steps outside the second door of the chamber	To the carriage

Viconaro, Sonnino, Cesarini	Slightly further the middle of the chamber	At the foot of the stairs	One step outside the second door of the chamber	Close to the carriage and wait until it departs
The Ambassador of Parma	Middle of the chamber	More than half of the stairs	One step outside the second door of the chamber	Not too close to the carriage and without waiting until it departs

From the “diario” of Carlo Cartari (Effemeridi Cartarie), April 1669. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Cartari-Febei 82.

Worthy of observation was, that during the ceremony of the incensation, after the first Cardinal had been incensed, the Cardinal Deacon went to incense the Queen, in accordance with what had previously been agreed, but she remained seated. A sign was made by the Master of Ceremonies, Fulvio Servanzio, who was accompanying the Cardinal Deacon, for the Queen to rise, but she remained seated. The Duke Conti then told the Queen to rise, to which she replied, that she was not required to rise, but wanted to be incensed seated, which actually happened, to the astonishment of all. I later asked Monsignore Febei, who dined with me, about this curious event and he told me that in the days preceding the ceremony it had been agreed that the Queen would be incensed immediately after the first Cardinal; Febei had therefore talked to the Queen after the ceremony about what had occurred, and she had told him “Monsignore, I had such poor view, I therefore thought that other Cardinals would be incensed before me and so I wanted to remain seated.” Febei marveled at this and replied that the Queen had been mistaken if she thought that other Cardinals than the first would be incensed before her, as had previously been agreed on, but when Febei saw that the Queen appeared to regret her mistake he refrained from pursuing the matter further...

Avvisi di Roma, May 1669

Sunday morning [the Queen of Sweden] participated in the canonization of S. Pietro and and S. Maddalena, and during the act of the incensation, in imitation of His Holiness she did not want to rise, although the Masters of Ceremonies requested it. The intentions of the Holy Father are all well and good and directed at nothing but to attract other heretics to the Catholic faith, but it is certainly true that in seeing such improper behavior, there were those who daringly said: This one is the Pope, and that one is the Popess [*la Papessa*].

Avvisi di Roma, April 1665

Sunday morning in the Basilica of Saint Peter the function of sanctifying the Blessed Francesco de Sales took place, in which the Queen of Sweden did not participate, because although a stand had been erected for Her Majesty in the church, she did not want to make use of it since it was not detached from the others, as she had wanted.

“The Queen of Sweden” from Memoriali delli Cerimonie di Corte (1685). Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale II-23.

When the Cardinals go to visit the Queen of Sweden the first time, and also for Christmas and Easter, they go dressed in *rocchetto*, the rest of the year they wear the *sottana*, *mozzetta*, and *ferraiolo*. Her Majesty permits that they wear the *cimarra* for attending comedies, and during the Carnival. To ask for an audience a gentleman is sent to the Queen, and the Queen decides the hour and the day. When the Cardinal enters his carriage to go and visit her a groom is sent to announce, that His Eminence has entered the carriage; if some gentleman is sent by Her Majesty with a message from the Queen, several gentlemen are sent to receive him and he is accompanied to the top of the stairs, and the Cardinal receives him outside the door to the audience chamber and accompanies him two thirds of the second antichamber. The Queen, whether traveling *cognita* or *incognita*, when encountering Cardinals in the street demand that they stop for her as she passes them without stopping; such encounters must be escaped in any way possible.

Sutton, Julia, transl. and ed. *Courtly Dance of the Renaissance. A New Translation and Edition of the "Nobiltà di Dame" (1600) [by] Fabritio Caroso.*

[p. 140] Appropriate Conduct for Ladies When Attending Weddings and Festive Occasions. NOTE IX.

Disciple: Up to this point you have taught me the comportment for gentlemen; now I would like to know that for ladies.

Master: I was about to do so. Let me say, then, that it is more essential for ladies to learn good manners and how to comport themselves honourably than anything else; and this is even more true for those who are of noble or princely blood. For if they do not know how to behave, all who observe them will say, 'This woman acts the great lady, but she is unworthy', as they will not perceive that this is simply the result of ignorance. Thus it is necessary, first, for a lady to learn how to make a grave Reverence and when to bow, and how to do these gracefully; then second she should learn how to wear her chopines properly; third, how and according to what principles to walk and move gracefully; fourth, how to salute a princess or another lady; fifth, how to be seated; sixth, how to arise from a seated position, and how to take her leave; seventh, proper style and rules of etiquette when she calls upon a new bride; eight, what to do before taking a gentleman's hand when she has been invited to dance; ninth, how to take her leave at the end of the dance; tenth, how to comport herself at a ball when she was not been taken out to dance; and finally, how to make her departure.

John Essex: *The Dancing-Master. London, 1728.*

Ch. XIII. Of the Manner how Women ought to walk and appear gracefully.

I doubt not but I should be accused of Indifference, or of knowing only how to teach Men, if I should not shew my Zeal and Care for the Instruction of the fair Sex, who are the Life of Dancing, unless I would cut off the most beautiful Part of the Creation; for without Women there's no Spirit in Dancing; they raise that ardent and noble Emulation that appears between them and us, when we dance together, especially those who delight in this Exercise, of which there is a great Number ; for nothing to me seems more engaging in a Company, than to see two Persons of each Sex dance together with Justness

and Applause: For which Reason, independently of what I have already said of the Manner of Walking in the foregoing Chapters, which equally regards both Sexes, the same Remarks are necessary for the Women, who ought to turn out their Feet, and straighten or extend their Knees; though it is said by some, that these Faults are imperceptible in them; but to undeceive such Persons, especially those young Ladies who are negligent of themselves, let them walk before a Glass, and observe the Manner I have laid down in the preceding Chapters, and let them walk carelessly, they will find they have another Air, and own, that by holding their Heads upright the Body is more steady, and by extending their Knees their Steps are more firm.

In short, I have made an Observation, which seems to me very just, on the Manner of carrying the Head ; which is, that a Woman, how graceful soever she may be in her Deportment, may be differently judged of: For Example; if she holds it upright, and the Body disposed, without Affectation, or too much Boldness, they say there goes a stately Lady ; if she carries it negligently, they accuse her of Carelessness; if she pokes her Head forward, of Indolence; and in short, if she stoops, of Thoughtlessness, or want of Assurance; and so on.

Therefore my Desire is, that young Ladies would only observe the easy Method I lay down, to avoid the Faults I have recited, which has engaged me to place this Figure here which represents the Carriage they ought to have in Walking: *Viz.* the Head upright, the Shoulders down, the Arms bent, and easily drawn back to the Body, and the Hands before, one upon the other, with a Fan; but above all, without Affectation.

Regola di S. Agostino per le monache di Santa Maria delle Vergini. In Roma appresso Alessandro Zannetti, MDCXXII.

[p. 46] Of modesty in general

Modesty is a virtue that regulates and governs all the exterior actions in accordance the requirements of good and proper conversation, and makes the person amiable and acceptable to God, and to people. Modesty must be practiced not just in public, but also in private, both in order to get used to such practice, and to please God who sees all things hidden.

In public in particular one must observe the rules of modesty [...] which is done by keeping the senses in good custody and well governed; starting with the eyes, the gaze must be kept contained and not be allowed to wander around, it is better kept lowered than raised, so as not to look here and there, and much less behind oneself, nor should one look straight at the face of another, especially not the Superiora.

The ears must be used modestly, eschewing curiosity and listening for news and other vanities [...]

Modesty requires, that the whole person be well composed and gathered in herself, yet not with affection, avoid also a certain proud and wandering comportment, the hands must not be kept hanging but gathered at the chest.

One must never touch others anywhere, not with the hands, or with any other part, or in any situation, except to care for someone who is sick or in some other need, beware also not to touch yourself indecently, or affectionately.

The gait should neither be too slow, nor too fast, and you must never run except in the case of the most urgent need.

Modesty must also be practiced with respect to yourself, as concerns dressing and undressing, touching oneself, looking at oneself, resting appropriately in bed, where one must always keep the arms crossed at the chest [...]

When encountering someone you always greet them, and the younger must be the first to greet the older, although humility, which is the companion of modesty, requires that everyone attempts to be the first to greet the other.

When saluting one another nod the head modestly, without speaking, and without making any other sign or gesture with the eyes, the hands, or any other part.

To the Mother Superior you bend your neck further than towards others, and to show reverence you also stop somewhat until she has passed, and this should be practiced by the novices not just towards the Mother Superior, but also the Maestra and all the other nuns.

When speaking, or walking, or sitting in the company of others, during work, recreation or any other occasion, you remain at some distance from each other, and slightly more so the young, who also are not permitted to sit down, except if specifically told to do so by the Mother Superior.