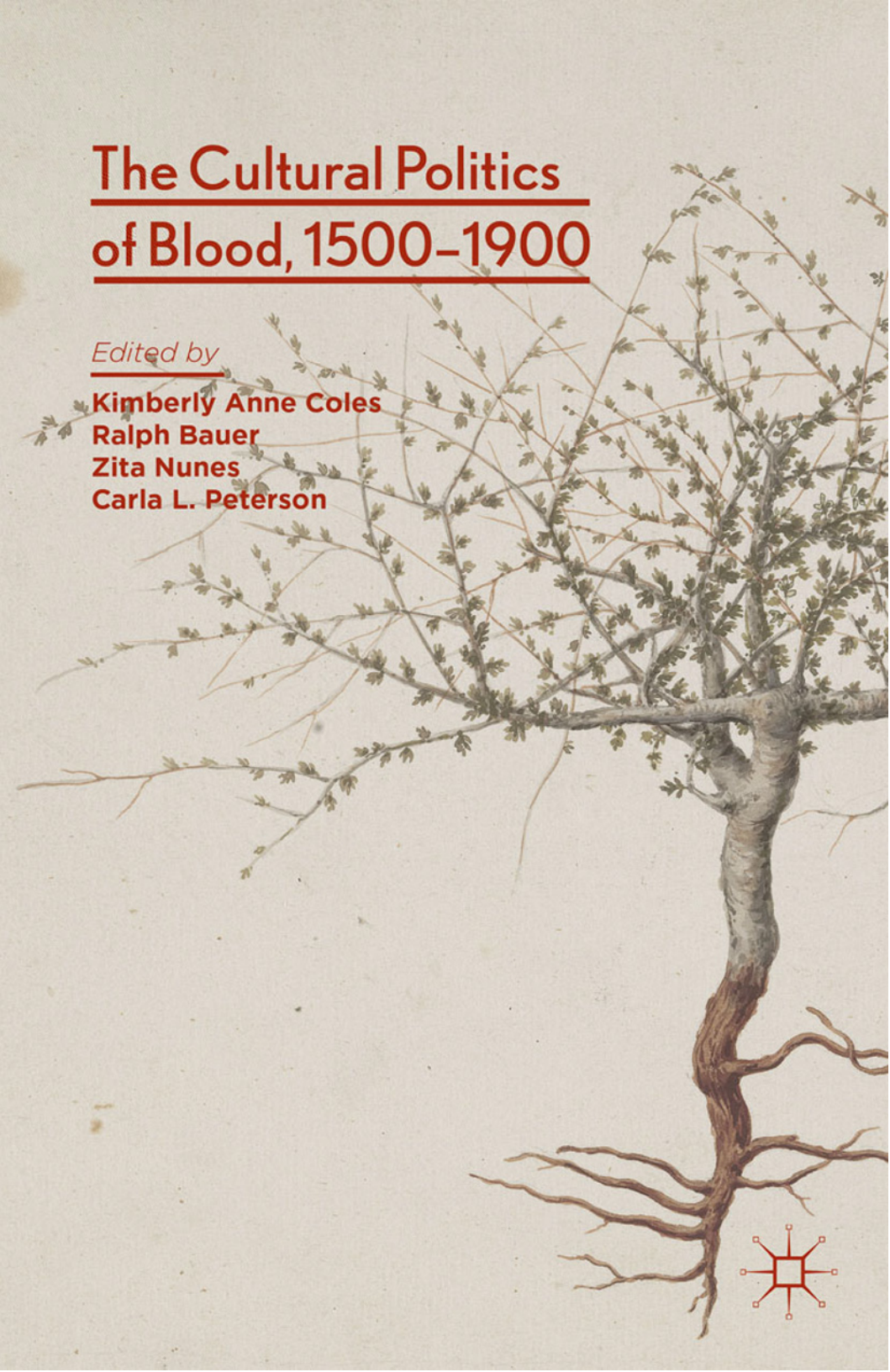
The Cultural Politics of Blood, 1500–1900

Edited by

Kimberly Anne Coles
Ralph Bauer
Zita Nunes
Carla L. Peterson



The Cultural Politics of Blood, 1500–1900

This page intentionally left blank

The Cultural Politics of Blood, 1500–1900

Edited by

Kimberly Anne Coles
Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Maryland, USA

Ralph Bauer
Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Maryland, USA

Zita Nunes
Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Maryland, USA

and

Carla L. Peterson
Professor Emerita, Department of English, University of Maryland, USA

palgrave
macmillan

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-33820-4

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-1-349-46395-4 ISBN 978-1-137-33821-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137338211

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Contents

List of Illustrations vii

Foreword by Priscilla Wald viii

Acknowledgments xii

Notes on Contributors xiii

Introduction 1
Kimberly Anne Coles, Ralph Bauer, Carla L. Peterson, and Zita Nunes

Part I Race and Stock

1 Metamateriality and Blood Purity in Cervantes's Alcaná de Toledo 25
Rachel L. Burk

2 The Blood of Others: Breeding Plants, Animals, and White People in the Spanish Atlantic 45
Ruth Hill

3 "Rude Uncivill Blood": The Pastoral Challenge to Hereditary Race in Fletcher and Milton 65
Jean E. Feerick

4 African Blood, Colonial Money, and Respectable Mulatto Heiresses Reforming Eighteenth-Century England 84
Lyndon J. Dominique

Part II Moral Constitution

5 "His blood be on us and on our children": Medieval Theology and the Demise of Jewish Somatic Inferiority in Early Modern England 107
M. Lindsay Kaplan

6 Sor Juana's Appetite: Body, Mind, and Vitality in "First Dream" 127
Anna More

7 Blood and Character in Early African American Literature 146
Hannah Spahn

Part III Medicalizing the Political Body

8 Flowing or Pumping? The Blood of the Body Politic in Burton, Harvey, and Hobbes 171
Robert Appelbaum

9 Linnaeus and the Four Corners of the World 191
Staffan Müller-Wille

10 "Who Got Bloody?": The Cultural Meanings of Blood during the Civil War and Reconstruction 210
James Downs

11 Colonial Transfusions: Cuban Bodies and Spanish Loyalty in the Nineteenth Century 229
David Sartorius

Further Reading 251

Index 258

List of Illustrations

Cover *Commiphora gileadensis* (L.) C. Chr. (Balm of Gilead, Opobalsam): finished drawing of tree's habit (with roots). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art

1.1 Title page of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Qvixote de la Mancha* (editio princeps 1605). Courtesy of the Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia 38

9.1 "Man's" place in the system of nature. Detail from Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae, sive Regna Tria Naturae Systematice Proposita per Classes, Ordines, Genera, & Species* (Leiden: Theodor Haak, 1735) 192

9.2 Frontispiece of Carl Linnaeus, *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam, 1738). Courtesy of WikiCommons 200

9.3 Entry for "Homo Sapiens" in Linnaeus's personal, annotated copy of the tenth edition of *Systema Naturae* (1758). Linnean Society London, Library and Archives, Linnaean Collections, *Systema Naturae*, 10th edn (1758), Sign. BL.16. By permission of the Linnean Society of London 201

9.4 Page with descriptions of human varieties in Linnaeus's personal, annotated copy of the twelfth edition of *Systema Naturae* (1766). Linnean Society London, Library and Archives, Linnaean Collections, *Systema Naturae*, 12th edn (1758), Sign. BL.21. By permission of the Linnean Society of London 202

Foreword

Follow blood back to its source, and we arrive at the beginning of all life: the sea. This is an origin story that the science writer Bernard Seeman tells in his 1961 story of blood, *The River of Life: The Story of Man's Blood from Magic to Science*. His story begins terrestrially—with an "earth ... hot with the violence of its birth"—but moves quickly to the sea as the source of life, and blood.[1] In his narrative, the slow course of evolution over millennia leads quickly to a "form" that "closed itself around the sea" (11). But when it left its primal home, it carried its memory materially with it—literally, in the blood: "The watery environment that was essential to life and which primitive life forms could not leave, became the blood" (11). The sea-turned-blood allowed these organisms to venture onto the primordial earth, "but, wherever they went, they could never fully forsake the mother sea" (11–12).

As surely as human beings need blood to survive, we need stories to make sense of our lives. Not all stories are created equal, of course. Rudyard Kipling does not offer his *Just So* stories as science, for example; he is not concerned with the empirical evidence of how the leopard got his spots or the camel got his hump. Science has its own stories about the world. Theories, discoveries, and explanations all rely on language, and, typically, the conventions of narrative as they circulate through the scientific community and beyond. Based as they may be on state of the art technologies and rigorously controlled experiments, these stories are nonetheless subject to human limitations. Technologies depend on human analysts, and they obscure as well as reveal. Scientists' cultural assumptions influence everything from the choices that underpin scientific experimentation to the interpretation of the results and the language in which they are reported. Those limitations do not detract from the valuable understanding of the world that scientific inquiry makes possible. Rather, they set the terms for productive collaborations between scientists and literary critics. Literary critical analysis of the stories of science can—like any technology—elucidate the assumptions and open them up for inspection.

Seeman's story of blood offers an excellent example. Writing for a general young adult audience, he works to capture the drama of creation in the language of a just so story: "The earth was hot with the violence of its birth. There was no life. There was not even the sea" (9).

The language of creation moves quickly to the description of a birth: "This new form closed itself around the sea. The sea no longer flowed through this creature, carrying sustenance to its cells. Instead, food and oxygen were removed from the sea outside, passed through certain openings or membranes into the fluids of a closed circulatory system and thence to each of the cells ... Thus the river of life was born" (11). In the process of evolution that Seeman describes, blood, the life force, contains this memory of the sea: "The organism out of which man ultimately evolved, encompassed and enclosed a portion of the sea. The watery environment that was essential to life and which primitive life forms could not leave, became the blood—an internal environment which, being portable, allowed this higher organism a mobility that had previously been impossible ... But, wherever [such organisms and their descendants] went, they could never fully forsake the mother sea" (11).

I have begun with, and dwelled on, Seeman's account because of how richly it exemplifies the themes of this volume. This scientific creation story conveys the centrality of blood to human existence and to social relations. In Seeman's account, the sea becomes "mother" to us all. This is an inclusive creation story, extending back to a time—and medium—that predates humanity's divisive social distinctions. But the choice of "mother" also illustrates the inextricability of blood from kinship, which distinguishes as it conjoins. "Blood relations," as the following essays show, names the socially foundational metaphor of kinship and the paradox of biology. "Blood ties" are both the metaphorical glue of any kinship system and the material conditions that make one's nearest biological kinfolk the best candidates for a life-sustaining blood or organ donation in the case of a life-threatening event. The power of blood is so difficult to decipher because it is at once the foundational social metaphor and the most basic necessity for life.

Although *The Cultural Politics of Blood* is not about HIV/AIDS, the pandemic dramatized the themes it elucidates; its impact is evident in the work of critics whose imaginations could not help but be formed by it. The early years of the pandemic powerfully illustrated the dangers inherent in the inextricable circulation of blood as both substance and metaphor. In both iterations, the complexity of blood manifested a world grappling with its unprecedented connectedness. The topics considered in the essays in this volume are evident in the medical science, socioeconomics, and cultural implications of HIV/AIDS. Paula Treichler christens HIV/AIDS "simultaneously an epidemic of a transmissible lethal disease and an epidemic of meanings or signification," by which she means the pandemic is "cultural and linguistic as well as biological

and biomedical."[2] Drawing on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, she explains, "the term *signification* ... calls attention to the way in which a language (or any other 'signifying system') organizes rather than labels experience (or the world)" (331, n2). As Douglas Crimp similarly insists, "AIDS does not exist apart from the practices that conceptualize it, represent it, and respond to it. We know AIDS only in and through those practices."[3] The pandemic crystallized the inextricability—and irreducibility—of biology and semiotics. The considerable documentation in the mainstream media of scientific medicine's coming to terms with the mysterious ailments made the connections increasingly difficult for a lay readership as well as medical professionals to ignore. The semiotics of HIV/AIDS shaped the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of the pandemic, but also significantly affected diagnoses, treatments, and health outcomes.

It is a tragic irony that HIV/AIDS was not initially recognized as transmissible through blood—evidence of the power of story in the workings of medical science. The length of time the story went bloodless, moreover, is especially surprising considering how it was shaped by the history of blood: specifically, the metaphors of circulation as simultaneously life-sustaining and life-threatening. HIV/AIDS infused a changing story about a global body politic that interleaved intensifying senses of connectedness and estrangement. The terror of contagion spoke volubly of the danger of strange bodies in intimate contact, but there was a perverse reassurance when nations gave way to networks, and the anonymous contacts of an atomistic world became the unexpected intimacies of a global village.

Coursing through the circulatory systems of individuals and illuminating their contacts and routes, HIV/AIDS bore witness to the signifying relations of an emerging world system: the bloodlines of the theosocial. In popular culture, it has given rise to an obsession with viruses that turn the infected into the undead. In the form of zombies, the conversion depicts the fear of the crassly material—the body without its animating soul. But in the vampire, the complexity of the blood metaphor finds its fullest expression. Some still bear the marks of Bram Stoker's putrescent anti-hero, but the trend in vampires, at least since the 1980s, is toward the witty, urbane, and of course deadly sexy. The transcendent bloodlessness of these beings is tempered by an appetite that signals the recursive pull of the human in all of its lusty barbarities. Blood, after all, will out.

Although the following essays are not specifically concerned with vampires or HIV/AIDS, they bring to the surface the terms of a cultural

preoccupation as they trace the bloodline back more than five centuries to show the co-evolution of science and stories in the articulation of human relations. The historical breadth of *The Cultural Politics of Blood* shows how the metaphor of blood, and the bodily distinctions it produced, accompanied the long history of colonialism and left its legacy in the mutual entanglements of scientific medicine and cultural geopolitics. The volume chronicles how the biologization of human distinctions expressed as blood, kinship, race, or some other marker, have facilitated the naturalization of power relations and, in turn, how those relations come back to life in the laboratories, clothed in the science of blood. This long history of human difference "written in blood" is compulsory reading for anyone interested in the myths of our contemporary moment and the bloodless futures we might imagine.

Priscilla Wald
Professor of English and Women's Studies
Duke University, USA

Notes

1. Bernard Seeman, *The River of Life: The Story of Man's Blood from Magic to Science* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), 9.
2. Paula Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicles of AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 11, 1.
3. Douglas Crimp, "AIDS: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism," in *AIDS: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism*, ed. Douglas Crimp (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 3–16, 3. Originally an issue of *October* 43 (Winter 1987).

Acknowledgments

We thank Robert Levine, Karen Nelson, and the Center for Literary and Comparative Studies in the Department of English at the University of Maryland for their support of the conference "Bloodwork: The Politics of the Body, 1500–1900," which took place 6–7 May 2011 at the University of Maryland and provided the starting point for this volume. The conference was made possible through generous funding on the part of the Office of the Vice President of Research and the College of Arts and Humanities. We are grateful to these funding bodies and to the department itself for hosting the event; particular gratitude is due to Kent Cartwright, who as chair of the department, shepherded the conference to its fruition.

We dedicate this volume to our students—past, present, and future.

Notes on Contributors

Robert Appelbaum is Professor of English Literature, Uppsala University, Sweden, and Fellow of the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study, South Africa. He is the author of many articles and several books on the interconnections between politics, literature, culture, and the body, including *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections: Literature, Culture, and Food Among the Early Moderns*, winner of the 2007 Roland H. Bainton Award. His latest book is *Working the Aisles: A Life in Consumption* (2014).

Ralph Bauer is an Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Maryland, College Park, USA. His research interests include the literatures and cultures of the colonial Americas, early modern studies, hemispheric studies, and the history of science. His publications include *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (2003; 2008), *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru* (2005), and (co-edited with José Antonio Mazzotti) *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities* (2009). He is currently at work on a monograph provisionally titled "The Alchemy of Conquest: Prophecy, Discovery, and the Secrets of the New World."

Rachel L. Burk's book project, *Con sangre entra: Blood and Purity in Early Modern Iberia*, is a study of literary and visual works that marshal distinct understandings of blood to resist the racializing doctrine of blood purity in Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Currently an Assistant Professor at Notre Dame of Maryland University, USA, she has taught at Tulane, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Universidade de Lisboa, the last as a Fulbright scholar. She holds a PhD in Hispanic Studies from the University of Pennsylvania and an AB in English from Columbia.

Kimberly Anne Coles is an Associate Professor at the University of Maryland, USA. Her book *Religion, Reform, and Women's Writing in Early Modern England* (2008; 2010) examines the influence of women writers on religious identity and its cultural expression in the sixteenth century. She has published articles in *ELR*, *Modern Philology*, and *RES* on the topics of women's writing, gender, and religious ideology. Her current book project, *"A fault of humour"*: *The Constitution of Belief in Early Modern*

England, contends with the physiological and philosophical context that makes moral constitution (the framework within which religious ideology is understood) a feature of the blood.

Lyndon J. Dominique is Assistant Professor of English at Lehigh University, USA, specializing in eighteenth-century literature and issues related to critical race studies, colonialism and transatlanticism, gender, and social justice. He received his BA with honors from the University of Warwick and his PhD from Princeton University. He is the editor of the anonymously published 1808 novel *The Woman of Colour* (2007) and the author of a monograph, *Imoinda's Shade: Marriage and the African Woman in Eighteenth-Century British Literature, 1759–1808* (2012). Currently, he is working on a book about the concept and narrative forms of social justice peculiar to literature written in eighteenth-century Britain.

James Downs is an Associate Professor of History at Connecticut College, USA. He earned his BA from the University of Pennsylvania and his PhD from Columbia University. He is the author of *Sick from Freedom*: *African American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (2012). He has published articles in *The New York Times*, *The Lancet*, *Time Magazine*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and he blogs for the *Huffington Post*. He co-edited *Taking Back the Academy* (2004) with Jennifer Manion and edited *Why We Write: The Politics and Practice of Writing for Social Change* (2006).

Jean E. Feerick teaches in the Department of English at John Carroll University, USA. She is the author of *Strangers in Blood: Relocating Race in the Renaissance* (2010) and co-editor, with Vin Nardizzi, of *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature* (Palgrave, 2012). Her interests include theories of race and nation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, literature and science, and early modern ecology. Her essays have appeared in *Shakespeare Studies*, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, *English Literary Renaissance*, *Renaissance Drama*, and *South Central Review*, and a forthcoming essay on race and grafting will appear in *A Handbook on Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*. She is currently at work on a project on Shakespeare and the four elements.

Ruth Hill is Professor of Spanish and Andrew W. Mellon Chair of the Humanities at Vanderbilt University, USA, where she teaches courses in Transatlantic Studies, Latin American Studies, and Hemispheric American Studies. She is the author of *Sceptres and Sciences in the Spains: Four Humanists and the New Philosophy* (2000), which explores the

reception of Bacon, Gassendi, Newton, and Vico in Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and Peru, and of *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America* (2005), which addresses the reforms and failures of Enlightenment modernization efforts. She is currently working on a history of Aryanism in the Americas entitled *Incas, Aztecs, and Other White Men: A Hemispheric History of Hate*, and on a study of whitening and racialization in South America and the American South called *Race and the Hemispheric South from Simón Bolívar to Hinton Rowan Helper*.

M. Lindsay Kaplan teaches in the English Department of Georgetown University, USA. She authored *The Culture of Slander in Early Modern England*, co-edited, with Valerie Traub and Dympna Callaghan, *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, edited a contextual volume of *The Merchant of Venice*, and has written essays on gender, Jews, and race, most recently "The Jewish Body in Black and White in Medieval and Early Modern England," in *Modern Philology*. Her current book project demonstrates how the concept of Jewish perpetual servitude, developed in medieval Christian theology, contributes to the construction of early modern race.

Anna More is Professor of Hispanic Literatures at the University of Brasília, Brazil. Her research focuses on the colonial period of Latin America, particularly on seventeenth-century Mexico. She is the author of *Baroque Sovereignty: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Creole Archive of Colonial Mexico* (2013) which received an honorable mention for the LASA Mexican Studies Humanities Award. She has also written articles on seventeenth-century science, poetics, and historiography in Mexico and is currently editing the forthcoming Norton Critical Edition of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

Staffan Müller-Wille is Senior Lecturer and Co-director of Egenis, the Centre for the Study of the Life Sciences, at the University of Exeter, UK. He has published extensively on the history of natural history, heredity, and genetics. Among the more recent publications is a book co-authored with Hans-Jörg Rheinberger on *A Cultural History of Heredity* (2012).

Zita Nunes is Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Maryland, USA. The author of *Cannibal Democracy: Race and Representation in the Literature of the Americas* (2008), she has published widely on African Diaspora literature and politics. Her current book project is *The Hue of the Dove: The Peace Movement and Black Internationalism*. She is also working on a reevaluation of the Third

Pan-African Congress (1923) from the perspective of extensive journalistic commentary in black student newspapers in Portugal, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, as well as a number of African countries.

Carla L. Peterson is Professor Emerita in the Department of English at the University of Maryland, USA. She specializes in nineteenth-century African American literature, culture, and history and has published numerous essays in this field. She is the author of *"Doers of the Word": African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* (1995), and more recently, *Black Gotham: A Family History of African Americans in Nineteenth-Century New York City* (2011), a social and cultural history of black life in nineteenth-century New York City as seen through the lens of family history.

David Sartorius is Associate Professor of History at the University of Maryland. His research focuses on race, empire, and the African diaspora in the Caribbean. His publications include *Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba* (2013) and "Race in Retrospect: Thinking with History in Nineteenth-Century Cuba," in *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, ed. Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, and David Nirenberg (2012). He has also co-edited two special issues of journals dedicated to transnational history: "Dislocations across the Americas" (*Social Text*, 2010) and "Revolutions and Heterotopias" (*Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 2012).

Hannah Spahn is Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin at the Department of English and American Studies, University of Potsdam, Germany. She is author of *Thomas Jefferson, Time, and History* (2011) and *Thomas Jefferson und die Sklaverei: Verrat an der Aufklärung?* (2002) and co-editor, with Peter Nicolaisen, of *Cosmopolitanism and Nationhood in the Age of Jefferson* (2013). Her current book project focuses on African American conceptions of character and cosmopolitanism in the long nineteenth century.

Introduction

Kimberly Anne Coles, Ralph Bauer, Carla L. Peterson, and Zita Nunes

Social scientists, historians, and literary historians have struggled to explain why group identity and group difference were so often mapped onto the human body in pre-modern and early modern times, when biology was not yet available as an explanatory model; nonetheless, it is clear that the articulation of systems of social discrimination through a language of the body predates the emergence of biology as a science. *The Cultural Politics of Blood* surveys how conceptions of the blood—one of the four bodily fluids known as humors in the early modern period—permeate discourses of human difference from 1500 to 1900. In gathering this collection of essays, we explore how medical theory, at different points in Western history, has supported fantasies of human embodiment and human difference that serve to naturalize hierarchies already in place. We begin with the assumption that one of the most enduring and controversial signifiers of difference, namely that of "race," is still under construction today and that our understanding of the term would profit through an engagement with its long, evolving, history. The essays here interrogate how fluid transactions of the body have been used to justify existing social arrangements over four hundred years in England and Spain and in the Anglo- and Ibero-Americas. We choose this expansive geopolitical area as our field of investigation because of both the shared, if adversarial, colonial interests of England and Spain, and the complex political relationships that their respective colonial activities produced. Our volume examines how medical theory concerning the nature of blood shaped cultural and political agendas, and vice versa, over an extended history and within various contexts.

The deconstruction of nineteenth-century "scientific" racism may have challenged claims to a biological explanation of cultural, economic, and social difference, but this critique does not account fully

for the enduring sociopolitical power of its logic, rooted in naturalized conceptions of difference, which predate the nineteenth century.[1] The consensus among literary and cultural historians of the pre-modern and early modern periods has been that this terminology of the body is acquitted of race because it frequently gestures toward what we define as culture: "while the language of race [in early sources]—gens, natio, 'blood,' 'stock,' etc.—is biological," the medievalist Robert Bartlett writes, "its ... reality was almost entirely cultural."[2] Bartlett's assertion reflects the widespread opinion among scholars that the discriminations of pre-modern and early modern peoples were based upon cultural, as opposed to physiological, difference—precisely because these discriminations were so often directed against cultural and religious others. There are two significant problems with this view: first, to say that somatic vocabularies underwrite a cultural difference and not a physiological reality is to describe any racial ideology; second, these opinions rest upon modern apprehensions of both culture and physiology.[3]

The essays collected here reopen the question of the pre-modern origins of the modern concept of race. A central theme is the recognition that the concept of race as used in the modern Anglophone world is not a trans-historical category by which we can explain the history of colonialism across time and space. Rather, it is the product of a quite distinct colonial history as it unfolded in the British settler and plantation colonies from the seventeenth century, as age-old ideas of hereditary blood interacted and fused with classically informed scientific theories of the human body, in particular humoral theory, whose constellation depended on factors that were understood to be contingent. If we broaden both the geographical and historical scope to include the Iberian world and the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, as we do in this collection, we find that the interaction between notions of blood in terms of heredity and notions of blood in terms of science took on myriad forms that were locally, historically, and culturally specific. Our volume is not organized according to period or discipline, but according to themes connected by the overarching concept of blood. It is trans-historical and transnational and draws together literary critics and historians of cultures on both sides of the Atlantic world. In place of a chronological, developmental history of the relationship between race and blood, this organization emphasizes the complex and interwoven nature of these concepts. It focuses upon the materials of manufacture: how race is sewn together from the fabric of available social, political, and medical discourses. But if we suggest that race is a political fiction, we nevertheless insist that it has historical consequences. The tangled

relationship of blood and race as it is understood at different historical moments, with evolving frames of reference and altered rationale, is itself a history of the race concept.

Our strategy, therefore, parallels the production of the cultural scripts themselves: episodic, opportunistic, and wide-ranging. It is precisely because the narratives of literature and history concerning race are mutually constitutive that they are impossible to tease apart. Our volume explores how the fiction of race is told, reshaped, and retold over a fraught colonial history and terrain. Since race is a discourse that serves specific political needs or answers economic agendas, shifting the focus of both time and place affords the opportunity to view, each time, the circumstance of its creation and the materials of its making. There is value in studying the individual occasion when the discourse is produced—one discrete chapter at a time—both in terms of what it tells us about the cultural moment of its formation, and in terms of what it tells us about its strategies of production.

In the early modern period, race is a concept at the junction of a set of intersecting concerns of lineage, religion, and nation.[4] This volume draws attention to humoral theory as the discourse that underwrites the ideologies that cut across all of these categories. The humors are certainly not the only mode of explanation for bodily difference, but they prove to be the most durable model from classical antiquity up through the eighteenth century. (Staffan Müller-Wille, for example, argues in this volume that Carl Linnaeus's 1735 classification of humankind into races—or what Linnaeus termed "varieties"—was organized according to his own method of humoral taxonomy.) While only one of the humors, blood nonetheless came to serve as metonymy for a humoral disposition internal to the body that was thought to determine the very nature of human beings. The malleable quality of humoral theory allowed it to license a range of political arrangements and discriminations—it proved wax-soft to the stamp of ideology. But such malleable discourse does not retain its shape for long. We do not claim that the circumstances of sixteenth-century racial logic convey forward; rather, we suggest that emergent and residual discourses occupy the same cultural moment. Materials of manufacture get recycled, and echoes of a former thought can be heard in later discourse. The essays collected here tell a (hi)story throughout which blood remains a consistent, although not entirely stable, signifier.

In early modern England, the term "race" commonly referred to family lineage, or bloodline, and relied upon pervasive notions of what were believed to be the properties of blood.[5] Current research suggests

that many of the terms and relations of animal husbandry were retained and applied to human physiology through the eighteenth century—precisely because the term "race" initially stemmed from animal husbandry before it became attached to human (noble) stock. As Charles de Miramon explains, the transformation of heredity is not confined to breeding books, or limited to discourses about races of dogs. Rather, "the revival of hereditary blood early in the fourteenth century," and its attribution to human beings of noble birth, "is ... [an] example of the cultural and political evolutions that explain the birth of race."[6] Of course, Miramon's terms are exaggerated: there is no "birth," invention, or point of origin to race. There is rather a process by which concepts for rationalizing human difference appear and adapt, fuse and fade away, relocate and are repurposed.[7] Older conceptions of race are dismantled and their vocabularies appropriated to serve different political objectives and economic ends.

The constitution of noble subjects was thought to be in equilibrium, a privilege that not only endowed them with superior physical, intellectual, and moral capacity, but also conferred their license to rule. This early modern fiction of race, indebted to a fourteenth-century formulation, reified social hierarchy in the body and reproduction. In his treatise concerning humoral complexion, Levinus Lemnius describes the moment of conception as the moment when the soul enters the body and mixes with "the Parentes Seed, which is ... of the purest and best concocted bloude."[8] While, in Lemnius's Aristotelian conceit, the soul spreads its influence throughout the body as its substantial form, it is clear from his description that the humoral substance of the body proper is a composite of parents' blood. "Parentes Seed," however, was not the only "concocted bloude" introduced into a child's body.

Like semen, breast milk was considered the concocted blood of the parent.[9] But the parent was not the only possible source of this blood; numerous regimens, in England and on the continent, voiced considerable concern over the choice of wet-nurse for noble children.[10] Jean Feerick, one of the contributors to this volume, surveys these claims about "uncouth milk" in her own book concerning hereditary blood and its degeneration: "in giving her milk to a suckling child, the wet nurse is thought to convey through it ... the precise balance of humoral fluids characteristic of her own body."[11] But, as Feerick notes, the fact that this advice is justified through farming practices, not only underscores its commonplace logic, but also how much this logic of heredity—and the fears concerning the possible decline of the disposition of blood—is indebted to animal husbandry.[12]

Both physical and moral virtue were understood to convey through bloodlines. Programs for rearing the offspring of English nobles, such as Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governour* (1531), concentrate upon retaining their inherited constitution. Elyot pays particular attention to the selection of the wet-nurse, "[f]or as some auncient writers do suppose often times the childe souketh the vice of his nourise, with the milk of her pappe."[13] Like many English medical theorists, Elyot focuses upon the "complection" of the nurse, insisting that she not be "seruile," but be "of the right and pure sanguine."[14] That Elyot associates the virtue of the nurse with her status is crucial here: since noble women could not be counted upon to nurse their infant children, Elyot's intention was to guard against the contamination of noble bloodlines through their exposure to the blood of servants. He therefore recommends a woman of status as a nurse. But this is an inherently political gesture. The humoral disposition of noble blood determined the intellectual and moral character of the ruling class. The pollution of noble blood could result in the rank corruption of government. Therefore, Elyot sees the "utter destruction of a realme" in the wrong selection of a nurse.[15]

The mild hysteria evident in Elyot's treatise underscores the instability of a social hierarchy premised upon notions of blood—since blood is itself inherently unstable. Humoral complexion is vulnerable to a host of "non-naturals" (food and drink, intake and expulsion, sleep, motion, air, and passions), and numerous regimens instructed the nobility in how to order their diet (since diet attends to all of the "non-naturals" that affect disposition) to guard against the degeneracy of their nature. As Lemn[ie] observes: "we see the common sorte and multitude, in behauiour and maners grosse and vunnurtured whereas the Nobles and Gentlemen (altering theyr order & diet, and digressing from the common fashion of their pezantly countreyme[n]) frame themselues & theirs, to a verye commendable order, and ciuill behauiour."[16] Of course, such declarations reiterate the fantasy of physiological superiority that upholds the social hierarchy already in place. But they also speak to the extent to which "ciuill behauiour"—moral and social virtue—were the understood effects of humoral disposition. In this ideological framework, the nobility inherited the right to rule due to superior physiology, but they could be alienated from that entitlement through bodily degeneration.

* * *

Part I of this volume, "Race and Stock," examines these early discourses concerning rank—and their disintegration—in both Old and New World

contexts. In her contribution to this collection, Rachel Burk explores the impulse to maintain blood purity at the precise moment when discourses concerning the integrity of noble blood are being dismantled in Spain. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, and the forcible conversion of those who remained, Spanish society consisted nominally of Christians and *mudéjars*—Moors who lived under Christian rule but who did not convert. Those Jews and Moors who converted to Christianity (*marranos* or *conversos* and *moriscos* respectively) were considered to be "New Christians," an identity that was passed from generation to generation through family lineage; that was associated with social shame; and that barred stigmatized individuals from exercising certain professions that were reserved for "Old Christians." After the *mudéjars* were expelled in 1610, the entire population was nominally Christian. In this context, social prestige traditionally attributed to the nobility came to be predicated upon the distinction of being an "Old Christian." While this ideology of *limpieza de sangre* did much to lend Spain's national culture the cohesiveness it had formerly lacked, it came at the expense not only of *conversos*, *moriscos*, and religious dissidents but also of some sectors of the traditional aristocracy—whose well-documented family trees were rarely spotless in regard to *limpieza de sangre*.

Burk's chapter, "Metamateriality and Blood Purity in Cervantes's Alcaná de Toledo," attends to literary significations of *limpieza de sangre* in early modern Spain. The famous metafiction of Miguel de Cervantes's masterpiece *Don Quixote* invites the reader to reflect on its own material and intercultural production, Burk argues, because it characterizes the Arab-Iberian presence as a physical trace inscribed in the printed work; it thus exposes the cultural and ideological fiction of *limpieza de sangre*, which was sustained in large part by a much-falsified paper record defining bodily identity. The metamaterial commentary of the novel, which constantly undermines its own claim to the purity of its textual genealogy, thus serves as a parody of the obsession with blood purity that girded Spanish national identity during the Counter-Reformation.

The virtue of nobility—in decline and under scrutiny—is refused in favor of a revised category of "Old Christian." This shift in the source of virtue also marks a shift in the systems of power that virtue guaranteed, since government posts were barred to all but "Old Christians." Older modes of thinking concerning the virtue of the ruling class are reworked rather than abandoned. *Don Quixote* provides profound insights into the transforming cultural politics of blood during the early modern period not only in the Old World but also in the New. Thus, Cervantes's tragic-comic aristocratic hero is modeled on the chivalric ideals that

had become an utter anachronism by the early seventeenth century in Counter-Reformation Spain but attained a second life in the conquest of the New World. Conversely, the low-born squire, Sancho Panza, can dream of becoming governor of some overseas island populated by people who are not of Spanish "blood."

Ruth Hill, in her chapter, "The Blood of Others: Breeding Plants, Animals, and White People in the Spanish Atlantic," shows how discourses of animal husbandry, formerly used to support and affirm the inherited quality of noble blood, are appropriated to a New World essentialism. What she terms "folk biology"—found in farmers' manuals and veterinary handbooks—is a little-known source of early modern thinking linking skin color with blood in the Hispanic world. Analyzing dictionary entries (beginning with Covarrubias's 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*) on key terms such as "blood," "milk," and "caste," as well as common-sense popular idioms in early modern Spain and Spanish America, Hill sheds new light on well-known debates about theories of degeneration and "whitening" (*blanqueamiento*) in the Spanish Atlantic. Her previous book, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America*, disputed that "casta" in eighteenth-century viceregal Spanish America can be equated to race; rather, she emphasized the "cluster of somatic, economic, linguistic [and] geographic ... circumstances" that produced social hierarchy.[17] But folk biology, Hill argues here, became harnessed to the ideology of Euro-centrism with enduring consequences for the history of race in the Hispanic world. It provided an early modern precedent of essentialist thinking in terms of chromatic categories and geo-global affiliation.

In "'Rude Uncivill Blood': The Pastoral Challenge to Hereditary Race in Fletcher and Milton," Jean E. Feerick examines critiques of noble blood in a British colonial context. While Wales had long been under English rule, it was a location, like Ireland and Scotland, that placed particular pressures (diet, climate, foreign nurses) on the stability of noble blood. Milton uses the colonial landscape, Feerick argues, as a place to dismantle cultural narratives concerning hereditary blood, depicting it as "variable, immoderate, and inflamed" (contrary to the scripts that record it as stable, balanced, and the font of "ciuill behauiour"). She argues that a satirical representation of declined bloodlines in John Fletcher's *The Faithfull Shepherdess*, a known source for John Milton's *Comus*, prompted Milton to portray embodied differences in rank as sociopolitical fiction in his masque. Milton places cultural assumptions of the correspondence between low birth and vice in the mouths of the noble sons of the Lord President of the Council in the

marches of Wales (for whom the masque was staged). But the masquing figures who perform depravity are evidently elite. Further, the Lady of the masque does not remain untouched by corruption; rather, she overcomes it. Through these strategies, Feerick argues, "Milton enacts a reordering of the ... moral universe," depicted in the masque and available in its cultural context, "in which divinity attaches to elite bodies and evil to laboring ones." In *Comus*, noble blood is not a stable source of virtue; rather, virtue is the product of hard labor on a terrestrial plane.

The issues of noble blood and laboring bodies (and of residual and emergent notions of race) came into collision in Aphra Behn's novella *Oroonoko* (1688). Considerations of blood and race in studies of eighteenth-century British fiction began several decades ago with critical appraisals of Behn's work, and its royal African protagonists, Oroonoko and Imoinda. Since then, scholars have broadened their field of inquiry to include a series of lesser-known novels of the period. Lyndon J. Dominique has been at the forefront of this work with his reprint of the anonymously authored *The Woman of Colour* (1808) and his critical book *Imoinda's Shade*. In his essay for this volume, "African Blood, Colonial Money, and Respectable Mulatto Heiresses Reforming Eighteenth-Century England," Dominique reaffirms the critical centrality of women of African descent in contemporary discussions about race in eighteenth-century British studies. The essay's focus on African blood, colonial money, and their connections to wealthy women of color in British novels set in England allows him to consider the "specific responses to money when the specter of African blood" attaches to it in a marriage plot. Dominique's chapter throws into relief the confused ideas concerning status when the category of class is emergent, and rank is not yet dormant. But his essay also highlights the cultural cross-currents when social status is not yet completely detached from notions of hereditary blood, but nation is becoming a more important category of social belonging and social exclusion.

Invoking Roxann Wheeler's conception of complexion as a sign of respectability, Dominique suggests how fictional wealthy women of all colors attempt to pass in England, not as white women but as women of African descent with complexions of English respectability. In the less progressive novels, the female protagonists cannot pass because the moral and physical flaws associated with their mother's African blood—which are sometimes reinforced by their father's vicious or foreign blood—exclude them from respectable national recognition. As such, they offer a direct literary link to the origins of the nineteenth-century

tragic mulatto as a flawed national and racial figure whose blood cannot nourish the roots of the nation's family tree.

The notion of blood as constitutive of virtue, respectability, and morality persists at least until the eighteenth century, evidenced by works such as Daniel Defoe's, "A True-Born Englishman" (1701). Defoe's satire bears the traces of a history of racial thinking (however ironically deployed): "But if our virtues must in lines descend, / The merit with the families would end, / And intermixtures would most fatal grow; / For vice would be hereditary too."[18] In Defoe's utterance, as Jennifer Brody has observed, "it is the viscous substance of blood itself that conveys both virtue and vice."[19] The language of Defoe's poem not only insinuates the crossover of the term "race" from family lines to national groups, but also supplies evidence that both kinds of racial ideology—one that supports social hierarchy, another that affirms national superiority—rest upon the invisible qualities of blood. In the more progressive novels that Dominique analyzes, mulatta protagonists are portrayed as women of African descent with African complexions that are as respectable as English ones. The function of these respectable heroines is to force white Britons to fix their own domestic prejudices about, and behavior toward, people of African descent, and allow their already mixed blood to commingle with white blood at the root of the nation's family tree.

* * *

Humoralism, and the medical discourse that applied it, claimed that blood determined a host of values within individual bodies: health, physical endurance, skin color, temperament, intelligence, and morals. The essays in Part II, "Moral Constitution," consider the interconnectedness of body and soul in early modern medical/humoral discourse. Such interconnectedness might well explain why religion is often such a crucial term in the rationalization of bodily difference, and further, why raced subjects are often morally encoded. While both physicians and metaphysicians had debated the relationship of soul to body, and the precise habitation of the soul within the body, since antiquity, the theories of Pietro Pomponazzi in the early part of the sixteenth century forced a reinterrogation of the definition of soul. Pomponazzi argued that since the soul "acted materially in sense-perception and immaterially in intellection, it must partake of both ontological realms." He therefore assigned the soul to the material realm, positing the soul as "the highest material form" of human being.[20] Of course he was correct: it had proved beyond the means of philosophy to show how

sense-perception and imagination could be part of intellection—an activity emanating from the higher, rational soul—and to not implicate the soul as material form.

The rupture between natural and Christian philosophy that Pomponazzi initiated was considerable. In his influential *Liber de anima*, Philip Melanchthon simply cedes the field to Pomponazzi: he declares the soul is immortal, but admits that his assertion cannot be proven by philosophy; rather, it is affirmed by scripture.[21] But Melanchthon further argues that a full description of the whole human body is required in order to know the powers of the soul, since the soul can only be known through its actions.[22] Here, Melanchthon is following Luther who maintained that the whole human being, body and soul, was subject to grace. In trying to provide a clearer conception of what the soul might be, however, Melanchthon returns it to the purview of natural philosophy, and follows Galen's definition of the human soul, grounded in the body.[23] In so doing, Melanchthon "demonstrate[s] that the manifestations of ... dysfunction" attributable to reason (mens/anima) "were physically pathological and spiritually sinful," and that sinfulness could also be expressed in physical manifestations.[24] Indeed, Galenic medical commentary consistently frames Melanchthon's published work throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[25] One can perceive the reason for this framing in Melanchthon's own directive that physicians ought to be the guardians of morals and the custodians of men's natures.[26] But the situation of Melanchthon's *De Anima* within the frameworks of medical theory also begins to make sense of the assertion by Timothy Bright, the chief physician to the Royal Hospital of St Bartholomew (1585–91), that by the latter part of the sixteenth century, many had considered the behavior of the soul "to be subiect to the phisicians hand" and had "esteemed the vertues themselves, yea religion, no other thing but as the body hath ben tempered."[27]

By the mid–late sixteenth century, psychology, or the philosophical study of the soul, became, in many ways, the legitimate concern of Christian physicians. Almost all Christian philosophers conceded (with Melanchthon) that the immortality of the soul was beyond philosophical demonstration. But what could be known about the soul was manifest in the body. In an early modern world, where moral constitution is a condition of the blood, a fact of humoral complexion, what we would term "culture"—religious affiliation—is read as nature.[28] The reason why this matters is that the discourse of natural philosophy composed numerous arguments against religious others throughout the sixteenth century. Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin had all offered

arguments depicting religious opponents as humorally distempered and deluded, subject to the madness that an excess of melancholy produces.[29] As James Hankins has observed, there was a "virtuous mean of 'true religion'," depending, of course, upon which religion was counted as "true."[30]

As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has pointed out, the humoral construction of religion and other cultural practices that get "written on and produced through the body" was not confined to the early modern period; what is particular to it is the extent to which this construction was methodized.[31] The consequence of the Pomponazzi affair, Eckhard Kessler claims, was that "philosophy [was] no longer ... identical with Aristotle, nor Aristotle with St. Thomas and the teaching of the church." Christian philosophy was reinvigorated, but Christian and natural philosophy were no longer married.[32] Whether or not clerics (future and former) theorized on the relationship of soul to body, and many did, Thomas Wright asserts in his treatise, *The Passions of the Minde* (1601), that it was the work of "*naturall Philosophers*, to explicate ... how an operation that lodgeth in the soule," which is to say, the working of the rational mind, "can alter the body, and mooue the humors from one place to another."[33]

Prior to this divorce, however, the matter of belief could be fashioned on different terms. In her contribution to this collection, M. Lindsay Kaplan demonstrates how discourses of theology and natural philosophy are deployed in combination to subordinate the Jewish body at a time when the political subordination of Jews in medieval Europe was proving unsuccessful. In "'His blood be on us and on our children': Medieval Theology and the Demise of Jewish Somatic Inferiority in Early Modern England," Kaplan points out that none of the discourses in classical or early medieval scientific texts depict the Jewish body, in particular, as susceptible to bleeding; but when united with religious formulations that mark the Jewish body with the shame of the crucifixion, Jewish bodies are effeminized and essentialized. Kaplan shows how discourses that claim the periodic bleeding of Jewish bodies proceed from theological assertions—but they are nonetheless subsequently "proved" through natural philosophy. In articles such as "Jessica's Mother: Medieval Constructions of Jewish Race and Gender in *The Merchant of Venice*," Kaplan has appraised the extent to which the racial representation of Jews in early modern English culture was a medieval inheritance. Here, she suggests that the demise of the theological-scientific discourse that she traces is concurrent with the disempowerment of Jews throughout Europe. Her argument therefore shows how

"the shape of scientific knowledge" responds to "cultural assumptions" and power relations.

Similar to Kaplan, Anna More demonstrates how the materials of scientific discourse are shaped according to cultural or political agendas; in this case, the poem that she analyzes responds to an internal struggle concerning gender and church politics. This orientation is very different from the one that Kaplan describes in which scientific discourse serves the needs of both church and public politics. In "Sor Juana's Appetite: Body, Mind, and Vitality in 'First Dream'," More finds the late seventeenth-century poem of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz firmly situated within the debates concerning faculty psychology and the state of the soul. Sor Juana's poem, as More points out, draws heavily from Luis de Granada's *Introduction of the Symbol of Faith*, a late sixteenth-century treatise that relied upon a Galenic account of physiology. In an attempt to free the rational soul from the corruption offered by the body, Sor Juana depicts a night journey, when sleep depresses the effects of sensory apprehension on cognition. The soul is then "unburdened of" the "external rule" of the body and able to float free of the flesh and fluids that inevitably hamper, and potentially obstruct, its operations. Indeed, in the imaginative world of the poem, sleep purifies the images introduced to the intellect (through memory, not sensory apprehension), and the mind receives only "most clear vapors / of the four tempered humors." Through a dream vision, Sor Juana releases the rational mind from the constraints of humoral pathology—freeing cognition from bodily corruption in order to achieve clear inspiration. By claiming a purity of apprehension for the vision of her poem, cleared of intemperate humors, Sor Juana invokes an authority outside of the church—and above the church—in order to license her own cultural production.

Unlike most of the essays in this volume, More's does not depict a wider sociopolitical contest. Rather, it shows at a local level how a cultural practice—belief—can be understood within a set of physiological operations. It also demonstrates how the discourse of natural philosophy can be brought to the service of the individual to negotiate moral, and even sacred, authority. Early modern arguments concerning the vexed issue of mind–body interaction bequeathed to later periods not only Cartesan philosophy, but also a persistent suspicion that the qualities of soul and body were sympathetic and reinforcing. These two legacies would seem in contradiction since René Descartes famously refused the existence of both vegetative and sensitive soul in order "to isolate ... both thought and soul from bodily praxis."[34] Nevertheless, the motto "nihil est in intellectu quod non prius est in sensu" is widely available