UC Davis
UC Davis Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Front Matter: Reading and Writing the Forehead in Early Modern Literature

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3pz039n2

Author
Dietering, Averyl Anne

Publication Date
2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Front Matter:
Reading and Writing the Forehead in Early Modern Literature

By

AVERYL DIETERING

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

English

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

____
Gina Bloom, Chair

____
Frances Dolan

____
Elizabeth Freeman

Committee in Charge

2021

Acknowledgements

I must first thank my dog, Ellie. Without her, I would have never understood the distinctions that early modern anatomies made between human skin and animal skin. Ellie let me play with the furry skin on her back, stretching it and moving it about until I could see the difference between the “immovable skin” and “movable skin” that was so vital to early modern discussions of the forehead’s structure. It was thanks to Ellie’s patience with my citizen science that I was able to not only understand why early modern anatomies were so interested in the forehead, but also to develop a method firmly rooted in the materialism of flesh and bodies, a method that turned out to be the foundation of my dissertation. She was very happy when I moved on from the anatomy chapters and started writing about other, non-dog-related topics.

I am grateful to my committee, Gina Bloom, Frances Dolan, and Elizabeth Freeman, who encouraged me to take risks in my writing and exercise more creativity in my thinking. Their willingness to foster my creativity in turn taught me to trust myself as a scholar. I also benefitted from the genius and mentorship of other UC Davis professors including Seeta Chaganti, Carl Stahmer, Matthew Vernon, Tiffany Werth, Danielle Heard Mollel, Margaret Ferguson, and Rana Jaleel. Carol Mejia LaPerle, Matthieu Chapman, Kim Hall, Arthur Little, Ayanna Thompson, Su Fang Ng, and everyone at RaceB4Race created a transformative space to share bold ideas and learn about race in the premodern period. Meg Lota Brown helped plant the seed of this dissertation through her class on the early modern body while I was in the master’s program at the University of Arizona. Will Angel, Aaron Barstow, Andi Carr, and Darolyn Striley guided me through the paperwork and bureaucracy of the PhD program. Jessica Gray, Amanda Kong, Jake Hodge, Sydnee Wagner, and Katharine Addis provided me with thoughtful feedback on my

ideas, were generous with their time, and introduced me to new perspectives. I am especially indebted to Jessica and Amanda, who helped me find my way into my dissertation and then find my way back out. I am grateful to my friends and family for their support, as well as to my Mockingbird Analytics colleagues for encouraging me in my desire to finish my degree while also working a full-time job. My gardens, plants, compost, and worms helped to keep me grounded both literally and figuratively when the dissertation was too much.

I know that I am missing many people in this section. The last few years have been filled with loss; grief has taken its toll on my memory. I am grateful to all who have helped me along this journey, even if I cannot remember well enough to include their names here.

I would like to express my gratitude to the chosen family that academia led me to. As a college freshman, I ended up in Brandie Siegfried's "Shakespeare and Film" class by chance. I am forever grateful that I did. Brandie was my mentor, friend, and guide. She counseled me to seek out the good, the true, and the beautiful, but she also taught me to think critically about these categories. Brandie was brave, wise, good-humored, clever, and brilliant. She used her skills in game theory to protect and advocate for queer students, like myself and my partner, Kristen, who were not safe at our conservative campus. When Kristen and I married, Brandie and her husband, Mitch Harris, gave us the love and support that many others would not. I am so happy to count Brandie and Mitch as part of my family. I wish that she were still here to see that I completed the degree.

Finally, thank you, Kristen, for your partnership and encouragement. Thank you for petting Ellie like a normal person. Thank you for helping me to see this dissertation through and for supporting me in my path. I am excited for the next step, our ray of light.

Abstract

"Front Matter: Reading and Writing the Forehead in Early Modern Literature" explores sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English views of the body as a text that, when read correctly, could yield diverse knowledges about people. In early modern England, the part of the body most commonly treated as a text was the forehead, which was a site of surprising interest: churchgoers listened to biblical sermons about God sealing the righteous in their foreheads while Satan would mark wicked foreheads; people joked about cuckolded husbands sprouting horns from their foreheads; women followed racial and gendered beauty standards through plucking and cosmetics to make their foreheads high and white; the government branded religious dissenters in the forehead; and physiognomers wrote books about reading one's destiny in forehead lines. Showing how bodies—especially foreheads—operated as texts, my research aims to change how scholars have understood histories of reading and books. Much has been written about how animal skins were made into books, but I consider how human skin could be a legible text while still on the living body. The skin of the forehead was privileged as an expressive text because its movements were seen as traces of emotion: as a "blank" skin that could wrinkle itself into lines, the forehead was imagined as a self-writing text. The connection between wrinkled skin and underlying emotion anchored other significations to the forehead, such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and religion. Yet although treating the forehead as a text allowed practitioners of forehead-reading to claim specialized knowledge about decoding its meaning, it also made the forehead—like all texts—open to misreading and illegibility. This openness of textual interpretation was also occasionally manipulated by people who strategically marked, read, wrote, and interpreted *themselves* into texts of their own making.

Chapter One, "The Anatomical Book-Body: Reading the Materiality of the Fleshly Page"

explores the ways in which body-as-book metaphors influenced early modern anatomies. The book-body metaphor was used to imagine a particular kind of interiority for the human body, one in which the exterior was seen as a barrier to knowledge that needed to be cut through and peeled back to reveal the truth of the body, imagined as hidden in the body's interior. Yet this interiority was not allowed to some racially-othered bodies. Chapter Two "Movable Skin, Movable Type: Motion and the Printing of Emotion in the Forehead" builds upon the analysis of anatomies in the first chapter, arguing that although these anatomies and physiognomies employed different methods of reading bodies, they both valued the bodies as text that helped them create hierarchies between the human, sub-human, non-human, and animal others. Chapter Three, "Brands, Marks, and Seals: Reading Salvation and Damnation in the Forehead" analyzes publications surrounding the punitive forehead branding of two seventeenth-century religious radicals, arguing that the state's attempt to fix meaning through branding actually made these men's foreheads subject to infinite interpretations. As forehead-reading methods developed into facial recognition technology—an evolution I trace in my conclusion—what remains clear is that imagining the body as a text allows people to legitimize their "knowledge" of a person by claiming that this "knowledge" is sourced from the body itself. Reading bodies as texts allows us to obscure the origins of our beliefs about different bodies, locating these origins in those bodies rather than in complex and contradictory histories of social categorization and hierarchy. Yet even if it is impossible to escape the reading methods that transform bodies into texts, it is also possible to manipulate these methods to survive and to build more livable lives.

Introduction: The Many Rebirths of Facial Reading

For there are mystically in our faces certain Characters
which carry in them the motto of our Souls, wherein
he that cannot read A. B. C. may read our natures.

Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*

[…] facial recognition is actually a very valuable tool
for improving accuracy and removing bias when
compared to manual, human processes.

Michael Punke, VP of Global Public Policy, Amazon Web Services

In October 2019, the Trump administration placed 28 Chinese organizations on a U.S. blacklist over concerns about human rights violations. According to a Commerce Department filing, these actions were in response to China's aggression against Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities. Among the 28 Chinese companies and government organizations that were blacklisted were three facial recognition technology (FRT) companies, considered to be some of the most valuable FRT startups in the world.

For months, news outlets reported that the Chinese government worked with FRT companies to develop programs that can identify Uyghurs, track their actions, and send alerts to local police about "suspicious" behavior. Some of these technologies are being used to determine which Uyghurs to send to internment camps, which the Chinese government has claimed are "re-education camps" designed to teach Uyghurs Chinese language and job skills (government officials have claimed that Uyghurs held in camps have been freed after "graduating" from these camps, but these claims could not be verified). These reports of FRT as a genocidal technology are disturbing but unsurprising: for decades, FRT has been controversial, raising concerns about privacy, policing, racism, and homophobia, not to mention its dangerously high failure rate. The U.S. has pioneered the use of FRT for racial profiling and violating human rights with practices

such as mining DMV databases to deport undocumented immigrants, tracking protesters, and violating the right to due process. In the aftermath of the Baltimore protests against the police murder of Freddie Gray in 2015, facial recognition technology was used to track and arrest those participating in the protests.

While the coding that FRT relies on is new, the underlying logic of FRT—that information about a person's face can be used to identify underlying truths about that person and then inform decisions about how to treat them—has roots in the millennia-old tradition of physiognomy. Physiognomy is the practice of viewing a person's physical body—most especially, their face—to determine that person's personality and fortune. In medieval and early modern England, physiognomical treatises saw physical differences as divine marks that enabled the practiced physiognomer to know a person's soul simply by observing their face.

As the English expanded their empire in the early modern period, physiognomy became inextricably intertwined with race. Consider this physiognomic description in Richard Saunders's 1653 Physiognomie and Chiromancie:

> the color of the face is black and leady, pale, or filbert-like; he is great-nosed, and commonly high, smelling of an Ethiopian, having great lips, the hair curling or frizzling, and very black. Such persons are great fornicators, and malicious, very undisciplinable, and yet ambitious to be near kings and princes, though they are ordinarily most unfortunate in war […] (158)

This passage trains the reader to associate people matching this description with a plethora of negative traits, while also suggesting that they are like Ethiopians. This racist il-logic justifies and encourages readers' racism by claiming that the racialized body reveals its own depravity.

Unlike physiognomy, FRT does not attach inherent value or meaning to facial features—at its core, FRT is a technology that plots points on a face, measures distances between these points to create a "facial signature," and then compares facial signatures to each other. But claiming that FRT is a neutral technology that simply needs to be "used correctly" blatantly ignores the racist political forces that drive the development of this technology, as well as the racist histories of body-reading methods, such as phrenology, calculating facial angle, and of course, physiognomy, from which FRT emerges. Given that FRT is riddled with dangerous biases, it might seem heartening to know that the U.S. government blacklisted Chinese companies who have used FRT to support the Uyghur genocide—but is it?

To answer this question, let us turn to a comparable situation in sixteenth-century England, when physiognomy was outlawed because of its association with foreigners. In 1530, two very similar parliamentary acts were decreed: the Vagabonds Act and the Egyptians Act. "Egyptians" here is a misnomer: the name of the people that the act referred to is the Romani people, who migrated from Northern India but were assumed by many English to have come from Egypt and were called by the racial slur "Gypsies." The Egyptians Act warned of "outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians" (sig. B5r), who immigrated to England to cheat people with their palmistry and fortune-telling, while the Vagabonds Act complained of vagrants who ran scams pretending to practice "phisicke, phisnamy, palmestrye or other crafty sciences" (sig. C3r). I want to draw attention to the fact that I have not updated the spelling in this last quotation to show that physiognomy was often written as "phisnamy," "fisnamy," or "visnomy," in Middle English and early modern English—this difference becomes important as we analyze the effects of the Vagabonds Act and Egyptians Act.

Together, these acts linked physiognomy/fisnamy, vagrancy, and the Romani people with each other. These acts show how the hatred of physiognomy/fisnamy was intertwined with hatred of the Romani people: outlawing its practice was not about the potential dangers inherent in reading faces as much as it was about outlawing the actions and practices associated with the Romani people, attempting to make their lives in England less livable. This is made clear by the fact that non-Romani scholars who wanted to continue reading faces simply rebranded fisnamy as physiognomy, taking advantage of the word's Greek origins (*physis* means "nature" and *gnomon* can be interpreted as "judge" or "interpreter") to present the practice as a rediscovered ancient science. Fisnamy/physiognomy became racialized: fisnamy was associated with the Romani, vagabonds, trickery, and criminal behavior, while physiognomy allowed English scholars to see themselves as the heirs to the intelligent, science, and culture of ancient Greece.

Like the English Parliament in the 1530s, the U.S.'s blacklisting of Chinese FRT companies was not as motivated by concerns about Uyghur genocide as it was about weakening Chinese economic power to maintain the U.S.'s own trade interests.[1] Of course, weakening Chinese economic power to protect U.S. trade is nothing new. From the Naturalization Act of 1790 to the arrest of Xiaoxing Xi in 2015, the U.S. government framed its concerns over Chinese economic power in the terms of national security. To justify this narrative, the U.S. relied on—and continues to rely on—racist portrayals of Chinese people as stealing U.S. capital, technology, research, and resources for China.

Likewise, since the inception of FRT, its advocates have used national security to justify the technology's investment in protecting government interests: FRT inventors began training the algorithms to read faces with a book of mugshots and were funded early-on by the CIA (a proposal to develop FRT was sent to the King-Hurley Research Group, later revealed to be a

shell company for the CIA). Given the long history of anti-Chinese racism that has portrayed Chinese people as immanent threats to U.S. national security, it is no wonder that the U.S. government is denouncing Chinese FRT as a violation of human rights while continuing to develop its own FRT for racial profiling and other human rights violations.

Just as the U.S.'s blacklisting of Chinese FRT companies was motivated by racist fears of Chinese dominance, outlawing physiognomy did nothing to make England safer; rather, it was part of a centuries-long, violent process of legislating against the Romani people. But it was also part of a process of removing physiognomy from its association with racial others and whitewashing it as an English, Christian practice. Take, for example, *The Contemplation of Mankind*, a 1571 physiognomy by Thomas Hill, which portrays physiognomy as a Christian science. Hill argues that physiognomy fulfills the Christian duty to "know God," "know ourselves," and "know our duties towards our neighbors," because it teaches practitioners to look for God's marks on their own bodies and others' bodies (sig. ¶¶1v). Hill critiques those who claim that physiognomy is inherently dangerous, arguing that it is neutral: like wine and knives, hazardous to those who abuse it, but helpful to those who use it correctly. Thus, Hill's physiognomy is beneficial because it is practiced by a Christian Englishman, while the physiognomy of the Romani people is bad because its practitioners were stigmatized as greedy, deceptive, and desirous "Gypsies."

Hill's whitewashing of physiognomy is just a small part of a long and complex historical process to legitimize body-reading methods that sort bodies for differential treatment, such as phrenology, measuring facial angle, cranial capacity, anthropological criminology, and eventually facial recognition technology. The U.S. government and other western organizations who condemn Chinese FRT companies for aiding in the genocide of the Uyghurs also helped to

develop the same FRT used to commit this genocide and other crimes. This condemnation of Chinese FRT companies simply produces a veneer of morality to hide the U.S.'s own racist uses of FRT, and to claim, like early modern physiognomers, that FRT is a neutral tool that is bad in the hands of racial others but good when serving white supremacy. Just as the practice of reading faces reappears in different contexts and different methods throughout the centuries, the same tired trope plays out again and again: this neutral tool is safe and useful in the right (read: white) hands, but inherently dangerous in the hands of others.

Reading Foreheads: Printing the Mind onto the Flesh of the Body

In "Front Matter: Reading and Writing the Forehead in Early Modern Literature," I explore sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English views of the body as a text that, when read correctly, could yield diverse knowledges about people. Of course, "correctly" is the operative word: as is clear in the previous examples of the US blacklisting Chinese companies using FRT even as they allow domestic FRT to flourish and English Parliament banning the "fisnamy" of the Romani people even as they turned a blind eye to English physiognomers, the "correct" method of reading a body was by no means an objective measure. In most cases, the correct way of reading a body was simply whichever method revealed information that was the most useful, enticing, or desirable to those reading the body: criminals' faces were read as impudent and truculent because such readings confirmed an inherent wickedness that justified their punishment, while the faces of monarchs and other powerful people were often read as wise, thoughtful, and magnanimous, as this justified their status in society (and was a useful form of flattery). However, most physiognomical texts tended to focus more on reading faces and bodies for signs of wickedness than on reading for signs of goodness—after all, while it may be useful

to identify individuals whose bodies show signs of trustworthiness, honor, decency, luck, etc., it is far more titillating to be able to read the sins and flaws that people attempt to hide from view.

Given this bent towards revealing the salacious and undesirable, physiognomy and facial reading texts are filled with an odd affect that oscillates between self-righteousness and an anxious fear: on the one hand, readers of these texts should welcome having their bodies read, as it is a sign that they are good people with nothing to hide; on the other hand, your own body can divulge information that can betray you—even if you may think you have nothing to hide, your body may reveal secret inclinations or weaknesses. In this way, methods of reading the body circumvented questions of their accuracy and reliability. This is evident in the story of Socrates and the physiognomer, which was a popular story that early modern physiognomers used to bypass critiques that their practices were inaccurate. According to the story, a physiognomer inspected Socrates' countenance and claimed that the philosopher was inclined to intemperance, sensuality, and violent bursts of passion. His students accused the physiognomer of quackery and lying, as these traits were nowhere near Socrates' actual behavior; however, Socrates declared that the physiognomer was correct, as he was inclined to these behaviors but had developed a severe self-discipline to curb them. What these body-reading methods offered was not accurate information but *possible* information: information that could be true, that could become true, that was so tantalizing that readers were not all that concerned whether it was true or not. What was also tantalizing was the promise of power over others offered by reading bodies, as people who read others' bodies and faces claimed to have the ability to reveal information that was secret to others and sometimes even secret to the person themselves.

Just as the practice of reading faces today is contingent on technologies of reading, such as artificial intelligence, deep neural networks, and surveillance, early modern practices of face

reading also depended on technologies of reading. In the early modern period, the most important developments in reading technology were the printing press and moveable type. These inventions forever altered the spread of information, allowing for texts and images to be reproduced far faster and more cheaply than ever before. But the technology of the printing press and moveable type also influenced the way that bodies and faces were being read. Even outside of those who practiced body and face reading, writers often used books as metaphors for describing human bodies such as imagining skin as pages that were imprinted or stamped with meaning. The body-as-book trope is seen twice in *The Winter's Tale*, the first time as Paulina uses the idea of bodies as books to convince Leontes that the daughter Hermione bore him is truly his own offspring:

> Behold, my lords,
>
> Although the print be little, the whole matter
>
> And copy of the father […] (2.3.98-100)

The second time occurs towards the end of the play as Leontes meets Polixenes' son, Florizel, and marvels at how he looks so much like his father:

> Your mother was most true to wedlock, prince;
>
> For she did print your royal father off,
>
> Conceiving you […] (5.1.123-125)

In both cases, the metaphor of the body as a book is used by the speakers to strengthen their rhetorical arguments that these bodies are the legitimate offspring of their fathers. In this way, speaking of the body as a book quite literally legitimizes these bodies.

One of the body parts that was most commonly imagined in early modern literature as a legible text was the forehead. The emphasis on the forehead as a legible text was likely due to a

number of factors. For example, the forehead was part of the face, which was considered to be the most expressive part of the body; the forehead was also commonly considered to be intimately connected with the mind. Furthermore, as a large area of skin that could wrinkle itself into lines that resembled the linear natural of printed text—lines that were seen as physical, external manifestations of internal thoughts and feelings—the forehead was imagined as a page that could print its own text.

The forehead also maintained a status of symbolic importance in Christian scripture: other parts of the body may be deceitful, but what appeared in the forehead was imagined as divine truth. In Genesis, the sweat of the brow was one of the marks of Adam's fallen state. In Exodus and Deuteronomy, the Lord requires the children of Israel to wear "frontlets [tefillin] between thine eyes" to remind them of their deliverance from Egypt (Exodus 13:15, KJV), whereas Aaron, the high priest, is required to wear a plate of gold engraved with "HOLINESS TO THE LORD […] always upon his forehead" so that the children of Israel's gifts and sacrifices to God may always be accepted (Exodus 28:36-38). In Leviticus 13, Moses and Aaron are taught to read the forehead as one of the places to identify leprosy—then in Chronicles, the leprosy that suddenly springs up in Uzziah's forehead is a sign that God is displeased with him. In Samuel 17:49 David slays Goliath with a stone "in his forehead, that the stone sunk into his forehead," whereas in Jeremiah 3:3, Jeremiah preaches that the children of Israel have abandoned God and thus have been marked with "a whore's forehead." In Ezekiel 3:8-9, Ezekiel says that God told him that the children of Israel are impudent and hardhearted, but that God has made Ezekiel 's "forehead strong against their foreheads. As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not." Later in the same book, Ezekiel has a vision of God

commanding a man with an inkhorn to mark the righteous in their foreheads so that they are not harmed when he commands his servants to destroy Jerusalem.

In the New Testament, Jesus Christ warns against those who enlarged their phylacteries (tefillin)—according to Christ, they did so as an exterior mark of their righteousness, but Christ claims that they should instead be read as a sign of pride and hypocrisy (Matthew 23:5). The many references to foreheads in the Book of Revelation were easily the most popular in early modern sermons and literature, as they were especially clear about the role of the forehead in exposing truth. Throughout Revelation, the servants of God are repeatedly identified by having God's seal in their foreheads (Revelation 7:3, 9:4), God's name in their foreheads (Revelation 14:1, 22:4), or God's mark in their foreheads (Revelation 20:4). Likewise, the wicked are described as having the mark of the beast (666) in their right hands or foreheads (Revelation 13:16, 14:9) and in Revelation 17, the infamous Whore of Babylon has her title clearly written on her forehead. Over the pulpit, the marked forehead became a sign of ultimate, divine truth about the human who was marked. In a society that was deeply influenced by the Calvinist doctrines of predestination, the marked forehead became a metaphor for election.

In addition to these religious teachings about the forehead, the forehead had a special status in other ways. The trope of the cuckold's horns suggested that husbands whose wives cheated on them would grow horns from their foreheads. Women established racial and gendered beauty standards through plucking and cosmetics to make their foreheads high and white. As previously discussed, physiognomers wrote books claiming to teach others how to read foreheads as a way of deciphering someone's personality traits. And more than once, the English government branded religious dissenters in the forehead as a cruel and unusual method of public punishment.

Showing how bodies—especially foreheads—operated as texts, my research aims to change how scholars have understood histories of reading and books. Much has been written about how animal skins were made into books, but I consider how human skin could be a legible text while still on the living body. The skin of the forehead was privileged as an expressive text because its movements were seen as traces of emotion: as a "blank" skin that could wrinkle itself into lines, the forehead was imagined as a self-writing text. The connection between wrinkled skin and underlying emotion anchored other significations to the forehead, such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and righteousness, among others. Yet although treating the forehead as a text allowed practitioners of forehead-reading to claim specialized knowledge about decoding its meaning, it also made the forehead—like all texts—open to misreading and illegibility. This openness of textual interpretation was also occasionally manipulated by people who strategically marked, read, wrote, and interpreted *themselves* into texts of their own making.

Drawing on plays, poetry, anatomies, physiognomies, sermons, travel literature, woodcuts, and engravings, this dissertation addresses three related queries: first, what knowledges did early modern English culture believe that the forehead could reveal? Second, how did forehead-reading influence systems of understanding and categorizing bodies? Finally, how did people respond to the experience of having a legible forehead? These questions place the fields of book history, embodiment studies, premodern critical race studies, and gender and sexuality studies into new conversations with each other as they explore how early modern methods for reading foreheads reinscribed social hierarchies by locating their provenance within the body itself.

A Case Study: The Reversed Cuckold's Horn of Margaret vergh Gryffith

In 1588, Thomas Orwin, a London printer, published a pamphlet claiming to report the true tale of a woman with a four-inch horn growing out of her forehead (see fig. 1). This pamphlet, entitled *A myraculous, and Monstrous, but yet most true, and certayne discourse, of a Woman (now to be seene in London) of the age of threescore yeares, or there abouts, in the midst of whose fore-head (by the wonderfull worke of God) there groweth out a crooked Horne, of foure ynches long*, features a woodcut of the titular woman, Margaret vergh Gryffith, with a striped horn that juts out from her forehead and curls down towards her left eye. The pamphlet begins with a preface by an anonymous "learned Preacher" who has examined both Margaret and the pamphlet's text, declaring Margaret's horn to be real and the pamphlet's report and interpretation of it true and worthy to print. Despite the anonymity of this "learned Preacher" and the anonymity of the pamphlet's author, the author is not hesitant to reveal Margaret's identity and publicize salacious rumors about her past:

> This woman, whose name is Margaret vergh Gryffith, by her father's name after the use and custom of Wales, was lately the wife of David Owyn, of the parish of Llhan Gaduain, in the County of Montgomery, Husbandman, deceased: with whom, as she lived many years (to the eye of the world) very quietly, and honestly, having four children, whereof three are yet alive, so hath she since, during the time of her Widowhood, maintained herself with her small portion of Land, and other necessaries (for anything that is known,) in very good order. Yet notwithstanding, there appeared of late, viz. in May last, through the wonderful work of God, as the woman herself confesseth, and so like-wise testified by others, in the midst of her forehead, a small hard knob, having on the top thereof

> at the first as it were a dry scab, which she labored by cutting, and all other help of Surgery, to have covered and cured, but all was in vain, for the more that she strove with it, the more it grew; […] so that it is now become both in color, quantity, and proportion, a very Horne, much like unto a sheep's horn, four inches long, or thereabouts, most miraculously growing down out of her fore-head, to the middle of her nose, and there it crooketh towards her right eye, and growth so fast, that she is fain to have it cut, least otherwise the sight of her eye should be stopped therewith.
>
> […]And yet there is no certain or natural cause known but the handiwork of God, how this horn should grow: some speeches there are, but yet doubtfully reported, and not willingly acknowledged, either by her, or her friends, that there hath heretofore some words passed betwixt her husband and her in his life time, who suspecting her of some light behavior, and charger her with it in these terms, that she had given him the Horn, she then not only constantly denied it, but wished also, that if she had given her husband the Horn, she might have a Horn growing out of her own face and forehead, to the wonder of the whole world. But how certain these speeches are, I leave to him that is the searcher of secrets, and both she, and every beholder of her, to examine their own consciences, and by this spectacle, to be warned to amend their former lives, and to beware not only that they tempt not the Lord God, in craving his vengeance to be seen upon them for their secret offences […] (sig. A2r-A2v)

Though the author labels the stories of the conversation between Margaret and her husband as "doubtfully reported" speeches, later arguing that readers should use this pamphlet to ponder on

and repent of their own sins and not Margaret's, this does little to limit speculation about her sexual fidelity. One need not run a tabloid magazine to know that questioning the veracity of a rumor after sharing it does little to stop its spread—on the contrary, such an weak attempt to suppress this rumor appears calculated to make the rumor more pleasurable and attractive to share.

A myraculous, and Monstrous,
but yet, most true, and certayne discourse, of a
Woman (now to be seene in London) of the age
of threescore yeares, or there abouts, in the midst
of whose fore-head (by the wonderfull worke of
God) there groweth out a crooked Horne, of
foure ynches long.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin,
and are to be sold by Edward White,
dwelling at the little North dore
of Paules Church, at the Signe
of the Gun. 1588.

Figure 1: Title page of *A Miraculous, and Monstrous, but yet, Most True, and Certain Discourse* (1588).

The series of events in the pamphlet—the conversation between the couple, the horns that sprout from her forehead years after Margaret's ill-fated promise to her husband—confirm the

early modern belief in the cuckold's horns as a sign of women's infidelity to their husbands while inverting its gender dynamics. Traditional early modern representations of the cuckold's horns place the horns on the husband's foreheads despite the belief that it was the wife who engaged in the sin of adultery. But the horns are not punishment for adultery, rather, they mock the husband's inability to sexually satisfy his wife and prevent her from engaging in "light behavior" with other men. The horns on Margaret's forehead, however, simultaneously advertise her husband's inability to control her actions while also fulfilling the new role of punishing her for her infidelity. Furthermore, while the cuckold's horns on men's foreheads were imagined and invisible, the gendered inversion of the horns also appears to invert their invisibility to a very real, very visible protuberance on Margaret's forehead. The pamphlet's emphasis on sight as a paramount source of knowledge invites the viewer to read her body as a text, proposing that knowledge about a body will be made visible on the surface of that body.

The author is pleased by the knowledge made visible on the surface of Margaret's body, but they truly rejoice at the divine source of that knowledge. In her own analysis of the pamphlet, Claire McEachern notes its surprisingly jubilant response to the "admittedly disturbing aspects of the metamorphosis": "Such relief at the ways in which the divine can make itself explicit when it so chooses suffuses the horn pamphlet […] As a sign of human failure, the horn is dispiriting or humiliating; as a sign of divine attention, a cause for delight" (623). But although the "divine can make itself explicit," it is the sign that is explicit, not the interpretation. The stakes of these divine semiotics are high. If the horn is a sign is truly one of divine attention, then its interpretation is of divine importance.

In fact, interpreting the sign correctly is itself a matter of salvation. As the pamphlet continues, it develops into a homily that turns away from Margaret's horn and towards the

dangers of misidentifying or misinterpreting divine signs. The author laments mankind's tendency to ignore or oversimplify such signs:

> the judgments of the Lord our God, if they be common and usual, we condemn them: if they be rare and strange, we will not believe them: and if at any time, driven by the evidence of the thing we see, we be forced to say with the sorcerers of Egypt: It is the finger of God: yet then fall we to the condemning of the parties, on whom such tokens of God's wrath appear, as though they only were sinners, and we guiltless: or at least, as though we were privileged from the punishment, howsoever we have been partakers in the offense. (A3r-v)

Here, the pamphlet suggests that divine signs of wrath ought to be considered a sign of communal sin even if they only afflict one person; in other words, Margaret's horn is not God's way of informing her neighbors that she is an adulterer but is rather a call for the entire community and all who hear of it to repent of their sexual sins. In ignoring this call, bad interpreters commit another sin: identifying the mote in Margaret's eye while forgetting to remove the beam in their own eye. The body-reading landscape becomes more complex. Not only must one worry about what can be read in their own forehead, but they must also worry about the consequences of misreading others' foreheads. Margaret may have committed sexual sin and been punished with a horn, but if you misinterpret the horn and assume God can't see your sins, the pamphlet threatens, you may be next.

But the potential dangers of misreading divine signs do not end there. The passage also critiques those who question whether Margaret's horn is a sign, comparing them to the "sorcerers of Egypt" who are forced to say, "It is the finger of God." A marginal note that reads "Exod. 8.19" points the reader towards the biblical story of the ten plagues of Egypt; this particular

chapter and verse occurs after Pharaoh has promised to let the children of Israel go if Moses calls off the plague of frogs, only to renege on his promise after Moses does so. Moses creates a plague of lice, which Pharaoh asks his sorcerers to reproduce. When they cannot, the sorcerers are forced to recognize "the finger of God" in Moses's plagues. This allusion casts those who only believe divine signs when they are forced to as heathen racial foreigners who are the enemies of God's chosen people. In this case, the ability to recognize a divine sign becomes a matter of salvation or damnation explicated through a racist narrative.

Despite the simplistic interpretation that the tale of Margaret verg Gryffith's forehead horn initially invites—a woman lies about her sexual fidelity and the lie is revealed in the most public of ways—the pamphlet creates a far more complex landscape of forehead-reading, one in which salvation and damnation are at stake not only for Margaret, but for those in her community who see her horn, for the pamphlet writer who ponders it, for the readers of the pamphlet, and for everyone who hears of it. If failing to recognize Margaret's horn as a sign from God or misreading her forehead is a sign of one's own wickedness and spiritual failings, as the pamphlet claims, then the act of reading and interpreting another's forehead could influence what is read on one's own forehead. Further, the tradition of the cuckold's horns introduces a kind of forehead transference, in which what is read on another's forehead—a wife's blush of sexual shame, scowl of impudence and lust, or even a large horny growth—can influence what appears on one's own forehead: the cuckold's horns. As the sexual and soteriological landscapes overlap, forehead-reading creates a society in which not only is everyone a reader and everyone a legible text, but interpretations of legible book-bodies can influence their meaning and your own meaning—and finally, all of this is of infinite importance, as it can determine the salvation or damnation of one's eternal soul. The belief in the forehead as a privileged site of soteriological

knowledge about a person may appear to simplify the process of accessing divine knowledge, but in actuality, it shows just how complicated it is to participate in a society of legible texts that constantly write and rewrite themselves.

Reading the Forehead, Misreading the Forehead

As is clear in the above case study, instead of acknowledging that they were reading pre-conceived social beliefs onto bodies, early modern practitioners of forehead-reading utilized the rhetorics and metaphors of reading when discussing the forehead in order to legitimate the labelling of a body's race, gender, and sexuality as a knowledge-gathering practice. In other words, they praised "readings" of the forehead that upheld certain beliefs about bodily difference as correct interpretations, while disregarding forehead-readings that transgressed these beliefs as "misreadings" or "misinterpretations." This process was heavily intertwined with emotion, both because of the forehead's close association with expressing emotions in the period but also because of the way in which emotions were used to discipline forehead-readers away from transgressive "misreadings." Thus, my dissertation also contributes to affect theory and the history of emotions, opening up new avenues for analyzing how bodies were categorized and othered based both on emotions that were read into them and the emotional process of categorizing bodies.

Chapter One, "The Anatomical Book-Body: Reading the Materiality of the Fleshly Page" explores the ways in which body-as-book metaphors influenced early modern anatomies. Authors of anatomies often made much of the fact that they were writing a book about bodies in a culture that saw books as bodies and bodies as books. Through written metaphors discussing dissection and the process of peeling back layers of skin and muscle as if it was the process of

reading a book, as well as through popular anatomical illustrations such as skin frontispieces, anatomical fugitive sheets, and écorché figures, anatomies blurred the lines as body-books studying book-bodies. The book-body metaphor was used to imagine a particular kind of interiority for the human body, one in which the exterior was seen as a barrier to knowledge that needed to be cut through and peeled back to reveal the truth of the body, imagined as hidden in the body's interior. In this chapter, I also argue that anatomies were building racial illogics through these ideas of interiority and exteriority. In an Afro-pessimistic analysis of a wood engraving of a black figure that appears in Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia*, I argue that interiority was an ontological state only allowed to human bodies who were white or proximate to whiteness. Those who were black were imagined as lacking interiority: they did not need to be dissected for their flesh to reveal their truths, as the only truth about them that mattered was the truth of their race, which was shown clearly on the exterior surface. I also show how print technology, especially the technology of print illustrations such as woodcuts and engravings, reified early modern anti-black racism and trained readers of anatomies to see humanity as being located within whiteness.

Chapter Two "Movable Skin, Movable Type: Motion and the Printing of Emotion in the Forehead," builds upon the analysis of anatomies in the first chapter, arguing that although these anatomies and physiognomies employed different methods of reading bodies, they both valued the bodies as text that helped them create hierarchies between the human, sub-human, non-human, and animal others. The chapter then shows how anatomies and physiognomies categorized the forehead as "movable skin" that could express meaning and emotion by wrinkling itself into lines that resembled the linear nature of textual language. The forehead was imagined as a privileged site of emotional display due to the fact that it was made of "movable"

skin: unlike the skin on one's arms, legs, or torso, the skin of the forehead could be wrinkled and moved in ways that communicated emotions like fear, distress, pleasure, and surprise, as well as other emotive traits like majesty, innocence, impudence, and ambition. Linking motions and emotions, this chapter also delves into changing beliefs about and bodies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, showing how debates between the theories of vitalism and mechanism—and their attendant metaphors that read the technologies of printing onto the body—created new questions about the extent to which humans had control over their own bodies and to what extent it was possible to read one's destiny, like a book, from the shape and markings of one's body. Like Chapter One, this chapter also analyzes how othered bodies, such as non-human animals and sexuality deviant people, were imagined to be differently-legible than other bodies.

Chapter Three, "Seals, Marks, and Brands: Reading Salvation and Damnation," analyzes religious publications surrounding the punitive forehead branding of two seventeenth-century religious radicals, John Traske and James Nayler, arguing that the state assuaged its anxiety over the heretics' private and changeable consciences through branding the flesh, hoping that branding would fix the meaning of the body and make that meaning public. Yet although branding the forehead with letters produces a public mark, it cannot guarantee a fixed meaning; rather, branding the body with letters makes the body into a textual object that is open to interpretation, misreading, and playful punning. This was certainly the case with Traske and Nayler, who both reinterpreted their branded foreheads in a multiplicity of ways that supported their causes, including as marks of martyrdom that they used to reinforce their personas as holy prophets.

At the intersections of early modern emotion, religion, medicine, physiognomy, aesthetics, and sexuality, the forehead is a privileged site for understanding early modern

theories of emotion and practices of reading the body. The complex practices and theories of reading the forehead not only transformed bodies and flesh into text, but also opened up space for some bodies to strategically shape, mark, read, and write themselves into texts of their own making. *Front Matter: Reading and Writing the Forehead in Early Modern Literature* adds to current scholarly conversations on embodiment and text, bringing this rarely examined body part and the manifold cultural beliefs and practices surrounding it to the front of early modern affect studies.

Chapter 1: “The Anatomical Book-Body: Reading the Materiality of the Fleshly Page”

> It [the skin] sticks fast to the fleshy membrane of the forehead,
> as also to that of the soles of the feet, and the palms of the hands:
> So that the motion of those parts, it is drawn into wrinkles together with it,
> by which as by Hieroglyphics: the curiosity of man’s brain
> hath drawn indications of things to come.
>
> Johann Vesling, *The Anatomy of the Body of Man*

Thomas Geminus’s 1559 edition of *Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio* presents readers a singular opportunity to conduct their own anatomical dissections.[2] Bound into each copy of the 1559 *Compendiosa* are two anatomical specimens, a man and a woman (see fig. 2). Naked except for loose fabric laid over their genitals, these specimens are enticingly positioned, seemingly inviting their own dissections. The man’s hand rests in a basin of water, dilating his veins to make them more pronounced to the reader’s anatomizing view (Carlino 109). In the woman’s hand, a sign reads “Nosce te ipsum. Knowe thyself,” a popular early modern maxim that rhetorically elevated human dissection from unnatural postmortem violence into an intellectual and spiritual journey to understand God through understanding God’s creation (Sawday 110-11). But the woman’s sign is stronger than an invitation: *nosce* is in the imperative, commanding the reader to dissect because dissecting these human specimens enables the reader to “Knowe thyself.” The reader-anatomist must carefully remove these specimens’ skins to reveal the complex layers of organs underneath: lungs, hearts, esophagi, stomachs, intestines, spleens, kidneys, bladders, ureters and even, in the woman’s uterus, a small fetus. Only through viewing and touching each of these organs, dexterously peeling back layer after layer until just the posterior of the abdomen is left, can the reader-anatomist gain the knowledge that allows them to fulfill the *nosce teipsum* command.

Figure 2. Anatomical fugitive sheet from Geminus's *Compendiosa* (1559). (Photograph by author.)

Yet Geminus's 1559 *Compendiosa* could also offer its readers something more than the traditional dissection: most dissections were smelly, messy affairs with corpses that were difficult, if not illegal, to obtain, but Geminus's readers could pack these organs neatly back in the bodies, close the book, and store the specimens safely away until they desired to conduct another dissection. This is because these bodies were anatomical fugitive sheets, a style of illustration that arose in Europe in the late 1530s, in which illustrated bodies were layered with series of cut-out papers delicately glued to the underlying sheet with hinges so the reader could lift each layer up, one by one, to reveal another set of organs (see figs. 3 and 4).[3] Although modern scholarship on early modern anatomy generally concerns itself with dissections of human corpses, relegating these paper dissections to curiosities in the fields of book history or cultural materialism, in sixteenth-century England it was more common to conduct a paper dissection than an actual dissection: print technology allowed for mass production of anatomical fugitive sheets, but dissections of human bodies were restricted to certain institutions during

certain periods of the year.[4] Overall, anatomical fugitive sheets were far cheaper, legal, socially-acceptable, mobile, cleaner, and reproduceable than their human counterparts, making it highly likely that the average English citizen in the early modern period would have greater access to an anatomical fugitive sheet than an actual human dissection.[5] In fact, it might be argued that when we study cultural beliefs about dissection and anatomy in the early modern period, anatomical fugitive sheets are in some ways *more* relevant than dissections of human bodies: for most early moderns, reading an anatomical fugitive sheet and lifting the flaps would be as close as they could ever come to conducting their own human dissection.

Figures 3 and 4. Close-ups of the delicate layers of organs of the man and woman featured in the anatomical fugitive sheet from Geminus's *Compendiosa* (1559). The layers are supported by folded papers use to prevent any damage to the layers. (Photographs by author.)

The anatomical knowledge that early moderns gained about their physical bodies is no more important than the way in which they gained that knowledge: in the act of translating the human body into a paper-and-ink text, anatomies taught their readers to consider the human body

as a book that could be opened up and perused to access more knowledge. In this chapter, I utilize Claudia Benthien's "book-body"—a term she employs to explore the ways in which early modern European cultures used books as metaphors for bodies and bodies as metaphors for books—to distinguish between two different ways of reading bodies as books: first, the anatomical book-body, which imagined the human body as a series of pages that must be read and turned in order to gain further knowledge; second, the physiognomical book-body, which imagined the human body as a page imprinted with meaning by supernatural forces. Both physiognomies and anatomies claimed to have superior methods of reading bodies and of teaching body-reading; both practiced extensive, complex logics of body-reading that transformed the way the English viewed and understood human bodies. In the midst of these logics of book-body reading, the forehead claimed a significant role. Anatomists were intrigued by the forehead's movable skin, which they read as an exterior display of the structural layers of muscle and bone beneath, as well as for expressions of interior "affections of the mind." Physiognomers were occupied by the different wrinkles and lines that the movable skin could create, using woodcut illustrations of foreheads to show how these wrinkles were imprints that signified a body's personality, affects, character, future, and past. Both considered the forehead as a key actor in producing facial expressions, imagining the forehead as a preeminent site for reading displays of feeling and affects. As early modern English culture linked certain feelings and affective expressions to different bodily characteristics and categories of being, the affects read on the forehead's movable skin were imagined to reveal truths about that body's humanity, animality, race, gender, criminality, and sexuality. My interest in these forehead-reading practices is not in proving their occasional and often coincidental accuracies or exposing their many inaccuracies, but rather in revealing what is at stake in imagining the forehead as a legible

text upon which affections are imprinted. What could early modern English anatomists and physiognomers gain by developing these methods of reading the forehead as an affective text? How did these methods of reading foreheads teach readers of anatomies and physiognomies to view human bodies differently? As these two genres developed more nuanced, complex theories of forehead-reading, I argue that the appeal of reading the forehead was a feeling of pleasure in having privileged access to knowledge of the body, especially transgressive book-bodies, which could be read with a kind of semiotic voyeurism only available to those who were literate in these methods of body-reading. In an age of increasing visual display and self-fashioning, forehead-reading promised a method of seeing through a body's deception, accessing the "truth" of the affective interior through the exterior of the forehead's movable skin.

Paper Skin and Book-Bodies: Reading as a Process of Dissection

The function and materiality of the skin flaps in *Compendiosa*'s anatomical fugitive sheets highlights the skin's paradoxical role in what Jonathan Sawday has termed the early modern "culture of dissection" (2). The paper skin flaps are necessary to cover and protect the underlying organ flaps, but simultaneously act as barriers to knowledge—barriers that must be removed.[6] Likewise, the skin of a cadaver was a functional sheath that protected and preserved the underlying organs. But it also was a barrier to knowledge, as is clear by the écorché figures that graced so many early modern anatomies. Écorché figures were illustrations of flayed bodies that showed the muscles underneath, often posed, as other subjects of dissection, in very lifelike stances. Although illustrated anatomies often had images of bodies in all stages of dissection—from naked and untouched to bare bones—the fact that the flayed body became an emblem of anatomy shows the symbolic weight attributed to the skin as a barrier to self-knowledge and its

removal as the first triumph of self-inquiry.[7] Robert Herrlinger traces the "skin as frontispiece" motif, first appearing in the Alexander Read's *Manuall of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man* (1638), in which a human skin flayed in one piece functions simultaneously as a symbol of anatomy, a surface for printing, and a veil to lift in order to explore the human anatomy (Herrlinger 478). The skin as frontispiece unites the flaying of skin with the turning of a page: "Opening up the tractate thus becomes tantamount to peeling the body out of its skin. The secrets below the skin are hidden inside the weighty book-body" (Benthien 45). Claudia Benthien writes that in Renaissance Europe "the human body came into view as the sole locus of knowledge and understanding. The removal of the skin is the emblematic act of this production of knowledge, which is why numerous anatomical title page engravings from the baroque period show the skin detached from the body, whether held up by a figure or in lieu of the traditional title page drapery" (43). Écorché figures and skin frontispieces visually and rhetorically elevated dissection into a journey of knowledge, like the *nosce teipsum*. In particular, écorché figures often held back their flaps of skin or held up their flayed skin, further emblematizing skin as a barrier to knowledge, a barrier that the figures themselves wanted to remove: "what is remarkable about these images is, in fact, their *acquiescence* in their own anatomical reduction. It is as if the Vesalian body is an accomplice to (rather than resistant towards) the dissective process" (Sawday 112).[8] Though écorché figures and skin frontispieces both attempted to translate the experience of dissection into the textual realm, their portrayal of the skin as either already removed or easily removed by turning a page rhetorically obscures the physical difficulties of flaying an entire human specimen. On the other hand, anatomical fugitive sheets provided readers with a dissective experience that, even if it was not as challenging as flaying an actual human body, replicated some of these challenges in textual form.

Geminus's anatomical fugitive sheets do not attempt to reproduce the entire experience of anatomizing for their readers, but instead use the technology and materials of printed books to "translate" the phenomenon of bodily dissection into a textual-material experience of sight, touch, and affect. Printers could not use anatomical fugitive sheets to reproduce the physical cutting of skin or sawing of bones necessary to access abdominal organs without damaging them, but they could use the medium of paper and text to reproduce the anxiety of potential mutilation and the caution needed to keep material intact. The paper layers of "organs," made delicate through the small paper hinges that allow the flaps to open and close, were made even more fragile through the intricate cutting of each layer: in the layer of the man's endocrine system, for example, the negative space between the kidneys, vena cava, abdominal aorta, ureters, and vas deferens is cut away, making the layer into a delicate web of paper organs.[9] The cut away space between organs brings an added visual sense of confusion and awe to the fugitive sheets—again translating the phenomenon of dissection into the textual medium—while also evoking a tactile sense of reality to the fugitive sheets through making these layers very delicate. The small, finely cut layers—some only a couple millimeters wide in places—are even more difficult to maneuver; a stray twitch of the hand could easily rip one organ from another or from the sheet to which it is pasted. Readers, spurred by fears of damaging the paper organs, might have further mimicked anatomists by picking up tools to aid in their "dissections": quills, knives, and other small pieces of paper could have lifted the layers with less possibility of bending or tearing them. Although a sixteenth-century anatomist did not need to worry about ripping a half-inch heart from its pasted aorta, Geminus's fugitive sheets translate the labor, anxiety, and skill of anatomizing a physical human body to the material of paper and print: lifting and moving small, delicately cut layers of paper require a form of dexterity and a fear of damage that mimics the

anatomists’ dexterity, even if the size and material of these fugitive sheets do not accurately reproduce the size and material of a human corpse.

The labor and anxiety created in the process of dissecting an anatomical fugitive sheet raises an important question: why would anyone want to conduct such a stressful reading practice in the first place? If, as Julie V. Hansen and Suzanne Porter claim, these anatomical fugitive sheets were often placed on barbers’ and surgeons’ walls as information for their patients and clients to peruse, then it follows that the act of dissecting a sheet was likely to be an act of leisure or interest (40). But why take interest in an activity that require such labor and could cause such anxiety? In “Gendering Mortality in Early Modern Anatomies,” Valerie Traub also explores the negative feelings associated with reading anatomical fugitive sheets, especially as they frustrate the all-seeing gaze that early modern anatomies promised their readers:

> […] the very proliferation of these layers, as well as their necessary two-dimensionality, suggests that corporeal nature is resistant to the anatomist’s piercing look. Despite the readers’ direct access to representations of the body’s hidden recesses, and the implied invitation to lift away muscles, veins, hearts, and lungs, we can never behold the body in its totality. The anatomist’s assertion of visibility is countered by the reader’s sense of frustration and futility. (83)

Traub does not address the anxiety of physically lifting the delicate flaps, but she does discuss the “anxiety generated by this resistance to corporal visibility” inherent in the form of the anatomical fugitive sheets: by layering these paper flaps one upon the other, anatomical fugitive sheets also give the lie to the rhetoric of an all-pervasive anatomical eye (83). Like the layers of paper flaps, the entirety of the body and its organs cannot be seen in their places all at once.

Thus, the reader's "frustration and futility" of only viewing the body in layered parts is joined to the anxiety and stress of dissecting the body.

Yet even as Traub attends to the frustration, anxiety, and futility of reading anatomical fugitive sheets, she also argues that these sheets can arouse desire, even pleasure, from the reader. The same layered structure of these sheets that can cause frustration can also function as a textual "strip-tease" of bodily knowledge: "[t]he physical make-up of this book, which enjoins the reader to lift and reveal successive body parts, also constitutes anatomy as pornography" (82). The particular anatomical fugitive sheet that Traub analyzes uses this "anatomy as pornography" to guilt the reader, but she claims that in other sheets, the pornographic prospect of lifting these flaps can leave the reader feeling "enticed to an experience of pleasures legitimated by the text" (82).[10] This enticement and pleasure is clear in Geminus's anatomical fugitive sheet, particularly in the figure of the woman. As Traub and other feminist scholars of early modern anatomy have pointed out, part of the (immense) rhetorical work that illustrated women corpses do in early modern anatomies is the work of making anatomizing desirable and pleasurable, of turning the disgust and frustration of imagining the cutting apart of dead bodies into an attractive act of self-indulgence, "translating the reader's anxiety into arousal" (82).[11] Both the man and the woman in *Compendiosa* are invitingly positioned, but the man is clearly inviting the viewer only to the act of anatomizing: his veins are already dilated and labelled with letters, making it obvious that his body is naked in preparation for dissection. His gaze is directed off to the side, eyes averted in expectation of his own dissection. On the other hand, the woman has no dilated veins or labelled body parts, and her loincloth rises up and over her forearm, as if it could be easily removed by a light breeze or an inconvenient movement of her arm. Her gaze is inscrutable: her right eye angles slightly beyond the reader, but her left eye is focus directly

ahead at the reader. This ambiguously (in)direct gaze is simultaneously disarming yet encouraging, attentive yet private. Suddenly it is unclear exactly what act of viewing and knowing she is inviting. Even her "Nosce te ipsum. Knowe thyself" sign is a double entendre: in order to know yourself, the sign suggests, you must first "know" her. This knowing knowing translates the labor and anxiety of dissecting the anatomical fugitive sheet into the pleasure of delay. As the act of knowing the body through viewing the body is joined with the sexual act of knowing the body, lifting the flaps on the anatomical fugitive sheet becomes a kind of scopophilia or voyeurism. The anxiety and labor of lifting the flaps is translated into a sense of entitlement to sight, as if one has earned the right to engage in pleasurable voyeurism because one has labored to lift the flap carefully and endured the anxiety and delay the flaps caused. Furthermore, lifting the flap in turn covers the face of the woman, allowing the reader an odd sense of privacy—the woman cannot see when she is being seen—and even mastery, as the woman cannot see her interior; only the reader can. The act of reading the anatomical fugitive sheet not only translates the act of dissection into the material of paper and ink, it also translates the sensations of pleasure and scopic mastery in the anatomizing gaze into the practice of reading.

"Good to Cut": Cutting the Body and the Artistic Technology of Racial Representations

We have considered how the print technology of anatomical fugitive sheets taught readers to imagine the human body as a book of delicate layers, rewarding readers with a heightened sense of pleasure and scopic mastery over the body after enduring the anxiety of lifting the delicate paper flaps. But the process of reading the body as a book was not limited to anatomical fugitive sheets, which were less common forms of illustration because they were

more time-consuming and expensive to produce. Rather, the most popular method of teaching readers to read bodies as books was through the cheap and easily reproducible form of woodcut illustrations. In woodcut illustrations, the book-body was not imagined as a series of paper layers, but as a surface that could be imprinted by God and nature to reveal interior truths and knowledge about that body. The lack of physical layers in woodcut illustrations were replaced by a reading logic that assumed that the imprints on the exterior exposed knowledge of the interior. This connection between exterior and interior was combined with the print technology of woodcut illustrations that trained readers not only to view the body as an organized gathering of lines, but also to view the body through a binary of ink-or-page, black-or-white. The linear, binaristic print technology of woodcut illustrations in turn influenced the way in which readers viewed bodily exteriors for imprints of affect, race, criminality, and even humanity.

In this section, I explore the influence of early modern English print and print technology on the development of anti-black affects in English culture.[12] Bringing together the fields of book history, premodern critical race studies, embodiment studies, and Afro-pessimism, I argue that the anti-black racism in England that fueled the growth of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the British Empire was, in part, informed by representations of black figures in print media. I trace this genealogy not to propose a grand narrative of race or racism, but to consider the technology and materiality of print as an under-theorized ancestor in the growth of white supremacy and global anti-blackness. Examining the materiality of early modern English print and print illustrations of black bodies in early modern texts shows how print illustrations of blackness are deployed to foster the growth of a white English identity that defines itself in opposition to blackness. The materiality and technology of print and print illustration informed English readers to see black bodies as non-human. Further, illustrated black bodies were used to

produce anti-black affects that became essential to English identity, especially as Englishness in the early modern period begins to become more associated with the racial identity of whiteness.

In early modern England, bodies and texts were imagined as having meaning and being legible in similar ways. The process of reading a text was often used as a metaphor to describe reading a body, such as Thomas Browne's description of physiognomers who could "spy the signatures and marks of mercy: for there are mystically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our souls, wherein he that cannot read A.B.C. may read our natures" (116). The body was also used as a metaphor for reading texts, such as the popular skin-as-frontispiece trope that Claudia Benthien traces in early modern anatomies (43-45). In this visual trope, the frontispiece of an anatomy was designed to look like an anatomized body holding open its skin to reveal the anatomy text underneath, drawing a comparison between turning the pages of the text and peeling back layers of human flesh. With the growth of print in England, the connections between reading texts and reading bodies were informed by the technology of print: bodies were seen as imprinted/pressed with meaning. The metaphors of print technology used in *The Winter's Tale* describe the familial similarities between Leontes and his infant daughter Perdita—"Although the print be little, the whole matter/ And copy of the father" (2.3.99-100)—and between Polixenes and his son Florizel:

> Your mother was most true to wedlock, Prince,
>
> For she did print your royal father off,
>
> Conceiving you. (5.1.123-125)

In these passages, bodies become texts and texts become bodies. Further, print technology also transformed the illustrations that accompanied printed texts, as the process of illustrating a text through woodcuts or engravings was more similar in form to printing than to painting, drawing,

or sketching. Thus, when an early modern reader saw an illustration of a person in a text, they were using their body (also imagined as a text) to read a text (also imagined as a body). The illustration of a body, in turn, was metaphorically also a text, while as a printed illustration, it was also literally a text. These close metaphorical connections between physical bodies and printed texts and illustrations helped to shape the early modern English imagination of what bodies could be: legible, meaningful, containing truth and knowledge—but only to those with the skills to read them correctly.

As the body and printed texts and illustrations stood as metaphors for each other and became entangled with each other, racial formations informed this entanglement. With the exception of a few scholars (whose works I engage with later in my argument), these connections between print, bodies, and race have gone largely unnoticed in studies of book history and the history of print. And yet, just as the technology of print informed early modern understandings of bodies, the technology of print also informed early modern understandings of raced bodies.

Prior to the printing press, the vast majority of illustrations in illuminated manuscripts were hand-drawn or hand-painted. With the advent of the printing press, print illustrations were more likely to be printed along with the text, as it was faster to produce many illustrations by pressing the same woodblock or engraved plate repeatedly than by drawing the same illustration over and over. Both printed text and print illustrations are composed of lines that are organized to make meaning. What allows the reader to regard them as different from each other is context: for example, readers use context clues to decide if a short, straight line is part of an alphabetical letter, is one of many hatches and cross-hatches used to make a shadow, or is part of a nose on an illustrated face. Readers distinguish between these different types of lines so quickly that they often fail to acknowledge their material similarity: everything that is represented in early modern

print—from the alphabetical letters to all kinds of illustrated images—consists of *organized gatherings of legible lines*. Furthermore, print text and print illustrations both share material similarity as legible lines of dark ink on a lighter page. Illustrators of illuminated manuscripts could portray visual elements such as color, shadow, depth, and texture with a variety of pigments, materials, and artistic techniques. But in print illustration, all visual elements must be represented by dark ink lines on a lighter page.[13]

The trope of comparing texts and bodies was not new to the early modern period, but the shift from illuminated manuscripts with polychromatic pigments, to printed texts imagined through an oppositional binary of black ink and white page, altered the way in which texts and bodies were compared to each other. In Act 4, Scene 3 of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Rosalind, dressed as the young man Ganymede, receives a letter from Phebe, a shepherdess who has fallen for Rosalind-as-Ganymede and is angry that the young man does not return her affections. Surprised at the ferocity of Phebe's words, Rosalind declares

> […] Women's gentle brain
> Could not drop forth such giant-rude invention
> Such Ethiope words, blacker in their effect
> Than in their countenance. (4.3.35-38)

Rosalind's description of these "Ethiope words" draws connections between ink, Ethiopian bodies, negative emotions ("giant-rude"), and the color black. Yet, the function of black here is not simply as a pigment, but as an expression of hyperbole: the words are so "giant-rude" that their effect is "blacker" than their "countenance," which alludes to early modern adages that imagined both ink and Ethiopians as the blackest of black. In "Inkface: The Slave Stigma of England's Early Imperial Imagination," Miles Grier argues that the "black and white idiom of

the print-based ink culture through which [Europeans] forged ties, conducted business, and claimed possession" "rewr[o]te the semiotics of servitude" (204). In this new semiotics, to be associated with black ink was to "designate [someone] as one who could never be an insightful reader because [they] were meant *to be read* by a white expert" (195). The roles of literate reader and legible text could not be reversed. Grier notes: "The idea that 'blacks' might have something knowledgeable to say about 'the ways of white folks' became as preposterous as imagining that letters could turn around and offer an interpretation of the page on which they stood" (201). In Grier's formulation, white, unlike black, "was not a color to be analyzed; it was a mere background, a platform serving as a chromatic foil so that signifying black characters could stand out" (201). In this way, the page, associated with the English body in contrast to the ink associated with the Ethiopian body, could both exercise its power of interpretation over inky black characters while also erasing and obscuring its own power when necessary to do so.

This particular kind of anti-blackness grants the white page an expansive interpretative freedom, predicated on black ink's inability to interpret itself or signify anything other than rude, negative emotions. For example, the white page can also symbolize potential, as in this description of Belphoebe from Book II of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*:

> Her yuorie forhead, full of bountie braue,
>
> Like a broad table did it selfe dispred,
>
> For Loue his loftie triumphes to engraue,
>
> And write the battailes of his great godhead:
>
> All good and honour might therein be red:
>
> For there their dwelling was. (II.iii.24.1–6)

Belphoebe's ivory forehead is a surface for Love to engrave, yet the poetic syntax—"For Loue his loftie triumphes *to* engraue" (emphasis mine)—makes it clear that the engraving has not happened yet. Not to mention that if it had, her forehead wouldn't be ivory. Just as Rosalind associates blackness with ink, Ethiopian bodies, and negative emotions, this description of Belphoebe associates whiteness with the page, English bodies, and positive emotive words such as "bountie braue," "Loue," and "good and honour." Thus, the English body becomes associated with the whiteness of the page: a page that is imagined not as empty or lacking, but more positively as a blankness that is full of potential. And even if there is no mention of black bodies or black ink in the description of Belphoebe, the association between the whiteness of the page and its blankness as a positive potential is not possible without the anti-black reading of black bodies and ink as full of negative emotions, lacking interpretative potential.

What I find interesting about these references, aside from the use of print metaphors to link English bodies to whiteness and African bodies to blackness, is that neither reference acknowledges that legibility is dependent on the high contrast between black ink and white page. Black letters are not legible on just any type or color of background; it is the contrast and interplay between ink and page that makes words legible. Yet in both Rosalind's critique and the description of Belphoebe's forehead, legibility and meaning are imagined as residing within black letters; the white page underneath them seems almost to disappear. I observe this to point out that although print technology presented English readers with new opportunities to assign value to skin color, the values they assigned should not be considered as predetermined by this technology. On the contrary, the associations made between ink, paper, skin, and race in *As You Like It* and *The Faerie Queene* show that the interplay between ink and page to produce legible text—which could have produced many different ways of thinking about the relationship

between skin color, meaning, and value—was overdetermined by the anti-blackness of early modern English culture.

The examples from *As You Like It* and *The Faerie Queene* demonstrate the growing associations between the color black, ink, African bodies, and negative emotions, and on the other hand, the connections between white, the “blank” page, English bodies, and positive emotions. Print illustrations of black bodies and white bodies, illustrations that, by the nature of print technology, must be made up of the binary contrast of black ink and white page, even if the body represented is meant to be represented as ivory white or completely black show the influence of print technology on early modern English racism. To develop these ideas about the influence of print technology on early modern English racism, I turn to three illustrations from canonical early modern texts.

Figure 5. Illustration from the frontispiece of a 1615 edition of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*

The frontispiece of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* shows how early modern English illustrations that flood skin with black ink often result in faces that appear comparatively rudimentary, difficult to read, and lacking in nuanced emotion (see fig. 5). The woodcut conflates moments from Scenes 4 and 5 of Act 2 to show Hieronimo discovering the murdered body of his son Horatio. On the right, Bel-Imperia, who is Horatio's lover and the daughter of the King of Spain, calls for help while Lorenzo, Bel-Imperia's brother, tries to stop her from crying out, as he fears she will reveal his role in planning and carrying out Horatio's murder. Unlike the other characters, Lorenzo has a black face. Scholars have argued that Lorenzo's black face could refer to many English beliefs about the Spanish, such as the Black Legend genre of

anti-Spanish propaganda very popular in England, or associations that the English made between Spaniards and Moors. Given the stage direction in Scene 4 that calls for Lorenzo to be "disguised," it could also be that he is in blackface or wearing a black cloth mask (2.4.50sd). This possibility introduces the metatheatrics of portraying race on the early modern stage, as a black cloth mask could be used to signify both a disguise and, as Ian Smith has shown, black skin (170-185). My point is not to determine which interpretation is correct, but to show how these possible interpretations again show growing connections between the color black, ink, dark skin, and negative emotions. I also want to draw attention to the fact that Lorenzo's face, compared to the other characters' faces, lacks a great amount of detail. The other characters have eyes, noses, mouths, eyebrows, and facial hair, with enough detail in these features that it is possible to read a general expression of alarm on Hieronimo's face and anger or fear on Bel-Imperia's face. But Lorenzo only has eyes and a nose—there is a white space near where his mouth should be, but whether that represents his mouth or is just a flaw in the imprint is unclear. His emotions might be guessed from his physical actions or his words, but not from his face.

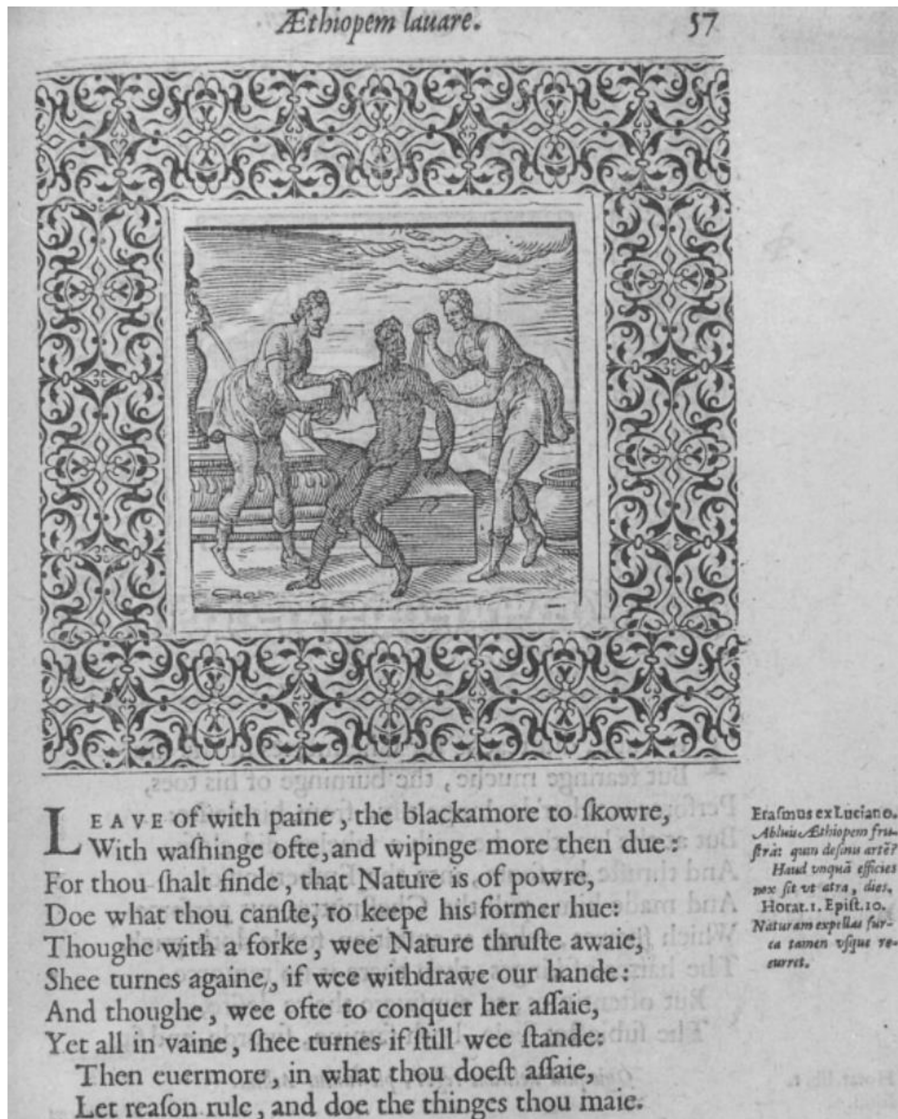
Figure 6. Illustration from the frontispiece of a 1620 edition of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*

The frontispiece of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* develops difficult-to-read inky black skin in a new direction through the figure of the devil Mephistopheles, whose emotions are not necessary to read—let alone difficult to read—because they are assumed to be malignant and evil (see fig. 6). A devil is on a different register than a racially othered body, and yet there is an undeniable connection drawn in this image between evil and black skin, as well as the lack of detail in the illustration of the devil. Faustus, for his part, gets detailed facial features, even some hatching on the sides of his face that show shadow and dimensionality. He gazes up and out, his expression serious and determined. Again, the illustration of the devil is

comparatively rudimentary. While he has more identifiable facial features than Lorenzo, there is not enough detail to guess at his emotions. Like Lorenzo, the black skin stands in for an always already assumed negative emotions and evil desire. Like Horatio, Hieronimo, and Bel-Imperia, Faustus's white skin signals a character that readers can identify, or with whom they might empathize.

Lorenzo's face and Mephistopheles' body are illustrated with solid ink, while details are done in white page, in what is known as the white line style of woodcut printing. In this style, lines are carved into a woodblock to create an image, then ink is applied to the woodblock so that when pressed, the ink appears on the page everywhere except for the lines of the image. Despite the crudeness and lack of detail in Lorenzo's face and Mephistopheles' body, the white line style is not an inherently simple or unsophisticated art. The incredible detail possible in the white line style is clear in the *Standard Bearers* series of white line woodcut prints by Urs Graf, who is credited with popularizing the white line style in the early sixteenth century. However, in print illustrations in England, the white line style seems to have been an underdeveloped technique compared to the black line style, which Horatio, Hieronimo, Bel-Imperia, Faustus, and most of the other objects of the woodcut prints are illustrated in. The black line style is a relief printing technique that is essentially the reverse of the white line style: instead of carving lines into the woodblock to form an image, the artist carves away everything but the lines that form the image, so that when pressed, the ink will only appear on the page as the lines of the image. The unequal development of the black line and white line styles meant that a face portrayed in the white line style did not have as much detail and depth as a face portrayed in the more established black line style. Because faces in the white line style were read as racially black, this meant that black bodies, especially black faces, chronically lacked detail and depth in English print art.

But even avoiding the white line style as a method to illustrate black skin and returning to the more developed black line style does not address the problems with viewing illustrations of black skin, as is clear in the illustration, "Æthiopem lavare," from Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, which shows the common English proverb about the futility of washing an Ethiope white (see fig. 7). In this case the Ethiope is illustrated in the black line style, but their skin is represented by abundant hatching across their entire body. Hatching is the closely-drawn parallel lines; cross-hatching is when an artist uses two or more layers of hatching at angles to each other. Whereas hatching shows dimensionality, light, and shadow on the other characters and objects in the illustration, hatching only signifies skin color on the Ethiope, thus making them devoid of the dimensionality allowed to the other humans and even objects. And while the technology of the engraving (the other two illustrations were woodcut prints, which tended to allow for less detail than engraved prints) and black-line style create a more sophisticated image, the hatched lines across the entirety of the body make it harder to see the body's details and facial features compared to the bodies whose skin is only partially hatched, and thus lighter-looking.


Æthiopem lauare. 57

LEAVE of with paine, the blackamore to ſkowre,
With waſhinge ofte, and wipinge more then due:
For thou ſhalt finde, that Nature is of powre,
Doe what thou canſte, to keepe his former hue:
Thoughe with a forke, wee Nature thruſte awaie,
Shee turnes againe, if wee withdrawe our hande:
And thoughe, wee ofte to conquer her aſſaie,
Yet all in vaine, ſhee turnes if ſtill wee ſtande:
Then euermore, in what thou doeſt aſſaie,
Let reaſon rule, and doe the thinges thou maie.

Eraſmus ex Luciano.
Abluis Æthiopem fruſtrà: quin deſinis artē? Haud vnquā efficies nox ſit vt atra, dies.
Horat. 1. Epiſt. 10.
Naturam expellas furca tamen vſque recurret.

Figure 7. "Æthiopem lavare," from Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586)

These three print illustrations—whether woodcut or engraving, black-line or white-line—depict characters with dark skin as defined primarily by their blackness; a blackness that is conflated with lack of dimension and is void of specificity. Such illustrations signal to the white English reader that they need not be concerned about the fact that it is difficult to read detail or emotion in black bodies. After all, these black bodies are not really imagined as individuals: just as they lack visual dimensionality, they also lack personal dimensionality. Because they lack

individuality and personal dimensionality, they are not human beings like the white bodies; they do not have access to that ontological status. These black bodies are difficult to be read precisely because they don't really need to be read in detail: they are defined by blackness. The white English reader defines themselves, then, in opposition to this blackness; they do not view the illustrated black body to understand or identify with that body, but to distinguish themselves so that they can have the dimensionality, individuality, and emotions not afforded to the black body. Whiteness is defined not only by identifying with whites against blackness, but also by identifying with the humanity and ontology of the white individual against the non-humanity and non-ontology of the black body. I borrow the term "white feelings"—a term popularized by protesters and artists in Black Lives Matter movement—to describe the affective process that occurs when viewing and then rejecting the illustrated black body in order to claim dimensionality, individuality, and emotions. Though the English-as-white racial paradigm does not become fully-fledged until the late seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, I use "white feelings" both to signal the beginnings of English whiteness and the rejection of the black text or black illustration, signaled by identifying with white page.

Bringing to the fore the technical mechanisms that create this affective register, I turn to a print illustration of a black figure in a seventeenth-century anatomy. Unlike the three previous illustrations, this illustration does not depict the figure's black skin in the white-line style or with excessive hatching. However, I argue that this is because the figure's black skin has been artistically lightened to satisfy the inquisitive demands of the scientific white gaze. Because such lightened skin makes it harder for the illustration to signal to English readers to develop white feelings in opposition to the figure, the illustration's accompanying description assists in this racial-affective work. Just as the text that accompanied the illustrations from *A Choice of*

Emblemes, *Doctor Faustus*, and *The Spanish Tragedy* informed the reader's interpretation of those illustrations, this same technology of text printed with illustrations maximizes the effect of this double legibility in the anatomy. The interplay between text and illustration teaches the reader first how to identify the figure as non-human, then how to mark oneself as white and English through correctly producing learned emotive responses to the figure, and finally how to erase the provenance of these learned emotive responses by rewriting them as a logical response to the negative emotion that is always already inherent in the non-human black figure.

The figure appears as part the final pages of the 1631 reprint of Helkiah Crooke's anatomy, *Mikrokosmographia*, which contains a treatise on surgical instruments. Between the treatise's title page and preface is an unnumbered section labelled "The Printer to the Reader," illustrated with a three-quarter page woodcut (see fig. 8). The description begins:

> After Michaelmas Term in the year 1629. A body was brought from the place of Execution to the Physicians College to be Cut up for an Anatomy, and by Chance, the officer of the College brought the body of a cruel Wretch, who had murdered the Son of one Master Scot a Chyrurgian of good note in this City. This Wretch was of a very truculent countenance and aspect, as the Almighty God would therein discover the cruelty of his heart […] (sig. F1r.)[14]

The passage then goes on to describe the figure's facial features in racist language—"His hair was black & curled not very long, but thick & bushy, his forehead little above an inch high, his brows great and prominent […] his nose crooked with a round knob or button at the end which also somewhat Turned upward […] his nether lip was as big as three lips"—that is similar to how later white Europeans would describe the physical features of sub-Saharan black Africans (sig. F1r-v.). Of course, as was clear from the illustration, the figure's skin is not flooded with

black ink or covered in hatching to mark it as black. The figure's skin is heavily hatched and, in some places, cross-hatched, but because in print illustrations, color, shadow, depth, and texture are all represented by black ink lines on a white page, it is difficult to tell whether the hatching and cross-hatching are designed to show dimensionality and detail or whether they are meant to suggest color. One could argue that given the ambiguous hatching in the illustration and the lack of any reference to black skin in the passage, it would be difficult to make a strong case that this is an illustration of a racially *black* figure, especially because, as Anu Korhonen has argued, the English seemed particularly obsessed with black skin as a racial marker (94-112). However, I contend that this illustration shows that the technology and craftsmanship of print illustration, combined with the printed text accompanying the illustration, could also signal blackness as a racial formation without the visual cue of flooding a figure's skin with ink. The reason why this figure has such detail—as shown previously, details not present in many other depictions of figures with dark skin—is because of the gaze that directs the text, a gaze that requires a high level of detail to carry out its racist, pseudoscientific reading of the figure.

The Printer to the Reader.

AFter *Michaelmas* Terme in the yeare 1629. A body was brought from the place of Execution to the Physitions Colledge to be Cut vp for an Anatomy, and by Chance, the officer of the Cholledge brought the body of a cruell Wretch, who had murthered the Son of one Master *Scot* a Chyrurgian of goodnote in this City. This Wrech was of a very truculent countenance and aspect, as the Almighty God would therein discover the cruelty of his heart. His haire was black & curled not very long, but thick & bushy, his forhead little aboue an inch high, his browes great and prominent, his eyes set deepe in their sockets, his nose crooked with a round knob or butten at the end which also som-

f wh

Figure 8. Print illustration in “The Printer to the Reader,” appearing after the title page of *An Explanation of the Fashion and Use of Three and Fifty Instruments of Chirurgery*, a surgical treatise bound to the end of Crooke’s *Mikrokosmographia* (1631)

The shift in considering black racial formation beyond blackness as a color is relevant precisely because the illustration appears in an anatomical text, which presumes a scientific, anatomizing

gaze. The anatomizing gaze had undergone a seismic shift in the sixteenth century: with his *De Fabrica*, Andreas Vesalius had rejected the old Galenic model of anatomy that drew many of its conclusions about the human body from dissections of animal bodies in favor of a new model of anatomy that conducted dissections on human bodies and was interested in the human as a species apart. Although non-human others still appeared here and there in early modern anatomies, they were increasingly used to emphasize differences, rather than similarities, between humans and non-human others. This means that one of the first moves of the anatomizing gaze is to decide whether to categorize a body as a human or a non-human other. Given the language of the passage that describes the figure—"deformity" is mentioned multiple times and later in the passage, the figure is called a "monstrous shape" and "prodigious"—it appears that the anatomizing gaze persuades the reader to doubt the figure's humanity. Rather than categorizing the figure as a human with some distinctive physical features, the anatomy's language of monstrosity categorizes the entire figure as a non-human deformity; a "shape," not a person. In this way, the figure is similar to the three print illustrations of black bodies discussed earlier: in all cases, the reader is encouraged to position themselves in opposition to these non-human others not simply to maintain a white English identity against a racial other, but more importantly, to maintain their ontological status as a human in the face of a non-human other.

Because the history of print makes invisible its own complicity in the dehumanization of black personhood, its own history needs to be interrogated by newer forms of analysis. To theorize these antagonistic encounters between white English readers and print illustrations of black bodies, I turn to Afro-pessimist philosophy. One of the foundational logics of Afro-pessimism is that anti-black violence is not a failure of civil society; rather, civil society depends on and is structured by anti-black violence. This irreconcilable antagonism between civil society

and blackness further exposes that the human is not a universal given, but rather an ontological position that defines itself against black sentient flesh. Here I shift my terms from “black body” to use the Afro-pessimistic term “black sentient flesh,” which denotes a shift away from understanding race as a matter of identity and experience to understanding race as ontological and paradigmatic positionality; that is to say, Afro-pessimist claims can be better understood along the axis of human/black than the axis of white/non-white. This is not to affirm a kind of scientific or biological essentialism, but to question the human as a universal given, to show how the human is a constructed position and how humanity, in the words of Frank Wilderson, Patrice Douglass, and Selamawit Terrefe is “made legible through the irreconcilable distinction between humans and blackness” (n.p.). I also want to draw attention to my use of the word “figure” to describe the subject of the illustration, as “figure” simultaneously attends to the ontological positionality of black sentient flesh as not human and not a body, and to the subject as an artistic representation.

Afro-pessimism and early modern studies have not often crossed paths. This is partially because of disciplinary boundaries: Afro-pessimists have often focused on the Middle Passage, the slave’s journey in slave ships across the Atlantic to the Americas, as the originary rupture between blackness and humanity that positioned the black as an a priori slave and not human. As a result—and I acknowledge this is a generalization—Afro-pessimist research tends to focus on anti-black racism after the beginning of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, tracing the African diaspora from the African continent to the Americas. Early modernists have typically considered these matters as outside of the purview of their chronological or national and regional bounds. Nonetheless, early modernists such as Kim Hall and Matthieu Chapman and Afro-pessimists like Jennifer Morgan have begun reaching across this disciplinary divide. In *Anti-Black Racism in*

Early Modern English Drama, Chapman argues that "anti-black racism existed within the [English] subject based strictly on concepts of blackness before encounters with black Africans. [This] repositions the ontological rupture between blackness and humanity, which Saidiya Hartman originates on the slave ship, to an *a priori*, always already condition" (25). Under Chapman's formulation, it is the growth of anti-blackness based on concepts of blackness, and the fetishization of the human in early modern England that ruptures blackness from humanity. Or, put simply, it seems unlikely that black Africans would have been subjected to the horrors of slavery and the Middle Passage if Europeans had not already defined them as non-humans and enemies to civil society. This essay traces a portion of this subjection in the growing print industry and its investments in racial formation.

Chapman's work focuses on the interplay between early modern anti-black racism and performances of blackness on the English stage. In my work, I extend Chapman's formulation of the Afro-pessimistic early modern to the genres of anatomy and print illustrations. My application of Afro-pessimistic analysis intervenes in two ways. First, insofar as early modern anatomies are preoccupied with defending and defining the boundaries of the human, its analysis reveals the ontological precepts that underwrite racial subjection. Likewise, insofar as print illustrations conjure images of black sentient flesh for the English reader to define themselves against in order to assure themselves of their own humanity, Afro-pessimistic analysis reveals the ways in which the black/white binary of print and print illustrations primes a black vs. human antagonism. How do the printed text and illustration work together to teach the reader to distinguish this figure as something apart from the other humans represented in the anatomy and the chirurgical treatise? First, we may consider that like the other bodies represented in the anatomy, the figure appears alive, despite the fact that, according to the description, he had been

executed before arriving at the Physician's College. For the other anatomical bodies, liveliness is a way of managing the reader's affects: the otherwise horrifying specter of mutilated, dissected flesh is mitigated through the calm, passively open bodies, who appear to welcome their own anatomizing, gladly giving up their bodies to the pursuit of scientific knowledge. Yet this figure is not in the process of being dissected or marked for dissection like the other bodies in the anatomy, nor is he in the process of being wounded or healed, like the bodies in the chirurgical treatise. What these other bodies have is a divide between interiority and exteriority, the idea that the human body has an interior that can be opened to reveal truth and knowledge about it. The illustration of the figure does not gesture to any kind of interiority; like the other black beings in the previous illustrations, he does not have any kind of personal or individual dimensionality. Rather, he is more akin to the monsters who sometimes appear at the end of early modern anatomies and chirurgical treatises: they are shown un-dissected, suggesting that one does not need to access their interiority to gain knowledge about them; everything necessary to know about them is shown on their surface. Hence the name "monster," from the Latin *monstrare*, to show or demonstrate. His visual similarity to the figure of the anatomical monster is also reaffirmed by the categorization of his feet as a major deformity and his face as a lesser deformity in the description: "Such was his face, but the greatest deformity was in his feet." This language encourages the reader to see the figure's flesh not simply as harmless physical anomalies or evidence of a spectrum of human difference, but as a sign to mark him apart from humans.

I have shown that this figure can be categorized with non-human others such as monsters, but can the figure be categorized specifically as non-human black sentient flesh? Part of the Afro-pessimistic definition of the enslaved—and therefore, the black—is the gratuitous violence

they are subjected to, violence that is not contingent on any kind of transgression (perceived or otherwise) but is always present. One might object that the execution and dissection of the black figure is contingent on the murder of "the Son," yet the passage's intense focus on the figure's flesh as an outward sign of an a priori wicked and evil mind and comparative lack of interest in the actual murder belies this claim: consider the artistic detail of the print and the fact that this print is the largest illustration of as single figure in the entire text; this focus on the visual asks the reader to focus on the figure's flesh, not his actions. The murder of "the Son" is not the event that justifies violence, it simply proves that the figure was always already an enemy to civil society, proves the danger of letting someone who is so clearly marked with evil roam free. If the violence were contingent on the figure's alleged criminal act, then the process of dissecting the figure would—like the other anatomical specimens in the text, who were likely based on the bodies of dissected criminals—return the figure to society as a representative body whose anonymity has functioned to distance them from their crime. But this is not the case. The figure has not been distanced from his crime, and the details about him—who he murdered, when he was brought from the executioner, etc.—make his namelessness not a sign of protective anonymity, but a sign that he has no individuality as a human, no relationality to civil society. The other characters mentioned in the passage enjoy membership in incredibly complex, overlapping networks of family, business, government, friendship, and status—consider the multi-layered kinship ties enumerated in the phrase "the Son of one Master Scot a Chyrurgian of good note in this City"— but the figure has no name, no heritage, no nationality. Rather than having a heritage or kinship, the figure functions on the level of narrative as a force of anti-kinship, as his alleged murder of "the Son" not only appears to threaten the entirety of civil society, but also its futurity.

But showing how the anatomy categorizes the figure as non-human black flesh is incomplete without considering the affective process of reading that trains readers to identify with English whiteness, to develop white feelings. In this case, the illustration and descriptive passage work in concert to discipline the white reader who might see a human here, motivating them to develop white feelings through the shame of misreading. This misreading begins to occur when the white reader is lulled into a sense of calmness and security through the print illustration's visual tropes. The illustration features a pastoral landscape upon which the figure stands in *contrapposto*, with most of his weight on right foot. This classical stance bestows the figure with an air of relaxation and places him in a posture of utmost visibility. His palms face the reader, in a gesture of candor; his face, which serenely gazes out at the reader, repeat these themes of relaxation, calmness, and visual openness. These visual tropes present the reader with a figure open for their visual consumption, whose tranquil aura encourages a similarly peaceful response from the reader. But the passage upbraids the reader for this reading:

> This monstrous shape of a man I have thought good to cut and have added this relation thereto from certain knowledge; (for there were a thousand witnesses of it) that you may know Almighty God doth sometime set his brand and mark upon wicked men: First that we may know and avoid them: Secondly to shew his detestation of a mind which in his eternal wisdom, he foresaw would be so foul and ulcerated, and finally because so wicked a mind might have a proportionable habitation, to wit, a prodigious and deformed body. (sig. F1v.)

This part of the passage contains the only direct admonition from the printer to the reader: "This monstrous shape of a man *I* have thought good to cut[15] […] that *you* may know Almighty God doth sometime set his brand and mark upon wicked men" (emphasis mine). In this moment of

direct address, a reader who might have identified with the figure or simply have interpreted him as non-threatening is shamed for being fooled, for misreading, and for being a bad Christian who cannot see God's marks upon the wicked. It is this shame that directs a wayward reader from identifying or empathizing with the figure and towards identifying with civil society, formulated here as the "thousand witnesses." It is this affective process that leads to white feelings; whiteness is confirmed by becoming a witness.

I return to the metaphor at the opening of this reading: bodies are texts and texts are bodies. But if we are to attend seriously to the early modern writers who imagined and reaffirmed the connections between the page, whiteness, and humanness, and on the other hand, the connections between ink, blackness, and non-human abject black flesh, then we must reread this formulation through an Afro-pessimist lens: bodies are texts and texts are bodies, but black sentient flesh is ink and ink is black sentient flesh. The early modern move to imagine print as an inherently raced material creates a cultural concept of print as always already racial, regardless of whether the printed text or illustration can be said to overtly address race. Early modern print and print illustrations are ancestors of modern white supremacy and global anti-blackness; theorizing the entanglement of print and race more fully reveals print's material role in developing the white emotions, reading practices, and subjectivity that undergirded anti-blackness in early modern England.

Chapter 2: "Movable Skin, Movable Type: Motion and the Printing of Emotion in the Forehead"

The upper part is called *frons*, the forehead, because it bewrayeth the mind

Alexander Read, *The Manual of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man*

If the something-less-than-human figure in the "Printer to the Reader" suggests that abject black sentient flesh need not be dissected because there is no interiority in blackness, then the abundant images of white bodies in various stages of dissection suggest an abounding interiority set aside specifically for whiteness. In this chapter, I build on the material analysis of the ink and pages imagined as bodies and flesh in the previous chapter to analyze this abounding interiority of white bodies in texts that treat the skin of the forehead as a page upon which legible lines can be read. While the first chapter considered how the human book-body was defined against black sentient flesh, this chapter studies how the human book-body was further defined against and defended from non-human animals, as well as sexually deviant bodies, through the reading of the forehead as a legible text. Here, the reader's training to reject these othered bodies is also accompanied by the pleasure of voyeuristically reading the forehead for evidence of deviancy and scandal. While these physiognomical texts and treatises on forehead-reading attempt to legitimize their practices through setting up their own logic and rules of interpretation, their failing logic simultaneously obscures and enables the voyeuristic pleasure that truly motivates these texts.

(Re)Movable Skin: Reading the Forehead for Motion and Emotion

The visual tropes of white bodies posing nonchalantly as their organs, muscles, and limbs are removed belied the fact that even the first step of human dissection—removing the skin—

was often complicated and difficult. Despite the popular early modern visual trope of the écorché figure holding its flayed skin in one piece, like a casually discarded robe, the readers of these anatomies learned quickly that the body was covered in various types of skin that required various methods of flaying, if they could be flayed at all.[16] In *The Historie of Man* (1578), John Banister, a skilled surgeon and anatomist, names several parts of the skin that are challenging to dissect:

> Moreover the skin everywhere, cleaveth not alike unto the subject parts. For otherwise in the Palm of the hand, and sole of the foot, otherwise to the Musculous substance of the forehead, otherwise to the lips, eyelids, ears, nose, fundament, yard, and otherwise throughout the whole body is it committed to the parts under lying, and in dissecting must diversely be separated. (64r)

Banister's catalogue of skins that resist dissection emphasizes the complexity of this first step of anatomizing the human body: not only must an anatomist know that the skin of the palms, soles, forehead, face, and genitalia are more resistant to the knife than the skin of the arms, legs, belly, and back, they must also be aware that each of these skins require different methods of flaying. The troubles of flaying human skin appear throughout early modern anatomy with only slight differences: Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* (1615) leaves out the genitalia but emphasizes the challenges posed by the soles of the feet, palms of the hand, forehead, ears, lips, and "almost of the whole face"; similarly, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgeon Ambrois Parey* (1634), an English translation of the writings of French surgeon Ambroise Paré, includes the palms, soles, lips, eyelids, and forehead as the skin that resists flaying.[17] Even if these anatomies were not always in perfect agreement on the extent to which different parts of the skin could be flayed, they were united in their warnings about the difficulty or even impossibility of removing skin

from the underlying muscle. This presented a challenge to the image of the écorché figure casually stepping out of his skin like discarded clothing, or the skin frontispiece that imagines flaying to be as effortless as turning a page. This contradiction is materially illustrated in *Compendiosa*. Just a couple pages after the anatomical fugitive sheet, which translates skin removal into the turning of a paper flap—an action that was certainly more challenging than viewing the already-flayed body of the écorché figure, but not as challenging as flaying a real human body—the difficulty of flaying real human skin is reasserted: "the skin of the Palms of ye hands, of the Soles of the feet, of the forehead, and almost of all the whole face, yea, and of some other parts also, can in no wise be flain by reason of muscles. And tendons graft and rooted into it, as Galen writeth in his second book entitled *De Usu Partium*" (Geminus fol. 11r). Ironically, it is the turning of pages—the lifting of paper that écorché figures, skin frontispieces, and anatomical fugitive sheets train readers to imagine as action of flaying and dissecting—that leads the reader to the practical knowledge that some skin resists dissection, and no skin is as easy to flay as a page is to turn. But this material pragmatism, with all the complexities of the different types of skin, different methods of flaying, and struggle of working against the skin's resistance to the knife, is certainly not as aesthetically pleasing as a veil of skin that effortlessly peels away from the body, so it remains relegated to the "fine print" of the text.

Within these anatomies, this resistant skin was often separated into two kinds: immovable and movable. Immovable skin consisted of areas like the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, where the skin was tightly joined to underlying flesh with tendons and could not easily be moved about: "the skin as well of the hands as of the feet, is of a middle nature between pure flesh and pure skin, no otherwise than that which covers the forehead, but that this which covers the palms of the hands and soles of the feet is unmoveable" (Paré 218).[18] This immobility was necessary, as

some anatomists pointed out, for hands to be able to grip and feel objects—tasks of precision, such as writing with a pen or turning a page, would be extremely challenging if one's palm skin moved as much as the skin on their upper arm or abdomen. Like most other skin on the body, this immovable skin could not move itself: its only movement came from being pulled or pushed by the larger motions of the proximate bones of the feet and hands.

The other type of skin that resisted dissection was movable skin, so called because it had the unique ability to move itself independently of the motion of proximate bones.[19] As the previous passage from Paré's English translation illustrates, movable skin was located in the forehead and was said to have a kind of independent motion that set it apart from the skin covering the rest of the body.[20] This independent motion of movable skin was frequently described as "voluntary" or represented as having some kind of will, agency, or passion: "the skin of the forehead [is] endowed with voluntary moving who doubteth to be needful" (Banister 45r).[21] Later in the same passage, Banister explains that this voluntary motion in the forehead skin is the result of its connection to the muscular tissue beneath it, as is evident in the wrinkles that form when the brow is furrowed or raised—wrinkles that still remain, as marks of past motion and will, on the lifeless anatomical cadaver. Both immovable and movable skin have physical structures that make them difficult to dissect properly, but although the resistance of immovable skin is a passive effect of its structure, the forehead's movable skin is endowed with motion, passion, and *voluntas* that simultaneously proceed from and exceed the structure. The wrinkles on the forehead's movable skin not only help to reveal the structure of the forehead skin and muscles, but also maintain a record of motion and willfulness even after death.

Haunted by motion and willfulness, the forehead's movable skin presented a challenge to the trope of the passively acquiescing corpse, the welcoming paper-flap dissections, and the

solely structural resistance from immovable skin. The structure of the forehead's movable skin—as a structure that simultaneously allowed for the forehead's *voluntas* and preserved (the record of) that *voluntas* after death—was of intense interest to early modern anatomists as can be seen by the alternative names that they give for the forehead. In *Mikrokosmographia*, Crooke gives two alternative names for the forehead. The first is *a ferendo*, from the Latin verb *ferre*, which means "to bear": "The parts therefore of the Face are two: the upper is properly called μέτωπογ *frons*, *a ferendo*, because it beareth in it the Passions of the mind, we call it the Forehead whose lowest parts are the eye brows" (532).[22] Anatomist Alexander Read also references the *frons*/*ferendo* connection and again traces this name to the fact that the forehead "bewrayeth the mind" (424). Crooke's second name is for the forehead muscles, which, citing the Swiss physician Felix Plater, he calls the "muscles of the affections," (745). John Bulwer's *Pathomyotamia* also makes use of Plater's name for the forehead muscles as "*musculos affectuum animi significativos*, the significant Muscles of the affections" (144). Bulwer gives them new nicknames as the "*Musculi severi & minaces*, the Severe and Threatening Muscles" (148), and "*Musculi Admirationis*, the Muscles of Wonder or Admiration," to reference the roles of these muscles in producing a range of affections (150).[23] Drawing connections between the forehead, the mind, and the affections, these nicknames locate the forehead as the physical material in which affections are housed: they are the "muscles *of* the affections" and "bear[…] the Passions of the mind" (emphasis mine). An anatomist could not have looked at the wrinkles on a cadaver's forehead without seeing them as the marks and sites of passions and affections. He could not have attempted the difficult maneuver of flaying the forehead skin from the underlying muscles without seeing this structure as imbued with affection. Furthermore, naming the forehead and its parts in this way circumvents the challenge of flaying the movable skin, as it

allows the forehead to be read by the passions and affections it bears. By claiming that the wrinkles and movements of the forehead can reveal thoughts and feelings, the same structure that prevents access to the bodily interior ironically reveals knowledge of the affective bodily interior.

Because early modern anatomies proposed dissection as the primary method of reading the body, this new reading of the forehead that circumvented the act of dissecting required a different method of reading, one that focused on the motions of the forehead's movable skin as legible text with significance and meaning. This different method of reading focused on the forehead's movements—raising the eyebrows, wrinkling the forehead, furrowing the brow, etc.—as impressed upon the movable skin by the brain, whose proximity mattered, like a printing press or palimpsest, but exceeding both. John Bulwer exemplifies this new method of reading, as he used the principles of anatomy to teach a non-invasive "dissection" of the muscles and their purposes in his *Pathomyotomia, or a Dissection of the significative Muscles of the Affections of the Mind; Being an Essay to a new Method of observing the most Important movings of the Muscles of the Head, as they are the nearest and Immediate Organs of the Voluntary Or Impetuous motions of the Mind* (1649)—I include the full title because it succinctly positions Bulwer's reading theory. *Pathomyotamia* argued that a true "dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the mind" was not possible with the scalpel, but rather with words, rhetoric, and discourse.[24] To this end, Bulwer uses metaphors, such as the metaphor of a spring-driven clock—like the printing press, also invented in the 15th century—to explain his reading method:

> You shall find in it [*Pathomyotamia*] that which I use to call the Clock-work of the Head, or the Springs and inward Contrivance of Instruments of all our

> outward motions, which give motion and regulate the Dial of the Affections, which Nature hath placed in the Face of Man; Being a New light, and the first Irradiation which ever appeared through the Dissections of a Corporeal Philosophy. […] Having resolved to trace the Discoursing Actions of the Head to their Spring and Principle upon which their outward significations depend; when I had passed the superficial parts, and digged a little more than skin-deep into the Mineral of the Cephalical Motion, I came to the Muscles, the instruments of voluntary motion […] (sig. A2v, sig. A4r)

Bulwer uses the metaphor of a spring-driven clock to explain the connection between the mind and the muscles of the affections, emphasizing the internal/external connection: "the Springs and inward Contrivance of Instruments of all our outward motions." He also emphasizes the importance of motion and change in reading the forehead, for just as reading a clock requires an understanding that the reading can only ever be approximate because of the clock's constant motion, reading the forehead requires one to be aware of the forehead as movable skin, constantly reforming itself to signify the changing inward affections of the mind. Bulwer's clock metaphor does not replace the book-body metaphor in *Pathomyotamia*, but joins with it, in the same way that he combines anatomy and dissection with a theory of the affections to create a new method of reading the body. This clock metaphor transforms and adds to the book-body metaphor, enabling a method of forehead reading that circumvents the difficult process of flaying and dissecting the movable skin and uses the very motion of this movable skin as exterior signification of interior motions. The movable skin is no longer resistant to the process of forehead reading—it is the text itself. Imagined in early modern anatomies as a kind of fantastic clock-palimpsest-printing press hybrid, the forehead outwardly signifies the interior mind, with a

plethora of motions that can be changed and recombined to form numerous looks, all at the intense speed of the mind's will. The forehead's wrinkles are read as accumulations of signification and affection in the forehead, marking a history of such affections as they become more permanent with age.

This connection between affections and the forehead taught readers and anatomy students not only that to look at the forehead was to read the affections, but also that the forehead was structurally shaped by its role in expressing and bearing affections. As a result, affections also became part of human anatomy, treated as a kind of universal language that could reveal the structure, motion, and humanity of the body. Crooke relied on this belief in universal affections to weigh in on the debate between anatomists who believed the *frontalis* muscle of the forehead was just one muscle, and those who believed it was actually two muscles—a seemingly minor argument, until it is recognized as part of a larger early modern anatomical conversation that was determining the structure, capabilities, and boundaries of the human body. Arguing for two muscles, Crooke claims that "Again, when we are moved to displeasure, we contract and wrinkle the skin in the middle of the forehead, so that the brows do almost touch one another: which contraction of the skin could not be made if there were but one muscle" (745).[25] Crooke refers to displeasure as a kind of motion—"moved to displeasure"—and then explains how "we" all show this motion-affection in the same way, by "contract[ing] and wrinkl[ing] the skin in the middle of the forehead, so that the brows do almost touch one another." To describe displeasure as a kind of motion emphasizes how the movable skin is uniquely structured to show affections. But not just any affections: Crooke's universal "we" assumes a uniform expression of affections, in which human bodies show affections in the same way because their bodies conform to a human structure. In this circular logic, a universal language of affections proves the universal structure

of the human body, and vice versa: the universal motion of displeasure proves the universal existence of two *frontalis* muscles, but also the existence of two *frontalis* muscles provides a structure for all humans to show displeasure with the same motions. As early modern human anatomy attempted to define which anatomies were or were not human, affections and their motions became part of a universal language that allowed anatomists to read a body's affections in order to determine that body's human-ness. If the forehead was uniquely structured to show affections, then it was also uniquely positioned for anatomists to read the affections it showed as evidence of whether or not a body was human.

The move for anatomies to demarcate the boundaries between human and non-human animal was partially motivated by an early modern pivot away from Galenic comparative anatomy, which anatomists like Vesalius claimed was inaccurate because Galen relied on assumed similarities between human and animal anatomy rather than knowledge gained firsthand from dissecting human bodies.[26] In this way, the early modern pivot from comparative anatomy and towards human dissection restricted the category of human as a territory to be protected from intrusions of false similarity to non-human animals. Anatomical observations about the structure of the human body were not just observations, but markers that determined just how much variation a body could have before it exceeded the category of human.[27] Likewise, anatomical observations about affections and the human body were not just observations, but attempts to control the significance and interpretation of the body's actions. Here, Susan James's claim about the work of emotions in early modern philosophy can be extended to early modern anatomy: "[t]he interest in the emotions that so pervades seventeenth-century philosophy is itself part of a broader preoccupation in early-modern European culture with the relations between knowledge and control, whether of the self or others" (2). To observe the structure and affections

of the human body was to engage in the work of controlling the category of human by defining the human against non-human others. The push to define *the* human is particularly clear in Crooke's reference to "we" as those who contract forehead skin when "moved to displeasure": this rhetorical "we" draws a boundary between those whose bodies can join the "we" and those who cannot. The forehead's role in distinguishing between "we" humans and non-human others is especially clear as the forehead's movements become a measure of humanness: early in his anatomy, Crooke claims that "in the forehead [the skin] is moveable, in the rest of the body (of a man I mean) immoveable, or for the most part. For in Beasts it is almost always moveable, and they say, an Elephant can by the corrugation or wrinkling of his skin, kill the flies that molest him" (73). This same corrugation and wrinkling appear in Crooke's later description of the human's movable skin, with a much different result: "the skin of the forehead […] by his tension and corrugation, that is, smoothness or wrinkling demonstrateth the manifold affections of the mind […]" (745). In both passages, movable skin can wrinkle and corrugate itself towards a functional end, but these ends are very different. For the human, wrinkling and corrugation of the movable skin is a complex method of signification by which the "manifold affections of the mind" can be read. But for the elephant, covered in movable skin, wrinkles and corrugations are simply violent reactions to outside stimuli, with no mention of the mind or affections. Despite the morphological similarities between the elephant wrinkles and the human forehead wrinkles, the elephant's wrinkles do not signify an interior affective state. The movable skin on the human forehead signifies an affective interior, a complex mental and affective process in which the legibility of wrinkled skin denotes membership in the "we" of the human; in contrast, the elephant's movable skin is a crude reflex without interiority or affective process.

Of course, it may be possible to infer a rudimentary mental process from this description, and even conjecture basic affections—the elephant detects flies landing on his skin, feels bothered and decides to wrinkle his skin to remove the source of molestation—but this process is an inference that the reader must read onto the text, in clear opposition to Crooke's treatment of the elephant. Crooke forecloses the possibility of reading anything in the elephant's wrinkles: unlike the human forehead wrinkles that "demonstrateth […] manifold" signifiers, there is no affective "signified" attached to the elephant's wrinkles, no interior feeling that they indicate. The wrinkling of the elephant's movable skin is simply an impulsive reaction to kill flies, not to create meaning. Crooke's text does not openly deny elephantine affections or interiority, but through omitting them, these animal affections can only exist insofar as the reader reads them onto the text.

Another noticeable omission in early modern anatomies that might explain the omission of elephant affections is the use of the term "emotion" to describe the passions and affections that the forehead's movable skin can show. Despite the obvious etymological connection between motion and emotion, and the interest that early modern anatomies placed in how the muscles expressed the mind, "emotion" does not appear in any of these anatomies.[28] To describe the phenomena that today we would commonly call emotions, these anatomies use terms like passions, affections, humors, and feeling. But accounting for the lack of "emotion" in early modern anatomies is not as simple as mentally substituting "emotion" whenever one reads a word such as "passion" or "affection." As Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson have pointed out in *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, the "lexical variants" used to represent emotions in the early modern period present their own challenges:

> How translatable is the language of emotion? What connotations have faded over time? […] The Renaissance words that most closely approximated what we call emotion were "passion" and "affection." That we now tend to associate both these terms with amorous or fond feelings hints at an unfamiliar emotional terrain, where hope and sadness were "passions" together with love and desire, and where one's "affections" could run in a different direction from love. […] Moreover, even early modern writers who studied the passions provided different maps of this terrain. There were competing taxonomies of passions: a range of ancient categories were available, and these vie for dominance not only with each other but with Christian classifications in early modern passions discourse. […] Even more basically, some early modern writers treated "passions" and "affections" as synonyms, whereas others drew careful distinctions between the two terms. (2)

In studying early modern affect and the history of emotions, many scholars have recognized the difficulty of engaging with this shifting lexical landscape, especially when textual representations and descriptions are often the only evidence left of complex, nuanced emotions and affects.[29] "Emotion" itself has a complex linguistic history: it was a fairly new word in early modern England, introduced through English translations of continental texts in the 1560s and 1570s, but by the seventeenth century—when anatomies like Read's *Manual of the Anatomy*, Paré's *Works*, Bulwer's *Pathomyotamia*, and Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* were printed—"emotion" was already disseminated in English print, as is evident in its appearance in popular English texts like Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles* (1575) and *Historie of Guicciardin* (1579), as well as John Florio's English translation of Montaigne's *Essais* (1603) (Simons 36).[30] The prevalence of "emotion" in these popular texts makes it more likely that the lack of "emotion" in

Mikrokosmographia is the result of Crooke's choice to avoid the word, rather than his ignorance of it. Furthermore, the connection between motion and emotion was perhaps clearer in the early modern period than it is today, as "motion" and "emotion" often shared or overlapped definitions.

A closer look at these overlapping definitions of "emotion" and "motion," as well as the contexts in which "emotion" was introduced to the English language can explain why Crooke and other anatomists might have avoided the term. According to Patricia Simons, Geoffrey Fenton's use of "emotion" almost always referred to subversive, tumultuous upheavals, such as "great stirres and emocions in Lombardye" and "emocion and insurrection" (quoted in Simons 36). These early usages of "emotion" were similar to twenty-first-century definitions of emotion, in that they assumed a kind of subjective affective experience, yet differed because they were linked with physical motions that were aggressive, sizable, and destructive. As Simons points out, "emotion" had such negative connotations that John Florio felt compelled to apologize for using it and other "uncouth" words in his preface to his translation of *Essays*: "Florio's aversion may have had something to do with the word's violent and rather plebian connotations, for it usually referred to masses of troops or anonymous people, or disturbances and rebellion amongst the general populace" (37). These "plebian connotations" and association with masses of people made emotion into phenomena of the lowest humans, causing thinking, reasoning humans to transform into pack animals, acting collectively, impulsively, aggressively, chaotically. Like elephants, these emotional humans do not take the time to think, reason, or express their feelings; rather, their emotions are immediately realized in aggressive motions. These negative affects and dangerous physical motions associated with "emotion" are reflected in the Oxford English Dictionary's definitions of "emotion" in this period. According to the OED, the first appearances

of “emotion” in the English language during the 1560s referred to “[p]olitical agitation, civil unrest; a public commotion or uprising,” a definition that it also shared with “motion.”[31] Later in the 1590s, “emotion” gained other definitions as strictly physical movement, and in the early 1600s, yet another definition closer to modern usage as an “agitation of the mind” or “strong feelings, passion.” As “emotion” became more established in the English language, it lost some of its earlier associations with political agitation *en masse* but was still negatively associated with excess, volatility, violence, disturbance, and disorder. Early modern anatomies would not have described any part of the human body as expressing or having emotions because such uncouth phenomena would contradict their rhetorical elevation of anatomy as a journey of knowing the body in order to know God. There could be no appeal to *nosce teipsum* if knowing the body revealed a body full of crude, extreme, uncivilized motions.

If emotion cannot be named in early modern anatomies, only appearing as an omission, then the omission of feeling in Crooke’s anecdote of the fly-killing elephant can be read as evidence of emotion. It is animalistic emotion, not human affection, that fills the gap and explains why the elephant wrinkles its movable skin to kill the flies that molest him.[32] This connection between elephant and emotion also explains Crooke’s peculiar decision to use an elephant as an example of movable skin, when it would have been much easier for both Crooke and his readers to use a more domestic, common animal as an example of movable skin.[33] Although there are accounts of elephants visiting England in the early modern period, it was much more likely for an Englishman to read about an elephant than to actually see one; Crooke’s own reliance on hearsay—“*they say*, an Elephant can by the corrugation or wrinkling of his skin, kill the flies that molest him” [emphasis mine]—suggests that he himself had never seen an elephant before he decided to use one as an example in his anatomy. The purpose of using the

elephant was not to provide an accessible illustration of animals' movable skin, but rather to take advantage of the elephant's emotional significance. In early modern England, elephants were symbols of exoticism and strength, but they were also imagined as having a rudimentary kind of human feeling and understanding, which set them apart from other animals. According to M. G. Aune, early modern English travel writers' accounts of elephants often confirmed England's elephant lore, especially elephants' ability to feel and reason in ways that were more similar to human understanding than other animals. Aune's survey of early modern English travel writers such as William Hawkins, Edward Topsell, and Edward Terry reveals a slew of elephants displaying compassion, fortitude, shame, revenge, and other feelings that were typically reserved for humans.[34] Elephants were regarded in the early modern period as inherently emotional creatures, whose emotions simultaneously brought them closer to humans even as they gave elephants a self-awareness to recognize their subservience to humans. In this light, Crooke's decision to choose an elephant as his example of movable skin instead of a more common animal emphasizes movable skin as site of emotion, affection, and passion, in which feelings become evidence for an anatomical hierarchy of humans over animals. As the elephant's emotions are thrown into sharp relief, Crooke uses movable skin as a homologous structure to compare human affections to not-quite-human animal emotions—not to draw attention to the similarities between human and animal, but to map an affective continuum between human and animal using movable skin.

In this affective continuum, the size and function of the movable skin mark boundaries between humans, animalistic humans, not-quite-human animals, and non-human animals. Because movable skin is visual, physical evidence of the capacity for and expression of affections, passions, emotions, and feelings through its motion, a creature with too little movable

skin is limited in their ability to express affections, passions, emotions, and feelings; conversely, too much movable skin leads to excessive expressions of emotions that are simultaneously aggressive motions, as in the case of the fly-killing elephant. In order to participate in the human realm of affections, one must have a golden mean of movable skin that allows the skin to be read for its significations of the mind. For Crooke, this golden mean of movable skin is the skin of the forehead: the size and function of the forehead's movable skin is not so extreme as to devolve into emotion, but is just enough for the body's affections to be legible. Movable skin that is too small or has lost its function results in illegible affections, disallowing the body from participating in the human realm of affections, as Bulwer points out in his discussion of people whose foreheads and eyebrows have been permanently paralyzed by botched surgeries: "those who by the unskillfulness of Chirurgeons, and a transverse Dissection of the fibers of these Muscles, have been deprived of the use of these significations of the Mind, and have had their Eyebrows too much humbled, that they have fallen about their eyes" (150). These people are still considered to be human, but because they are unable to wrinkle and corrugate their foreheads, they cannot make their affections or their minds legible to others. "[D]eprived of the use of these significations of the Mind," their affective communication with other humans is regrettably limited.

But this is not the only kind of forehead that has too small size or function. While there appears to be some kind of sympathy for those men whose foreheads are hampered by others, there is no sympathy for men who have naturally small foreheads. In the woodcut from the "Printer to the Reader," the brief references to the figure's "forehead little above an inch high" and his "truculent countenance and aspect" suggests a reading of the figure as less than human. In light of Crooke's writings in earlier sections on foreheads, forehead muscles, fleshy panicles,

and movable skin, the figure's small forehead suggests small forehead muscles and a diminutive connection to brain, his truculence suggests emotion, like the elephant, that can only be expressed in immediate violence. Added to the other descriptions of the figure's body—most noticeably, his cloven feet—the passage argues for a strong connection between exterior appearance and interior state: "so wicked a mind might have a proportionable habitation, to wit, a prodigious and deformed body." This method of reading the exterior body follows the method of forehead reading in early modern anatomies, as both read the exterior for significations of the form and workings of the interior.

It is clear that movable skin that is reduced in size or function is undesirable, yet what is not as apparent is how much more movable skin a human can have before they risk expressing emotions and other excessive motions associated with non-human animals. The examples of foreheads paralyzed by surgeries and the "Printer to the Reader" woodcut prove that this affective continuum does not follow a simple binary—in which more movable skin is always less-than-human, more animalistic and thus affectively defective, while less movable skin is always more human and thus affectively superior—but rather that the continuum is closer to a golden mean, in which a certain amount of movable skin is desired and having too much more or less than this amount is inferior. But the process of determining at which point more movable skin falls outside the golden mean complicates this continuum even further, as early modern anatomies speak highly of humans with more movable skin than average. Instead of treating these individuals with more movable skin as more animalistic, anatomies associate these people with great ability to express affection. In his discussion of the appearance of "additional" muscles in the occipitofrontalis muscle of the forehead, Bulwer claims that "such men who have these additional Muscles, have larger expressions of their minds and affections appearing in their

moved Foreheads" (145).[35] These "larger expressions of minds and affections" are not portrayed as excessive, but are associated with magnanimity, a kind of "large-ness" and largesse of the mind and human affection. The examples that Bulwer and other anatomists give of men with these additional muscles are educated, upper-class men such as the famed Italian anatomist, Realdo Colombo, and his teacher, Giovanni Antonio Lonigo.[36] But the deferential tone that Bulwer and Crooke employ when writing about these men with more movable skin seems to contradict Crooke's dismissal of the elephant's additional movable skin as emotional and violent. Colombo, Lonigo, and the elephant all have more movable skin than most humans—why are Colombo and Lonigo more honorable for their additional movable skin, but the elephant is not? At what point does excess movable skin transform from a sign of magnanimity to a sign of animality?

Here I return to the structure of the forehead and the ways in which this structure was imagined to shape and be shaped by the showing of affections or emotions. In this schema, what was read on the forehead were signs not only of an interior affective state, but of a structure that could be categorized along a human/animal continuum. In early modern anatomies, the movable skin of the forehead was constructed by both the fleshy panicle (sometimes called the fleshy membrane) and the forehead muscles; the fleshy panicle and forehead muscles had different motions, but they both worked in concert to create the unique motions of the forehead's movable skin. [37] The fleshy panicle, a thin sheet of muscle that was one of the deepest layers of subcutaneous tissue, appeared in select places on the human body but was mostly associated with animals because animals were covered all over by the fleshy panicle. Human anatomies recognized the presence of the fleshy panicle on select places of the human body, such as the

forehead, but when they gave examples of the fleshy panicle's function, these examples were of animals, not humans:

> This is called the fleshy Pannicle; because in some parts it degenerates into flesh, and becomes musculous, as in a man from the collar bones, to the hair of the head […] where as in other places it is a simple membrane, here and there entangled with the fat lying under it, from whence it may seem to take or borrow the name of the fatty Pannicle. But in beasts (whence it took that name, because in those a fleshy substance maketh a great part of this Pannicle) it appears manifestly fleshy and musculous over all the body, as you may see in Horses, and Oxen; that by that means being moveable, they may drive and shake off their flies, and other troublesome things, by their shaking and contracting their backs" (Paré 90).

The horses and oxen in this passage from Paré's *Workes* are reminiscent of Crooke's elephant, as well they should be: both Crooke's elephant and Paré's horses and oxen demonstrate the function of movable skin that only consists of the fleshy panicle, not the forehead muscles. Because of this association with the animal body, the fleshy panicle maintained animalistic overtones, even as it was present in human bodies and was essential to the structure and function of the forehead's movable skin.

Just as the fleshy panicle was associated with the animal body, the forehead muscles, as the other half of the forehead's movable skin, were more closely associated with the human. These muscles—referred to previously as the muscles of wonder and admiration, the muscles of the affections, and the muscles that bear the passions of the mind—were not only imagined to be imbued with human affection rather than animal emotion, but they were also proximate to the skull and brain, which proximity was read as evidence of their close connection to human

intelligence. Immediately after telling of Colombo and Lonigo's exceptional forehead muscles, Bulwer claims that

> Whatsoever inward Cogitation or affection of the mind is attributed by Pliny, or observed by Metoposcopers and others to appear in the Forehead, they are all exhibited by the operation and instrumental assistance of these Muscles and since the Muscles, the instruments of voluntary motion, are found in the Head, and so near to receive both the races and convoy of the Nerves and ability of motion from the Brain, it stands to Reason that the Forehead doth declare the will and the disposition and affections of the mind. (146)

Because the forehead muscles are "so near" to the brain and nerves, Bulwer imagines them as specially positioned to exhibit and declare "inward Cogitation" and "the will and disposition and affections of the mind." Unlike the fleshy panicle, the motion of the forehead muscles is associated with the human mind and human affections. As a result, Colombo and Lonigo's "additional" forehead muscles endow them with heightened capacity to exhibit and declare the affections of their minds, an anatomical advantage that increases their ability to communicate their affections to others. While Bulwer's reasoning for the superiority of the forehead muscles is weak—after all, isn't the fleshy panicle on the forehead just as proximate to the brain and nerves as the forehead muscles are?—he rhetorically reinforces the connection between the forehead muscles and human affections, conveniently omitting any mention of the animalistic fleshy panicle. In these anatomies, the difference between Colombo and Lonigo's additional movable skin and the additional movable skin of Crooke's elephant is the difference between forehead muscles and fleshly panicle, human and animal, affection and emotion, legibility and violence.

The pains that Crooke, Bulwer, Paré, and other anatomists took to accentuate the difference between the fleshy panicle and the forehead muscles were symptoms of early modern anatomy's anxiety about similarities between human and animal bodies. The very structure of the forehead's movable skin, composed of both fleshy panicle and forehead muscles, served as a reminder of the correspondence between human and animal bodies, and anatomists' attempts to emphasize the superiority of the forehead muscles over the fleshy panicle by emphasizing the forehead muscles' proximity to the brain were largely rhetorical endeavors based on weak reasoning. Nonetheless, the method of reading the forehead for human affections or animal emotions not only circumvented the difficult anatomical process of flaying movable skin, but also assuaged anxieties about human and animal similarities by claiming that the structural differences between human and animal were so distinct they could be easily read on the body's exterior. In this method of reading, the movable skin's corrugations and wrinkles formed the text in the page of the forehead, allowing the forehead to become a book-body that could be read without relying on dissection for turning the pages—unless, that is, the movable skin was from an animal, in which case the wrinkles and corrugations were not texts but violent reactions to external stimuli. The animal's movable skin was decidedly not a legible text because it did not signify an internal affective state: at the most, it could show emotion (which, in its early modern definitions, was not an internal psychological state but rather physical acts of destruction and aggression), such as the case of Crooke's elephant, whose wrinkling of movable skin both reacts to and immediately kills the flies landing upon him. Only the human forehead, through its special connection to the brain and nerves, could function as an external text that showed inward cogitation and the affections of the mind. This process of reading the forehead for external signification of inward affection allowed the read body to participate in the realm of the human:

to be legible was to be human. As early modern anatomies transformed the human body into a book through writing books about the body, this method of forehead reading transformed the living body itself into a book, full of wrinkling, corrugating, movable text.

The Pleasure of the Text: The Forehead as Language in Early Modern Physiognomies

Although the method of reading taught in Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* makes use of some anatomical axioms, such as assuming a relationship between the interior and exterior, this method of reading is more similar to physiognomy, a centuries-old practice of reading faces and bodies to assess character. Like anatomy, physiognomy advanced the idea that the body's interior could be read through its exterior, but unlike anatomy, physiognomy did not require the dissecting of the body to reveal the interior.[38] Rather, the logic of physiognomy suggested that bodies were formed by God to manifest their personalities, vices, virtues, futures, and inclinations.[39] Often related to other types of divination such as astrology and palmistry, physiognomy did not need to cut open the body to discover the interior structures that caused exterior appearance, for exterior traits were formed by heavenly intervention as markers of interior traits. In this physiognomical method of reading the body, the only cutting that was necessary was the cutting of woodblocks to make woodcuts illustrating particular forms and personalities. Woodcut illustrations were not common to all physiognomies circulating in England in the early modern period, but like anatomies, physiognomies often relied on illustrations not just as examples of what was described in the text, but also as means of sharing visual knowledge when words could not suffice. To examine the roles of woodcuts in physiognomies, I turn to Thomas Hill's *The Contemplation of Mankinde* (1571) and Richard Saunders' *Physiognomie and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie* (1653). There are several other

illustrated physiognomies that could be surveyed, but I have selected Hill's *Contemplation* for its use of what Taylor Clement calls plural reproduction of woodcut illustrations, and Saunders' *Physiognomie* for its use of woodcuts to stand in for textual physiognomic theory. In both of these texts, the book-body metaphor of anatomy is transformed from seeing the body's layers as pages that must be removed to uncover greater secrets, to seeing the body's exterior as an organized gathering of lines that can be read like words, which, when written, are also organized gatherings of lines. This body-as-book metaphor is clear in Hill's succinct description of physiognomy: "To be brief: this Physiognomy is a knowledge which leadeth a man to the understanding and knowing both of the natural motions, and conditions of the spirit: and the good or evil fortune, by the *outward notes and lines* of the face and body" (3v, emphasis mine). In this way, the words that accompany the woodcuts advise the reader what general characteristics to look for, but it is the woodcuts themselves that teach the reader how to *see* a body, how to *read* a face as an organized gathering of lines that contain information and meaning about that face.

If early modern woodcut illustrations taught readers to see faces and bodies as organized gatherings of lines, it is not surprising then that the forehead, full of lines and wrinkles, was one of the most important body parts in early modern physiognomy. More than fifty of the approximately one hundred ten woodcuts in Saunders' *Physiognomie* focus on forehead-reading—the book even has an entire section on metoposcopy, the art of divining a person's character and future from the lines of their forehead. Likewise, Hill's *Contemplation* is equally attentive to forehead reading: his title page prominently advertises that

> In the place next after the Chapter of the forehead, hath the Physiognomer added a proper Treatise of the signification of sundry lines seen in most men's foreheads:

> which in sundry disputations with a skilfull Jew, he at the last obtained. In the work also hath the Physiognomer learnedly placed for instruction sake, many strange and rare examples the he knew and judged in his time.

His readers were not disappointed: in the approximately four hundred fifty pages of Hill's *Contemplation*, fifty-five of these pages are dedicated to the study of foreheads,[40] including one section solely about the lines of the forehead.[41] (For comparison, only forty-nine pages are dedicated to the eyes, which were often considered one of the most important parts of the face in physiognomy.) In his introduction to forehead-reading, Hill affirms the importance of the forehead through references to physiognomy, ancient philosophers, and even anatomy:

> Aristotle affirmeth the forehead to be the seat or place of modesty and honor: and the same for the nearness of the imaginative virtue, which with the common sense in the forepart of the brain, is placed as principal of the head, by force of whose virtue, either heaviness or mirth, comeliness or uncomeliness, are suddenly carried unto the judgment of reason, & by the same judged. Of this we name such to have a shameless and brazen forehead, which put away or let aside all bashfulness and shame.
>
> The forehead through the descending of all the sinews from the brain, to perform the sense, is as it were a certain tower & fortress, unto whose hollowness do the five sensitive sinews concourse of the outward senses, through whose help, from all the objects of the senses, at the seat of reason, is judgment caused.
>
> The skin of the forehead, which with a certain musculous, and thin substance fastened to it, is united or joined together: that the inner parts of the hands, and soles of the feet, with the tendons, do agree and work together.

> The forehead, distinguished or divided of the bones, lying under the utter [outer] skin, doth only consist of two movable skins: and briefly, the whole is loose in itself: and of the same, is undoubtedly moved, by a voluntary motion. (30v-31r)

Like the early modern English anatomies, Hill describes a forehead with movable skin that is separate from the bones of the skull and moves voluntarily, a forehead whose motion and proximity to the brain gives it a privileged role in the body's expression of reason, judgment, affections, and passions. *Contemplation*'s description of the forehead's movable skin suggests a practice of physiognomy that was informed by anatomy, even seeing itself as working in concert with anatomy to create a better understanding of the human body and how to heal its ailments.[42] Transgressing our modern division between science and pseudo-science, *Contemplation* imagines a method of forehead-reading that takes advantage of both anatomy's and physiognomy's knowledges of the forehead: through an awareness of the forehead's movable skin, physiognomers can better understand the lines and movement of the forehead and use this knowledge to improve the understanding of the body, which in turn can help physiognomers, physicians, chirurgeons, and anatomists alike.

Hill's push to unify anatomy and physiognomy in order create a more complete understanding of the human body did not seem to gain much traction, perhaps because these two schools of thought had very different practices of reading the body, as can be seen most clearly by their methods of reading the forehead. The forehead's movable skin was important to anatomists because it revealed an underlying structure of muscles and skin that allowed them to distinguish between humans—through the occipitofrontalis muscles—and animals—associated with the fleshy panicle. Through this method, the forehead could be read for its human or animal

qualities by dissecting the forehead skin to reveal what was underneath, or, if dissection was not possible, by relying on knowledge of the forehead's underlying structure gained by previous dissections. In this way, the anatomical method of reading the forehead treats the body as a series of layers, which like the pages of a book, must be removed, turned, or cut in order to gain information from the book-body. The anatomical fugitive sheet from *Compendiosa* illustrates this method of reading: the skin is valuable as it is one of the layers or pages of the body that can be read for knowledge, but as the first layer, it is also an inconvenient cover that blocks the reader from the bulk of the knowledge that the human body can offer. The lines and wrinkles caused by the forehead's movable skin are only useful and interesting to anatomists insofar as they are evidence for the structure of the body's underlying layers. On the other hand, the forehead's lines were essential in physiognomy, as the physiognomical method relied on the body's surfaces as the principal signifiers of the body's interior. Physiognomers still read the body like a book but cutting it open would not aid in the process of gathering knowledge, as all of the necessary information was imprinted on its surface, legible for anyone who was trained to read it. As the author's punning on "good to cut" in "The Printer to the Reader" made clear, the only cutting that was useful or necessary in physiognomy was the cutting of woodblocks into images that illustrated particular faces and characters.

Just as the black-line and white-line styles of woodblock cutting taught readers how to read certain racial-affective schemas onto illustrated bodies, the linear technology of woodblock cutting taught readers to view human bodies as organized gatherings of lines. Of course, some visual qualities of human bodies could not be sufficiently portrayed in this medium of visual art: complexion, color, and dimension, for example, are better portrayed in the visual media of painting and sculpture than in woodcuts.[43] But the wrinkly lines of the forehead were particularly

suited to the linear art of woodblock cutting. The practice of reading the lines of the forehead, like the practice of viewing woodcut illustrations, required readers to reduce the body's visual aspects to organized, legible gatherings of lines.[44] Because woodcut illustrations of human bodies emphasized the linearity of the body, when woodcuts of human bodies were bound in books and placed alongside the lines of the text (language in its linear form), readers were encouraged to view human bodies as a kind of language. In woodcut-illustrated books, aural noises and human bodies coexisted as visual, legible lines.

In recent years, scholars have started to see woodcuts not simply as literary ephemera, but as integral to the study of early modern literature. Part of this turn to reconsider the literary value of woodcuts has focused on the practice of reproducing woodcut illustrations in multiple texts, showing how woodcut reproductions can link different texts to each other through similar visual meaning. Using verbs such as "wander," "move," "migrate," and "shift," scholars have emphasized how the reproduction of a woodcut illustration creates the effect of an image in motion.[45] Early modern physiognomies were no strangers to this phenomenon of "wandering" woodcut reproductions—in fact, such reproductions were particularly useful in physiognomy, as physiognomy treatises often sorted faces and bodies into "types" and encouraged their readers to memorize these character "types" for quick body-reading. Character "types" that "moved" throughout a physiognomy or throughout multiple physiognomies were beneficial to a reader attempting to memorize different faces and bodies. Taylor Clement puns on the "motion" of these physiognomical "types" in her article, "Moveable Types: the De-Individuated Portrait in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," which attends to physiognomical portraiture in the works of Thomas Hill. According to Clement, "the woodcut portrait is like a large piece of moveable type, in that it is a received visual sign that can be moved from page to page, or work to work, so

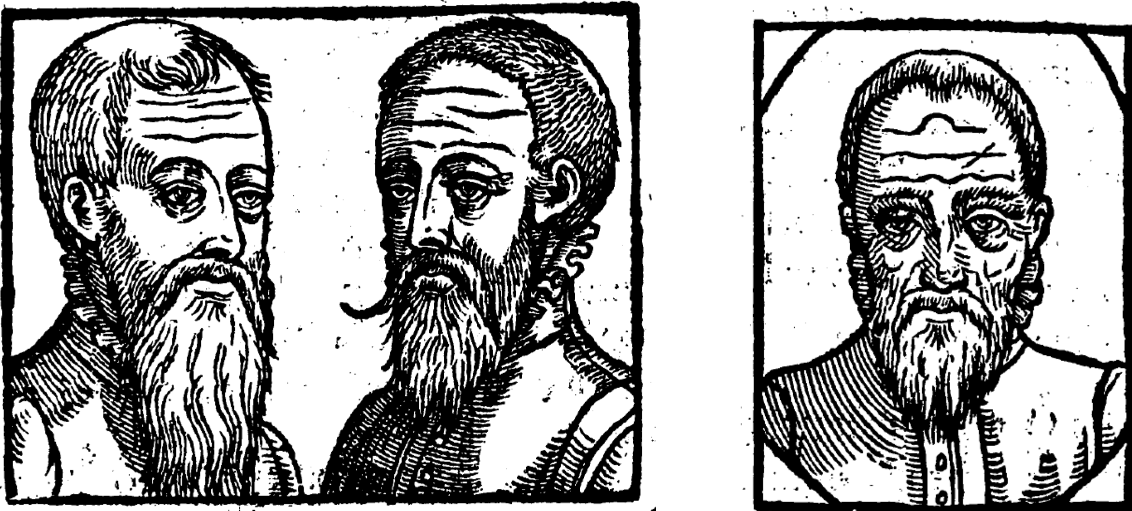
as to create new meanings in each reprint"; unlike other visual representations of humans, such as portrait paintings or sculptures, woodcut portraits' "movability" makes them "unstable signifiers that depend on the surrounding cues in text and paratext" (406). Theorizing the repetition of these woodcut portraits that makes their subjects into "unstable signifiers," Clement argues against the dominant narrative in early modern studies that early modern England was a burgeoning age of individuality and self-fashioning.[46] In woodcut portraits, the human face is nearly indistinguishable from typed words, as it is a movable text that must be viewed within its context in order to generate meaning.

Clement's study of Thomas Hill's physiognomies in "Movable Types" does not consider how the movable skin of the forehead is also connected to the movable type of printing or the movable type of the physiognomical woodcut reproduction; however, her study of the repetition of physiognomical woodcuts throughout Hill's *Contemplation* can inform the study of the forehead's movable skin in physiognomical woodcuts. The reproduction of woodcut illustrations throughout a single text—what Clement terms "plural reproduction"[47]—repurposes the forehead's movable skin as another kind of movable type, an "unstable signifier" that multiplies the layers of the "movable type" double entendre: a reproduced woodcut illustration of a forehead is a movable type of a movable type of a movable type. Let us consider these layers in more detail: in the first sense, a forehead has movable skin that can wrinkle itself into legible markings, like print type marks a page; in the second sense, when the forehead is illustrated on a woodcut, that woodcut functions in the printing press essentially as a "large piece of moveable type," as Clement points out; in the third sense, when that woodcut of a forehead's movable skin is reproduced throughout a physiognomical text, it becomes a moving character type. Thus, when Hill utilizes plural reproduction of woodcut illustrations of foreheads through *Contemplation*, he

engages with the body as a book and the forehead as movable type on many levels, both metaphorical and material.

Foreheads, with their wrinkly lines that were already so close to the lines of alphabetic language, are particularly useful examples of how body-reading—a method that purportedly revealed knowledge about an individual person—in fact destabilizes identity. In a section entitled "The judgement of certain lines seen in the forehead" a portrait comparison of two bearded men is specifically referenced as an example of a "greater infortune" that was noted in "a certain Italian, and sundry others" (43v, see fig. 9). This same portrait comparison, named "Furrowed brows" by Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram (443), is also placed directly below the section titles of "The Signs of Temperate and Healthful Bodies" (6r), "The men of a temperate Nature" (9r), "The signification and judgement of the form of the Cheek bones, and Cheeks" (113v), and "The condition and judgement of the Beard (145v)," as if to provide examples of the physical qualities described in these sections. "Furrowed brows" also appears in the middle of several paragraphs discussing eye color, but without any reference to it or its relation to the topic of eye color (73r). Do these placements mean that men with "greater infortune" are also likely to have bodies and natures that are "Temperate and Healthful," with exceptional cheekbones, beards, and eye color? Or does this mean that men who are "Temperate and Healthful" can look deceptively similar to men with "greater infortune"? Or something else entirely? Likewise, a woodcut portrait of a man with three horizontal lines in his forehead, named "A man with a lined forehead" by Luborsky and Ingram (443) (see fig. 10), appears in several contradictory locations. His first appearance is in the description of a "sapient philosopher" (10r), but then his next appearance is contradictorily as a "notable thief" (49r). He returns in a paragraph about the interpretation of thin eyelashes and fleshy eyelids (both are signs

of subtle craftiness and choler) (57v), above a paragraph about eyespots (signs of men who are inconstant and not to be trusted, but also observed in “divers Princes, Noble men, and jolly Lawyers, in authority” [71r]), and in between two paragraphs about ears—one describes ears that denote riches, the other, ears denoting “the paucity of matter and weak virtue of the brain” (111r). Again, assuming the fact that the reader remembers this distinct face and notices its reappearances throughout the text, what is one to make of a face that simultaneously signifies sapience, criminality, choler, craftiness, inconstancy, untrustworthiness, nobility, riches, and stupidity?



Figures 9 and 10: Fig. 9, on the left, is “Furrowed brows,” a woodcut portrait comparison of two bearded men, occurs six times within Hill’s *Contemplation*. Fig. 10 is “A man with a lined forehead,” a woodcut portrait of a man with three distinct forehead lines, occurs five times.

Ironically, this same focus on lines that allowed for physiognomers to read Hill’s woodcut portraits as texts—a focus that both privileged the lines of the forehead’s movable skin and organized the rest of the face into a series of organized lines—also destabilized the entire foundation of physiognomy. The popular appeal of physiognomy was the power to make reliable

judgments of others using quick observations of their bodies—pronunciations such as "If any two lines of the forehead, are near joining together, in any part: do then demonstrate discord, and contention, with many persons" abound in physiognomical texts (43r)—yet physiognomies often walked back these claims of near-instantaneous judgment with warnings that one must take into account the appearance of the whole body over time in order to make reliable judgments.[48] Physiognomies asked their readers to contextualize their readings of body parts with the reading of the entire body, but *Contemplation*'s plural reproductions take this further, asking readers to contextualize their readings of bodies within the text of the physiognomy itself, a gathering of signifiers in which meaning is always deferred. According to Clement,

> Seres's [*Contemplation*'s printer] cost-effective printing strategy results in a destabilization of identity and even of characteristics that form identity. One face, standardized and stamped, has the potential to represent multiple and contradictory identities and, furthermore, to dismantle or question the notion that external features can adequately represent one's internal characteristics, personality, or nature. (400-401)

Whether the book was printed with plural reproductions of woodcut portraits because of the printer's attempt to produce a beautifully-illustrated, but cheap physiognomy, as Clement argues,[49] or whether Thomas Hill himself had some kind of influence in the selection and placement of the woodcut portraits, the result was the same: the repetition of these woodcuts in disparate locations in the text demands the reader to look to the surrounding text for meaning, suggesting that the human body can never make its own meaning. *Contemplation*'s reoccurring woodcut portraits—perhaps only an accidental product of a penny-pinching printer—mimic lived experience, in which similar facial features and body parts appear in disparate contexts all the

time, without any reliable guide for making sense of this incongruity. If physiognomy's triumph was to escape the confusion of the material body through translating the body's exterior into a book that could be reliably read for knowledge of its passions, affections, and inclinations, then its failure was that this same book-body was subject to all the instabilities of language, of a system of signifiers that rely on endless deferral of meaning. The book-body's fantasy of fixed meaning is undone in the translation of movable skin into a movable type that creates new meanings in each appearance.

The physiognomical woodcut portraits in Richard Saunders' *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie* (1653) also disrupt the fantasy of a book-body that has fixed meaning. Even though Saunders' woodcuts are not plural reproductions, they become unstable signifiers as they are translated into a kind of visual language. Unlike Hill's woodcut portraits, Saunders' woodcut portraits do not appear scattered or repeated through the tract; rather, the majority of the woodcut portraits are in a single section on metoposcopy, which was the practice of reading the lines of the forehead to reveal one's character traits and predict one's future. Saunders included a brief written introduction to forehead-reading and metoposcopy in the part of his treatise that deals with physiognomy, but he also created an entirely separate section on metoposcopy containing forty-nine woodcut portraits. Each page of this section has three to six woodcut portraits with accompanying captions explicating the meaning of the forehead lines. At the beginning of this section, Saunders makes it clear that the real knowledge to be gained in this section comes from the woodcuts themselves and not their captions: "I have here added, for the benefit of the studious, diverse Effigies of Metoposcopy noted according to most accurate and exact observation, which being as an Epitome of this whole Doctrine, may delight the Reader" (192). That Saunders claims these "diverse Effigies" are the "Epitome" of metoposcopy suggests

that these woodcut portraits stand in for the language of metoposcopical theory—the captions are not metoposcopical theory as much as they are translations or guides for those who have not yet mastered the art of metoposcopy. The true theory is located in the visual language of the woodcut portraits. Yet as the movable skin of the forehead becomes movable type on the page, the book-body becomes subject to the slippages and deferrals of meaning in language.

Although Saunders' brief explication of metoposcopy in his section on physiognomy presents a seemingly straightforward method of interpreting forehead lines, this method collapses under its own internal logic when it is translated into woodcut portraits in the metoposcopy section. Saunders' explication of metoposcopy advises readers to look for two aspects of forehead lines: first, their position in the forehead, as each part of the forehead was labelled with a different astrological sign (lines appearing in a certain part of the forehead were influenced by the astrological sign that governed that part of the forehead); and second, their shape. Straight, continuous, long, uncrossed lines denoted more favorable readings than crooked, broken, short, and crossed lines, as is summed up in a few of the "rules" of metoposcopy that Saunders mentions:

> 2 Those [lines] that are not well placed and unfortunate, are those that are much winding, approaching a Semicircle Globe, or obelisk.
>
> 3 Simple and straight lines denote a simple good and honest soul without any malice.
>
> 4 The oblique, inflexed and sometimes the distorted lines denote variety, craft, cheating, to be short, all mischief and deceit. (163)

In some of the woodcut portraits, these internal logics of metoposcopy appear to hold true. For example, the first two woodcuts are of men with three lines in their foreheads. Both men's

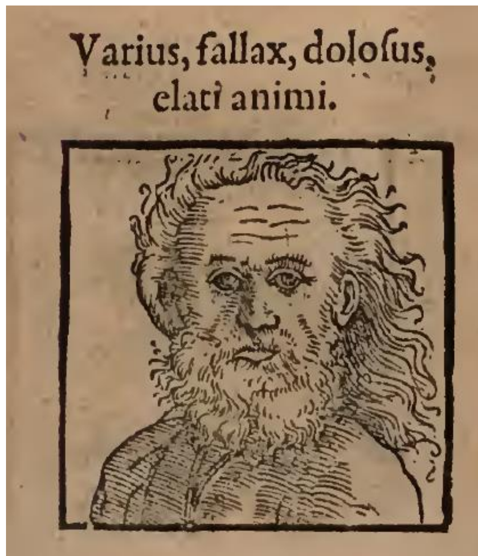
middle lines are marked with the astrological symbol for Jupiter, reminding the reader that lines in this area of the forehead are associated with Jupiter, an astrological planet associated with money and plenty. In the first woodcut, the caption reads "Such a Line of Jupiter, signifies riches, prudence and a good nature." The second woodcut is the same as the first, except a small circle in the line of Jupiter that rightly predicts "loss of riches" in the caption. The logic of metoposcopy may hold in these particular woodcuts, but it falls apart in many others. For example, three separate woodcut portraits predict dangerous falls from high places, but the forehead lines do not resemble each other, as they ought to if they all signify the same danger of falls from high places. The first forehead predicts dangerous falls because of the "position of the lines" (195), the second because of a wart that crosses one of the lines (197), the third because the "lines of Saturn and Mars [are] broken and discontinued" (198). Likewise, there are four separate woodcut portraits of forehead lines denoting murderers; none of these foreheads have any markings or lines in common.

Although the internal signifying logic of metoposcopy contradicts itself in the visual language of these woodcut portraits, an even more obvious example of the slippages in this visual language is the difference between these woodcut portraits and the European woodcut portraits they were modeled after. Like many English physiognomies, Saunders' *Physiognomie* is actually a translation of European physiognomies. Most of *Physiognomie*—the parts on physiognomy, chiromancy, memory, and steganography—is translated from Jean Belot's *Oeuvres* (1640), but the series of woodcut portraits are the only part of *Physiognomie* translated from the Czech physician Tadeáš Hájek's *Aphorismi Metoposcopici* (1561, 1584).[50] Not only did Saunders have the captions of Hájek's Latin metoposcopy translated into English, but the woodcut portraits are also "translated." The amount of artistic, technical, and physical labor that

must have gone into "translating" these woodcut portraits is staggering: each of *Physiognomie*'s forty-nine metoposcopical woodcut portraits correspond to the forehead lines from a woodcut portrait from Hájek, and following Hájek, each woodcut portrait has a unique face.[51] This means that a block-cutter carved a separate woodcut portrait for each of the forty-nine faces, rather than using the same face for each woodcut portrait and using composite illustration to print different forehead lies as necessary (a process that was common in other metoposcopies, likely because it saved a great deal of time and money). Despite the fact that Saunders' woodcut portraits are clearly modelled after Hájek's woodcut portraits, I term Saunders' woodcut portraits "translations" and do not use Clement's term "afterlife reproductions," because Saunders' woodcut portraits are not copies of Hájek's.[52] Each woodcut portrait in Saunders' text can be matched to a woodcut portrait from Hájek's text, but the woodcut portraits—both the faces and the lines—have been altered slightly to create new texts. Just as Saunders' English translation of Hájek's Latin exposes the slippage of language and the ability to create new meaning, the translation of woodcut portraits exposes the slippage of visual language and the way that that slippage can create new meaning.

Saunders keeps the general order of the woodcut portraits the same, and his translations often hold close to Hájek's captions. But there are numerous differences between these two series of woodcut portraits that produce new meanings. For example, the faces that bear the forehead lines are often very different from the corresponding faces in Hájek, sometimes so different that they have changed genders (Hájek had no women in his series of portraits, Saunders has several). In addition, the lines on the foreheads are evocative of the original forehead lines but are certainly not copies or reproductions of them. Sometimes Saunders takes creative liberties with the caption translation, often making them more euphemistic than Hájek's

frank captions. One of the best examples of this process of linguistic and visual translation is a woodcut portrait that according to Hájek, signifies "Varius, fallax, dolosus, elati animi," or a mutable, deceptive, guileful, boastful mind. Hájek's woodcut portrait is of a rather wild-looking man with long hair and a beard, but Saunders has made important changes to the forehead lines, the appearance and gender of the face, and the caption (see figs. 11 and 12). In Saunders' translation, the crookedness of the forehead lines is exaggerated, suggesting that Saunders wishes his readers to see this face as even worse than Hájek's version. The face is no longer a hairy man, but a fashionably attired woman, with two beauty marks, delicately curled hair framing her face, and a black ribbon around her neck. Saunders adds misogynist comments in his caption to complement the visual translation: in addition to being mutable, deceptive, guileful, and boastful, Saunders also describes her as "unconstant," "false," "treacherous," and "vain." The mutable, deceptive, guileful, boastful mind is no longer associated with a rather wild masculinity, but instead a stereotypically vain femininity that unmistakably traffics in the misogynist rhetoric of early modern England. Yet like the woman figure from Geminus's anatomical fugitive sheet, this woman may also do the visual-rhetorical work of making looking more pleasurable, as readers are more likely to enjoy and to feel entitled to looking at a stereotypically vain woman than a wild and deceptive man.

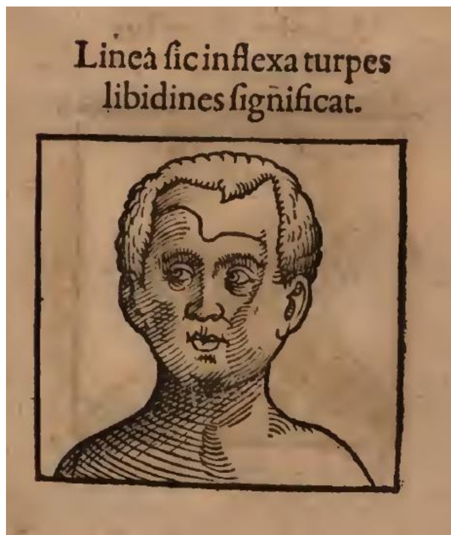


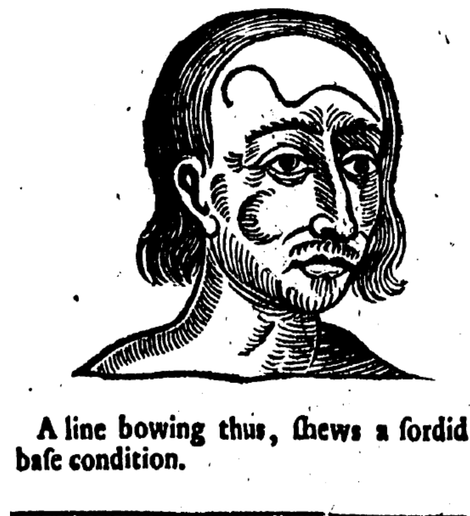
He or ſhe that hath ſuch lines in the fore-
head, is mutable, unconſtant, falſe, de-
ceitfully treacherous, and of a vain glo-
rious proud minde.

Figures 11 and 12. Figure 11 (on the left) is from Hájek's *Aphorismi Metoposcopici*, page 72. Figure 12 (on the right) is the corresponding woodcut from Saunders's *Physiognomie*, page 198.

Saunders sometimes added to Hájek's captions, yet he also occasionally cut parts of them; in most cases, this cutting seemed to be an effort to censor captions that might have upset his readers or the Stationer's Register.[53] Saunders' use of censorship and euphemism is particularly pronounced in his translation of one of Hájek's woodcut portraits, captioned "Linea sic inflexa turpes libidines significat" (see fig. 13). Hájek's caption can be translated as "Lines so curved signify most base [or 'shameful'] lusts [or 'desires']" (59); Saunders' translation of Hájek's caption reads "A line bowing thus, shews a sordid condition" (194, see fig. 14). Hájek does not explicitly state which most base (or shameful) lusts (or desires) these lines signify, but the woodcut portrait accompanying this caption provides some hints. The portrait is of a round, boyish face, with full cheeks and pursed lips, which stands out from the other faces that are mostly bearded and look older. The portrait's wandering eyes look over at the man on the facing page, whose forehead lines denote an ignoble or detestable character. Neither the portrait nor the

caption are explicit, but together they provide enough hints to make their meaning clear; it is no surprise that Kenneth Borris groups this portrait with other metoposcopical portraits of early modern sodomites and pederasts (39). If Hájek's portrait and caption provide enough clues for knowing readers to piece together their meaning, Saunders errs on the side of euphemism, making the sexual perversion of his portrait even harder to construe. Saunders translation of the caption replaces "libidines" with the more sanitized "condition": "A line bowing thus, shews a sordid and base condition." Saunders adds the word "sordid", but although "sordid" could have sexual connotations in the seventeenth century, it was mostly associated with words that described generically inferior and negative traits, such as "dirty," "unrefined," "ignoble," and "coarse" ("Sordid, adj. and n."). In this way, the caption censors the man's sexual perversity, instead lumping him in with the other, more generically wicked characters. Saunders also censors the visual language of the woodcut portrait: instead of using a desirable young boy for this portrait, he chooses a bearded man whose face does not stand out from the other men in his series of portraits; the man's eyes do not look across the page at another man, but rather gaze out at nothing in particular. The face is made less noticeable than Hájek's, but the curved line is almost comically exaggerated, producing a forehead that would seem highly unlikely to encounter in the real world. Yet perhaps this is exactly the point Saunders hopes to make: there are none of these kind of people in England—if you do see one, you'll notice them immediately, as their unnatural, twisted desires are accompanied by likewise unnatural, twisted marks on their foreheads.





Figures 13 and 14: Fig. 13 (on the left) is from Hájek's *Aphorismi Metoposcopici*, page 59. Fig. 14 (on the right) is the corresponding woodcut from Saunders's *Physiognomie*, page 194.

Saunders's attempts to translate Hájek's man of "turpes libidines" into a more censored man of "sordid base condition" are rather contradictory: the caption and face are made less noticeable and more generic, but the line in the forehead is exaggerated into an unnaturally voluptuous curve. In Hájek's text, this line looks essentially like a common forehead line that is only noteworthy because it has an angle lifting it high above the right eye and low above the left eye: this angle would have been the marker of sodomy, as lines that descended from right to left were often used to signify sodomy (Borris 196). Saunders' line also has this sodomitical declension, but the outrageous shape of the line catches the eye and renders its angle comparatively unnoticeable. Though Saunders may have translated this portrait and caption in order to censor its sexuality while emphasizing the man's wickedness, I argue that this combination of a highly euphemistic caption and an incredibly crooked forehead line actually stokes readers' curiosity. What could such a wildly unusual forehead line mean? And what kind of "sordid base condition" would create such a line? This combination of a striking signifier with

a caption that attempts to hide or defer what is signified attracts readers' attention and curiosity, creating rather titillating speculations about what the signified—or signifieds—could be.

This slippage between the signifier and its many potential signifieds is pleasurable, as it allows readers and viewers to dwell on any number of "sordid" or "base" acts. The frustration and uncertainty of knowing exactly which acts correspond to these forehead lines is swallowed up in the delight of potentiality and speculation. These slippages between signifiers and signifieds in Saunders' woodcuts—and Hill's woodcuts, for that matter—prove that forehead-reading cannot follow its own internal logic, but more importantly, they reveal that these methods of forehead-reading purposefully create illogical structures in order to produce pleasure for the reader: whether affections, emotions, or conditions can actually be read in the forehead is not as appealing as the pleasure that can be created by the theory that there are affections, emotions, and conditions that can be accurately read in the forehead. Just as the figure of the woman from Geminus's anatomical fugitive sheet transforms the delay and fracturing of bodily knowledge into pleasurable voyeurism, the slippage and ambiguity in these illustrated forehead lines transforms a frustrating lack of sure knowledge into an opportunity for erotic speculation about deviant, perverse personal history and character. Also like Geminus's woman figure, the reader can view this forehead—and any forehead—with a kind of privacy, not because of paper flaps that cover the figure's eyes, but because reading the forehead is a subtle act that can be conducted without the knowledge of the person being viewed (unlike other methods of body-reading, such as palmistry, which required the person being viewed to offer their hand up to the body-reader, the forehead can be read from a distance without the knowledge of the person who is being viewed). This ability to view the private in public grants the reader a kind of scopic mastery over others: not only can forehead-readers read private, titillating details in public

without being detected, but forehead-readers can gain knowledge about bodies that those bodies cannot even know about themselves. On the other hand, those with legible foreheads have nothing to gain from the process of being read: if their foreheads show undesirable affections and emotions, their bodies either lose their human status or become a kind of publicly available erotica or pornography; if they are fortunate enough for their foreheads to show appropriate affections, their bodies are still objectified as legible texts by the physiognomizing and anatomizing gaze. In teaching their readers to read bodies through books, these texts teach readers to objectify bodies as books. The public voyeurism that physiognomical woodcuts and anatomical fugitive sheets encourage transforms human bodies into abject book-bodies through making the forehead into a kind of pornographic text that is publicly open and available for perusing—as long as one has the skill to read it.

Chapter 3: "Brands, Marks, and Seals: Reading Salvation and Damnation in the Forehead"

> And the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city,
> through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men
> that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.
>
> Ezekiel 9:4

> And upon her forehead was a name written,
> MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF
> HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.
>
> Revelation 17:5

> And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads.
>
> Revelation 22:4

Early modern physiognomies promised their readers that through studying physiognomy and metoposcopy, they could gain the skills necessary to read other bodies and unlock the secrets within. But the promise of reading the body as easily as one could read a book spurred questions of authority—by what power could someone practice such a skill? By what power could a book claim to teach this skill to its readers? Most English physiognomies of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained lengthy prefaces and epistles to the reader that attempted to answer these questions of authority with long heritages of biblical prophets and ancient philosophers who practiced physiognomy as a sister art to philosophy. Many physiognomies also accessed authority through translation: Thomas Hill, for example, legitimized his own *Contemplation of Mankinde* through claiming that it was a translation of work by Bartolomeo della Rocca, a fifteenth-century Italian scholar who wrote some of the most popular European physiognomies.[54] With these tactics, Hill and other physiognomers hoped to distinguish their physiognomy from the "fisnamy" that was associated with beggars, vagabonds, and

mountebanks, instead linking physiognomy to philosophy, anatomy, and other more respectable arts.

One of the most respectable versions of forehead-reading came from over the pulpit: the belief, propounded in the Bible, that God would distinguish the saved from the damned through marking their foreheads. This method of forehead-reading did not focus on minute lineaments and wrinkles in the forehead like metoposcopy and physiognomy did, but it did share their focus on the forehead as a privileged textual locus of truth about the body. In this chapter, I consider how the changing early modern English religious landscape used forehead-reading as well as forehead-marking to produce ideal religious, political, and racial subjects, as well as to punish those who threatened the creation of these subjects. But the reliance on reading marked bodies inevitably creates anxieties about deceptive bodies, which I explore in this chapter as I analyze two seventeenth-century religious radicals who were branded in their foreheads with alphabetical letters to mark them as deceivers who endangered white English Christian subjects. The decision to punitively brand the forehead further evokes the book-body: although there were other methods of permanently marking the body, such as tattooing or lashing, branding more closely mimics printing—both methods require pressing skin with a metal letter to create a legible mark. But branding, despite its intent to permanently and clearly mark a book-body so that it cannot deceive, does not necessarily result in a fixed and clear meaning, both because the movable flesh of the forehead has its own agency in reacting to the hot iron, but also because those who were branded could reinterpret the meaning of their own book-bodies. Though a particular letter might narrow down a range of meanings, it could not create fixed meaning. Rather, these branded letters opened up these book-bodies to the creative rereadings, interpretations, and wordplay to which all text is subject.

Hill's *Contemplation* and the Baptism of Jewish Forehead-Reading as a Christian Art

Thomas Hill, like many physiognomers, wanted to elevate the status of his study to avoid its unfavorable association with "fisnamy." Yet despite Hill's desire in *Contemplation of Mankinde* to locate reputable, acceptable origins for physiognomy and metoposcopy, the text's section on forehead-reading almost proudly announces that this art does not have a philosophical or Christian origin at all, but rather a Jewish one. In the second paragraph of the title page, Hill writes of della Rocca (known in the book as "the Physiognomer") learning to read foreheads: "In the place next after the Chapter of the forehead, hath the Physiognomer added a proper treatise of the signification of sundry lines seen in most men's foreheads: which in sundry disputations with a skillful Jew, he at the last obtained." This "skillful Jew" returns again in more detail at the beginning of his sixteenth chapter, "The judgement of certain Lines seen in the forehead":

> The Physiognomer reporteth, that there came unto his understanding and knowledge, a certain skillful Jew, which could by Art Physiognomate and pronounce great matters by the only sight of the face, but especially the forehead: in divining matters past, and to come. He also could utter of riches, honors, and calamities: yea of the fortune and infortune, both of the Father and Mother, and many other matters besides. The same skill when he desired of ye Jew (by earnest suit to learn) he utterly refused, and denied this request of his: so that forced he was to use sundry questions and disputations with him: by which at the length he perceived and found, that this person was wholly ignorant of physiognomy, so well Metaphorical, as of the members, and planets: saving only by certain lines, which at the last through his industry and labor conceived. And in these (saith the Physiognomer) have I found and learned a singular practice, & an infallible or

> most certain truth, which I attained by a long time of practice. So that this worthy jewel, and most rare secret, he purchased after the manner above uttered, not minding to hide the skill, but rather furthering and uttering the same, to the uttermost of his power: which he thought most agreeable, to publish next after this chapter of the forehead, as in a most apt place to ensue. (39v-40r)

After this introductory paragraph, "a certain skillful Jew" entirely disappears from the narrative. Hill includes nearly ten full pages of forehead-reading lesson theories and examples in this section, but nowhere in these pages does he reference "a certain skillful Jew" again, nor are any further details given about this figure or the conversation between him and "the Physiognomer." On the other hand, the figure of "the Physiognomer" is referenced repeatedly throughout *Contemplation*, which comes as no surprise given that the Physiognomer is Hill's name for della Rocca. The Physiognomer's omnipresence is emphasized by the definite article "the" in his epithet, while the Jew, in comparison, is unspecified and anonymized by the indefinite article "a" in "a certain skillful Jew." Aside from the brief mention of the skillful Jew in the title page and the story of the conversation between a skillful Jew and the Physiognomer, this character is entirely absent from the text. A skillful Jew does not appear in any of Hill's other published texts, nor is there any mention of this conversation in della Rocca's own writings about physiognomy, which would seem to be the obvious source of this anecdote if, as Hill claims, his *Contemplation* is a translation of della Rocca.[55]

But if this story does not originate from della Rocca's works, where did it come from? Why include it at all? It is possible that Hill confused this story for a story about another physiognomer, or that this was part of the mythos of della Rocca that was shared about him but not recorded in his works. It is also possible that this was a story of Hill's own invention, or

simply a rumor that Hill embellished and recorded—indeed, Hill's depiction of the skillful Jew closely follows early modern English stereotypes about Jews, not to mention that Hill's lack of information about any other identifying characteristics could reflect the relative unfamiliarity that the English had about actual Jews as a result of their banishment from England centuries earlier.[56]

Indeed, the conversation between the Physiognomer and the skillful Jew reads less like a record of an actual conversation between two historical figures than a propagandistic allegory of Christian evangelism triumphing over Jewish insularity. At times, the conversation evokes the Judeo-Christian dynamic in *The Merchant of Venice*, with the difference that the characters are battling over the knowledge of forehead-reading rather than loaned money. Just as Antonio expects to trade freely with other merchants, the Physiognomer traffics freely in the arts of physiognomy and astrology, assuming that others are just as willing to trade in knowledge as he is willing to trade with them. When a skillful Jew appears with arcane knowledge that doesn't comport with the common schemas of physiognomy and astrology, the Physiognomer is confused by his Shylockian refusal to share openly and liberally with his Christian neighbor. But just when it seems like all is lost and a skillful Jew's knowledge will never be shared, the Physiognomer takes a page out of Portia's book, resorting to trickery and cleverness—"sundry questions and disputations"—to deceive a skillful Jew into giving up this valuable knowledge. In the end, a skillful Jew is a conglomeration of English stereotypes of Jews as secretive, insular, passive, argumentative, miserly, and intelligent to a fault, while the Physiognomer is his Christian opposite—evangelical, charitable, active, and charismatically clever. If, as Hill elsewhere claims in *Contemplation*, physiognomy, forehead-reading, and chiromancy are divine gifts that can aid men in their journey towards divine perfection, then the Physiognomer's choice

to not “hide the skill, but rather furthering and uttering the same, to the uttermost of his power” is on par with the Christian mission to spread the good news of the Gospel and bring salvation to the world.[57]

Hill’s anti-Semitic religious allegory also enables a transfer of ownership, as the origin story appropriates the knowledge of forehead-reading from a Jewish practice to a Christian one. This recasting of forehead reading as a Christian practice was part of a larger push by Christian physiognomers to extricate physiognomy and its related studies from their non-Christian heritage: in the early modern period, physiognomy, palmistry, forehead-reading, and fortune-telling were not only associated with the Jewish Kabbalah, but also with the Romani and witches.[58] In two separate parliamentary acts, one in 1531 and another in 1554, England outlawed physiognomy and its related studies because of their connection with the Romani, who were also expelled from the country in the same parliamentary acts. These acts helped to associate the practice of physiognomical arts with ethnic and religious others. Thus, in publishing his physiognomical books, Hill not only opened himself up to censorship and potential political trouble for ignoring the 1531 and 1554 acts, but he also opened himself up to have his own Christian identity questioned and to be associated with Jews, Romani, and witches. In a prefatory letter to the reader, Hill defends himself from these attacks with a metaphor: “Put a knife into a mad man’s hand, he knoweth not how to use it: but a wise, discrete, and sober man, will never hurt himself wittingly with it” (sig. ¶¶iiiv).[59] The knife metaphor rhetorically positions physiognomy as a neutral art that is only as useful as the person who practices it: physiognomy is not bad because it is practiced by Jews, Romani, and witches; rather, these groups of people are so corrupt that they destroy everything they touch.

If this metaphor invites the reader to trust Hill's physiognomy because he is a "wise, discrete, and sober man," then the story of the Physiognomer and a skillful Jew encourages the reader to go a step further and envision forehead-reading not simply as a neutral art but as a distinctly Christian practice. Hill's emphasis on the Physiognomer tricking a skillful Jew into sharing the knowledge of forehead-reading is not meant to call out the Physiognomer's unscrupulous behavior—according to Hill, it was a skillful Jew's failure to freely share this knowledge that "forced" the Physiognomer into resorting to "sundry questions and disputations"—but rather to break the Physiognomer's association with a skillful Jew: if the Physiognomer can gain knowledge of forehead-reading without befriending a Jew, then surely others can practice forehead-reading without being associated with Jews. By this logic, being a Christian practitioner of forehead-reading should, if anything, denote an animosity towards Jews, who were unwilling to share their knowledge with Christians. Hill further discourages his readers from seeing a skillful Jew as the rightful owner of forehead-reading and a victim of the Physiognomer's trickery through recasting a skillful Jew as an impediment to the spread of knowledge. Because the knowledge of forehead-reading was not given willingly, the Physiognomer's trickery is justified. Through his clever "questions and disputations," the Physiognomer replaces the skillful Jew as the new father of forehead-reading knowledge.[60] Hill's story of this conversation rhetorically whitewashes—or, more aptly, baptizes—the Jewish origin of forehead-reading and reaffirms the supremacy of Christianity. In this act of appropriation, Hill can simultaneously benefit from the thrill of "exotic" and "forbidden" Jewish practices, while still fully practicing English anti-Semitism.

John Traske, the Judaized Puritan

Hill's effort to cleanse forehead-reading of its Jewish origins and baptize it as a Christian practice was at least successful enough to keep his physiognomical works from censorship and himself from legal troubles that might have otherwise resulted from breaking the anti-physiognomy laws of 1531 and 1554. Not only did Hill avoid punishment, but his *Contemplation of Mankind* was also popular enough to be reprinted posthumously in 1613 under the title *A Pleasant History: Declaring the Whole Art of Physiognomy*, complete with the section on forehead-reading and the same story of a skillful Jew. Furthermore, the person who printed *A Pleasant History* was none other than William Jaggard, the recently appointed printer to the City of London, who at the same time was issuing reprints of popular works like Sir Francis Bacon's *Essays* (two of the three editions of the *Essays* were printed in 1612 and 1613).

But Hill's successes with reappropriating forehead-reading for a Christian audience did not necessarily grant the same immunity to anyone else who practiced it. In 1618, just a few years after the printing of *A Pleasant History*, a Puritan clergyman named John Traske was accused of forsaking Christianity and becoming a Jew. Part of the evidence used to accuse him were rumors that he was reading the foreheads of his followers. Traske had already had a few run-ins with the law in 1614 and 1615 for itinerant, unlicensed preaching. Around 1617, he had moved to London where he and his small band of followers suddenly swung from Puritanism to an "almost orthodox Judaism" under the influence of Hamlet Jackson, a local tailor who had befriended Traske and joined him in worship (Phillips 65). Together with Jackson, Traske reportedly "did publicly profess and teach that the law of Moses concerning the differences of meats forbidden the eating of Hog's Flesh, Conies, etc., is at this day to be observed and kept, and that the seventh day which we call Saturday is the Lord's Sabbath and ought to be kept for

the sabbath at this day" ("Trask in the Star-Chamber, 1619" 8-9). Traske's real mistake, however, was to send a series of aggressive letters to James I, attempting to convert the king. He was quickly arrested. Once in custody, his accusers wasted no time in skewering him for his odd mix of Puritanism and Judaism, claiming that he was "a very Christened Jew" (Andrewes 91) and "a Judaizer or half Jew" (Harris 47).

It was in the midst of these accusations that the rumors arose of Traske's forehead-reading and physiognomizing. In a short tract entitled *A Brief Refutation of John Traske's Judaical and Novel Fancies* (1618), John Falconer, a Jesuit priest who may have become acquainted with Traske in prison,[61] wrote that, "Yea he [Traske] is able, as I have heard, by Physiognomy, to make certain guesses whether particular persons shall be damned or saved" (7). Another mention of Traske's forehead-reading occurs in a 1619 commentary on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians by Puritan clergyman William Sclater. In his exegesis on verse 4 of chapter 1—"Knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God"—Sclater warns his readers of Traske's questionable claims to read others' election:

> The question here falls in, whether one may know the election of another. There is, I understand, a new Paraclete lately dropt out of heaven, able by inspection to discern and reveal to any man, his election: that reads in a man's forehead election written, in as fair Characters, as that inscription on the high Priest's forehead, Holiness to the Lord. (15)

Sclater sarcastically refers to Traske as a "Paraclete," a biblical term most often used to refer to the Holy Ghost or other divine, infallible beings.[62] He again employs sarcasm when suggesting that Traske can read election in "as fair Characters, as that inscription on the high Priest's

forehead, Holiness to the Lord.” The reference here is to the signet of the high priest, Aaron, in Exodus 28:36-38,

> 36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.
>
> 37 And thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the mitre; upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be.
>
> 38 And it shall be upon Aaron’s forehead, that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the Lord.

The fact that these “fair Characters” are engraved on Aaron’s signet and placed upon his forehead shows a desire for maximum visibility and exposure, which is particularly significant given the emphasis on secrecy and impeding visibility in most of the Lord’s other directives about the tabernacle. But in Sclater’s hands, this allusion to a rare moment of extreme visibility becomes sarcastic hyperbole, again reminding his readers that Traske’s claims are so outrageous and ridiculous that they can only be laughed at.

To be clear, claims that Traske could read foreheads for signs of election and salvation only show up in his detractors’ writings, not his own—the works he published maintained that the elect could infallibly identify the elect, but did not specify whether reading the forehead was part of this process of identification.[63] It could have been that Traske did indeed profess to be a forehead-reader, but that he either did not record these claims or that his own records of these claims did not survive. It could also be that these were rumors that sprung up in response to Traske’s teachings that the elect could identify each other, teachings that threatened the established ecclesiastical hierarchy as they paved the way for Traske and his followers to identify

each other as elect. Regardless of its historicity, the fact that a Jesuit priest and a Puritan clergyman reported on the same rumor suggests that the story of Traske's forehead-reading had spread throughout the religious community, and that forehead-reading was still considered a dangerous practice that needed to be exposed.

Sclater and Falconer relied on two primary critiques to prove that Traske's forehead-reading was dangerous. The first critique was that of authority: by what power could a simple clergyman claim to access knowledge of others' salvation or election? Falconer dismisses this idea out of hand, characterizing Traske's ability to identify the saved and the damned as the far less glamorous "mak[ing] certain guesses."[64] Furthermore, he includes Traske's physiognomizing in a long catalog of actions that, when linked together, are seen as too outrageous to merit any real rebuttal: Traske claims to have no need for repentance, prays with his followers so loudly that they can be heard from distant houses, disrespects the Lord's Sabbath, invents false revelations, lies about his religious education, says he is fasting while his cheeks are full of food, and so on.[65] Sclater, for his part, appears to have found Traske's claims equally ridiculous, but engages with them at greater length as part of his commentary on 1 Thessalonians 1:4 and the question "whether one may know the election of another." Sclater distinguishes between two ways of discerning another's election: charitable election, which Sclater defines as a conjectural practice that relies upon gathering "outward evidences" of righteousness and can sometimes be incorrect, and infallible election, which is certain knowledge of election "wherein a man cannot be deceived" (16). He argues that the election that the apostle Paul speaks of in verse 4 is charitable election, as Paul is simply acknowledging and praising the righteousness he sees in the Thessalonian congregation. But, Sclater contends, Traske's argument is different: "Of whether sort was Pauls' judgement here professed? Of infallibility,

saith the upstart Prophet Traske; and thence is his collection: That one may know another's election, or that one that is the Child of God, may infallibly know the regeneration of another[...]" (17). Though Sclater does not dismiss the idea of infallible election—indeed, he later argues that it can occur in cases of "extraordinary revelation"—in Traske's case, it is only a sign of weakness, wickedness, and delusion (26).

Sclater and Falconer's second critique of Traske's forehead-reading is its ties to Judaism. Their mockery of forehead-reading does not characterize forehead-reading as entirely Jewish, but rather as a blasphemous, nonsensical mixture of pseudo-Judaism and Puritanical heresy—just as they see Traske himself. Traske may utilize a practice associated with Jews, but he does so in order to read election, salvation, and damnation, which are Christian doctrines.[66] This is evident in Sclater's report, in which he compares Traske's forehead-reading to reading the signet of the ancient Jewish high priest: "[Traske] reads in a man's forehead election written, in as fair Characters, as that inscription on the high Priest's forehead, Holiness to the Lord" (15). He further characterizes Traske as a "Fanatical Judaical Author" (26), elsewhere criticizing his method for choosing which Jewish practices to adopt and which Christian customs to keep: "this Judas lying Rabbin is become so curious, that he can revive the old ceremonial prohibition against eating Swine's flesh, and yet so cautious for his own skin, that he, though an Hog-hater, yet is no lover of Circumcision" (20). Falconer also skewers Traske's unique combination of Judaism and radical Puritanism, beginning with the title of his tract—*A Brief Refutation of John Traske's Judaical and Novel Fancies*—and continuing through his work, referring to Traske as "a Puritan minister lately grown half a Jew" (sig A2), "a Fool, if not a Pharisee" (10), and a man with a "humor of Judaism & Heretical innovation" (57). Falconer's reference to Traske's

physiognomizing continues in this same vein, as it is included in a long catalog of actions that are part Jewish, part pseudo-Jewish, part Christian, and wholly heretical.

Falconer's bold attack on Traske seems particularly ill-advised given that Falconer's Jesuitism was no more palatable to the Church of England than Traske's radical Puritanism. Indeed, in the same year that his *Brief Refutation* was published, Falconer's name appeared on a list of Jesuits banished from England (Foley 510).[67] It is doubtful that his exposé of Traske had any influence on his banishment, yet it was certainly ill-advised for him to attack Traske's unsanctioned Christianity when he himself was attempting to turn the English away from their state-sanctioned religion. What explains Falconer's motivation to potentially imperil himself is his use of the well-known—and royally-encouraged—trope of the Judaized Puritan. The practice of stigmatizing Puritans as Jews was an important part of James's culture war against the Puritans, who were a constant thorn in his side.[68] The Judaized Puritan was imagined as a hybrid whose monstrosity exceeds the excesses of the blasphemous religions he blends together. This fear of monstrous hybridization can be seen in Falconer's attack on Traske, whose mixture of Puritanism and Judaism is characterized as "Novel Fancies" and "heretical innovation." The danger of the Judaized Puritan is not simply a slow slide into Judaism, but also a growth of new blasphemies arising from the mixture of two religions.

This fear of new, hybridized blasphemies is realized in Ben Jonson's stage Puritan, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Zeal-of-the-Land Busy—also referred to as "Rabbi Busy" by other characters—is skewered for his overwrought scriptural interpretations and contorted logic that conveniently allow him to justify his own actions and desires while condemning those same actions and desires in others.[69] According to Nicholas McDowell, Busy's mixture of meticulous legalism and canting hypocrisy fits both anti-Semitic and anti-

Puritan stereotypes, strengthening the association between Puritans and Jews and presenting it for a popular audience. The antiquarian John Aubrey wrote in his brief biography of Jonson that this acrid portrayal of Puritanism had royal approval, if not direct royal encouragement: “King James made him [Jonson] write against the Puritans, who began to be troublesome in his time” (14). Indeed, the “Prologue to the King’s Majesty,” written especially for a performance of *Bartholomew Fair* before the king at court, immediately directs James’s attention to the play’s satirizing of Puritans:

> Your Majesty is welcome to a Fair;
> Such place, such men, such language, and such ware,
> You must expect with these the zealous noise
> Of your land’s faction, scandalized at toys,
> As babies, hobbyhorses, puppet plays,
> And suchlike rage, whereof the petulant ways
> Yourself have known and have been vexed with long. (Jonson ll. 1-7)

Bartholomew Fair is well known for satirizing people of all classes, religions, and ways of life, but it is clear from this prologue that Jonson went out of his way to emphasize its mockery of Puritans when the play was performed before the king. His reference to “the zealous noise” puns on Zeal-of-the-Land Busy’s name, emphasizing Busy as the archetypal stage Puritan, a stereotype that Jonson expanded to incorporate anti-Semitic stereotypes as well.

If Zeal-of-the-Land Busy spread the idea of the Judaized Puritan to a popular audience, then John Traske presented James and his supporters with the opportunity to transform the Judaized Puritan from a fictional bugbear to a legitimate national security threat.[70] And it couldn’t have come at a better time. Traske’s imprisonment in late 1617 coincided with the

controversy over the *Book of Sports*, in which a regional dispute between Puritans and the mostly Anglican and Catholic gentry in Lancashire grew to be a referendum on English religion, cultural identity, and monarchical authority. James wrote the *Book of Sports* in 1617 to rebuke the Lancashire Puritans who had outlawed certain Sunday activities in their county, but in May of 1618 he issued the *Book of Sports* as a national decree. Leah S. Marcus argues that at least as early as 1614, James "identif[ied] the exercise of his royal autonomy with the promotion of traditional pastimes" (4-5). In this way, the *Book of Sports* constructed Sunday as a politicized *chronos* in which one's actions demonstrated either support or betrayal of English religion, culture, and monarchy: "James's aggressive preface and postscript […] identified strict Sunday observance with Puritanism, Puritanism with non-conformity to the established Church, and non-conformity with seditious behaviour towards monarch and state" (McDowell 359).

But the *Book of Sports* did not unite the English against the Puritan spectre. Rather, it polarized the country even further. This is why, McDowell argues, Traske was punished so harshly and publicly in June 1618, just a month after the *Book of Sports* was extended nationally. Puritans had attacked James's support of Sunday sports like Whitsun-ales and morris dances as a monstrous hybrid of paganism and Christianity; in Traske, James found an opportunity to characterize Puritans and their opposition to the *Book of Sports* as a monstrous hybrid of Judaism and Christianity.[71] Traske's blasphemies supplied the missing link that "proved" that radical Puritanism could, in fact, lead to Judaism. This made the work of delegitimizing other Puritans even easier, as James and his supporters only had to associate them with Traskites to invoke a slew of both anti-Puritan and anti-Semitic stereotypes.

Life imitates art. Jonson's Zeal-of-the-Land-Busy was a useful fictional prototype for building the trope of the Judaized Puritan that would later be used to denigrate John Traske.

Likewise, Justice Overdo's proposed punishment of Busy—"It is time to take enormity by the forehead and brand it, for I have discovered enough" (5.5.124-25)—appears to have proven useful for Traske's adjudicators. On June 19th, 1618, the Star-Chamber condemned Traske to be

> committed to the prison of the Fleet [...] degraded [...] whipped from the prison of the Fleet to the Palace of Westminster with a paper on his head inscribed with these words, For writing presumptuous letters to the King, wherein he much slandered his Majesty, And for slandering the proceedings of the lord Bishops in the high Commission, And for maintaining Jewish opinions, And then to be set on the Pillory and to have one of his ears nailed to the Pillory, and after he hath stood there some convenient time, to be burnt in the forehead with the letter J: in token that he broached Jewish opinions, And also that the said Traske shall also be whipped from the Fleet into the Cheapside with the like paper on his head and be set in the Pillory and have his other Ear nailed thereunto, And lastly that the said Traske shall pay a Fine of one Thousand pounds to his Majesty's use. ("Traske in the Star-Chamber" 11)

Many of these punishments were common sentences: imprisonment in the Fleet, whipping, a monetary fine, and having one's ears nailed to the pillory are not surprising to anyone familiar with criminal penalties in early seventeenth-century England. In contrast, forehead branding was a very rare sentence prior to Traske's trial—though it did seem to become marginally more common in England in the rest of the seventeenth century, perhaps as echoes of Traske's very public punishment.[72]

The rarity of forehead branding as a criminal punishment suggests that the Star Chamber innovated this punishment especially for Traske, or at least especially for the public image that

they were attempting to make of him as a Judaized Puritan. Traske's forehead branding was a symbolic act designed to send a message to the crown's Puritan critics: if Puritans continued to affront James, they ran the risk of being permanently and hypervisibly branded—not just as religiously deviant, which could be considered an honor, but branded as Judaizers who "broached Jewish opinions."

The lack of historical precedent for forehead branding as a criminal punishment in England also suggests that the Star Chamber might have looked to literary sources for their inspiration, as there were many literary references to forehead branding (metaphorical or otherwise) that they could have drawn on. The first, as mentioned earlier, is Justice Overdo's proposed punishment of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy. Notable, *Bartholomew Fair* was performed at court for the king the day after the play opened, implying that the crown had special interest in the play. Traske's punishment less than four years later could have been at least partially inspired by the desire to finally enforce a punishment for troublesome Puritans that Justice Overdo could propose but could not carry out.

Another precedent for branding Traske's forehead reveals the Star Chamber's obsession with control and legibility. As is clear from the Star Chamber's sentence, the mark in Traske's forehead was not simply a generic mark indicating punishment, it was a specific letter—"J"—that functioned as a permanent "token" of his "Jewish opinions." The pressure to select a punishment that not only matched the crime but also *signified* it is nowhere clearer than in Lancelot Andrewes's speech against Traske in the Star Chamber. In this speech, Andrewes, who was a Privy Councillor, Bishop of Ely, one of the chief compilers of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and the soon-to-be Bishop of Winchester, refutes Traske's abstention from unclean meats by paraphrasing 1 Timothy 4: 1-5,[73] a section of verses about identifying false prophets:

> But for us in these latter times the Apostle saith plainly, There shall come some such as shall teach to abstain from meats as unlawful, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by them that believe and know the truth: and then adds for his reason, for every creature is good, and none to be refused.
>
> But those that thus shall teach, he brandeth with five evil marks. 1. That they shall be apostates, or depart from the faith. 2. That, led by spirits of error. 3. That (the devil's doctors they be) preach the doctrine of devils. 4. That, lying hypocrites they be, teach lies in hypocrisy. 5. That, what part soever else they have not, they have their consciences seared with a hot iron. (89)

Andrewes makes two important changes to the original verses: first, he rearranges the order so that the "consciences seared with a hot iron" is the final item in the list; second, he makes the brief reference to branding—"consciences seared with a hot iron"—into an extended metaphor, characterizing the five signs of false prophets as "marks" that God has "brande[d]" them with. These seemingly small amendments radically change the rhetoric of the passage, taking a short reference to branding and transforming it into the unifying logic of these verses.

Though there is no explicit, causal link between Andrewes' paraphrase of 1 Timothy 4:1-5 and the branding of Traske's forehead, Andrewes' rhetorical amendments to these verses invited his auditors to consider branding as God's chosen method of marking the wicked. Andrewes' speech might also explain why the brand was placed on the forehead: a "J" on Traske's hand, for example, could just as easily signified that he "broached Jewish opinions," but what it could not signify was that he had his "*conscience* […] seared with a hot iron" (italics mine). If the Star Chamber wanted to explicitly mark Traske as one of the false prophets that Timothy warned of, then they must brand him on the external part of his body that corresponded

with his internal conscience: the forehead. Through branding Traske's forehead as an external sign of his internally seared conscience, the Star Chamber could position themselves as instruments of the Lord, using God's own chosen method to warn others away from Traske's blasphemies. Echoing the Whore of Babylon and those with the mark of the beast in Revelation, the Star Chamber marked Traske's forehead to serve as an indisputable, permanent sign of his sins.

A third and far more personal precedent for the Star Chamber's forehead branding was the rumor that Traske claimed to be able to read others' foreheads. As discussed earlier, this rumor was mentioned both in Sclater's *Exposition* and Falconer's *A Brief Refutation*.[74] The fact that similar rumors of forehead-reading appear in two disparate publications suggests that there was a relatively widespread rumor of Traske's forehead-reading prior to his sentencing, perhaps widespread enough to have reached the ears of the Star Chamber. [75] If members of the Star Chamber had heard of the forehead-reading rumor prior to sentencing Traske, then their choice to brand him on the forehead is not only personalized but also cruelly ironic, embodying the retributive justice that the Star Chamber was infamous for. Regardless of whether Traske was actually reading foreheads, the fact that people believed he was doing so threatened the doctrinal authority of the Church of England, which taught that only God could know one's salvation or damnation. By branding his forehead, the Star Chamber removed Traske from the position of divine metoposcoper and forced him into the position of the passive book-body.[76] In this reversal of power, Traske's forehead becomes a hypervisual text that anyone, regardless of religious training or educational status, can read; in exchange for controlling the spiritual destinies of others, Traske is punished with a body whose legibility is out of his control.[77]

The “J” that was branded into Traske’s forehead in late June of 1618 was certainly permanent, but its meaning was not indisputable. Having one’s forehead scarred by a hot iron was a clear mark of punishment in early modern England, but the “J” in Traske’s forehead, signifying “Jewish opinions,” was not immune from the slippages that occur between all signifiers and signifieds. The possibility for Traske to reframe and reinterpret the “J” shaped scar on his forehead—which, as we will address soon, he did with great creativity—was foreshadowed by his own detractors’ puns and language play. Despite the fact that they wanted an indisputable, slippage-free link between his marked body and the criminal sentence it signified, even they could not help but engage in language play with the multiple meanings of Traske’s body. Henry Bourgchier, a young courtier who was present in the Star Chamber during the sentencing, recorded that Traske was sentenced “to stand on the pillory, with his ears nailed, and branded in the forehead, that so he that was schismaticus might also be stigmaticus, it was the Lord Chancellor’s phrase” (359). In this phrasing, Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon took advantage of the shared Latinate declensions and the quasi-homophony of “schismaticus” and “stigmaticus” to make the act of branding Traske into a linguistically playful task. This linguistic playfulness had serious rhetorical purpose: first, it brought another kind of pleasure to the act of punishing Traske; second, through describing religious dissent and punitive branding in Latinate terms that were linguistically and aurally similar, Bacon diminished the conceptual differences between religious schism and bodily stigmas, making punitive branding appear as the logical outcome of religious dissent. Bacon’s wordplay justified Traske’s forehead-branding as a case of poetic justice in which the pun-ishment fit the crime.

Bacon’s play on “schismaticus” and “stigmaticus” might have also influenced William Sclater’s account of Traske’s blasphemies and punishment. In his commentary on 1

Thessalonians 1:4, Sclater frets about the schisms and disagreements amongst Church of England reformers, worrying that their internal differences create bad optics for other Christians to mock. After unleashing a slew of abuses against Traske and his followers, he claims that "Besides, I hear, that even of such parties amongst us, Papists have taken notice so far, as by them to make our Church odious through multiplicity of Sects: the trash of the Traskites is cast as dung into the face of our Church that never yet took notice of their Fanatical Judaical Author, except* condignly to punish him" (26). The asterisk after "except" links the reader to a marginal note: "This insolent Sectary hath lately (since the writing this Treatise) received, for his outrageous behavior, public stigmatical punishment." Sclater's focus on Traske's sectarianism and the "condign" "stigmatical punishment" echoes Bacon's schimaticus-to-stigmaticus rhetoric, but Sclater also adds his own wordplay, punning on the similarity between "Traske" and "trash." His wordplay follows the same logic as Bacon's wordplay: through changing a couple letters in one word, Sclater makes a different-but-related word that both justifies Traske's punishment and brings a kind of linguistic pleasure to carrying out that punishment. If Traske and his followers are trash "cast as dung into the face of our Church," then it is fitting and condign to transfer the stigma from the Church's face to Traske's face.

It didn't take long for Traske himself to join in on this wordplay. Soon after his release from prison, Traske published *A Treatise of Liberty from Judaism* (1620), in which he acknowledged his religious failings but took the liberty of reframing them in a far more generous light. Unlike Sclater and Bacon, who freely punned on Traske's body while illogically demanding no slippage between the signifier "J" and the signified "Jewish opinions," Traske did not limit his language play. Rewriting Andrewes' and Sclater's biblical readings of his body, Traske reclaimed his forehead stigma with other, more positive, biblical interpretations:

> If a Leper was to shew himself to the Priest, and such as were full of uncured Blains and Sores, to shew themselves to the High Priest: why should I be afraid to present myself in my Scars to the Guides and Governors of this Church, for the glorifying of that grace which purged my Corruptions, and healed my Sores? […] there is nothing so covered that shall not be revealed, nor hidden that shall not be known. Neither shall hidden things of darkness, lurk always in secret. The Lord will come, and all men's sins shall be laid open. (sig. ¶4)

The first half of this passage is a reference to the story of Jesus healing the ten lepers in Luke 17:11-19, while the second contains an almost word-for-word quotation of Luke 12:2: "For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known."[78] Appealing to the Gospel of Luke—an apt selection, as Luke was known as a physician and healer—Traske invites his readers to see his "Scars" as evidence of the miracle of grace that "purged [his] Corruptions, and healed [his] Sores." Traske does not refer directly to his forehead branding scars or having his ears nailed to the pillory, but his graphic description of "uncured Blains and Sores," a description that seems to be his own inventions as it does not appear in the original verses, invites his reader to move past the realm of spiritual or symbolic scars and consider the thickened, wrinkled, discolored scar tissue that links his physical body with those of the ten lepers.

Traske's invocation of his physical flesh transforms his own scar from a mark of punishment to a sign of the miracle of grace, just as the ten lepers were transformed from outcasts to witnesses of Christ's healing power. By connecting the story of the ten lepers to Luke 12:2, he suggests that all men have secret sins that must be laid open to be healed. According to this interpretation, publicizing one's failings is the first step of being healed: if the lepers had not

called out to Jesus to make their leprosy known to him, they could not have been cleansed. In this way, the hypervisual nature of Traske's brand signifies a completed process of grace and repentance; Traske's sins were revealed so that Christ could forgive and heal him. His forehead scar is evidence of this healing process, a gospel to those whose sins are still hidden and unhealed, a symbol that we must all "be willing to acknowledge own our [sic] deformities" (sig. A1). If only, Traske seems to be inviting his readers, we could all bring our sins into the harsh light of day so that we could be forgiven and healed, our bodies marked as physical witnesses of Christ's grace.

But Traske doesn't leave off his language play on the level of biblical exegesis; he follows Sclater and Bacon by also punning on individual letters and their significations. As he reframes his forehead scar as a sign of the healing process rather than a sign of punishment, Traske also gives his readers many other words, besides "Judaism" or "Jewish opinions," that his "J" shaped scar could signify, such as "joyfully," "judicious," "judgement," and "just" (sig. ¶3-sig. A2). He also refers to his savior Jesus Christ, his king, James I, and then signs his name: John Traske (sig. ¶3-sig. A2). Traske never directly asks his readers to reinterpret his "J" to signify any of these other words, yet this preponderance of words beginning with "J," joined with his reinterpretation of his scar as a mark of healing, not punishment, serves as a reminder that the letter "J" can have hundreds of potential significations.

But even opening up the potential signification of Traske's forehead scar to all words that begin with "J" is not enough. A brief foray into early modern English typography and orthography shows that before the 1630s, English printed texts generally did not distinguish between the letters J/j and I/i.[79] Indeed, the printed texts reporting on Traske's blasphemies, trial, punishment, and death refer to "Iohn Traske" and his "Iudaizing" and "Iudaicall notions."[80]

Thus, Traske's references in the first pages of *A Treatise of Liberty from Iudaism* to "industry," "Israelites," the "indulgent" Church, his experiences of being "instructed" and imbraced"—even his references to himself as "I"—join "ioyfully," "iudicious," "iudgement," and "iust," as equally likely to be signified by his scar (sig. ¶3-sig. A2). From one standpoint, the ever-expanding potential signifieds devolve into near-meaninglessness: if Traske's scar can signify any word beginning with a "J" or "I"—literally thousands upon thousands of potential meanings—then can it be said to have any meaning at all? Yet Traske shies away from this argument: he does not want to portray his scarred body as meaningless, but rather as having different meanings than the one imposed by the Star Chamber. He utilizes the endless potential meanings of his forehead scar as evidence of the new life and new meaning he has gained through his repentance and forgiveness. Joined together with his reinterpretations of his scar as a sign of Christ's grace, these ever-multiplying signifieds become a testament to Christ's transformative power. Despite the fact that previous rumors of Traske's forehead-reading were used to cast him as a Jew, Traske here reads his own forehead both to prove his own Christianity and to Christianize the practice of forehead-reading. Just as Hill's Physiognomer appropriated forehead-reading from a certain skillful Jew, the repentant and transformed Christian Traske reclaims forehead-reading from the Judaized Traske.

Traske continued to reinterpret his scar in the years after his branding. In 1636, in response to accusations made against him by one Edward Norice (or Norris), a Puritan minister, Traske published *The True Gospel Vindicated, from the Reproach of a New Gospel*, in which he claimed that his branding was only marginally connected to Jewish practices or opinions. Instead, he argued, he was branded for sending letters to James containing passages that were interpreted as accusing the king of hypocrisy: "If thou know these things, happy thou if thou do

them, To the doers run the Promise; Not the boasters of the Law, but the doers thereof shall be justified" (sig. A11). According to Traske, "[t]his was interpreted by the Attorney General, as if His Majesty had been taxed with Hypocrisy in those words, and it was the only Judaism he suffered for" (sig. A11). Here, Traske takes advantage of the early modern anti-Semitic stereotype of Jews as hypocrites, apparently claiming that he was branded as a Jew only because it was a more insulting and punitive synonym for hypocrite.[81]

Perhaps Traske was emboldened by the temporal distance between himself and his punishment, as this claim was one of his most radical reinterpretations of his branding. In response to these bold claims, Edward Norice published *The New Gospel, Not the True Gospel* (1638) in which he reaffirmed Traske's punishment for Judaism:

> he was stigmatized with the letter I, in the forehead for a Iew which he bare to his last: so that, it is marvelous the man should or could be so shameless, as utterly to deny (and that in print) that he was ever at all censured in that Court for Iudaism or any such errors; unless the Lord did so far leave him to himself, to discover thereby his impudency, that in his other Assertions and protestations, he might not be trusted; for who that's wise, will believe or trust such a one, as hath a heart and a forehead, deliberately to deny that (in terminis) that he well knew himself to be known in all the land, and to be recorded against him? (4-5)

Traske did not respond to Norice's attempt to set the record straight: he had died in 1636, soon after publishing *The True Gospel Vindicated*. Given his increasingly audacious reinterpretations of his scar and his punishment, it seems likely that if he had lived, he would have fired back against Norice.

Yet if Norice had hoped his publication would rebuke Traske's attempts to reinterpret his scar and permanently reestablish the "I" in Traske's forehead as only signifying "Iew" and nothing else, he was disappointed. Even Norice himself could not refrain from playing on the scar's signification and adding new meanings. Musing on Traske's wickedness, he considers whether "the Lord did so far leave him to himself, to discover thereby his impudency." If, as Norice's orthography implies, he did not distinguish between "J/j" and "I/i," then "impudency" serves as another reinterpretation of Traske's scar. In this reinterpretation, Traske's scar is a way "to discover" Traske's internal emotional state of "impudency," an emotion often associated with foreheads and even used as a synonym for "forehead" in the early modern period.[82] Despite his intent to restore Traske's scar to its original, intended signification, through imagining the scar as a discovery of Traske's impudency, Norice continues the wordplay on and reinterpretation of Traske's book-body.[83] Branding a body with a letter could not decree a singular signification of that body like the Star Chamber had hoped; as Bacon, Sclater, Traske, and Norice have shown, it only transformed that body into a legible text, a text that, like all language, was subject to readers' desires for punning, wordplay, and reinterpretation. In the case of Traske's book-body, the straightforward logic of "burnt in the forehead with the letter J: in token that he broached Jewish opinions" was received only as a foundation upon which to begin playing with the text. While Traske was punished for reinterpreting and transgressing the doctrinal boundaries of Christianity, his readers reveled in the pleasure of pushing the signification of his book-body to its limits and then pleasurably transgressing those limits.

Pressing the Parchment, Branding the Flesh, and the Agency of Movable Skin

In all this discussion of typography and orthography, signifiers and signifieds, what remains unclear is what Traske's forehead scar might have actually looked like. In multiple accounts, Traske's punishment is reported as being branded in the forehead with an "I" in token of his "Iewish opinions," but I have not been able to find any written or visual record describing how the scar appeared *after* the punishment—the accounts that comment on Traske's forehead were either written before the punishment or they do not give any details about the physical scar itself. The physical appearance of Traske's scar depends on numerous factors: what was the size and typeface of the brand used to mark Traske's forehead? What was the method of branding? Was Traske given anything to help heal his wound? How long did it take for his wound to scar over? Did his wound suffer from complications common to burns, such as hypertrophic scarring, keloids, hyperpigmentation, hypopigmentation, restricted movement, nerve damage, or infection? Once his branded forehead finally scarred over, was the scar still recognizable as an "I"? These unsettling questions return us to the realm of the physical, reminding us that when Traske and his detractors pun on his marked book-body, they are punning on damaged, scarred flesh.

The striking of skin with a brand in order to produce a permanent mark is perhaps the most literal and spectacularly violent method of making a body into a printed text.[84] If we imagine human skin as a kind of parchment—as it appears that the English penal system viewed the skins of Traske and of other branded criminals—then the branding iron functions as a movable type. The pressing of the branding iron onto the surface of the skin parallels the pressing of the inked forme against the surface of parchment or paper. Though there was no ink on the branding iron, the etymological origins of "print" emphasize the importance of pressing,

not ink, in defining print: “print” comes from the Old French “priente,” which is defined as an “impression or imprint made by the impact of a seal or stamp” (*OED Online*). The heat of the branding iron and the ink on the forme create different marks, but they are both performed through the impact of imprinting metal type onto skin. Pressing the flesh, imprinting a mark: these technologies exert power over skin, attempting to control the meaning legible in that skin.

Yet the effectiveness of this control is questionable. The process of treating animal skins to make them into print material is a process of retaining the skin’s favorable qualities, such as the raised surface for the ink that is formed when the parchment’s collagen melts slightly as it comes into contact with the water from iron gall ink, while minimizing the skin’s unfavorable qualities, such as its propensity to tear and crack. These qualities remind the printer of the liveliness of this material, that even when separated from the animal it once covered, the parchment has its own agency in response to being imprinted and bound. The clasps fastened to the boards of parchment books are evidence of skin agency: the clasps press the parchment sheets between the boards, attempting to keep the parchment from buckling and moving in response to humidity. If the clasps are unsuccessful, the buckling parchment will move the book boards apart, making it near impossible for the book to close flat. Even after the animal’s death, the movable skin of the animal remains movable, retaining a kind of agency that the printer and binder can respond to, but cannot ultimately control. The agency of movable skin: a book whose pages open themselves.

As a kind of untreated parchment, Traske’s forehead skin also had its own agency. His punishers could not use book clasps to keep his movable skin from moving, but they had their own methods to restrain: not only was Traske locked in a pillory to keep him as still as possible during the branding, but he was also imprisoned afterwards. Furthermore, they could control the

iron brand and branding method used, as well as Traske's access to healing aids—if any—during his imprisonment.[85] And yet, just as printers and binders could only predict and respond to the agency of movable skin, Traske's punishers could only control so much, and neither they nor Traske himself could fully control how his movable skin healed itself in response to the brand. Branding the forehead irreversibly damages the movable skin and impedes its ability to move, wrinkle, and signify for itself, but it is the skin's process of healing that ultimately determines the scar made legible in the flesh.

"A Sign and a Wonder Thou Hast Made Me": James Nayler, the Quaker Messiah

The incomplete historical record leaves us to speculate about the details of Traske's punishment, wound, healing, and scar. But other high-profile forehead-brandings have left more of a trace. In the case of James Nayler, one of the early leaders of the Quakers who was punished for blasphemy, the historical record seems obsessed with the spectacle of his branding and his post-branding body. Like Traske, Nayler was a religious radical whose reformist activities caught the eye—and the distaste—of the government. Born in the same year that Traske was branded, Nayler had begun to preach publicly while he served as a soldier in the Parliamentarian army from 1642 to 1650.[86] In an interrogation from 1652, Nayler claimed that he left his family and farm to become an itinerant preacher after he experienced a divine calling to preach: "I was at the plow, meditating on the things of God, and suddenly I heard a voice saying unto me: 'Get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house'" (Fox et al 30). His gift for preaching, combined with a distaste for organized religion, led Nayler to become an increasingly important figure in the burgeoning Society of Friends, later known as Quakers.

As an itinerant preacher, Nayler infuriated the established, more traditional clergymen whose parishes he visited. Along with George Fox, the leader of the Quaker movement, Nayler and his travelling Quaker associates interrupted church services with their own preaching, critiqued clergymen as "hireling priests" for accepting benefices and tithes, and drew parishioners away from brick-and-mortar churches by hosting their own open-air services with no requests for payment (qtd. in Damrosch, "James Nayler"). As a result of these disruptions, local clergymen complained to their magistrates, urging them to imprison the Quakers for blasphemy. Fox, Nayler, and their companions were often arrested, brought to court, or briefly imprisoned. Yet although the law had effectively stopped the spread of other radical religious groups such as the Ranters, Levellers, Socinians, and Diggers, the Quakers were protected by a powerful ally: one of their founding members, Margaret Fell, was a gentlewoman married to the judge Thomas Fell. While Judge Fell never joined the Quakers, he and Margaret Fell often intervened when Fox, Nayler, and other Quakers experienced legal problems. The Quakers' penchant for aggravating local clergy, combined with Judge Fell's ability to protect them from the law, resulted in a deluge of anti-Quaker literature. Despite the Quaker belief in the primacy of the extemporaneous spoken word, which resulted in a hesitancy to record their beliefs in the written word lest they became lifeless and rote, it was clear that the Quakers needed to defend themselves against these inflammatory attacks. Nayler wrote many of these rebuttals, his eloquent responses further increasing his fame.

When Nayler arrived to proselytize in London in 1655, he was one of the most prominent Quaker leaders, second only to George Fox. His charismatic preaching and success in doctrinal debates won him the loyalty of a group of women—women had considerably more power and influence in the Quaker religion—led by Martha Simmonds, the wife and sister of Quaker

printers. As Nayler began attracting his own followers within the Quaker community (followers who spoke of Nayler as a prophet or a messianic figure), he became a threat both to Quaker anti-hierarchical teachings and to *de facto* Quaker leaders, such as George Fox. If that weren't enough, Simmonds and the other women hijacked Quaker tactics of interrupting services against the Quakers themselves in order to campaign for Nayler's primacy. Convinced that Nayler was being misled and influenced by these women, in July 1656, other Quakers attempted to break the women's hold on him by taking him to Bristol and then Launceston, where Fox had been imprisoned for some months. Before he could get to Launceston, Nayler was imprisoned in Exeter. When Fox was released in September, he visited Nayler in prison and attempted to bring Nayler back in line. Nayler refused; they did not part as friends.

Soon after this meeting, Martha Simmonds secured the release of Nayler and his associates from the Exeter jail. A few days later, on October 24th, 1656, Nayler, Simmonds, two other women, and four other men travelled to Bristol, entering the city in a fashion that closely imitated Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday: Nayler rode on a horse while his followers cast garments in front of him and sang "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of the Sabbaoth" (Deacon 1-2). Despite the rainy weather that day, they did not wear their hats; this was a particularly powerful sign of respect in a religion that practiced hat honor, which meant that they did not remove their hats to show deference to anyone, except when in prayer. Their bare heads were a sign that they believed Nayler's presence was divine.

Of course, this performance landed him in jail again. Realizing the political import of Nayler's trial, the Protectorate moved him to London and tried his case in Parliament. In interrogations, Nayler emphasized that the performative entrance to Bristol was a manifestation of the Quaker belief that the spirit of Christ could be alive in any true disciple, but his associates'

claims that he was the returned Messiah did not help his cause.[87] Many members of Parliament were shocked by Nayler's "horrid blasphemy," believing him to be possessed by demons (Burton 54).[88] Though the Blasphemy Act of 1650 had already established a punishment of six months in prison for blasphemy, they argued that this punishment was not enough for the extreme blasphemy that Nayler committed, and pushed for the death penalty. The vote was close but ultimately failed 82 to 96 (Burton 152). After more than a month of deliberation, Parliament decided that James Nayler would be

> set on the pillory [...] be whipped by the hangman through the streets […]wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes [...] his tongue shall be bored through with a hot iron and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B.; and that he be, afterwards, sent to Bristol and conveyed into and through the said city, on a horse bare ridged, with his face back, and there also publickly whipped [...] and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell [...] (Burton 158)

Though there was no legal precedence for such a cruel sentence—as many parliamentarians argued throughout the trial—Nayler's punishment was about more than his own personal actions and beliefs. Like Traske, Nayler found himself at the mercy of a government who wanted to mark his body as a warning to other religious zealots. It is ironic that the people who were making an example out of Nayler were the same people whom James I was trying to control by making an example out of Traske, but the underlying political logic was the same: by making a spectacle out of marking religiously deviant bodies, Parliament sent a warning to the radical religious sects who were undermining their authority.

But just as marking Traske's forehead made his body into a text that could take on multiple meanings, Nayler's branded forehead was made into a text that could be interpreted in many different ways. This is especially true of Nayler's brand because Parliament never officially explicated what his "B" stood for—unlike Traske's "J/I," for which the Star Chamber gave an immediate interpretation: "burnt in the forehead with the letter J: in token that he broached Jewish opinions." If Traske's "J/I" was reinterpreted in various ways even with an official interpretation, then it seems that Nayler's "B," which had no official interpretation, was ripe for reinterpretation and wordplay. But the possibility of wordplay on Nayler's branded "B" is not something that contemporary scholars writing about Nayler seem particularly interested in. Instead of drawing attention to the lack of official interpretation of Nayler's "B" in the historical record, or even simply acknowledging that Parliament did not give their own interpretation of the branded "B," scholars tend to factually state that the "B" was for "blasphemy."[89] Although this interpretation of the "B" is a very logical assumption because blasphemy was the crime that Nayler was tried for, it is still technically an assumption because there is no historical record of any official meaning of the brand.

Instead of treating the lack of official interpretation of Nayler's "B" as a gap in the historical record that must be corrected or assuming that this "B" must have only one signification, I attend to the multiplicity of signifieds that could be attached to Nayler's forehead signifier. Though the "B for blasphemy" assumption may first appear as the most reasonable argument, or at least one that precludes further speculation about other signifieds, when scholars take for granted the signification of the "B" they fix its meanings in ways that deny the agency of the body-as-book. My inquiry into further meanings of Nayler's "B" restores the agency of the book-body as a text-being that can read, interpret, and create its own meanings for itself. Like

Traske's case, Nayler's trial abounded in creative reinterpretations and wordplay by clergy, parliamentarians, pamphlet writers, religious radicals, but most importantly, from Nayler himself, who spoke of his own body as a sign:

> But in thy will thou raised me, and sent me to the nations. A sign and a wonder thou hast made me, and a stranger to them who had well known me. Yea, how often hast thou changed me, so that I have not been known to myself? And thou hast hid me from such as have followed me. Thou hast lifted me up, & I have been exalted, thou hast cast me down, and I have been despised. I have been a scorn to fools that knows not thy ways, and as a prey to the devourer. (Simmonds 12)

Written in prison in the days after his entry into Bristol, these words not only show that Nayler saw himself as a sign to be interpreted even before he was branded, but also that he did not have confidence in others' abilities to interpret his signifying body. Carole Dale Spencer further argues that this passage is part of an ongoing anxiety for Nayler, that even though he had "total clarity about his unique call to be a 'sign,'" he maintained an "ambiguity, if not despair, about how it [the sign] was misunderstood" (64). Nayler may have felt "ambiguity" and "despair" because he believed people misunderstood his sign, but I argue that this charge of misinterpretation indicates a lively discourse of interpretation, reinterpretation, purposeful misinterpretation, and language play surrounding Nayler's trial and punishment.

To begin to understand what other meanings the branded "B" could signify aside from "blasphemy," it is necessary to examine the legal precedents for Nayler's punishment. Parliament had departed entirely from the six-month imprisonment recommended by the Blasphemy Act of 1650—if they were not operating under the guidance of the Blasphemy Act,

what precedent motivated them to brand Nayler's forehead? It is likely that they knew of John Traske's forehead branding in 1618, but considering that Traske's branding was meant to intimidate Puritans and that the 1656 Parliament that convicted Nayler was a Puritan government attempting to assert Puritan control over other radical religious movements, it seems unlikely for them to have taken Traske's punishment as their precedent because this would have drawn a parallel between themselves and the Stuart family that they were trying to keep out of England. Rather, it is more likely that the inspiration for the forehead "B" was taken from the May 1650 "Act for suppressing the detestable sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication," which proclaimed that "persons who shall […] be convicted […] for being a common Bawd, be it man or woman, or wittingly keeping a common Brothel or Bawdy-house, shall for his or her first offence be openly whipped and set in the Pillory, and there marked with a hot Iron in the forehead with the Letter B and afterwards committed to Prison or the House of Correction" (388-389).[90] It is unclear how many people who were convicted of "being a common Bawd" or "keeping a common Brothel or Bawdy-house" were actually branded in their foreheads with the letter "B" between May 1650 and Nayler's punishment in December 1656, but what is clear is that according to English common law, Nayler's punishment was more similar to that of a bawd than that of a blasphemer.

Why give Nayler a punishment that accused him of the wrong crime? If Nayler's punishment was less about his actual trespasses and more of a *cause célèbre* designed to send a strong message to Quakers and other disruptive religious radicals, then branding Nayler with the punishment of a bawd or brothel-keeper followed the anti-Quaker critique that Quakers and other radical sects seduced people away from the true gospel, encouraging them "go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land" (Deuteronomy 31:16).[91] Leaving the more established and

traditional Protestant faith to join a radical sect was imagined through biblical allegory as sexual infidelity, and Nayler and others who actively drew people away from their established church were the bawds and brothel-keepers who benefitted from these whoredoms.

Yet there was also a more literal critique in giving Nayler a punishment reserved for bawds. Like many seventeenth-century radical sectarians, Quakers espoused more positive beliefs about women's spirituality and expanded women's role in the church more than traditional English Protestantism. This proto-feminist movement was measured: Quakers certainly did not achieve gender equality, but the power that they allowed women was enough to disturb more mainstream Protestants and Puritans. According to Christine Trevett, "Quakerism, on the face of it, did not offer women social equality at all, but it offered them unheard of opportunities for action in the sphere of religion and a rationale for public activity which was liberating." Furthermore, because Quakers "did not acknowledge rigid distinctions between the religious, the social and the political, Quaker women found themselves with rights, indeed obligations, to have views on essential issues of the day" (14). As Nayler gained prestige within the Quaker movement, many of his strongest and most outspoken supporters were women: Martha Simmonds, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury accompanied Nayler to Bristol and were his most vocal witnesses during his trial; Mary Powell, Judy Crouch, and Ann Gargill did not go to Bristol, but were also ardently part of the Nayler "movement" in London.

Nayler's relationships with these women disturbed many Quakers, despite their beliefs that women ought to be more religiously and socially engaged. During his time leading the London Quakers, Nayler became greatly distressed after failing to rectify a dispute between one of his followers, Martha Simmonds, and two prominent preachers Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough. Simmonds had begun interrupting the meetings that Howgill and Burrough led,

accusing the two preachers of being led astray by Satan. Howgill and Burrough did not like that these Quaker tactics were being used against them and hoped that Nayler could make Simmonds stop. Simmonds, for her part, wanted Nayler's support in her accusations against Howgill and Burrough. When Nayler decided not to rebuke Howgill and Burrough, Simmonds cried out "I looked for judgment, but behold a cry!" (Whitehead ix). This allusion to Isaiah 5:7 cast Nayler as a fallen prophet who could no longer receive revelation from the Lord. Nayler apparently became greatly distressed by this accusation and lay trembling for quite some time. While Simmonds and her friends believed that this distress was a sign that Nayler was hearkening to the Lord, others believed that this was evidence that Simmonds had bewitched Nayler. After this trembling episode, his increased attention to Simmonds was read in similarly conflicting ways: Simmonds and her friends saw Nayler as a true prophet again, while other Quakers began "excusing or at least explaining Nayler's errors by displacing them onto his female associates" (Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus* 131). After the "I looked for judgment" episode, the common Quaker belief was that Nayler was bewitched—or at least, heavily influenced—by the wicked women who followed him.

The theory that Nayler was bewitched or possessed was also repeated outside of Quaker circles, but unlike the Quakers, Nayler's non-Quaker detractors did not see Nayler as a helpless victim of wicked women. Rather, they gathered stories from Nayler's past that portrayed his relationship with women as one of mutual exploitation: he was a womanizer whose charisma and religious authority allowed him to prey on women, but his weakness for women made it possible for some women to manipulate him into using his religious authority for their own aims. John Deacon's exposé of Nayler, *The Grand Impostor Examined* (1656), combined testimony from the Bristol interrogations of Martha Simmonds, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury, who

claimed Nayler was Jesus Christ, with salacious rumors of Nayler's seduction of a Mrs. Roper and attempted seduction of Rebecca Burnhill.[92] The mutual exploitation between Nayler and his women followers was emphasized by *The Grand Impostor*'s full title, which referred to Nayler as "the Seduced and Seducing Quaker."

Parliament also built up Nayler's character as a seduced seducer. At the beginning of his trial, a brief history of Nayler's life was given, describing him as "[a] member of an independent church, but cast out for blasphemy and suspicion of lewdness with one Mrs. Roper. [...] After he had been up and down, he went to visit the Quakers in Cornwall, where he was committed as a wanderer; his principles being, that he may lie with any woman that is of his own judgment" (Burton 24). Joined to this image of Nayler, predator of women, was the concern that Nayler was the prey of women: during the discussion of where and how he should be imprisoned, Sir Gilbert Pickering recommended "that not only men, but women be kept from him. I have told you, it is a woman that has done all the mischief" (Burton 155). A report was also given that during a previous examination, a woman named Sarah Blackbury took Nayler's hand, said, "Rise up, my love, my dove, my fair one, and come away. Why sittest thou among the pots?" and then kissed his hand (Burton 41). This became a point of much contention, some arguing that it was a rather harmless reference to Song of Solomon 2:10, others arguing that it was proof not only of his blasphemy, but also of bawdry.[93] Although Parliament did not supply any hard evidence to prove that Nayler was guilty of bawdry or seduction, it was easy to use these stories, in conjunction with the outspoken women who followed Nayler, to paint a picture of Nayler as a bawd or brothel-keeper who used his religion as a front for seducing women, and therefore to punish him as such. The fact that Parliament never clarified what the "B" brand signified kept this possibility

open, which worked in their favor: as they saw it, Nayler's blasphemy and his bawdiness worked in concert with each other, and both must be punished.

If Parliament's failure to supply Nayler's branded "B" with a clear signification gave them the opportunity to play with its meaning, it also gave others the opportunity to suggest their own significations. In 1658, George Fox and Francis Howgill wrote and printed *The Papists Strength, Principles, and Doctrines [...] Answered and Confuted*, which was a refutation of a series of counterreformation pamphlets that had recently been published in England. Although the fiery tract was primarily addressed to Jesuits and other pro-Catholic forces in England, Fox and Howgill occasionally move away from critiquing Roman Catholicism specifically, as is seen in a section that warns against false teachers: "the Apostle Peter bids beware of false teachers, who said there are false prophets among the people, even so there shall be false teachers among you, who should bring in the damnable heresies" (69). In their excoriation of these false teachers, Fox and Howgill repeatedly emphasize the signs by which they are known: "So let Corah's, Cain's, and Balaam's marks in your foreheads testify" (69), "going in the way of Cain, Corah, Balaam: Now the marks of all these are found in your Church, and found in your foreheads" (70), "is not Jezebel's mark upon your foreheads" (71), "do not you all wear Cain's mark and Balaam's mark on your foreheads" (77). Though the concept of being marked in the forehead, as I have argued throughout this chapter, is certainly common in the early modern Christian tradition, it is hard not to see Fox and Howgill's warning against false teachers with marked foreheads as a reference to Nayler, especially given that this pamphlet was printed just a year or two after Nayler's branding. Furthermore, although Cain, Corah, and Jezebel are all associated with marked foreheads or heads in the Bible, Balaam is not.[94] In the Old Testament, Balaam is a non-Israelite prophet who at first refuses to curse or prophesy against the Israelites, but later

helps to tempt them into sin as they enter into the Promised Land. Balaam could arguably be categorized as a false teacher, but it does not make sense to associate him with forehead markings—unless Fox and Howgill are drawing a parallel between Balaam and Nayler, suggesting that Nayler's branded "B" could also signify "Balaam" and his similarity to the Old Testament prophet.

Comparing Nayler to Balaam was a politically advantageous move for the Quakers. In the eyes of Fox and Howgill, both Balaam and Nayler were false teachers and false prophets who started out supportive of the Lord's chosen people (the children of Israel in the Bible, the Quakers in *The Papists Strength*), but then revealed their true wickedness by leading them astray at the moment of entry into the Promised Land. In the Bible, the Promised Land was a physical space that could ensure political safety for the children of Israel; for the Quakers, the Promised Land was the promise of safety from political persecution. During the mid-1650s, anti-Quaker sentiment was running high and hundreds of Quakers were imprisoned, some for months and years, some dying in confinement. It is certain that Nayler's triumphal entry into Bristol was not the only obstacle between Quakers and the religious freedom they desired, as the comparison to Balaam suggests, but it is also true that Nayler's triumphal entry and trial exacerbated Quaker persecution. The larger Quaker movement had already disavowed Nayler, his actions, and his followers widely and explicitly, but the larger public still saw Nayler as a Quaker and an inevitable outcome of the Quaker religion. Through casting Nayler as a latter-day Balaam, Fox and Howgill also rely on Balaam's non-Israelite nationality, suggesting that the Quakers are not only a religion but a (spiritual) nation, and that Nayler never had any claim to kinship with the Quaker people. In *The Papists Strength*, to read Nayler's forehead is to read his lack of a nation and lack of kindred.

Nayler the Performance Artist

Parliament, Fox, and Howgill may have played with the interpretation and signification of Nayler and his forehead, but their punning and playful reading of his body pales in comparison to Nayler's own reinterpretation and manipulation of his body. Nayler's triumphal entry into Bristol is evidence of his mastery of visual symbology: on a rainy day, with only seven followers, he staged a performance that was so successful in visually mimicking Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem that people eventually wanted him executed for it.[95] But the triumphal entry was only the beginning: throughout his trial, Nayler caused a stir with his answers that imitated Christ's responses to Pilate, his refusal to remove his hat (following the Quaker practice of refusing hat honor), and his long hair (Parliament debated whether cutting it should be part of his punishment, but then decided against it as they were concerned that this would make people think that they believed that Christ wore his hair long, and that in turn might spark a rebellious fashion in imitation of Nayler).

Perhaps the most extravagant of Nayler's play on his body was during the second part of his punishment, when he was put in the pillory, had his tongue bored through, and was branded in the forehead. At least three different eyewitnesses recorded these events: Thomas Burton, who also recorded Nayler's trial in Parliament; John Deacon, an anti-Quaker minister; and an anonymous writer whose account appears in gathering of documents entitled *A True Narrative of the Examination, Trial, and Sufferings of James Nayler* (1657). I quote at length from Deacon's text, as his disdain for Nayler seems to have sharpened his attention to the details of Nayler's public performance:

> On Saturday December the 27th […] he was guarded to the Pillory, where when he came they presently put his head into the same, and having pinned it down,

> came up Martha Simmonds, and with her two others, who was said to be Hannah Stranger and Dorcas Erbury; the first seated herself just behind him on the right side, the two latter before him, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, just at his feet, in imitation of Mary Magdalen and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and Mary the Mother of Cleophas, John 19:25, thereby to witness their still blasphemous and presumptuous and heretical adoration of him, as Jesus the Christ, as is more evidently expressed by that act of Robert Rich, whom I saw stick up a paper over his head, in which it is said was writ, This is the King of the Jews; word by word with that in Luke 23:38. […] the Executioner pulled off his Cap, and having hood winked his face & taken fast hold of his tongue, with a red hot Iron he bored a hole quite through; which having done, and pulling the cloth off that covered his face, he put a handkerchief over his eyes, and so putting his left hand in his pole, he taking the red hot Iron-letter in his other hand, put it to his forehead, which gave a little flash of smoke; which being done, Rich licked the same, as did the dogs the wounds of Lazarus; and then sang, which he did often before, both stroking and kissing him, which he suffered with an admired impudence […] What I have said in this, I saw and therefore can witness. (Deacon 35, 44-45 [pagination error])

As Deacon's description makes abundantly clear, if these punishments were designed to make Nayler stop his blasphemous impersonations of Christ, they thoroughly backfired. If anything, these punishments gave Nayler and his followers a larger audience, more publicity, and an occasion that was ripe for enacting Christ-like martyrdom. As Leo Damrosch writes, "[…] for Nayler and his small group of supporters the story was still going on, and this [the punishment]

was actually the most significant part of it. Bristol had been his Palm Sunday; now came his crucifixion" (*The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus* 226).

Deacon does not mention any details about the crowd present at the punishment, but both Thomas Burton and the anonymous witness commented on its size. Burton's account points out the "great crowd of people" who had gathered and compliments Nayler on "behav[ing] very handsomely and patiently":

> This day B. and I were to see Nayler's tongue bored through, and him marked in the forehead. He put out his tongue very willingly, but shrinked a little when the iron came upon his forehead. He was pale when he came out of the pillory, but high-coloured after tongue-boring. He was bound with a cord by both arms to the pillory. [Robert] Rich, the mad merchant, sat bare at Nayler's feet all the time. Sometimes he sang and cried, and stroked his hair and face, and kissed his hand, and sucked the fire out of his forehead. Nayler embraced his executioner, and behaved himself very handsomely and patiently. A great crowd of people there; the sheriff present, cum multis, at the Old Exchange, near the conduit. (266)

Burton's account suggests that for all of Nayler's religious radicalism, his affect during his punishment was admirable—the crowd that had gathered to see Nayler suffer might have left with more respect for him than when they arrived.

This sentiment is highlighted in the anonymous account in *A True Narrative*, which ends with a triumphant claim that the crowd was moved by Nayler's punishment and that the punishment fulfilled scripture:

> […] James Naylor received a second part of the sentence of Parliament, before the old Exchange, where he stood full two hours with his head in the pillory, after

> which he was bored through the tongue with an hot iron, and burnt on the forehead with letter B. this is observable that Robert Rich […] told the People, that the Innocent was going to suffer; and crying to the Parliament, that he was clear from the blood of all men; and desiring them to be so too, departed, and came before the Exchange, where with James Naylor he went on the Pillory where he stood, and sat by him with two other women that sat on each side by him, till after a good space Robert Rich took a paper out of his pocket, and placed over his head, whereon was written, 'It is written, Luke 23: 38. This is the King of the Jews.' But presently an officer stepped up, and pulled it down, and turned Robert Rich and the two women off the Pillory; but after a while they lifted up Robert Rich again on the Pillory, where he staid till James Naylor had finished his sufferings for that time, and held him by the hand whilst he was burning, and afterwards licked his wounds, and lead him by the hand from off the Pillory. This was also very remarkable, that notwithstanding there might be many thousands of people, yet they were very quiet, few heard to revile him, or seen to throw any one thing at him; and when he was a burning, all the people both before him and behind him, and on both sides of him, with one consent stood bareheaded. This was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled, Mar. 15: 38. (40-42)

In this version, the boring of Nayler's tongue and branded of his forehead softens the hearts of the crowd, convincing them that Nayler is truly the divine presence he has claimed to be. The scripture that was "fulfilled," according to the anonymous writer is Mark 15:38: "And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom." This verse comes immediately after

Christ has died on the cross, and immediately before the centurion observes, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mark 15:39). This reference to the rending of the temple veil draws a parallel between Nayler and Christ, suggesting that the bareheaded crowd, like the centurion, now acknowledges that Nayler is the son of God.

Perhaps the most striking image in these accounts is that of Robert Rich licking or sucking Nayler's forehead after it was branded. This is both an incredibly intimate act that feels entirely at odds with its public setting and an animalistic act that seems at odds with Nayler and his supporters' claims that he is a divine being. Deacon capitalizes on Rich's act, comparing Rich licking Nayler's wounded forehead to the dogs licking the wounds of Lazarus, a reference to the story of Dives and Lazarus in Luke 16:19-31. Deacon's allusion does not follow the parable to its end; if it did, then he would be casting all of Nayler's opponents, including himself, as rich men who go to hell in the afterlife. Rather, it seems to suspend the parable in its opening, focusing on Lazarus as a poor, wounded man who is so despised by society that the only attention he receives are from the street dogs who lick his wounds. In Deacon's reading, this image of Lazarus that is supposed to spark pity in the reader is instead imagined as a just punishment for Nayler: Nayler is an outcast who can no longer enjoy the company of other humans because of his horrid blasphemy; Nayler's followers, including Robert Rich, are reduced to dogs who lick his wounds but are otherwise powerless to help him. Deacon dismisses the attention that Nayler's followers pay to him as "blasphemous and presumptuous and heretical adoration." He does not praise Nayler's charitable reaction to his punishment, as Burton does; rather, he sarcastically suggests that the only suffering Nayler should be admired for is his ability to suffer fools: "Rich licked the same, as did the dogs the wounds of Lazarus […] both stroking and kissing him, which he [Nayler] suffered with an admired impudence."

What all three accounts seem hesitant to do is to dwell on the physical, literal act of Rich licking Nayler's forehead: Deacon quickly turns the act into a biblical allegory, while Burton and the anonymous witness justify the action as strictly an attempt to heal. What is not addressed is the sensation of watching a man lick a recently-branded forehead with his tongue, imagining what it must be like to taste and feel the heat, texture, and flavor of blistered, perhaps charred skin, witnessing the breakdown of boundaries between Nayler's body and Rich's body as Rich's tongue contacts—comforts? caresses?—Nayler's broken flesh. Insofar as the mouth and tongue are inextricably associated with ingesting, licking Nayler's forehead is a way to partake of his body, to partake of his stigma, to partake of his branded letter. As Nayler's forehead becomes eucharist for Rich's tongue, Rich "reads" Nayler's forehead not through visual means, but through the tactile and gustatory sensations of the tongue. In the early modern period, the tongue was often criticized as a rebellious member of the body that could create unruly language unless it was restrained. In the case of Rich licking Nayler's forehead, this image is reversed: a rebellious, unrestrained tongue ingests unruly language and incorporates it into the body in a literal act of communion. Here, the common metaphor of reading as an act of ingestion becomes unsettlingly real.

Nayler's Marred Visage: The Mutilated Forehead as a Sign

One section of *A True Narrative* is dedicated to sharing and refuting Parliament's official report on James Nayler. In this section, a heavily footnoted version of the official report makes up the main body of the text, with footnotes in the margins that critique, rebut, and even mock the official report. As is the case elsewhere in *A True Narrative*, these footnotes rely on scriptural references to prove that Nayler is divine, that his punishments and captors are just as unjust as

Christ's were. For example, where the official report reads "That the further punishment of James Nayler shall be that he shall be stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B," the word "forehead" is linked to a marginal note, which reads "This was also that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, Is. 52:14" (33). Isaiah 52 is a chapter that prophesies of the coming of the messiah, which many Christians interpreted as the coming of Christ; verse 14 addresses the messiah directly and then describes his appearance: "As many were astonied at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men." This footnote connects Nayler's brand to the "marred" "visage" of the messiah, suggesting that the broken, blistered skin of Nayler's forehead is actually something to be celebrated, as it proves Nayler's divinity. This footnote follows the same logic of Nayler's performance of piety at the pillory: the pain and suffering inflicted upon the flesh is desirable because it can be used to reinforce claims of divinity.

If, like the authors of *A True Narrative*, we meditate upon the forehead branding as not only a decree of Parliament but also as a physical, embodied experience that forever mars the flesh of Nayler's forehead, we must attend to the treatment of Nayler's forehead in the immediate aftermath of his punishment. In the absence of historical record, we are forced, as with Traske's branded forehead, to speculate: what was Nayler given, if anything, to heal his branded forehead? Did his supporters supply him with more medical attention than Robert Rich's tongue? Did Rich's tongue, applied so soon after the brand, influence the skin's reaction to the brand? How did the skin scar and heal in the days and weeks after the punishment? Given that Nayler seemed to desire to have his visage marred as a sign of his divinity, is it possible that he took pleasure in his damaged flesh? Might this desire for a marred visage have influenced the

way Nayler and his supporters treated his damaged forehead skin, even potentially aggravating the wound and preventing its healing to create a larger, more prominent and visible scar?

We can only speculate about the answers to these questions. But if Nayler's forehead was branded, as the historical record witnesses, then there must have been an aftermath to the branding, a scarring and healing process that was influenced by the same religiopolitical forces and many of the same actors who instigated the entry into Bristol, the trial, and the public punishment. One element of this post-branding healing process that would be unique to Nayler was how his forehead wound would affect his ability to perform the Quaker practice of refusing hat honor. In seventeenth-century England, doffing one's hat to superiors was a way of showing respect and supporting hierarchy, from royalty (everyone went bareheaded in front of the king, who wore a hat to show his superiority) to commoners (the father was the only one in his household who wore a hat inside the home). George Fox began refusing hat honor because he claimed God commanded him to stop doffing his cap, bowing deeply, and other excessive courtesies, as they were worldly and not of God. The only time that hats ought to be removed, Quakers argued, was when praying or in the presence of the divine.[96] Yet despite Quakers' claim that refusing hat honor was strictly a manner of following God's commandment and not a rejection of etiquette or respect towards others, it was seen as a dangerous rebellion against social hierarchy and was often punished. Many Quakers were attacked and beaten for refusing to honor social superiors by doffing their caps. And even though refusing hat honor was not itself a crime, Quakers who appeared in court for charges such as vagrancy or preaching without license would often receive a second charge against them for not practicing hat honor in addition to their original charge.[97] Refusing hat honor was clearly an important part of Quaker practice; important enough that many Quakers risked additional prison time and physical assault to practice it.

Just as branding Nayler's forehead with a B had the added signification of labelling him as a bawd and brothel-keeper, branding his forehead specifically, rather than another part of his face or body, had the added effect of mocking and punishing Nayler's refusal of hat honor. If images of Nayler and other Quakers from the mid- to late-seventeenth century are any indication, it is likely that Nayler wore his hat low, covering his forehead and almost touching his eyebrows. At least until the branding wound healed, the swollen, mutilated, oozing flesh of his burned forehead would have made it incredibly painful and difficult for Nayler to wear his hat in his accustomed Quaker fashion, but if he decided against wearing his hat because it was too painful, he was disobeying God's commandment. From Parliament's perspective, making it too painful to refuse hat honor also forced him to practice hat honor to everyone, all the time, symbolizing that he was always socially inferior to everyone—yet another way in which Parliament made sure his blasphemy alienated him from society. Even if Nayler endured the pain and wore his hat, this action of wearing the hat over branded skin could suggest that wearing a hat was not a sign of obedience to God, but rather a method of covering shame. This logic is repeated in a sermon by Thomas Vincent, in which Vincent accuses Londoners of practicing fornication and adultery: "Suppose a visible mark were put by God upon the foreheads of all Adulterers in the City of London […] would they not shuffle through the streets, and hate the fashion of little hats, and the court-mode of wearing them behind their head; and rather get such whose brims are of a larger size, which might the more conveniently cover their brows?" (159-160). Although this sermon was printed in 1667 in response to the recent fire and plague, Vincent's description of the large hat "whose brims are of a larger size, which might the more conveniently cover their brows" is very similar to the broad-brimmed Quaker hat worn low across the forehead (see fig. 15). As Vincent makes clear, wearing a large hat—especially in the face of rumors of adultery and sexual

promiscuity, as there were for Nayler—is not a way to hide shame, but rather a sure way to notify others that you have shame to hide.

Figure 15: "James Naylor the Quaker" (1662-1728), mezzotint by Francis Place

But Nayler, who throughout his trial and punishment was the early modern embodiment of the phrase "all publicity is good publicity," did not passively allow his detractors control the meaning and interpretation of his branded forehead. Recall that for Nayler and his followers, the Parliamentary trial and punishment were not retribution for the spectacle at Bristol: they *were* the spectacle. Likewise, branding his forehead did not shame him into submission, rather, as addressed earlier, the brand only made him more messianic by marring his visage as prophesied in Isaiah 52:14. Given Nayler's mastery of spectacle and visual symbology, combined with his uncanny ability to transform shameful punishment into triumph, it seems unlikely that he would allow this unflattering interpretation, that his post-branding rejection of hat honor was only to

hide his shame, to remain uncontested. After 1656, images of Nayler and his punishment abound in anti-Quaker tracts, several featuring him with a hat covering his forehead (see fig. 16). But despite the vicious attacks on Nayler within their pages, it's difficult to interpret his affect in these illustrations as repentant, submissive, or shameful. Reminiscent of his indomitable spirit (of blasphemy or divinity, take your pick) and his refusal to be out-interpreted, these images portray a Nayler who knows that the reader desires to see what is under his hat, to consume the ridged, mottled flesh of the scar. This is its own kind of power: the ability to make the viewer desire to see, to wonder about the presence or absence—Schrödinger's scar?—so irritatingly just out of view in the image.

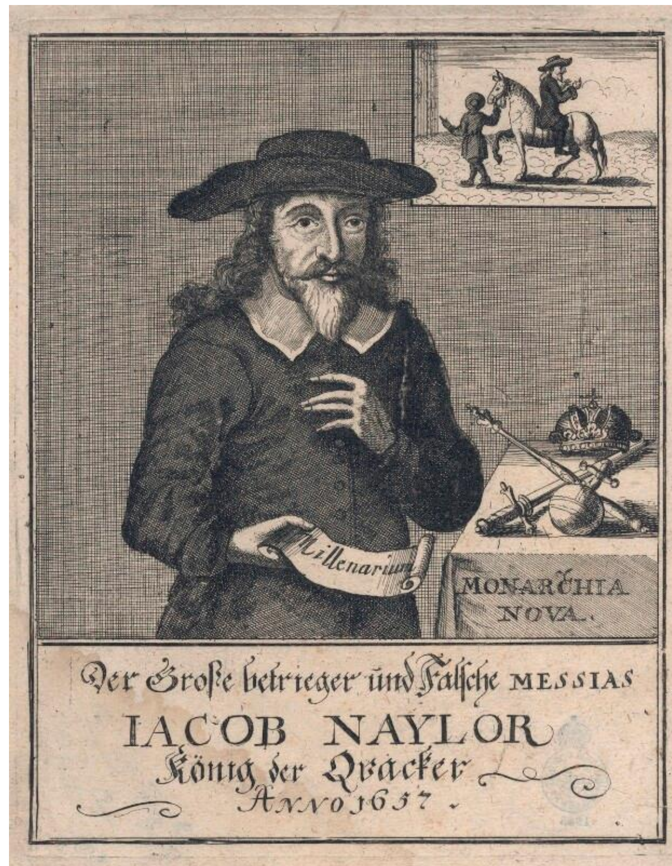


Figure 16: Engraving of James Nayler from *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum* (1702), a compilation of German pamphlets that essentially attacked all religious movements that were not Lutheran. The text of this particular pamphlet is from a 1661 pamphlet published by Johannes Lassen, but the engraving is original to the 1702 text.

The illustrated, hatted Nayler consumes the attention of the reader who wants to uncover him, much like the woman from the anatomical fugitive sheet in Geminus's *Compendiosa* (1559), discussed in chapter one, who thrills the reader by inviting them on a journey to uncover her illustrated body. Both illustrations present the reader's desire for knowledge as a moral quest: the reader must view the woman to fulfill the command of *nosce teipsum* and learn about God through learning about his creation; the reader must view James Nayler so that they can better recognize blasphemers and false messiahs who might try to trick them into paths that lead away

from the true gospel. Both illustrations also play upon the titillation of covered flesh. The woman's nudity and feminine secrecy arouses the viewer, while Nayler's covered forehead makes the reader wonder about the branded "B" that associates him with bawds and brothel-keepers, suggesting that the rumors about Mrs. Roper and Rebecca Burnhill might be true. But an important difference between these illustrations is that while the woman can be uncovered (and furthermore, as I argued in the first chapter, can be uncovered in a way that covers her own face and prevents her from looking at the reader who visually consumes her), Nayler's hat cannot be removed, his forehead cannot be uncovered. Nayler remains in power, tantalizing the reader with imaginations of the marks on his covered flesh.

Figure 17: "Die Grossen Erk Betrieger" ("The Great Arch-Traitor") from *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum* (1702).

The proliferation of images of Nayler suggest that he is a man who must be seen in order to be known, that his mastery of visual performance must be experienced by the reader, if only secondhand, in order to truly understand Nayler and his blasphemy. These images also suggest a desire to beat Nayler at his own game, to out-master his mastery of visual performance through highly stylized and symbolic illustrations with accompanying passages that teach the reader how

to interpret the image. One of the most stylized and allegorical is an engraving from a 1702 collection of German religious pamphlets entitled *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum* (see fig. 17). The anti-Quaker pamphlet that this engraving adorns is a reprint of Benedict Figken's *Historia Fanaticorum*, printed in Danzig in 1701, which is in turn allegedly a translation of an English anti-Quaker pamphlet printed in London in 1660. The illustration is unique to *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum*, suggesting that after more than forty years and across the North Sea, Nayler was still recognized as a man who must be seen in order to be known.

The engraving, entitled "Die Grossen Erk Betrieger" ("The Great Arch-Traitor"), pairs Nayler with the Sabbatai Sevi, the seventeenth-century rabbi and kabbalist who developed a large following throughout the Mediterranean and Europe after claiming to be the Jewish messiah. The engraver utilized several spatial, textual, and artistic elements to emphasize the parallels between Nayler and Sabbatai: both men stand in similar positions on either side of a table labelled "MONARCHIA NOVA," emphasizing their ambition to rule over their followers and overthrow earthly governments. Both have descriptive boxes of text above their heads that label them as false messiahs, give their names, their religious affiliations (with a heavy dose of sarcasm: Nayler is called the king of Quakers and Sabbatai the king of Jews), and the years associated with their falls.[98] Both also have vertical text descending down their robes; Nayler's reads "Ambition/ Free-spirit/ Quaker/ Wickedness," while Sabbatai's reads "Alcoran/ Talmud." In case the reader might have missed the abundant allegory and visual symbology, a verse below explains the image:

> So siehet NAYLOR aũs in seiner rechten Tracht,
>
> Die ihn in Occident zūm Quacker König macht,
>
> Und dis ist SABATAI den in den Orient

Die ganze Jūdenschafft MESSIAS hat genennt. (49)

[So looks Nayler in fine garb,

That makes him the king of Quakers in the Occident,

And this is Sabbatai who in the Orient

All Jewry Messiah has called.]

As this verse makes clear, the engraving not only sets up Nayler and Sabbatai as similar to each other, but also introduces an orient-occident binary in which Sabbatai is the Nayler of the orient and Nayler is the Sabbatai of the occident. That they stand on either side of "MONARCHIA NOVA," Nayler on the west, Sabbatai on the east, suggests that they are working together to spread their blasphemies across the entire world—and that there is little difference between these men aside from the corners of the world they operate from. Here, we see the reappearance of the trope of the Judaized Puritan, disassociating Nayler from his Christianity and Englishness to portray him as more akin to a Jewish rabbi from Smyrna. The engraving suggests that in this traitorous and blasphemous new monarchy, there will be no firm method for distinguishing between Christians and non-Christians, between Europeans and non-Europeans.

But these are not the only similarities between these two men. In this illustration, as in most, Nayler wears his wide-brimmed Quaker hat low across his forehead, so low that it puts his eyes in shadow—another fine symbolically visual detail, reminding the reader that the hat not only represents Nayler's disrespect to earthly rulers, but also deceptively hides the scar from his branding. Sabbatai's hat does not shade his eyes or cover a brand, but it does remind the reader of Sabbatai's downfall, which like Nayler's, was curiously associated with hats. In the beginning of 1666, at the height of his fame, Sabbatai entered into Constantinople and was immediately arrested by the grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire. This is likely because one of Sabbatai's

followers had prophesied that when Sabbatai entered Constantinople, he would place the sultan's crown on his own head. After months of imprisonment, the vizier gave Sabbatai the choice to either die or convert to Islam—there was a third choice to prove his divinity by shooting arrows at him to see if they miraculously missed him, but this didn't seem very different from the first option. The next day, September 16, 1666, Sabbatai appeared before the sultan, Mehmed IV, removed his Jewish cap, and placed a Turkish turban on his head as a symbol of his conversion. For both Nayler and Sabbatai, hats and the practices of wearing them were important symbols of their religions. But placing Sabbatai next to Nayler does not suggest that Sabbatai is a fraud for putting on a Turkish turban or that Nayler is the true messiah for continuing to wear his Quaker hat, rather, it suggests that the only reason why Nayler wears his hat is because he was never threatened with death or conversion, as Sabbatai was. Through making these men parallels to each other, the engraving suggests that if Nayler was threatened with his life, he would certainly change his headwear as his captors requested. Thus, the true reason he wears his hat is to cover the shameful brand.

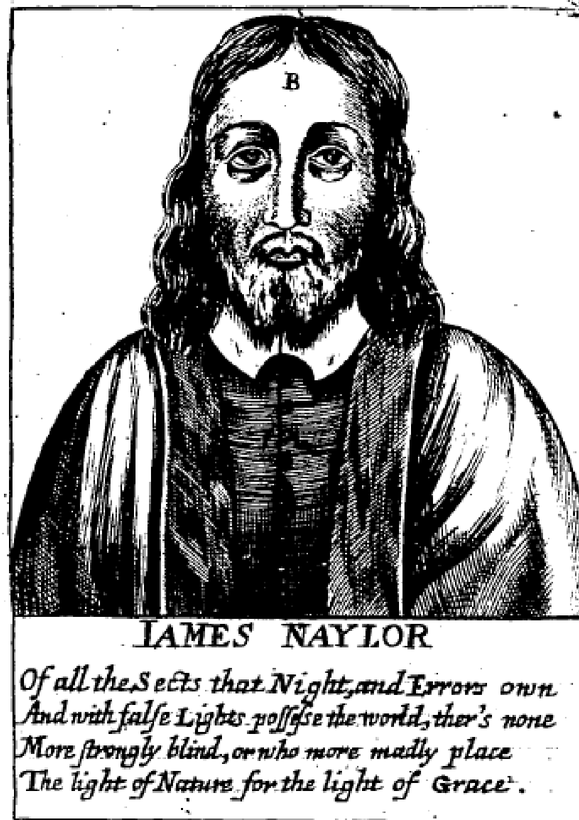


Figure 18: Engraving of Nayler with branded forehead in Pagitt's *Heresiography* (1661).

There are few images of Nayler with his hat off; of these images, most depict Nayler before his branding, when his hat is removed either because he is signifying that he is in the presence of the divine or because his captors have forcefully removed it.[99] However, there is one illustration of Nayler with his hat off and his forehead branded that appears in Pagitt's 1661 edition of *Heresiography* (see fig. 18). This illustration is an engraved portrait of Nayler that appears at the beginning of Pagitt's section about the Quakers (just a few dozen pages away from the section on Traske), suggesting that Nayler is representative of all Quakers. Like the engraving from *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum*, the portrait of Nayler is accompanied by a quatrain of two rhymed couplets that comment on the image:

> Of all the Sects that Night, and Errors own
>
> And with false Lights possess the world, there's none
>
> More strongly blind, or who more madly place
>
> The light of Nature for the light of Grace. (244)

The primary critique that these lines make of Quakerism is the belief in the "Light of Christ" or the "inward light" that Quakers taught could reside in each and every follower of Christ, regardless of their importance in church or society. By virtue of their placement beneath Nayler's portrait, these lines suggest that Nayler is one of the prime examples of Quakers who confuse the "light of Nature" for the "light of Grace," the quatrain's term for "Light of Christ." After all, Nayler could not keep his own followers from claiming that he did not simply have the "Light of Christ," but was truly Christ incarnate.

But even as the quatrain mocks the Quakers who confused Nayler for Christ, it appears beneath a portrait of Nayler that depicts him as incredibly Christ-like. Like many early modern portraits of Christ, Nayler is shown with shoulder-length hair that parts in the middle, a small mustache, and a short, forked beard. His facial features are thin and symmetrical, his large eyes gaze calmly, if not a little sorrowfully, at the reader. The sorrow in Nayler's eyes in contrast to the mockery of the quatrain is reminiscent of Isaiah 53:4: "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." The visual similarities between Nayler and early modern depictions of Christ do not appear accidental: in *Some Quaker Portraits*, John Nickalls claims that this portrait was "too crude and characterless to be taken very seriously as a portrait" of Nayler, and was probably copied from popular seventeenth-century depictions of Christ (4). Pagitt clearly wanted to emphasize Nayler's blasphemy by showing how Nayler deceived people by altering his appearance to look like

Christ; in this case, the more that Nayler looked like Christ, the better for Pagitt, as it showed the extreme lengths Nayler went to in order to deceive people. But Nickalls's claim that the portrait of Nayler in *Heresiography* is more likely to be based on portraits of Christ—not Nayler—presents a problem: the portrait of Nayler does not teach readers how to resist the trap of seeing Nayler and reading him as Christ, but rather, as a portrait of Christ, it teaches readers to view Christ and read him as Nayler.

Figure 19: Illustrated portrait of Nayler in a 1661 edition of Pagitt's *Heresiography* meant to replace the portrait of Nayler that had been cut out.

Nayler's Christological appearance, or rather Christ's Naylerological appearance, in this portrait was also not lost on readers: in one copy of Pagitt's 1661 edition of *Heresiography*, the image of Nayler has been cut out entirely and replaced with a pen sketch that reproduces the image (see fig. 19). According Leo Damrosch, "[t]he sketch catches the likeness to Christ, and it endows Nayler with a tranquil mildness of expression that stands as an implicit reproach to the

furious indignation of Pagitt" (46). While the replicated quatrain again asks the reader not to confuse Nayler, "the light of Nature," for Christ, "the light of Grace," the portrait's uncanny similarity to Christ undermines this task, suggesting, as Damrosch proposes, that perhaps the speaker of the quatrain is not the shrewd observer who refuses to be fooled by a false Christ, but the scornful non-believer whose hardened heart prevents them from recognizing their Messiah. Or, put another way, the fear of the Judaized Christian is no longer expressed through comparing Nayler to Sabbatai Zevi, but through comparing the reader who mocks Nayler to the Jews who mocked Christ.[100]

The "B" in Nayler's forehead performs a vexed role: it simultaneously serves as evidence to identify Nayler as Nayler (not Christ), while also serving as stigmata to prove that Nayler *is* Christ because Nayler has the marred visage prophesied by Isaiah 52:14.[101] But the "B" is vexed further, as it looks less like a scar and more like a misprinted letter—in fact, when I first encountered this illustration in the archive I initially assumed it was a printer's error, as the "B" in the engraving matches the style of the script in the quatrain. And one could also, if not paying close attention, similarly assume that the "B" in the pen sketch is a misplaced letter, as the "B" in the pen sketch also matches the penmanship of the quatrain in the pen sketch. Yet the "B" in the engraving is also reminiscent of the letters utilized in early modern anatomies to label different parts of the body. If the engraving of Nayler appeared in an anatomy, the "B" would not be read as a brand on the physical forehead to mark the body, but rather as a mark to label the forehead.[102] The initial confusion—is this an anatomical label?—makes the discovery that the forehead letter is a scar a reminder of the violence done in the process of marking.[103]

But just as the violence of dissecting bodies is muted and mitigated in anatomies, the violence of branding the flesh is downplayed in the engraving of Nayler. The engraving's "B,"

with its dainty size and crisp serifs, looks so perfectly like printed text that one could easily forget the event of hot iron and blistering flesh. As in Traske's case, we are reminded of the similarity between pressing the inked forme onto paper and pressing the branding iron onto skin—but the engraving's neatness hides the violence of branding, making Nayler's body into passive page waiting to be pressed with text rather than an agential body with movable flesh. The engraving invites us to imagine that the branding resulted in a perfectly legible scar, but this scenario seems unlikely both because of John Nickalls's argument that the engraving is too generic to be based on Nayler, and also because, as discussed previously in this chapter, there are countless ways for branded flesh to become illegible and malformed. Here again, we must consider the limits of printing and engraving as visual arts that make meaning solely through the contrast of black ink and off-white pages: even if Nayler's scar was perfectly shaped like a printed letter "B," the engraving cannot accurately represent the scar because scars are visibly distinguished by their raised and discolored flesh, not their appearance as black ink lines on the body. The engraving must reimagine his scar as a clearly legible black ink "B" so that it can represent the scar at all, which in turn makes Nayler's book-body appear even more like a printed text. The engraving's demand for increased legibility of Nayler's forehead suggests that book-bodies are never quite as legible as we need them to be, even when they are literally made into texts by branding their skin with letters.

The Word was Made Flesh: Uncontrollable Book-Bodies and the Race of Christianity

In the Bible, the forehead is frequently imagined as a text in which God can mark and thereby distinguish his chosen people from those he has not chosen. As this concept of a chosen people functions both racially and religiously, both in the Bible and in early modern England, the

forehead becomes a privileged text for reading a body's religion and race. To brand Nayler and Traske on their foreheads was to mark them as clearly not among the chosen people, and therefore religiously and racially separate from England and its state religion.

Both Nayler and Traske felt the effects of the separation caused by forehead branding. Traske's desperate desire to return to the fold of the chosen race and religion is clear in the extended title of the first work he published after being branded: *A Treatise of Libertie from Iudaism, or An Acknowledgement of True Christian Liberty, indicted and published by Iohn Traske: of Late Stumbling, now Happily Running Again in the Race of Christianity*. In this title, Judaism is imagined as a confinement that he has liberated himself from, while true Christianity grants liberty. This association between confinement and Judaism rings true for both Traske and Nayler: Traske was imprisoned because of claims that he was practicing Judaism, and while Nayler was not imprisoned for Judaism, his imprisonment created more comparisons between him and Jews (recall Rich's paper claiming that Nayler was King of the Jews and the comparison between Nayler and Sabbatai Sevi).

This extended title also imagines Christianity as a race, playing on the double meaning of race as a method for searching out and assigning value to observed differences between people, and race as a footrace in which people attempt to outrun others and reach a finish line first. What does it mean for Traske to claim he was "stumbling," but is now "happily running again in the race of Christianity"? It certainly does not mean that one's race is a fixed characteristic that cannot be altered or changed in any way, as is the case in later scientific understandings of race as a fix biological trait. Rather, it means that race is enacted, it must be earned through one's own bodily exertion, and that because of this requirement of exertion, there is always the chance that one might fall out of the race through stumbling or failing to exert the body appropriately.

Without running, without exertion oneself to remain within the race of Christianity (and therefore, Englishness), it is possible to fail the race—a failure marked by being branded as a Jew, a blasphemer, a bawd, or brothel-keeper, all identities that fall outside of the race of Christianity. Traske and Nayler both lost the race and lost their race.

That Nayler's "B" appears on his forehead in the *Heresiography* illustrations as print or script and not a scar reminds us of the fantasy of the racially and religiously unambiguous body, the body that is clearly and nondeceptively legible to readers. Nayler and Trasker were branded, in part, to put an end to their deception, to mark them as the people that their captors believed they were. The desire to put an end to bodily deception through marking the body with a letter implies a belief that the written word is somehow less ambiguous and more reliable than the human body. To make Nayler and Traske into book-bodies was to press the flesh into submission, to print legibility into deceptive, movable skin. And yet, just as the Star Chamber and Parliament could enact the branding but could not control the movable skin's reaction to the branding, they could not control the signification of the brand. Just as the skin of the forehead reshaped itself in response to the brand, the mark on the forehead took on new meaning to its readers. Making Nayler and Traske into book-bodies may have printed legibility into their skin, but it also opened up their bodies to a new, uncontrollable realm of reading and interpretation.

Conclusion: “Forehead Strategy, or, How to Survive in a World of Facial Recognition Technology and Surveillance”

> Even before the pandemic, research had been under way on how facial recognition could work with masks. And in January, [NEC] announced one it said was 99.9% accurate. It works out whether someone is wearing a mask and then focuses on the uncovered areas, such as the eyes and forehead.
>
> So once again, the pandemic, rather than hindering facial recognition, is being used as a reason to use it. “Early on in the pandemic, we thought one of the very few silver linings could be the decline in facial-recognition technologies—but we've absolutely found that it’s the opposite,” Ella Jakubowska a campaign officer at pressure group European Digital Rights, says.
>
> James Clayton, “Facial recognition beats the Covid-mask challenge,” published at BBC.com

In the fall of 2017, Stanford researchers Yilun Wang and Michael Kosinski caused a media frenzy with their article, “Deep Neural Networks Are More Accurate than Humans at Detecting Sexual Orientation from Facial Images.” In the article, Wang and Kosinski argued that “[c]onsistent with the prenatal hormone theory of sexual orientation, gay men and women tended to have gender-atypical facial morphology, expression, and grooming styles.” For reference, prenatal hormone theory is one of many theories attempting to explain the “origin” of homosexuality; it claims that adult sexual orientation is strongly influenced by exposure to certain hormones during fetal development. Thus, Wang and Kosinski suggest that sexual orientation—specifically the sexual orientation of gay males and gay females—is caused by prenatal exposure to hormones that generally result in permanent physical anomalies such as “gender-atypical” facial structures, as well as more behavioral differences in expression and grooming. Or put another way: in the womb, gay males and females were awash in the “wrong” hormones which permanently changed their bodies and behaviors to resemble more closely those of the “opposite” sex; further, these differences are more accurately detected through artificial

intelligence than through human perception. Minus the artificial intelligence bit, this result fits quite well with the nineteenth-century theory of sexual inversion.

Many LGBTQ+ organizations, such as GLAAD and the Human Rights Campaign denounced this study as junk science, arguing that given biases against LGBTQ+ people and the danger of being outed against one's will, it was unethical to develop technology designed to distinguish more accurately between gay and straight people. In addition, they argued that this kind of research was more likely to support the use of facial recognition technology (FRT) to harm and invade privacy, and that the study's focus on white people brought into question whether their findings could be extrapolated at all. In response, Kosinski argued that if anything, the research gave support to the idea that sexuality was an inborn trait that couldn't be changed, thereby refuting homophobic claims that sexuality could and should be changed. Kosinski said that governments and corporations already have access to these kinds of FRT, which he argued would soon be used to accurately identify political views, IQ, predisposition to criminality, and specific personality traits all through a photo. Kosinski's ideas, while based on FRT research, sound at home in an early modern physiognomy: according to Kosinski, "[t]he face is an observable proxy for a wide range of factors, like your life history, your development factors, whether you're healthy" (Levin).

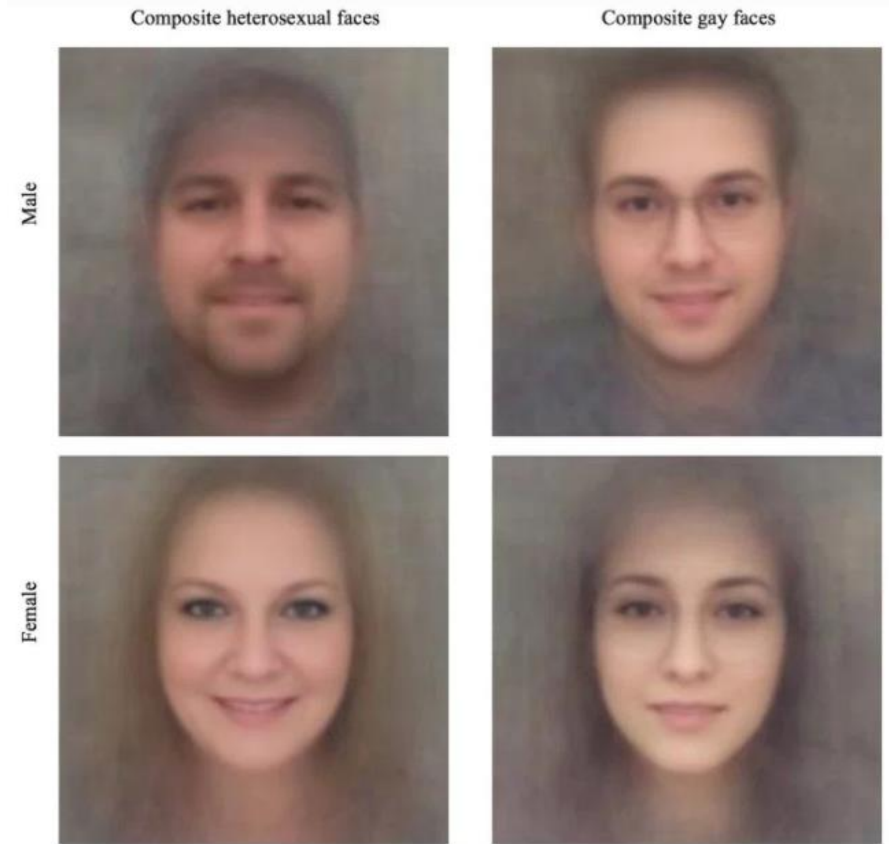


Figure 20: Composites of 35,326 images from public profiles of white adults on a US dating website sorted by male/female and heterosexual/gay, generated by Kosinski and Wang. (Used with authors' permission.)

One of the most popular rebuttals to Kosinski and Wang's article was penned by Blaise Agüera y Arcas, Alexander Todorov, and Margaret Mitchell. While others wrote ethical objections to Kosinski and Wang's article, Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell's response was based on the question of scientific and technological accuracy, as Agüera y Arcas and Mitchell are both research scientists at Google specializing in machine learning and AI, while Todorov is a professor of behavioral science at the University of Chicago. In their response, Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell acknowledged that the four composite images of

heterosexual men, heterosexual women, gay men, and gay women had differences from each other (see fig. 20). But they argued that the while Kosinski and Wang claimed that the key differences were fixed, physiognomical differences in facial structure, the most important differences were actually transient, superficial differences, such as presence or lack of glasses, facial hair, makeup, tanned skin, and smiles. They conducted a survey of 8,000 Americans to independently confirm these patterns of differences in appearance, with questions such as "Do you wear eyeshadow?", "Do you wear glasses?", and "Do you have a beard?" (Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell). While the survey results determined that these transient, superficial differences between gay and straight men and women were often true—straight women reported using make up more than lesbians and straight men reported having beards more often than gay men did, for example—they argued that these differences were often more likely to be explained by something else other than the activity of hormones in the womb.

What other responses to Kosinski and Wang saw as the more difficult data to rebut—the fixed differences in facial structure—was surprisingly simple to disprove. Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell pointed out that these composite images were based on photographs, often selfies taken by the subject of themselves. This meant that 1) the face, a three-dimensional object, was reduced to a two-dimensional medium, and 2) there was no method of maintaining similar lighting, poses, or anything to keep things objective. What they discovered was that the supposedly fixed differences in facial structure could be explained by the angle at which the photo was taken (see fig. 21). The narrow jaws, longer noses, and larger foreheads that were associated with feminine faces were actually the result of the camera being angled down at the face, while the larger jaws, shorter noses, and small foreheads that were associated with masculine faces were actually the result of the camera being angled up at the face:

> The ambiguity between shooting angle and the real physical sizes of facial features is hard to fully disentangle from a two-dimensional image, both for a human viewer and for an algorithm. Although the authors are using face recognition technology designed to try to cancel out all effects of head pose, lighting, grooming, and other variables not intrinsic to the face, we can confirm that this doesn't work perfectly. (Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell)

Figure 21: Images of authors Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell in their article. On the left, each author poses "heterosexually," while on the right, each other poses "homosexually." (Used with authors' permission.)

Put simply, what Kosinski and Wang actually discovered, whatever their claims to the contrary, was not a physiological difference in facial structure that predicted sexuality, but rather another behavioral difference explained by the pressures of trying to find a partner in a sexist society: straight white men tend to favor photos of themselves that make them appear physically larger than the person viewing their photos and straight white women tend to favor photos that make themselves appear diminutive, while gay white men and women are less likely to follow the camera angles of their straight counterparts.

In essence Kosinski and Wang made the same mistakes as early modern practitioners of facial reading: they forgot that the media through which they were reading and analyzing bodies was equally as important as the bodies they were trying to analyze. In Chapter One, I discussed the power of the book-body metaphor and the way in which seeing books as bodies changed how bodies were read and treated—often for the worse. In the case of both early modern and twenty-first-century physiognomers, the practice of treating bodies as books leads to inaccurate junk science and harm, especially when bodies are imagined as inanimate objects that can be rifled through for information. The danger of the book-body metaphor is that it is such an alluring idea—who wouldn't be excited by the idea of discovering others' secrets by a simple glance at their facial features?—that it is easy to forget that it is just a metaphor and not reality. The simple fact is that bodies are not books; nor are bodies are engraved illustrations or photographs. The failure of both physiognomy and FRT is that these methods assume that just because bodies can be *compared* to books and other media, they must also be able to be *read* like books and other media. As I have made clear, this is simply not true.

But despite Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell's thorough and clever dismantlement of Kosinski and Wang's research, the former's argument also ends with a familiar and troubling trope:

> Like computers or the internal combustion engine, AI is a general-purpose technology that can be used to automate a great many tasks, including ones that should not be undertaken in the first place.
>
> We are hopeful about the confluence of new, powerful AI technologies with social science, but not because we believe in reviving the 19th century research program of inferring people's inner character from their outer appearance. Rather, we believe AI is an essential tool for understanding patterns in human culture and behavior.

Like the present-day and early modern texts I discussed in the introduction, Agüera y Arcas, Todorov, and Mitchell repeat the idea that such technologies are neutral tools that will only cause harm if they are in the wrong hands—in fact, if FRT is in the correct hands, they later argue, it can help us address the sexism of the film industry, for example, through proving that men are seen and heard in Hollywood movies almost twice as often as women. I find this argument troubling for the same reasons that I elaborated in the introduction: who determines which hands are the "right" hands? How do we reliably ensure that these technologies and methods, which seem to have a habit of ending up in the hands of very bad actors time and time again, make their way into these so-called "right" hands? And what if these technologies that are consistently used to invade privacy and cause harm are actually not the neutral tools that these authors—two of whom are Google AI researchers—claim them to be?

There is another problem looming on the horizon: the billions of dollars being funneled into AI and FRT research to make it more "accurate." And investing in more accurate technology seems to be working: according to tests done by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), as of 2020 "the best fast identification algorithm has an error rate of just 0.08% compared to 4.1% for the leading algorithm in 2014" (Crumpler). It's one thing to refute the research conducted by Kosinski and Wang, which can rather easily be disproved because of inaccuracy. But as more companies and governments make serious investments into improving body- and face-reading technologies, it is likely that these technologies will either become more accurate at identifying and distinguishing between faces, or that public opinion of their accuracy will improve, making the general public more likely to trust these technologies as accurate. This second option might be worse than the first, as public acceptance and approval of FRT will likely make it more widespread and acceptable.

In response to these concerns, some methods and strategies have emerged to address the growing reality of a future of FRT. For example, some designers and artists have created clothes, masks, or makeup to "dazzle" FRT so that its algorithms become confused and cannot accurately identify a human face. While some of these dazzling strategies are very effective at blocking FRT, they also create another problem—they make faces stand out to humans. For example, one method of dazzling involves using makeup to apply large dots and lines on the skin of the face, which is not exactly a great method for maintaining privacy and going unnoticed (not to mention that most people would be unlikely to want to wear such makeup). Another method involves wearing a small projector that projects images of other faces onto one's own face—again, this is effective at confusing FRT, but it is also effective attracting a lot of unwanted human attention. Others have turned to political activism to try to pass laws against FRT. For example,

BanFacialRecognition.com advocated for the support of HR 7235: Stop Biometric Surveillance by Law Enforcement (which was introduced to Congress on June 18, 2020 but died in committee and was never brought to a vote on the floor). In the midst of protests and uprisings surrounding the police murder of George Floyd in the summer of 2021, the ACLU and 70 other grassroots organizations sent a letter to Congress calling on them to "prohibit the government's use of face recognition and other biometric surveillance systems" (Ozer, Ruane, and Cagle).

I do not consider any one of the methods listed above to be objectively more effective than the other methods. Instead, like different tools in a toolbox, they each have their uses and ought to be employed strategically, depending on what the situation requires. The rise of FRT surveillance is a complex threat that will require a variety of cooperating methods to resist. Those attempting to protest or undercut the growth of FRT might find inspiration for additional methods by looking to the early modern period, a moment in history, as this dissertation has argued, when new technologies in print led to a sudden growth in facial reading that helped to lay conceptual foundations of modern surveillance. In particular, I am interested in the early modern literary example of Salome, a character from *The Tragedy of Mariam*, who is creative and resourceful in surviving the court of King Herod, a place where Herod's wrath, paranoia, capriciousness, and demand for complete loyalty has led to a culture of spying, surveillance, intrigue, and plotting. Written by Elizabeth Cary, *The Tragedy of Mariam* tells the story of King Herod's marriage to and eventual execution of Mariam, his second wife. In the drama, Salome is Mariam's foil. While Mariam is a virtuous and faithful wife to Herod who is compelled to remain loyal to him even though he murdered her grandfather and brother, Salome is Herod's scheming sister who is unfaithful to her husband and manipulates Herod into getting rid of people she sees as threats to herself—including Mariam. Characters often surveil each other by

reading their faces and foreheads; in order to survive in this atmosphere, Salome has developed a unique skill to strategically reframe other characters' readings of her own forehead. When Salome meditates upon the laws that she will break by leaving her husband, Constabarus, to marry her lover, the Arabian prince Silleus, she imagines her sexual infidelity emblazoned on her forehead:

> [. . .] 'Tis long ago
>
> Since shame was written on my tainted brow:
>
> And certain 'tis, that shame is honour's foe.
>
> [. . .]
>
> But shame is gone, and honour wip'd away,
>
> And Impudency on my forehead sits (1.4.282-84, 293-94)

In their edition of *The Tragedy of Mariam*, Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson note in the gloss on line 283, "shame was written on my tainted brow" could mean "since she blushed, but the suggestion of a brand of shame is also present" (79). While "tainted" could indeed refer to the temporarily red taint of a blush, the "tainted brow" just as plausibly suggests a permanent blot of shame that, if "written," can also be visibly read. Salome can conveniently rid herself of her "tainted brow" by refusing to either protect her honor or ignore the guilt and shame she feels, and thus the blot on her forehead is replaced by "Impudency." The shame that long ago appeared on Salome's brow was a result of her guilt about defying the patriarchal hierarchy that required her to live as a loyal, "sober wife" to her first husband, Josephus (1.4.288). Now that Salome is openly defying the patriarchal hierarchy of Jewish marriage laws without feelings of guilt, her shame has turned to impudence. Both shame and impudence are disgraceful, but shame acknowledges the necessity to defer to patriarchal hierarchies, while impudence does not. In fact,

impudence compels Salome to protect herself and seek a livable life for herself in a society designed to marginalize her.

Salome's impudency mentally frees her from deference to many patriarchal practices, including expectations of fidelity to her husband, as well as Hebrew divorce practices that allowed men to ask for divorces but not women. Speaking of her plan to pursue a divorce from Constabarus, Salome claims "I'll be the custom-breaker: and begin / To show my sex the way to freedom's door" (1.4.309-10). On the other hand, Mariam's belief that the face has intrinsic meaning and can be accurately read is one of the causes of her downfall. When Mariam first sees Herod after he has returned from his travels, she is unable to give him the warm welcome he desires, saying "I cannot frame disguise, nor never taught / My face a look dissenting from my thought" (4.3.145-46). Mariam believes so strongly in the legibility of her face that she refuses to dissemble and manipulate Herod, despite the fact that Herod is so dangerous and fickle that essentially the only way to survive prolonged interactions with him is to dissemble and manipulate. In contrast, Salome acknowledges the mutability and deception of the forehead and the viewer's ability to project their own meaning onto another person's forehead, as is clear when she projects the possibility of dishonor onto Mariam's forehead to persuade Herod that she has been unfaithful to him: "Tis very fair, but yet will never blush, / Though foul dishonours do her forehead blot" (4.7.405-06). While many characters in *The Tragedy of Mariam* claim to have the ability to read the forehead, Salome is the only one able to inscribe her own meaning onto the foreheads of other women, as well as her own. In this sense, Salome's ability to strategize and manipulate what is read on both her own forehead and others' foreheads not only helps her achieve her goal of marrying Silleus, but it also defends her from Herod's bloody wrath.

To be clear, what I find useful here is not Salome's role in Mariam's downfall, but rather Salome's work to strategize how others read her forehead and her body—to recognize that she cannot stop how others read her body or how they read other bodies, so she might as well use body-reading to her advantage. Mariam's trust in her own personal virtue and adherence to societal expectations of women, combined with her refusal to be strategic about how her body is being read, is part of why she does not survive the drama's end. She assumes that obedience to patriarchy and power will guarantee her own protection, but in the ethically treacherous atmosphere of King Herod's court, that is clearly not the case.

As our treacherous world becomes more invested in FRT and other biometric surveillance, I choose to imagine a different telling of Cary's drama playing out in the future. In this version, Mariam would stop assuming that she is safe from Herod and his surveillance as long as she has nothing to hide. She would stop believing that FRT is a neutral tool that just needs to be in good hands. Instead, Mariam would realize that the only safe and just way forward is to disobey the powers that use FRT and surveillance to target and harm the marginalized under the guise of national security and public safety, recognizing that as she does so, her body will also likely be read as a threat and target. In this version, Salome and Mariam would work together to reframe the way that their bodies are being read, surveilled, and disciplined into submission, acknowledging that in a culture of surveillance, negative affects and emotions are read onto disobedient, undesirable bodies to justify disciplining and punishing them into submission. Instead of being victims of surveillance and the policing of bodies and emotions, they would strategically resist and dismantle such surveillance through creative methods of reframing the readings of their own bodies. Together, Salome and Mariam would wipe away the affects of shame and honor on their foreheads that try to compel them to obedience towards an

oppressive society, instead replacing these policing affects with crowns of brazen impudency that they utilize strategically for their own aims. If their bodies cannot escape constant surveillance and readings, they can at least write themselves into texts of their own making. Perhaps in this version, both Salome and Mariam can survive.

[1] While I am drawing a connection between the English Parliament's and the U.S. government's legal actions against facial reading methods, I want to be clear that the analogy only extends so far: I am not comparing the Chinese FRT companies with the early modern Romani people, as these two groups are vastly different. The Chinese FRT companies, despite being blacklisted by the U.S., are worth billions of dollars and have become rich at the expense of Uyghur lives; in this way, the Romani people are more like the Uyghurs than they are these Chinese companies, as both the Romani people and the Uyghurs are ethnic groups that experienced genocide at the hands of the governments ruling over them.

[2] Thomas Geminus was a pseudonym for Thomas Lambrit, an engraver and printer who had immigrated to London from Flanders. Geminus provided the engravings for *Compendiosa*; the text was from the writings of the medieval French surgeon Henri de Mondeville, translated by the playwright Nicholas Udall. Originally printed in Latin in 1545, *Compendiosa* was the first book with copperplate engravings executed and printed in England. Copied from Vesalius's *Epitome* (1543), Vesalius's own abridged version of his larger *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), these plates were possibly the object of Vesalius's complaint that his anatomical texts were being poorly plagiarized in England by unskillful artists. Despite this claim, Geminus's engravings are quite skillful: *Compendiosa* was clearly popular enough to be reprinted in 1553 in English for a wider audience, and again in 1559, this time with the addition of an anatomical fugitive sheet.

[3] Though the term "anatomical fugitive sheet" is a modern invention to help archivists classify these items, the earliest known anatomical fugitive sheets were printed in 1538 in Strausborg by Heinrich Vogtherr (Carlino 1). There is no standardized term for these sheets: according to Meg

Brown, who also calls them "flap anatomies," they are variously referred to as "'movable books,' 'fugitive sheets,' 'pop-up books,' 'cut-out overlays,' 'anatomy-atlases,' and 'images with superimposed parts'" (Brown 6).

[4] According to Jonathan Sawday, institutions such as Oxford, Cambridge, the Edinburgh Guild of Surgeons and Barbers, the College of Physicians, and the Companies of Barbers and Surgeons were legally granted cadavers to dissect, but these were limited to yearly allotments (the Edinburgh Guild had the fewest at one cadaver per year, the College of Physicians and the Companies of Barbers and Surgeons had four per year). They were also limited by season: cadavers were only available after the assizes, and even then, summer cadavers were useless as they would have resulted in an extremely foul, quickly rotting specimen. Absent any chemical preservatives, dissections required the cold of winter (Sawday 56-57).

[5] They "had little value, they were probably sold at low prices, and destined to a short, ephemeral life. Many of those that have survived have done so because they had been bound inside other texts and thus preserved" (Carlino 2). Some scholars also believe anatomical fugitive sheets were hung on walls of barbers' shops for patrons to view; this would have made them more accessible while also increasing the risk of damage (Hansen and Porter 40).

[6] Unlike the anatomical fugitive sheets that survived because they were bound into *Compendiosa*, most anatomical fugitive sheets were printed by themselves, making the covering of the skin the only layer of protection. In the few cases that these anatomical fugitive broadside sheets have survived, it is mostly because of the top layer of "skin":

> One reason these sheets survive is because of the size of the top layer: this skin layer is much larger than the smaller pieces underneath, and therefore protects them all. The sheets' other strength lies in how much of the top skin layer was

> adhered: the pieces below have a small surface area and a small amount of adhesive, but the top skin layer is adhered over a larger area and overlaps the smaller pieces by a few millimeters on each side, effectively protecting them. (Brown 6)

[7] In the same way, the figures of Geminus's anatomical fugitive sheets reveal themselves as bodies of anatomy and not just nude bodies by the way that their skin lifts off the page. The anatomical fugitive sheets function as progressive écorché figures, as they invoke the anatomizing gaze through their removal of layers.

[8] "Anatomy is shown to be a science which (contrary to what we might expect) seems to animate the body, and endow it (albeit temporarily) with a life of its own so that it could assist in the engaging spectacle of its own division" (Sawday 113).

[9] The negative space cut away between organs also allows layers to be seen under other layers; the effect of lifting up the layer of paper skin to see an abdomen teeming with complex multi-layered networks of organs brings another aspect of reality to these engravings.

[10] The anatomical fugitive sheet Traub studies here is from Johann Remmelin's *Catoptrum microcosmicum* (1619). This particular sheet "depicts the female body as a grotesque site upon which are fixated theological anxieties about the exposure of the flesh" (82). It does so by having two sets of flaps: one upon a female torso, the other upon the Hebrew Tetragrammaton at the top of the sheet in "heaven." While the process of lifting up the flaps on the female torso reveals the reproductive organs, the flaps under the Tetragrammaton first reveal "the face of an angel, then the face of a patriarch, and finally the hideous face of another devil" (82). Traub argues that these two series of flaps on the same page link the anatomizing of the body—particularly the female body—with sin and error, warning readers of inquiring too far into the body. (I do not

follow the conclusions that Traub draws from Remmelin's sheet in my discussion of Geminus's sheet because there is no Hebrew Tetragrammaton flap series that suggests the process of anatomizing the woman in the sheet is sinful.)

[11] For more on the wide-ranging and intensive rhetorical labor that illustrated and textual women's bodies perform in early modern anatomies, see Karen Rosoff Encarnación, "The Proper Uses of Desire: Sex and Procreation in Reformation Anatomical Fugitive Sheets" in *The Material Culture of Sex, Precreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe* (2001); Valerie Traub, "'A Certaine Incredible Excesse of Pleasure': Female Orgasm, Prosthetic Pleasures, and the Anatomical *Pudica*" in The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England (2002); Michael Stolberg, "A Woman Down to Her Bones; the Anatomy of Sexual Difference in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries" in *Isis* (2003); Katharine Park, *The Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (2006); and Monica H. Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (2008).

[12] I would like to thank Kim Hall, Arthur Little, and Matthieu Chapman for their input on this section as it developed. Following Matthieu Chapman and many of the other Afro-pessimist philosophers with whom I engage later in this chapter, I use the lowercase *black* to refer to Sub-Saharan Africans and the African Diaspora; I also use *black* to refer to the pigment of ink. In the medium of print, a black figure is often black in both race and pigment, and it is this entanglement that I theorize. On the connection between "black as race and black as pigment" see the work of Miles Grier, *Othello in Inkface* (forthcoming).

[13] To be clear, hand-drawn or hand-painted illustrations in early modern texts and prints were still common. Readers could purchase texts and prints with colorized illustrations, albeit likely at

a higher price, or they could arrange for illustrations to be colored and painted after purchase. However, my point is that the vast majority of early modern English print illustrations were encountered first as dark ink lines on a light page, even if they were altered and colorized afterwards. I also want to draw attention to my description of print as dark ink on light pages, rather than the more common description of *black* ink on a *white* page. It is true that in the early modern period, printers and paper mills labored to create blacker inks and whiter paper. However, the blackness of ink and the whiteness of paper depended on the quality of materials and the process of combining them. But given that there were so many different recipes for creating ink and paper, it is more accurate to speak of a veritable rainbow of dark inks (some very black, others not) and light pages (some very white, again, others not), despite the fact that today and in the early modern period, it is common to speak of all dark inks as black and all light pages as white. I will switch to using black ink and white page for the rest of my argument, but only to address their importance as metaphors we live by, metaphors that have, in turn, influenced the creation of racial metaphors about bodies as black and white. For more on this, see Kim Hall's argument in the introduction to *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, in which she argues that metaphors of dark and light, black and white, do not simply signify European aesthetic standards, but are rather powerfully racialized metaphors that influence how early modern English readers thought of themselves as opposed to racial others. *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996). Miles P. Grier also explores the early modern context of the black/white dichotomy, as I will discuss later. "Inkface: The Slave Stigma in England's Early Imperial Imagination," *Scripturalizing the Human: The Written as the Political*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 46.

[14] "The Printer to the Reader" does not specify its author aside from the title's claim that this preface is directed to the reader from the printer. There is no printer listed on the title page of surgical treatise, though the title page says that this treatise was printed for Michael Sparke, who was the same bookseller listed on the title page of *Mikrokosmosgraphia*, in which Thomas and Richard Cotes were listed as printers. I believe it is likely that either Thomas or Richard was eponymous printer of "The Printer to the Reader," but I have left this preface without an author as authorship cannot be proven.

[15] The cutting that the printer references in the phrase "I have thought good to cut" plays on the similarities between the cutting of a woodblock print and the cutting in an anatomical dissection. However, the kind of cutting that the printer is referring to is not the kind of anatomical cutting that shows a body with interiority and exteriority, but rather the cutting of a woodblock print, in which the figure only exists as an exterior. The passage later hints at the figure's interior, but the interior is never shown because it is too loathsome. In the end, the marks upon the figure's exterior erase any need to explore the figure's interiority or even consider its existence.

[16] Some anatomies claimed that certain areas of the skin were actually impossible to flay: "For the skin of the Palms of y[e] hands, of the Soles of the feet, of the forehead, and almost of all the whole face, yea, and of some other parts also, can in no wise be flain by reason of muscles and tendons graft and rooted into it, as Galen writeth in his second book entitled *De Usu Partium*" (Geminus 11r). The section of Galen's *De Usu Partium* that *Compendiosa* refers to reads:

> [t]he skin of the forehead, however, having a share in voluntary motion, properly has perceptible nerve fibers […] stretched beneath it is a thin, musclelike substance which receives many nerve fibers; the skin cannot be stripped off here as in the rest of the body but is closely united, and both skin and substance have a

> single motion, capable of lifting the eyebrows. The skin is even more marvelously joined to the muscles of the lips. (455-56)

Vesalius, not surprisingly, disagrees with Galen's claim that the forehead skin cannot be stripped from the underlying muscles. In his section on the "Dissection of the Muscles that Move the Skin of the Forehead," Vesalius describes a method for removing the forehead skin from the underlying muscles, rather than just removing the skin and muscle together:

> […] you will separate the skin from the muscular substance (*this is hard to do*) leaving the fleshy membrane attached to the head. […] make a number of the same transverse sections, leaving the fleshy membrane on the skull, until you satisfactorily remove the skin from it as far as the eyebrows, now cutting into the muscles of the eyelids. *This is not so hard to do as other authorities on dissection appear to indicate*, since—as I have previously said—the membrane is not attached to the skin in such a way that one body is made up of a pair that are mingled together. (483, italics mine)

Vesalius admits that removing the skin here is "hard to do," yet he appears to shame other anatomists whose lack of skill or knowledge leads them to propagate false beliefs about the body's anatomy. As Vesalius makes clear elsewhere, removing the skin is not so much a matter of resistant skin as of the anatomist's knowledge and skill:

> It [the skin] attaches in one way to the parts beneath the palm and the bottom of the foot, in another way again to the muscular tissue beneath it in the forehead, and in another in the lips, eyelids, ears, nose, anus, and genitals; it is joined differently to the parts underlying the skin throughout the body, and during dissection it is removed by a variety of techniques from what is beneath. (472)

[17] The full passage from Crooke claims that the skin

> hath also a divers connection to divers parts: for somewhere it may be easily separated, as in the upper and middle venter [abdomen], the arms and the legs; otherwhere very hardly, because of the fleshy Membrane to which it is tied by the mediation of certain Fibers & vessels, between which and the said Membrane, the fat where it is, so interposeth itself, that the skin may more easily be flayed from it: but from some parts it can hardly or not at all be separated, as from the soles of the feet, and the palms of the hand, to which it is immediately conjoined, that the apprehension of those parts may be more firm and stable. It is also very hardly separated from the flesh of the forehead, & almost of the whole face, especially of the ears and lips, because of Tendons and Muscles. (73)

Compare this passage to the following passage from the English translation of Paré, which includes the palms, soles, eyes, lips, and foreheads in the category of skin that is difficult to dissect: "[…] you must curiously separate the skin in some part of the face. For unless you take good heed, you will pluck away the fleshy pannicle together with the skin, as also this broad muscle to which it immediately adheres, and in some places so closely and firmly, as in the lips, eyelids and the whole forehead, that it cannot be separated from it" (180).

[18] Banister also gives the palms and soles as examples of immovable skin: "Also some parts of the skin are wholly immovable, and resistant to turn, as of the palm of the hand, and sole of the foot" (64v).

[19] "As a rule, in man no parts of the skin move when the bones are not moving, except the skin of the forehead, the face, and that surrounding the front of the neck" (Vesalius 482).

[20] Alexander Read, Helkiah Crooke, and John Bulwer all write of the forehead as the only location of movable skin in the body. Read claims that "because the skin doth firmly cleave to them [the muscles of the forehead], therefore the eyebrows, and skin of the forehead are moveable" (425), similarly, Crooke writes that "in the forehead it [the skin] is moveable, in the rest of the body (of a man I mean) immoveable" (73). Bulwer's explication is a bit longer, but follows similar logic as that of Read and Crooke:

> The skin of the Forehead is significantly moved according to the pleasure of our will and that in the opinion of the Ancients from a Musculous and thin substance united to the skin of the Forehead […] And in this place the skin only is united to a Musculous substance, which although so united, yet it is so free from the sub[?]ted bones, that it may be moved, the skin being the superficial part of the [?]bject substance which is Musculous [?] adhering together and grown to, that their motion is both one. (142-43, bracketed question marks illegible)

Like Read, Crooke, and Bulwer, Paré claims that the forehead is the only part of the skin that is movable (218), but elsewhere suggests that the eyelids and lips are also movable skin (180). Banister agrees with Paré's assessment of the eyelids and lips as part of the movable skin:

> some parts of the skin are wholly immovable […] others apt to turn and wind, but not by any voluntary moving, […] else that which in deed moveth excepted: as that of the forehead, and all the skin of the face, and which bewrappeth the forepart of the neck, and sides. And this of motion is participant either by proper Muscles in it serving, as of the forehead, eyelids, and lips, or for the cause of the nigh parts, as the skin of the ball of the cheeks. (64v)

Vesalius adds the entire skin of the face and the neck to this category of movable skin: "Some parts of the skin are quite immobile and resistant to being moved about, such as the skin of the palm and the bottom of the foot; others are readily moved, though not by voluntary motion, such as all the skin of the body except what does move [voluntarily]: all of the forehead and face and that which covers the front and sides of the neck" (472 brackets in original). The exact definition of movable skin can vary from anatomy to anatomy (and, as Paré demonstrates, sometimes even within the anatomy itself), but the forehead's skin is the only skin that is always included as a movable skin.

[21] Banister continues:

> no part without Muscle hath voluntary moving, by Nature's benefit the substance being under the skin of the forehead and nose, is made Musculous. […] Furthermore this Membrane of the nose and forehead is to the skin more fast, and holding (without the interventure of any fat or very small) than in any other part of the body: so that it seemeth as if the Membrane & skin there were made one body. Which is so put into the minds of some Anatomists, that they suppose the skin of the forehead to be of carneous and Musculous substance and the serving Muscles to those parts are many. (45)

This passage was likely influenced by Galen, who explains the origin of the forehead skin's voluntary movement:

> […] in neither of the latter places [the palms of the hands and soles of the feet] is it loose, as it is on the forehead, nor does it have perceptible motion, since it was not made as it is for the same usefulness. For here [on the forehead] if it was not loose, it could not be moved voluntarily. So I shall certainly tell how it gets this

attribute. It is everywhere united to the underlying muscular substance of which it constitutes the superficial part, but it is free from the bones beneath, being kept from contact with them by the periosteal membrane, which is itself all loose and laid upon the bones, not united with them nor adherent, but attached by certain slender fibers. Nowhere else has skin of such a nature been formed, because nowhere else does it have this usefulness. (Galen 536-37)

[22] This *frons*/*ferendo* connection is not etymologically sound. It seems to have resulted from a confusion of *frons, frontis*, translated as "front," for *frons, frondis*, which can be translated as "fronds" or "a branch that bears leaves." Although *frons, frontis* has no etymological association with *ferendo*, the noun *frons, frondis* does.

[23] Bulwer also referred to the occipital muscles in similar terms: "*Musculis sublimes, Arrogantiae, Mirabilis, Contemptuus, gravitatis,* The Lofty Muscles, or the Muscles of Arrogance, the Threateners, and the Muscles of disdainful gravity" (151). (The occipital muscles are located on the back of the skull, but are joined to the frontalis muscles in the forehead and play an important role in moving the skin of the forehead.) Bulwer's reasoning for giving these muscles new names is to name the muscles for the actions and affections that they show: through "adapting and imposing new names upon them according to their Physiognomical significations, [the new names] shall be as the Keys of their important actions" (sig. A10v). This system of naming values the muscles' actions and affections above their shape or the person who discovered them, suggesting that actions and affections are the "Keys" to understanding human anatomy.

[24] "[…] the Internal & Spiritual man […] is rather to be dissected with living words, than any knife how sharp soever, and so consequently to be discovered and explained by a style of discourse" (Bulwer sig. A6v).

[25] Similarly, Banister claims that "we contract and wrinkle the skin, as oft as we are much stirred to anger, or sudden admiration […] which contraction of the forehead might by no means be, if there were but one muscle only" (45r).

[26] Early modern anatomies were especially fond of critiquing Galen for dissecting dogs and apes instead of humans; Galen's method of inferring human anatomy from animal anatomy was often blamed whenever an anatomist wanted to correct one of Galen's conclusions.

[27] Indeed, many early modern anatomies have sections attached to them to deal with the "monsters" and "wonders" of human variation (what is today known as human teratology).

[28] This connection between "emotion" and "motion" seems like it would have been irresistible, especially to anatomists like John Bulwer, whose *Pathomyotamia* is built on the argument that emotions are intrinsically connected with motions. The phrase "motions of the emotions" seems like a much more rhetorically desirable phrase than the phrases that Bulwer uses: "muscles of the affections" and "motions of the mind."

[29] For more on affect and emotions in the early modern period, see Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (2004); Katherine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard, *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England* (2013); Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis, eds. *Passions and Subjectivities in Early Modern Culture* (2013); Drew Daniel, *The Melancholy Assemblage: Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance* (2013); Allison P. Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England* (2014); Ronda Arab, Michelle M. Dowd, and Adam Zucker *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre*

(2015); Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (2015); and Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi, *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies, and Form* (2017).

[30] Patricia Simons writes that Fenton's *Golden Epistles* (1575) is the earliest appearance of "emotion" in the English language, but there are at least four earlier texts that referenced "emotion" or "emotions": John Shute's 1562 English translation of Andrea Cambini's *Two very notable commentaries the one of the original of the Turks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno*, Geoffrey Fenton's *Discourse of the Civil Wars and Late Troubles in France* (1570), James Chillester's 1571 English translation of Tigurinus Chelidonius's *A most excellent history, of the institution and first beginning of Christian princes*, and Jean de Serres's *The three parts of commentaries containing the whole and perfect discourse of the civil wars of France* (1574).

[31] From the end of the fourteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, "Motion" had definitions such as "[a]n inner prompting or impulse; instigation or incitement from within; a desire or inclination (to or towards). Also: a stirring of the soul, an emotion; passion" that connected it closely to passions and affects ("motion, n").

[32] Although the political agitation that emotion could refer to was enacted by humans, this did not make emotion into a human phenomenon. Conversely, the use of "emotion" in these texts dehumanized the humans who instigated the political agitation, making them into mindless, animalistic packs and mobs at the mercy of their wild passions, who have lost their human ability to think and reason as individuals.

[33] Paré references horses and oxen as examples of animals' movable skin: "But in beasts […] this Pannicle […] appears manifestly fleshy and musculous over all the body, as you may see in Horses, and Oxen; that by that means being moveable, they may drive and shake off their flies,

and other troublesome things, by their shaking and contracting their backs" (90). Vesalius uses horses and asses to illustrate this anatomical feature:

> There is an area of this kind all over the neck, in the forehead, and in most of the rest of the face; but in some animals, particularly in those which move the skin all over their body (as we move the skin of the forehead), it is filled nearly everywhere with fleshy fibers. I am told there were also people who could move the skin in the region of the chest and elsewhere in the body, in whom this membrane doubtless resembled the fleshy membranes of horses and asses. (474)

[34] M.G. Aune continues:

> These human qualities, including memory of past kindnesses, understanding, a social organization, modesty, a sense of revenge, and an overall strong sense of morality embodied in a powerful animal are in great part derived from accounts of elephants that populated the English imaginary of the East. However, the fact that these travellers are writing from a position of first hand experience perpetuates the earlier accounts, adding a new level of veracity to the tropes of elephant humanity for readers in England. Of their admirable traits, the elephants' ability to experience emotions is the most human quality they possess. Hawkins and Topsell write of revenge. Terry describes shame, determination, and motherly empathy. These emotions, excepting perhaps revenge, show a particular self-awareness. The elephants have a sense of themselves as members of a larger group and a concomitant awareness of social responsibility. In every example but Hawkins's, these emotions enable a sense of subservience to humans. The vengeful elephant in Hawkins's anecdote could even be justified as rebelling

against a tyrannous master. Terry and Topsell invoke these qualities as correctives to misbehaving humans. However, the anthropomorphism also seems to justify human domination over elephants. The animals are self aware enough to recognise their place in the natural order and they are morally sensitive enough not to disturb that order.

> Recalling their use in emblems described earlier, the English venerate elephants for their sensitivity, power, and docility and as evidence of a Christian hierarchy. Elephants occupy a higher position than dogs or beasts of burden. (28-29)

Elephants were considered to be more sensitive and to have more human-like feelings than other animals, but it is clear that elephants were still imagined to be below humans in the great chain of being. Although elephants were "admirable" for having human affective traits, humans would not have been considered admirable for having elephantine traits. (Note: in this passage, Aune uses "emotion" not in its early modern definition, but rather as a modern catchall term to refer to feelings, sentiments, and affects.)

[35] In the early modern period, the occipital belly of the occipitofrontalis muscle was considered to be an extra muscle that only appeared in some humans. Today, the occipital belly—which is located at the base of the skull but aids in the movement of the forehead because of its connection to the frontal belly—is recognized as common to all humans.

[36] Crooke briefly mentions that Colombo and Lonigo had these additional muscles, but Bulwer gives much more detail:

> Gabriel Fallopius and Platerus shew by the example of Antonius Platus, who could move the whole skin of his Head, that there is such a speaking motion in the

> Coape or out Cover of the Head. Rhealdus Columbus saith he had a thousand times contemplated this motion (not without pleasure) in the Head of that excellent man Antonius Platus whom they now call Lonigum; for he moveth the whole skin of his Head strongly.
>
> Hieronymus Mercurialis hath observed as much in many; Nay Columbus proves this motion by his own example, the skin of whose whole head was qualified with such a motion by virtue of those Muscles. He therefore calls these Muscles into play, which were passed over by the negligence of others, the utility of this motion being not to be despised. St. Augustine affirms that he saw a man in his time, who could, without stirring his Head, or touching it with his Hands, raise or lift up all the hairs of his Head, and make them fall flat upon his face; afterward he could raise them again and return them orderly to their due places. Which could not be done without the advantage of such extraordinary implements of voluntary motion. (145-46)

[37] Crooke constructs the forehead's combination of muscles in the following passage:

> The skin of the forehead (which by his tension and corrugation, that is, smoothness or wrinkling demonstrateth the manifold affections of the mind) is moved not only by the help of the fleshy membrane, grown more fleshy as Vesalius thought, and so being united to the flesh under it, passeth into a musculous substance furnished with right fibres, but also by two muscles, as appeareth both by the course of their fibres and by their motions; the fibres appear in these after the manner of other muscles, and their motions is not like the motion of the fleshy membrane. (745)

Bulwer's description of the forehead's muscular structure is so similar to Crooke's that it seems likely that Bulwer read Crooke before writing *Pathomyotamia*:

> This skin of the Forehead, which moved by the Musculous flesh that covers the bone thereof, and by its tension and corrugation demonstrates divers affections of the mind, is not only moved by the benefit of a fleshy membrane (which [?]ing under the connate flesh goes into [?] Musculous substance, endowed with straight fibers:) But with two Muscles, which the course of the fibers, and moving which appears in this as in other Muscles, (which are not found in a fleshy membrane) do make manifest. (143, bracketed question marks illegible)

Today, the fleshy panicle is known as the panniculus carnosus and the "two muscles" that Crooke and Bulwer speak of in these passages are known as the frontal belly of the *occipitofrontalis* muscle.

[38] Although anatomists labored to distinguish their work from the work of physiognomists, the division between anatomy and physiognomy was sometimes blurred in the early modern period. Consider how the physiognomical reading of a criminal figure shows up at the end of Crooke's anatomy in "The Printer to the Reader", as well as the following paragraphs in Thomas Hill's physiognomy, *The Contemplation of Mankind*:

> The skin of the forehead, doth move together with the eyelids, by certain muscles and sinews: at the opening, and shutting together of the eyes.
>
> The musculous thickeness, lying under the skin of the forehead, by which the eyebrows are drawn up, and the motion of the forehead caused, hath his hairy fastenings tending downward: which cut overthwart, by an unskillfull Chirurgian,

> doth after cause, that the whole skin of the forehead, doth slide or fall down to the eyes. (31r)

In both cases, one genre of body-reading takes advantage of the methods that the other genre of body-reading have to offer.

[39] Consider Sir Thomas Browne's metaphor of the body as a book, and the characteristics of bodies as divine inscriptions:

> there are mystically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our Souls, wherein he that cannot read *A.B.C.* may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is a Phytognomy, or Physiognomy, not only of men, but of Plants, and Vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. The finger of God hath left an Inscription upon all his works, not graphical or composed of Letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joined together do make one word that doth express their natures. By these Letters God calls the Stars by their names, and by this Alphabet Adam assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its Nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our faces, certain mystical figures in our hands, which I dare not call mere dashes, strokes, *a la volee*, or at random, because delineated by a pencil, that never works in vain […] (90-91).

[40] The sections that make up these fifty-five pages are "Chapter 15: Of the form, nature, and judgement of the forehead" (29v), "Chapter 16: the judgement of certain lines seen in the forehead" (39v), and "Chapter 17: the form and judgment of the over-brows" (45r). The over-brows, an early modern term for eyebrows, were considered by Hill and other physiognomers to

be part of the forehead, as is made clear in the final line of Chapter 16, which reads "Next followeth the judgement of the overbrows, as a part belonging to the forehead: by which singular matter may be learned and known" (44v).

[41] Thomas Hill had read the Czech physician Tadeáš Hájek's metoposcopy, *Aphorismi Metoposcopici* (1561, 1584), and claimed to have an English translation of it in "readiness to the printing" (235). It is doubtful that his manuscript translation was ever printed (Porter 95), but Hill makes it clear that his sections on foreheads in *Contemplation* can suffice for a metoposcopy before his translation is printed:

> I intend to publish a singular treatise very rare, and known but to few students, entitled *Metoposcopie,* or by a more known name, the view and beholding of all the lines appearing in the forehead, beginning orderly from Saturn's line, unto the Moon's, written by a most learned Mathematican & Physician, named Thaddaeus Hagecius of Hagek: to which added unto the number of three score examples, lively counterfeited […] which commendation and opinion of mine, I refer to the wisdom of the readers, at the coming forth of the treatise: in the mean time I wish the readers, to use these instructions above uttered. (44r-v)

[42] After explaining the different causes of forehead wrinkles, Hill bemoans the proud physicians who do not take advantage of physiognomy's knowledge of the body:

> Oh how many vain Physicians be there (saith the Physiognomer) which nothing at all regard, nor care for the science of physiognomy: yea, they in a manner wholly deride the professors of the same, through their simple travail, and study bestowed in the science. Avicen reporteth in *Secunda Quarti, Capi. 26.* that necessary it is for a Physician by Physiognomy, diligently to consider in the face, eyes, and other

> members, the evil form not natural: and that he especially regardeth at the first whether the same form & note be natural, & according to the individuate like answering, so to pronounce judgement. The like words in a manner, reporteth that worthy man Galen, in his first book of complexions. (36v-37r)

[43] Applying pigment to woodcuts before they were sold was an expensive task, most often only done for the finest of books. Most of the pigmented woodcuts that exist today were colored by owners after they were bought.

[44] Gerolamo Cardano (1501-1576), an Italian polymath who is often considered to be one of the foremost metoposcopers of the early modern period, is one of few metoposcopers to mention a difference between lines and wrinkles in his *Metoposcopia*. But despite his clear distinction between forehead lines and forehead wrinkles, Cardano fails to explain this difference. This failure appears to be purposeful; it seems to be part of the illogic and confusion employed to make forehead-reading appear less fraudulent. Based on Hill's comparison of metoposcopy to palmistry (which was a common comparison in English texts), it seems that English metoposcopers would have agreed that forehead lines were caused by the wrinkling of the forehead. The wrinkle is caused by moving the forehead skin; the line is what remains after the skin has been smoothed. Following this, I use "lines" to refer to the markings in skin caused by the same wrinkle happening over a long period of time so that a fold is created even when the skin is not wrinkled, as well as to refer to artistic lines in woodcuts.

[45] Consider the titles of these recent studies of woodcut reproductions: Christopher Marsh's "A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England" in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79.2 (Summer 2016); Theodore Barrow's "From 'Easter Wedding' to 'The Frantick Lover': The Repeated Woodcut and its Shifting Roles," in *Studies in Ephemera*, ed. Murphy and O'Driscoll,

(2013); David Davis's "Images on the Move: The Virgin, *the Kalendar of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England" in *The Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* (2009); and Margaret Aston's "Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (2001).

[46] "Repeated reproduction fractures or erases individuality, such that the pictured person's identity is dependent upon the visual signifiers, such as redrawn articles of clothing, or verbal language that accompanies them on the page" (Clement 397).

[47] I include Clement's more thorough definition of plural reproduction here:

> Plural reproduction is the use of the same anonymous portrait to illustrate different narratives or textual examples within a single text. A printer creates plural reproductions when he or she repeats an image without employing xylographic factotum printing (a practice in which the printer identifies the image with text carved into the woodblock). Because plural reproduction occurs within a single codex, readers are more likely to notice the repetition of illustrations. The reuse either results in a close association between portraits (that is, the same face links certain facial features as it illustrates chapters on, for instance, both the chin and nose) or causes cognitive dissonance within a reading experience when one image represents radically different narratives. (387-88)

[48] In his first chapter, Hill explains the dangers of making hasty physiognomical judgments:

> This is also to be learned and noted, that any person (as afore uttered) to judge alone by the face, mightily to err and be deceived, so that necessary it is, to gather and mark sundry other notes of the body, and after to pronounce judgement, and

> the same not firmly, but conjecturally: As by this example may well appear, that if the Physiognomer earnestly beholding and viewing any merry person by nature, doth see him at that instant time (through some hap) very sad of countenance, and doth of the same judge him to be sad by nature, where he contrariwise is of nature merry: or otherwise appearing then merry, shall judge him of the same to be of nature merry, where perhaps, by nature he is given to be sad: must needs (through these like) greatly err, and be deceived in judgement. (3r)

[49] "William Seres printed Hill's new physiognomy text with both a deep investment in illustrations as well as a commitment to economical printing—not an easy mixture" (Clement 397).

[50] One can speculate whether Saunders viewed or used Thomas Hill's manuscript translation of *Aphorismi Metoposcopici* in his translation of Hájek.

[51] Some of the forehead lines themselves are reused through composite illustration, such as the line in Fig. 7 that first appears on a portrait captioned "A line inflex, and so bowing towards the nose, denotes the worst of conditions" (Saunders 192). But according to my observations, very few of the forehead lines were reused in these portraits.

[52] According to Clement, afterlife reproduction happens when

> a single image is reprinted in multiple books and broadsides over time, making visual connections among texts separated in time and space. Afterlife reproduction results from one of two methods: either the printer printed a previously used woodcut in a new book, or the craftsman traced or redrew previously printed illustrations for the making of new blocks. (388)

Saunders' woodcut portraits would not fall under the category of afterlife reproduction, since they are clearly not made by the same woodblocks or copies of the woodblocks from Hájek's text. Rather, it seems far more likely that the woodblock artist referenced a copy of *Aphorismi Metoposcopici* while creating these new woodblocks for Saunders' text, but did not copy the woodcuts themselves.

[53] A brief perusal of just a few early modern metoposcopies will reveal a plethora of references to various sexual crimes: about half of the portraits of women in Cardano's *Metoposcopia* (1658), for example, have forehead lines that predict sexual misconduct such as bearing illegitimate children, whoring, committing incest, sleeping with priests, prostituting themselves and others, etc. Although there are examples of good and trustworthy characters in metoposcopies and physiognomies, criminal, preverse, and crooked characters abound.

[54] Bartolomeo della Rocca (1467-1504) is referred to throughout *Contemplation* simply as "the Physiognomer," but was also known by his more common pseudonym, Cocles. Hill's claim that his *Contemplation* is a translation of della Rocca's physiognomies has been questioned by later scholars such as Kenneth Borris, who writes that a comparison of della Rocca's physiognomy and Hill's *Contemplation* does not support this claim. Instead, Borris argues that *Contemplation* can be more accurately described as a "brief adaptation" of della Rocca's work (178-79). The fact that Hill goes out of his way to identify himself as only the translator—the title page reads "All which, englished by Thomas Hill"—suggests that della Rocca was popular enough in England that Hill strategically emphasized della Rocca's authorial influence over *Contemplation* in order to piggyback on his success. For the widespread popularity and influence of della Rocca's physiognomies in early modern Europe, see Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul*, 108.

[55] I have searched in both of della Rocca's physiognomies, *Chyromantie ac Physionomie Anastasis* and *Physiognomiae & Chiromantiae Compendium*, for a reference to this encounter, but can find none. A hearty thanks to Joseph Ziegler for his expertise in della Rocca's works and his assistance in looking through *Anastasis* when my digital copy of the text was illegible.

[56] Thanks again to Joseph Ziegler's suggestion that this might have been part of a wide range of anti-Semitic folklore in early modern England.

[57] As my colleague Jessica Hanselman Gray pointed out in a conversation about *Contemplation*, this reported exchange between the Physiognomer and a certain skillful Jew also parallels many early modern allegories of scientific discovery, in which the man of *scientias* is an active seeker who extracts knowledge from a passive and secretive Nature. These allegories of scientific discovery often sexualize the gathering of scientific knowledge into a story of erotic conquest or even rape, in which the seeker of scientific knowledge is masculinized to take knowledge by force from the coy, reluctant, feminized Nature. In this way, the actions of the Physiognomer associates Christianity with masculinity, while a skillful Jew associates Judaism with a passive femininity. The supposed femininity of Jewish men was a common anti-Semitic trope of the time.

[58] In *Windows of the Soul*, Martin Porter writes of William Horman's 1519 schoolbook for English children, which taught them to reject and avoid people who practiced physiognomy:

> Warning children away from numerous impieties, the author thought it important enough to have the children translate into Latin and recite, catechism-like, 'I believe nat the reders of dremes and fisnomiers.' Later in the same schoolbook, children were warned to avoid those people 'that make them selfe wyse and connuyng to a rede destynyes by lokynge in the strakes of ones hande or forheed and circles and other fygures in the

grownde and drawynge of lottis and redynge of dremes and prophecyenge and suche other make men foolis: that beleue them.' (Porter 131, Horman fol. 19r and 21v)

[59] Hill writes in a letter to the readers at the beginning of *Contemplation*, warning them that despite divinity and physiognomy being misused by the wicked to lead people away from Christ, these arts are still valuable when used correctly:

> The Art of divination by the Stars, the face and hand, is a parcel of Philosophie, and grounded upon long experience, and reason: and therefore not so wicked and detestable as some men do take and repute these. Although it be an Art wherewith many be deceived (through the greedy desire of gain) yet it is no good consequent to say, that the Art therefore is frivolous & naught. Divinity, being the words of God, perfect and most pure, where lurketh no deceit nor leasing, suffereth abuse: for the devil could allege it against Christ: and Antichrist therewith persecuteth his members: because some men with wine be drunken, is wine therefore naught? Put a knife into a mad mans hand, he knoweth not how to use it: but a wise, discrete, and sober man, will never hurt himself wittingly with it. Though some men do guess at random, as touching the proper conditions and qualities of persons, yet the Art laudable and certain is not to be blamed: neither is it to be condemned, though sometimes he pronounceth clean against the persons manners, and conversation. (¶¶iiiR-¶¶iiiV)

[60] The phrase "through his industry and labor conceived" appears to queerly cast the Physiognomer as a mother laboring to bring forth knowledge, until we remember that the Physiognomer's "labor" is actually the work of stealing and exposing Jewish secrets. Through using motherly metaphors to refer to the stealing and exposing of feminized secrets, Hill

attempts to hide this rape of knowledge under the guise of the same feminine actions it is assaulting. In this way, it is clear that the Physiognomer continues to participate in the trope of the man of *scientias* who exposes nature's secrets for all to see in order to recast himself as an all-seeing, all-powerful, all-knowing, Sole Creator.

[61] In *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England*, David Como describes Falconer as "A Catholic priest named John Falconer, who seems to have spent time with Traske in prison" (147).

[62] An anglicization of the Greek *paráklētos*, which roughly translates to "an intercessor, consoler:—advocate, comforter." This term is from the Bible but only appears a handful of times, mostly to refer to the Holy Ghost—not to refer to a human.

[63] Throughout his books leading up to 1618, Traske often writes about how the elect can and do recognize each other, but he does not mention reading foreheads as part of the method of the elect knowing each other or in any other way.

[64] Falconer, as a Catholic, may not have felt any particular need to dismiss this idea, as he might not have believed in predestination, but would certainly not have believed in the Calvinist idea of double-predestination. Therefore, to Falconer, the claim to read damnation was not a matter of authority, it was doctrinally impossible.

[65] The full passage from Falconer's *Brief Refutation*:

> His own and his disciples' prayers are commonly roarings, and such loud outcries as may be heard in distant rooms and houses, voluntarily framed, and filled for the most part with frequent imprecations, that God would confound the adversaries and persecutors of his little flock, such as walk in the lust of their own flesh, eating like the Idolatrous Gentiles all prohibited and unclean meats, profaning his

holy Sabaoth, and changing it into another day never commanded by him, but by themselves invented; Frequently rendering thanks to God for keeping them so holy as hitherto he hath done, and desiring him according to their uprightness to bless and protect them. Pretended revelations also are not wanting amongst them. He will tell you of strange abstinences from food and other great austerities used by himself, notwithstanding his cheeks seem full, and his body still fat and in good liking. He will with great glory utter the singular approvement made of him in his Ministerial ordination, when other Country Scholars were rejected, himself having never been more than a guest in any University." (7-8)

[66] In fact, if Traske's forehead-reading was a rumor invented by his detractors, it is likely that forehead-reading was chosen because it was seen as the Jewish equivalent of infallibly reading another's election.

[67] However, based on Foley's records, it seems likely that Falconer was already in jail at the time of writing *A Brief Refutation*—the details he gives of Traske seem to suggest, as previously mentioned, that Falconer was imprisoned with Traske and gained some knowledge of him while in prison. Falconer's banishment was actually a quite merciful arrangement by Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, designed to free Falconer and other Jesuits from prison and release them to other missions on the continent: "Fa. Baldwin, the Jesuit, is enlarged, and in the house of the Spanish ambassador, who hath taken his leave, and is departing homewards. There is likewise liberty given to all Romish priests lying in prisons about London, to depart in the ambassador's train" (Bourgchier 358).

[68] Nicholas McDowell dates the Judaized Puritan trope as far back as 1607, when Thomas Rogers wrote in *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England* that Presbyterians were

teaching that Sunday must be kept "even as the old Sabbath was of the Jews" (sig ¶¶¶2r), which he considered to be a "new, and more than either Jewish, or Popish superstition" (sig ¶¶¶1v).

[69] Busy is referred to as a "rabbin" in 5.5.107 and as "Rabbi Busy" in 1.3.115, 1.6.91, 4.6.83, and 5.6.42.

[70] McDowell, for example, considers the characterization of Traske as espousing Jewish doctrine to be a strictly political accusation, designed to make Traske into a show trial. McDowell sees no references to the Judaism that Traske was accused of in his writing: "[…] Traske's three publications between 1615 and 1616 appear theologically (as well as rhetorically) innocuous. Not only do these tracts make no reference to the judaizing heresy for which Traske was later imprisoned and tortured, the two publications of 1615 make explicit attacks on Puritanism, separatism and sectarianism […]" (350-351).

[71] McDowell further argues:

> By playing upon the deeply ingrained fear of the Jew as demonic 'other' in the early modern English imagination, the government could use the public exhibition of Traske's sedition and accounts of a proliferating Traskite sect to create a scare campaign which conjured the spectre of 'Judaicial opinions' sweeping the country. By representing Traske's Jewish legalism as a form of Puritanism, the sabbatarian reaction to the *Book of Sports* could be stigmatized as incipient Judaism and sectarian extremism. Hence the decision to punish Traske publicly in the weeks immediately after the national extension of the Declaration, despite the fact that he had been imprisoned since the previous November and had been preaching his judaizing doctrine since the beginning of 1617. (360)

[72] Throughout history, branding has been used by many societies to permanently mark bodies, most often as a sign of ownership, punishment, or religious affiliation. In early modern England, branding the body was a common punishment, but branding the forehead was rare. I have not found any justification from early modern legal documents to explain why branding the forehead was rare or why a criminal should be branded on the forehead rather than the chest, shoulder, or hand, but given sumptuary laws and early modern fashion, it seems likely that branding on the forehead is designed to make it more difficult for the person branded to hide their mark.

[73] 1 Timothy 4:1-5 reads:

> Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.

[74] To be clear, I am not claiming that these specific publications inspired Traske's punishment: this would be extremely unlikely, if not impossible, given their publication dates. Sclater's *Exposition* wasn't published until 1619 and wasn't even entered on the Stationer's Register until July 20, 1618, more than a month after Traske was sentenced. Falconer's *Brief Refutation* does not make an explicit claim about when it was published during 1618, nor does it have an entry in the Stationer's Register. But this is its own evidence for a publication date: *Brief Refutation* does not appear in the Stationer's Register because it was printed from the English College Press at St. Omer in France. St. Omer was an offshore haven for English Catholics and Jesuit priests, and it

is very possible that Falconer spent some time there after he was banished from England in late June of 1618, after Traske's sentencing. The most likely scenario is that Falconer stayed some time at St. Omer after his banishment and had *Brief Refutation* published there. It is also possible that the manuscript for *Brief Refutation* was sent overseas to St. Omer, published in early 1618, and made its way to England before the June sentencing, but this does not seem as likely.

[75] Of course, Sclater and Falconer could have created these rumors after the fact to make their writing more interesting, but this does not seem likely, given that both of these texts show signs of being written before Traske's punishment. Sclater points out in his marginalia that his treatise was written before the punishment: "This insolent Sectary hath lately (since the writing this Treatise) received, for his outrageous behaviour, public stigmatical punishment" (26). Falconer makes no reference to Traske's punishment, but does reference his lack of access to a library, suggesting that he is still in prison: "I cite not many authors for any opinions, both because my adversary condemneth such proofs, as also for that I want the commodity of a Library to collect them" (18-19). This suggests that he either wrote this manuscript in confinement, or soon after his banishment when he had not settled in St. Omer.

[76] Ephraim Pagitt reports that Traske despised all printed books except for the Bible: "Thence were all printed books cried down, except only the Bible: not a leaf in any other to be found without an error: So that Ministers and Books being abandoned, Master Traske only was followed by the sheep of Christ" (188). If this rumor is true, there is clear irony in making Traske's body into one of the printed books that he despised.

[77] The hypervisibility of a brand in the forehead versus a brand in another part of the skin is seen here in this passage, in which Edward Sackville, earl of Dorset, condemns William Prynne for being a wolf in sheep's clothing:

Mr. Prynn, I do declare you to be a Schisme-maker in the Church, a Sedition-sower in the Common-wealth, a Wolfe in Sheeps-cloathing, in a word, Omnium malorum nequissimus. […] I do condemn him to perpetual Imprisonment, as those Monsters that are no longer fit to live among Men, nor to see light. Now for Corporal Punishment, (my Lords) whether I should burn him in the Forehead, or slit him in the Nose; for I find, that it is confessed of all, that Doctor Leighton's Offence was less than Mr. Prynn's, then why should Mr. Prynn have a less Punishment? He that was guilty of Murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loth he should escape with his Ears, for he may get a Periwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his Conscience to make use of his unlovely Love-Locks on both sides: Therefore I would have him branded in the Forehead, slit in the Nose, and his Ears cropt too. (Rushworth 242)

Sackville calls Prynne a wolf in sheep's clothing, implying that Prynne has been able to visually hide his wickedness. The brand in the forehead is not only a matter of magnitude of punishment, but also of visibility, the forehead brand describe as a "mark[…] in a place where he might be seen." The forehead brand is the reverse of the wolf in sheep's clothing; instead of hiding under a skin of innocence, Sackville demands that Prynne's very skin testifies of his wickedness.

[78] The trope of God making hidden and secretive things public is also reiterated in Luke 8:17, Mark 4:22, Ecclesiastes 12:14, Matthew 10:26-33

[79] Charles Butler's *English Grammar* (1633) was the first English language book to make a clear distinction between "I" and "J." In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vivian Salmon writes that "[…] ⟨i⟩ and ⟨j⟩ were also still considered as two distinct letters but as

different forms of the same letter: hence ioy for joy and iust for just. Again, the custom of using ⟨i⟩ as a vowel and ⟨j⟩ as a consonant began in the 1630s" (39).

[80] I have modernized spelling for easy reading, but the vast majority of these printed texts use I/i for J/j. "Trask in the Start Chamber, 1619" is the only text that does not substitute "I" for "J," but this text is a twentieth-century copy of a manuscript that might have modernized the typeface and spelling in the process of copying the manuscript (I have not yet amassed the funds to consult the original). Even if this text does use "J/j" in the original, this text was not very accessible to the public circa 1619, and the texts about Traske that were accessible to the public used I/i for J/j.

[81] This claim is unlikely to have been the case. While McDowell argues that Traske's Jewish leanings were overblown, if not entirely manufactured by James and his followers in order to play into the Judaizing Puritan trope, it is certainly clear that they wanted to brand him with a J to convince others that he was espousing Jewish practices. The level to which Traske saw himself as Jewish is unclear (his *Treatise of Liberty* seemed to be a politically strategic move, so any admission in this text to Jewishness could be dismissed as a strategy to be left alone by the government), but it is clear that the Star Chamber did not mark him as a Jew simply because the thought it was a synonym for hypocrisy: they wanted people to excoriate Traske as a Puritan-turned-Jew in order to turn public opinion against Puritans, reframing them as Jews hiding behind the mask of Puritanism.

[82] The Oxford English Dictionary's entry for "forehead, n." gives the following definition: "2b. Command of countenance, unblushing front; assurance, impudence, audacity." The association between impudence and foreheads is also clear in a text search of "impudent forehead" or

"impudent foreheads" in the Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership database, which returns 66 hits for those search terms.

[83] Norice further writes of Traske:

> Mr. John Traske: A man well known by common fame, and yet not known according to his maniforld deceits but of a few, turning and winding himself like another Proteus, into so many forms as that he could not easily be discerned to be the same individual, but decried only by his unconstancy to be none other, because therein he had not his like [..] setting up a conceited new Creature entire of himself, as free from sin as Jesus Christ, to whom nothing belongeth but joy, tranquility, and triumph; nor to that person in whom this new Creature is formed: no, not though he fell into the the foulest sins, and perpetrated the grossest impieties, as murders, or adulteries, or such like, because these were but acted by the flesh, and not at all by the new Creature in him[...] (sig. A3)

[84] Tattooing is also one method of making the body into a text, but even though both tattooing and printing use ink, the technology of tattooing is more similar to writing than printing. Both tattooing and writing make marks through scratching ink into the surface of a skin or page. Printing and branding, on the other hand involve the pressing of metal type onto the surface of a skin or page to create an imprint.

[85] There is no record of Traske having or not having access to medical attention to heal the wounds from his punishment, but if we consider Alexander Leighton's punishment as similar to Traske's it seems unlikely that Traske would have had medical aid. John Rushworth's *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (1680) describes Leighton's punishment as follows:

Friday, November the 16th, part of his Sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the New Palace at Westminster, in Term time:

> 1. He was severely whipt before he was put in the Pillory.
>
> 2. Being set in the Pillory, he had one of his Ears cut off.
>
> 3. One Side of his Nose slit.
>
> 4. Branded on one Cheek with a red hot Iron, with the Letters S. S. signifying a Stirrer up of Sedition, and afterwards carried back again Prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close Custody.
>
> And on that day seven night, his Sores upon his Back, Ear, Nose, and Face being not cured, he was whipt again at the Pillory in Cheap-side, and there had the Remainder of his Sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other Ear, slitting the other Side of the Nose, and branding the other Cheek. (57-58)

The medical neglect that Traske might have experienced in prison would likely have resulted in a more noticeable scar, but what is unclear is whether the wound would have healed in such a way that rendered it illegible and unrecognizable as a letter I/J. This would have been likely if the wound became infected or developed keloids. Branding the skin with a hot iron does not necessarily result in a legible scar; as modern scarification guides make clear, the wound must undergo an incredibly complicated process of irritation and healing post-branding in order for it to develop into a clear and legible scar.

[86] In his *Memoirs*, James Gough tells of an anecdote he heard from James Wilson, a Parliamentarian officer who encountered Nayler in late 1650 and was enthralled by his preaching. Wilson reports:

I observed, at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest ; upon which I sent one of my men to see, and bring me word, what was the meaning of this gathering. And seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner; and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay ; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. (56)

[87] See pages 150-157 of Leo Damrosch's *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit* for an excellent in-depth analysis of the interplay between Nayler's equivocation at his Bristol trial and his followers' testimonies that he was Jesus Christ.

[88] Immediately after the proposal to charge Nayler with "horrid blasphemy," Major Audley exclaimed, "I think there is no man so possessed with the devil as this person is." When some members of parliament argued that "horrid blasphemy" was too harsh and undefined, that the charge should simply be blasphemy, other members, such as Mr. Drake, used the prospect of demonic possession to argue for this harsher charge: "I think him worse than all the papists in the world, worse than possessed with the devil […] My motion is to vote this offence horrid blasphemy" (Burton 55). On the other hand, Lord Strickland utilized the possibility of Nayler's demonic possession to argue for a lesser charge on the grounds that if Nayler was delusional and

not fully aware of his choices: “I believe he is under the saddest temptation of Satan that ever was […] he is under a sad delusion of the devil (56).

[89] David Loewenstein, Leo Damrosch, Christine Trevett, Ronald Matthews, and Emilia Fogelklou all repeat the “B for blasphemy” claim, but they either do not cite sources for this claim or the sources they cite are from unofficial, eighteenth-century texts reporting on Nayler.

[90] Major-general Hezekiah Haynes was the first in the parliamentary debates to suggest stigmatizing Nayler with the letter B. Haynes had risen through the ranks of the parliamentary army in the 1640s, and during the early 1650s he began to take on more administrative tasks for the government. Given his involvement with the government during that time, it is likely that he would have been familiar with the 1650 Act for suppressing incest, adultery, and fornication, and that he had this act in mind when proposing Nayler’s punishment. It is also likely that other members of parliament were familiar with the punishments outlined in the 1650 Act for suppressing incest, adultery, and fornication: Haynes advised that Nayler “be stigmatized with the letter B” without mentioning where the body would be stigmatized (Burton 153), and then without any discussion on the bodily placement of the stigma, Major Audley soon after resolved that Nayler “be marked with the letter B. in the forehead” (154). If members of parliament had been unfamiliar with the punishment of branding the letter B on the forehead, there would have likely been some kind of debate or discussion asking to clarify where on the body the stigmatization would be placed or why the forehead was selected.

[91] In Nayler’s trial, Parliament resolved to refer to Nayler as “a grand impostor, and a great seducer of the people” (Burton 79). John Deacon’s 1657 exposé of Nayler, *The grand impostor examined*, refers to Nayler’s followers as “easily-seduced People” (sig. A5).

[92] Deacon claims that he had a letter from a northern congregation where Nayler was once a member that relates the following account:

> It is offered to be proved, and by them testified to be true, that one Mrs. Roper, her husband being gone on some occasion from her a long voyage, this Nayler frequented her company, & was seen to dandle her upon his knee, and kiss her lasciviously: and in that time of his society with her, she was brought to bed with a child, when her husband had been absent seven and forty weeks to a day from her; and on a time he was seen to dance her in a private room; and having kissed her very often, she took occasion to say, Now James, what would the world say if they should see us in this posture? to which he said somewhat, but he was so low, that it could not be heard. This was objected against him, but he denied to answer it before the said Church; alleging, that he would not speak to them that spoke not immediately by the Spirit (38-39).

Deacon also includes an anonymous account of a Quaker by the name of Disborough, whose affair with Rebecca Burnhill reveal that Nayler had attempted to seduce her:

> Disborough not much inferior to Nayler himself, attempting to lie with one Rebecca (who was first seduced to be, and then was of their heresy) she asked him what his wife would say if she should know what he attempted? Disborough replied, that he gave her the same liberty that he took himself (that was, to be a whore, as he was a whoremaster) but in short, he having obtained his desire of her, she asked him how if she should prove with child, he answered, she must be content to be numbered with the transgressors, and to make her grave with the wicked (so that he followed not that light which is pure, but sinned against

knowledge) and she the said Rebecca, as bewailing her sin, confessed it to one Mr. White a Lincolnshire Gentleman, to whom she added that Nayler attempted to defile her also; so that instead of perfect Saints, they are rather perfect Sophisters. This Relation under the said Gentleman's hand, and the aforementioned letter from the Church, whereof Nayler was once a member, were offered to be proved and made good, in the public meeting at the Bull and Mouth to Nayler's face, more than once or twice, who was unable to say ought unto it, but left his standing and sate down silent. They that offered it so to public trial, were, one Mr. Persivall, and Mr. John Deacon author of the Public discovery of their Secret deceit. (41-42)

[93] The full account of the encounter with Sarah Blackbury in *State Trials* reads

> At Nayler's last examination before the Committee, being Wednesday, the 3rd instant, (December) one William Piggott did inform, that Nayler, sitting in a chair, where he is now a prisoner, one Sarah Blackbury came to him and took him by the hand, and said, 'Rise up, my love, my dove, my fair one, and come away. Why sittest thou among the pots?' And present put her mouth upon his hand, and sunk down upon the ground before him.
>
> To which Nayler himself, being examined by the Committee, confessed she took him by the hand, and spoke the words aforesaid, but denies the putting her mouth upon his hand, and such bowing-down; but saith, that he sat low, and that he was not free to go with her. And Nayler being asked to whom she directed that speech, answered, 'To the Lord, and to him that raiseth from the dust, and casteth them

down that are exalted.' And being asked whether he reproved her for that expression, he answered, he reproved her not. (270)

[94] The mark of Cain was often imagined as a mark on the forehead in early modern texts. In Numbers 16, Corah is listed as a Levite who joined the rebellion against Moses and was consumed by fire as punishment. Traditionally, his name has been translated as "bald," apparently because he originally followed Moses's command to shave his head as a sign of purification and cleanliness. In Rabbinic literature, Corah's wife mocks his bare forehead and head as a disfigurement in order to turn Corah against Moses. Jezebel's associations with marked foreheads comes from the belief that Jezebel used cosmetics to paint her face (2 Kings 9:30) and from the association between Jezebel and The Great Whore in Revelation whose forehead is marked: "And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH" (Revelation 17:5).

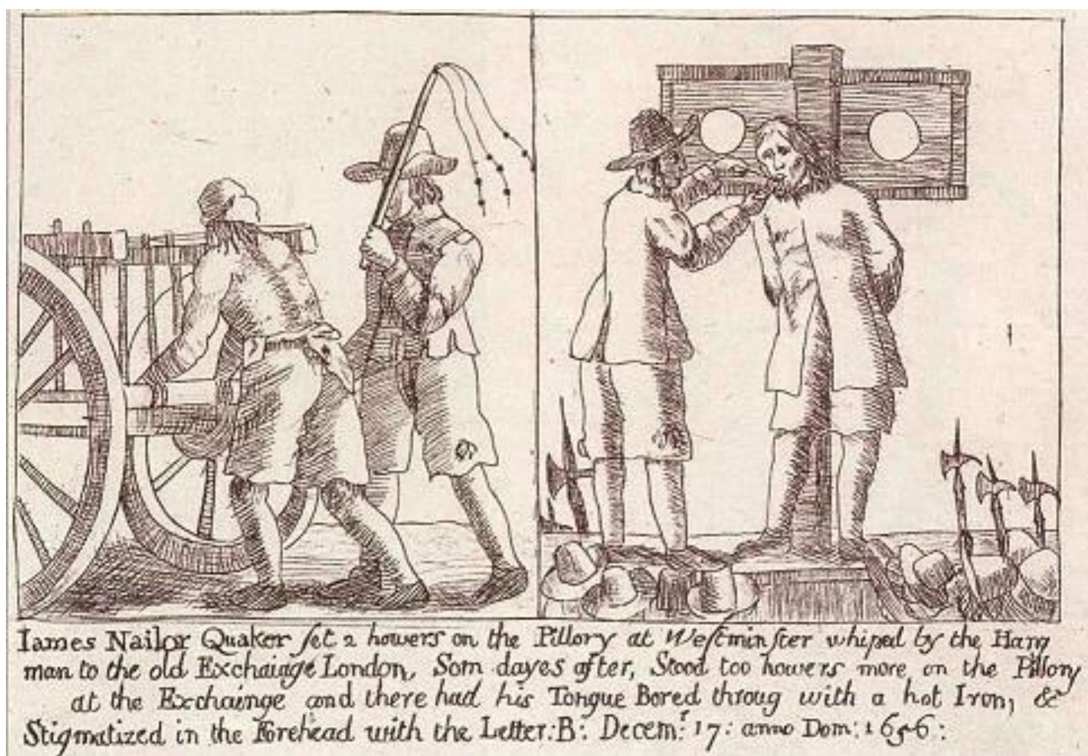
[95] Nayler's performance was also memorable enough that in 2006, the Bristol Radical History Group hosted a reenactment of Nayler's entry into Bristol to commemorate the 350-year anniversary of the event. The description for the event reads: "Be 'your own personal Jesus' and join in with the 'Hosannas' as James Nayler, his palm wielding Cancan Dancers and a troop of Roundhead pike and musketmen parade from the Centre via Corn St. to Castle Green. Refuse to 'doff your caps' to the agents of the Crown and celebrate freedom from the religious hierarchy. Dress: Floppy Hats[.] Attitude: Blasphemous."

[96] This is why the bareheadedness of Nayler's followers at his triumphal entry to Bristol and during his punishment is so important: Quakers only doffed their caps while praying to symbolize that they were in the presence of divinity, so uncovering their heads in Nayler's presence show that they believe his is divine.

[97] For more on the Quaker practice of refusing hat honor, read Susan Wareham Watkins' "Hat Honour, Self-Identity and Commitment in Early Quakerism" in *Quaker History* 103.1. 6

[98] The text over Nayler's head is translated as: "The False Messiah/ James Nayler/ King of the Quakers/ In Year 1657." The text over Sabbatai Sevi's head is translated as: "The False Messiah/ Sabbatai Sevi/ King of the Jews/ In Year 1666."

[99] Aside from the illustrations discussed later in the body of the chapter, I have only found two other images with a hatless Nayler. The first is an etching by Richard Gaywood that shows two etchings of Nayler: on the left side, Nayler wears some kind of head covering (perhaps a hat?) while being whipped; on the right side, Nayler is bareheaded while having his tongue bored through at the pillory (see endnote fig. I). It is likely that Nayler was bareheaded during his punishment, both as a way of mocking Quaker hat honor and in order to provide access to brand his forehead.



Endnote Figure I: Etching of Nayler's punishment (1656-1660) by Richard Gaywood

The second image is a woodcut of Nayler riding into Bristol in a broadside entitled "The Quakers' Ballad," published after a series of disputes between the Quakers and Baptists in London during August 1674 (see endnotes fig. II). Nayler is mentioned twice in the text, once in the ballad as "Nailor":

> 'Twould have made puss laugh, or child in the cri-somes,
>
> To hear us chop logic, and talk syllogisms,
>
> That spiritual cantings of Nailor and 's brood,
>
> Should Apostatize thus into figure and mood. (ll. 49-52)

And once at the bottom of the broadside as "Naylor": "London, Printed for James Naylor." This later attribution is likely ironic. In this print of Nayler in "The Quakers' Ballad," Nayler and all the men are hatless because they are all in the presence of the divine—Nayler himself.

Endnotes Figure II: Print of Nayler riding into Bristol in "The Quakers' Ballad" (1674?).

[100] Although I have focused on the act of redrawing Nayler's portrait, I also want to consider the act of removing Nayler's portrait in the first place. Given that the cuts around the portrait are

precise and that the portrait has been replicated and replaced with such attention to detail, it seems likely that the portrait was removed with purpose and care. Perhaps, like other print illustrations, the portrait was removed to display elsewhere? If so, where and to what purpose? Or maybe one reader disliked the portrait enough to cut it from the page, but a different reader felt that it ought to be replaced? We can only speculate about the answers to these questions, but what is clear is that Nayler's portrait moved at least one reader enough for them to go to the labor of cutting it from the text, sketching a replica, and inserting the new portrait.

[101] The verse reads "As many were astonied at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men."

[102] Consider, for example, the letters marking the forehead of the man from the anatomical fugitive sheet in Geminus's *Compendiosa* (1559) (see endnotes fig. III).

Endnotes Figure III: Detail from anatomical fugitive sheet in Geminus's *Compendiosa* (1559).

[103] Yet on further reflection, this is also true for the illustrations of bodies in anatomies, which are evidence of the bodies fragmented and picked apart so that the body can be known, labels

placed upon them to assist in the process of knowing. Pre- or postmortem, the marked body is marked with violence.

Works Cited

A myraculous, and Monstrous, but yet most true, and certayne discourse, of a Woman (now to be seene in London) of the age of threescore yeares, or there abouts, in the midst of whose fore-head (by the wonderfull worke of God) there groweth out a crooked Horne, of foure ynches long. London: Thomas Orwin, 1588. EEBO. Web. 24 May 2015.

Agüera y Arcas, Blaise, Alexander Todorov, and Margaret Mitchell. “Do algorithms reveal sexual orientation or just expose our stereotypes?” *Medium*, 11 Jan. 2018, https://medium.com/@blaisea/do-algorithms-reveal-sexual-orientation-or-just-expose-our-stereotypes-d998fafdf477, Accessed 4 Oct. 2021.

Andrewes, Lancelot. *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Other Miscellaneous Works of Lancelot Andrewes, sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester*. Edited by John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1854.

Anno XXII Henrici VIII. “An acte concerning outlandishe people callynge them selves Egiptians” Chapter 10. 1530.

Anno XXII Henrici VIII. “And acte concerning how aged, poore and impotent personnes compelled to live by almes, shall be ordered: and howe vagaboundes & mightye stronge beggers shal be punished” Chapter 12. 1530.

Aubrey, John. *"Brief Lives," Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*. Edited by Andrew Clark, vol. 2, Clarendon Press, 1898.

Aune, M. G. “Elephants, Englishmen and India: Early Modern Travel Writing and the Pre-Colonial Movement.” *Early Modern Literary Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, May 2005, http://purl.oclc.org/emls/11-1/auneelep.htm. Accessed 8 Feb 2018.

Banister, John. *The history of man sucked from the sap of the most approved anatomists, in this present age*. London: John Day, 1578.

Borris, Kenneth, and George Rousseau, editors. *The Sciences of Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe*. Routledge, 2008.

Borris, Kenneth. *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance: A Sourcebook of Texts, 1470-1650*. Routledge, 2004.

Bourgchier, Henry. "Letter CCCXLVIII. Sir Henry Bourgchier to Dr. James Ussher." *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D. Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland*, edited by Charles Richard Elrington, vol. 16, Dublin, 1864, pp. 358-359.

Brown, Meg. "Flip, Flap, and Crack: The Conservation and Exhibition of 400+ Years of Flap Anatomies." *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, vol. 32, no. 6, 2013, pp. 6-14. cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v32/bp32-02.pdf. Accessed 2 Apr. 2018.

Browne, Thomas. *Religio Medici*. Edited by J.-J. Denonain, Cambridge UP, 1953.

Bulwer, John. *Pathomyotamia, or, a dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the mind*. London: Humphrey Moseley, 1649.

Burton, Thomas. *Diary of Thomas Burton Esq*, edited by John Towill Rutt, vol. 1, London, 1828.

Carlino, Andrea. *Paper Bodies: A Catalogue of Anatomical Fugitive Sheets, 1538-1687*. Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1999.

Cary, Elizabeth. *The Tragedy of Mariam The Fair Queen of Jewry*. Ed. Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994. Print.

Chapman, Matthieu. *Anti-Black Racism in Early Modern English Drama: The Other "Other"*. Routledge, 2017.

Clayton, James. "Facial recognition beats the Covid-mask challenge" *BBC.com*, 25 Mar. 2021, https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-56517033, Accessed 23 Oct. 2021.

Clement, Taylor. "Moveable Types: the De-Individuated Portrait in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2016, pp. 383-406. *Wiley Online Library*, DOI: 10.1111/rest.12223. Accessed 5 Mar. 2018.

Corvinus, Johann Friedrich, editor. *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum pantheon und geistliches Rüst-Hauss wider die alten Quacker, und neuen Frey-Geiste*. Frankfurt, 1702.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man*. London: William Iaggard, 1615.

Crumpler, William. "How Accurate are Facial Recognition Systems – and Why Does It Matter?" *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, 14 Apr. 2020, https://www.csis.org/blogs/technology-policy-blog/how-accurate-are-facial-recognition-systems-%E2%80%93-and-why-does-it-matter, Accessed 4 Oct. 2021.

Damrosch, Leo. "James Nayler." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19814. Accessed 27 November 2018.

---. *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit*. Harvard UP, 1996.

Deacon, John. *The Grand Impostor Examined: or, The Life, Trial, and Examination of James Nayler, the Seduced and Seducing Quaker with the Manner of his Riding into Bristol*. London, 1656.

Earle, T. F., and K. J. P. Lowe, editors. *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*. Cambridge UP, 2005.

"Emotion, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/61249. Accessed 8 February 2018.

Falconer, John. *A Briefe Refutation of John Traskes Judaical and Novel Fancyes. Stiling himselfe Minister of Gods Word, imprisoned for the Lawes eternall Perfection, or Gods Lawes perfect Eternity*. Saint-Omer, 1618.

Foley, Henry. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Vol 3, London, 1878.

Fox, George and Francis Howgill. *The Papists Strength, Principles, and Doctrines (which They are Sworn to Preach, from the Conncel of Trent, by the Popes Authority, and after Confirmed by the Last General Assembly at Rouen, 1571. All which They Have Sworn to Perform) Answered and Confuted*. London, 1658.

Fox, George, et al. *Saul's Errand to Damascus, with His Packet of Letters from the High Priests against the Disciples of the Lord*. London, 1654.

Galen. *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (*De Usu Partium Corporis Humani*). Translated by Margaret Tallmadge May, Cornell UP, 1968.

Geminus, Thomas (Thomas Lambrit/Lambert). *Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio, aere exarate: per Thomam Geminam*. London: Thomas Lambrit/Lambert, 1559.

Grier Miles P. "Inkface: The Slave Stigma in England's Early Imperial Imagination," *Scripturalizing the Human: The Written as the Political*, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush, Routledge, 2015.

Hájek, Tadeáš. *Aphorismorum Metoposcopicorum libellus unus*. Frankfurt: Andreae Wecheli, 1584.

Hall, Kim. *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*. Cornell UP, 1995.

Hansen, Julie V., and Suzanne Porter. *The Physician's Art: Representations of Art and Medicine*. Duke UP, 1999.

Harris, Alexander. *The Œconomy of the Fleete:or An Apologeticall Answeare of Alexander Harris (Late Warden There) Unto XIX Articles Sett Forth Against Him by the Prisoners*. Edited by Augustus Jessopp, London, 1879.

Herrlinger, Robert. "Die geschundene Haut im barocken anatomischen Titelkupfer." *Verhandlungen des XX, internationelen Kongresses für Geschichte der Midizin*, edited by Heinz Goerke and Heinze Müller-Dietz, Ohlms, 1968, 474-496.

Hill, Thomas. *The Contemplation of Mankinde, contayning a singuler discourse after the Art of Phisiognomie*. London: William Seres, 1571.

James, Susan. *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

Jonson, Ben. "Bartholomew Fair." *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, edited by David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, Eric Rasmussen, W. W. Norton & Company, 2002, 961-1065.

Korhonen, Anu. "Washing the Ethiopian White: Conceptualising Black Skin in Renaissance England." *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, edited by T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge UP, 2005, pp. 94-112.

Kyd, Thomas. "The Spanish Tragedy," *English Renaissance Drama*, eds. David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, Eric Rasmussen, W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.

Levin, Sam. “Face-reading AI will be able to detect your politics and IQ, professor says.” *The Guardian*, 12 Sep. 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/sep/12/artificial-intelligence-face-recognition-michal-kosinski, Accessed 4 Oct. 2021.

Luborsky, Ruth Samson and Elizabeth Morley Ingram. *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536-1603*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998.

Marcus, Leah S. *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes*. U Of Chicago P, 1986.

“May 1650: An Act for Suppressing the Detestable Sins of Incest, Adultery and Fornication.” *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, edited by C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, London, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1911, 387-389.

McDowell, Nicholas. “The Stigmatizing of Puritans as Jews in Jacobean England: Ben Jonson, Francis Bacon and the *Book of Sports* Controversy.” Renaissance Studies, 19, 3, 2005, pp. 348-363.

McEachern, Claire. “Why Do Cuckolds Have Horns?” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71.4 (Dec. 2008): 607-31. Print.

“Motion, n.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/122693. Accessed 8 February 2018.

Nayler, James, et al. *A True Narrative of the Examination, Trial, and Sufferings of James Nayler in the Cities of London and Westminster, and his Deportment under Them*. London, 1657.

Nickalls, John. *Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain*. Friends’ Historical Society, 1958.

Norice Edward. *The New Gospel not the True Gospel or, a Discovery of the Life and Death, Doctrine, and Doings of Mr. John Traske, and the Effects of All, in His Followers*. London, 1638.

Ozer, Nicole, Kate Ruane, and Matt Cagle. “Grassroots Activists are Leading the Fight to Stop Face Recognition. It’s Time for Congress to Step Up, Too.” *ACLU*, 17 Jun. 2021, https://www.aclu.org/news/privacy-technology/grassroots-activists-are-leading-the-fight-to-stop-face-recognition-its-time-for-congress-to-step-up-too/, Accessed 4 Oct. 2021.

Pagitt, Ephraim. *Heresiography, or a Description and History of the Hereticks and Sectaries Sprang Up in these Latter Times*. London, 1661.

Paré, Ambroise. *The works of that famous chirurgeon Ambrose Parey translated out of Latin and compared with the French*. London: Translated by Thomas Johnson, Thomas Cotes and Richard Young, 1634.

Parker, John Henry. Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Other Miscellaneous Works of Lancelot Andrewes, sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester. London, R. Clay, 1854.

Paster, Gail Kern, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, editors. *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2004.

Phillips, Henry E. I. “An Early Stuart Judaising Sect.” *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)*, 15, 1935, pp. 63-72.

Porter, Martin. *Windows of the Soul: Physiognomy in European Culture 1470-1780*. Oxford UP, 2005.

“Print, n. and adj.2.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, July 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/151479. Accessed 28 November 2018.

Read, Alexander. *The manual of the anatomy or dissection of the body of man containing the enumeration, and description of the parts of the same, which usually are shewed in the public anatomical exercises*. London: John Haviland, 1638.

Rogers, Thomas. *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed, & Protected in the Realme of England, and Dominions of the Same*. Cambridge, 1607.

Saunders, Richard. *Physiognomie, and Chiromance, Metoposcopie, The Symmetrical Proportions and Signal Moles of the Body, Fully and accurately handled; with their Natural-Predictive Significations*. London, R. White, 1653.

Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. Routledge, 1995.

Sclater, William. An Exposition with Notes upon the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. London, 1619.

Shakespeare, William. "As You Like It." *The Norton Shakespeare*, eds. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus. 2 vols. W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

---. "The Winter's Tale." *The Norton Shakespeare*, eds. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus. 2 vols. W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

Simmonds, Martha et al. *O England; Thy Time Is Come*. London, 1656[?].

Simons, Patricia. "Emotion." *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, edited by Susan Broomhall, Routledge, 2017, 36-39.

Smith, Ian. "The Textile Black Body: Race and 'shadowed livery' in *The Merchant of Venice*," *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub. Oxford UP, 2016.

“Sordid, adj. and n.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/184862. Accessed 13 April 2018.

Spencer, Carol Dale. “The Man Who ‘Set Himself as a Sign’: James Nayler’s Incarnational Theology.” *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought: 1647-1723*, Edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, Cambridge UP, 2015, 64-82.

Spenser, Edmund. *The faerie queene disposed into XII bookes, fashioning twelue morall vertues*, H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1609.

The Bible. Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha, 1998, Oxford UP, 2008.

“The Printer to the Reader,” in “An explanation of the fashion and use of three and fifty Instruments of Chirurgery,” in *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man* ed. Helkiah Crooke. London: Thomas and Richard Cotes, 1631.

“Trask in the Star-Chamber, 1619.” *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 5, 1916–17, pp. 8-14.

Traske, John. *A Treatise of Libertie from Judaisme, or an Acknowledgement of true Christian Libertie*. London, 1620.

---. *The True Gospel Vindicated, from the Reproach of a New Gospel*. London[?], 1636.

Traub, Valerie, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dympna Callaghan, editors. *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*. Cambridge UP, 1996.

Trevett, Christine. *Women and Quakerism in the 17th Century*. York, England, The Ebor Press, 1991.

Vesalius, Andreas. *The Fabric of the Human Body: An Annotated Translation of the 1543 and 1555 Editions of “De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem.”* Edited by Daniel H. Garrison and Malcolm H. Hast, Karger, 2014.

Vesling, Johann. *The Anatomy of the Body of Man: Wherein is exactly described every Part thereof, in the same Manner as it is Commonly shewed in Public Anatomies*. Translated by Nicholas Culpepper. London: Peter Cole, 1653.

Vincent, Thomas. *God's Terrible Voice in the City*. London, 1667.

Wang, Yilun and Michal Kosinski. "Deep neural networks are more accurate than humans at detecting sexual orientation from facial images." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 114, no. 2, 15 Feb 2017, pp. 246–257. *OSF*, DOI: 10.17605/OSF.IO/ZN79K. Accessed 4 Oct. 2021.

Whitehead, George. *A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles and Papers Written by James Nayler, Some of which Were never before Printed. With an Impartial Relation of the Most Remarkable Transactions Relating to His Life*. London, 1716.

Wilderson, Frank, Patrice Douglass, and Selamawit Terrefe, "Afro-pessimism," *Oxford Bibliographies*, Oxford UP, Last modified August 28, 2018, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780190280024-0056.