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# QUAESTIO

THE HISTORY UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL

A PUBLICATION OF PHI ALPHA THETA HISTORY HONOR SOCIETY  
THETA UPSILON CHAPTER AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

# PHI ALPHA THETA

*National History Honor Society*



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## LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

As I come to the end of my time at UCLA as an undergraduate, I had the pleasure of editing this journal and reading some of the best research the History Department undergrads have to offer. The four articles presented here demonstrate the endless variety in research and personal taste of these students: modern, ancient, colonial, religious, social, literary, and much more. I was particularly pleased to see interdisciplinary work and all of us at *Quaestio* believe tomorrow's historians must be able to approach history with the understanding of more than one field. Indeed, these four authors appreciate the necessity of interdisciplinary research and are well on their ways towards careers as tomorrow's top historians. We hope they will continue to study, research, and write historical articles. Writing a paper to meet class requirements is a difficult enough endeavor, yet these authors chose to pour in more effort, time, and care to craft excellent projects, not just to earn a grade, but for their personal achievement and growth as historians. I wish good luck and congratulations to them all, as well as to the entire History Department graduating class of 2015. We are sure to hear much more from them in the future!

Julia F. Crisler  
*Editor-in-Chief*

Keanu Heydari, Jessica Freed, , Cody J. Petit, , Megan L. Olshefski  
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ALYSSA DORI GOODSTEIN earned her B.A. in History at UCLA, with a minor in Latin American Studies. She is currently a departmental scholar in Latin American Studies, earning her M.A., with the goal of entering a Ph.D. program in Modern Latin American History. Her present research is an interdisciplinary study of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre in Mexico City, in comparative perspective with the Argentine dirty war, bridging the fields of history and literature. Although a Latin Americanist, Alyssa wrote her undergraduate thesis under the guidance of Dr. Caroline C. Ford in Modern French History, analyzing Albert Camus's evolution of ideas on colonialism and decolonization in French Algeria. Her thesis, *From Sun to Silence: Albert Camus's Evolution of Ideas on Colonialism and Decolonization in French Algeria*, won the Carey McWilliams Award for Scholarly Distinction. Alyssa would like to thank Dr. José Luiz Passos for inviting her to enroll in his course to explore literature in a historical context, without which this article would not have come to fruition; Dr. Caroline C. Ford, who has guided Alyssa on her academic journey, from her initial "calling to the academy" to entering graduate school; Dr. María Eugenia Vázquez Semadeni for helping to rekindle Alyssa's love for Latin America; Dr. Mary F. Corey, Dr. Teo Ruiz, Dr. David Myers, Dr. Sarah Stein; Dr. Devon van Dyne and Mary Momdjian from the UCLA History Writing Center; the UCLA Spanish and Portuguese Department for welcoming Alyssa with open arms; and her current M.A. thesis committee: Dr. Robin Derby, Dr. Adriana J. Bergero, Dr. Maarten van Delden, and Dr. María Eugenia Vázquez Semadeni. And of course, Alyssa's entire family: Mom, Dad, Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins. Thank you everyone!

*¡Gracias a todos! Muito obrigada!*

## Fruit Within its Rind: Machado de Assis and Social Thought in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

*Alyssa Goodstein*

*This article places the fiction of the Brazilian writer, Machado de Assis, in a historical context, answering how his work reflects social thought in nineteenth-century Brazil. Historians have previously characterized Machado's literature as documenting paternalistic relationships in post-independence Brazil. However, it can also be viewed as a laboratory to experiment with the application of transnational ideas like positivism, psychiatry, and scientism in a postcolonial society. Although Machado's intention may not have been for his work to serve a larger social purpose, it can be read as a historically significant reflection of Brazilian society. Beginning with Machado's life and early literary commitments, and through the analysis of two short stories, one novella, and one novel, I argue that his work serves as a social critique of nineteenth-century Brazil, and how European structures were essentially "misplaced" in a slave-owning society such as pre-abolition Brazil. My explanation of Machado de Assis's fiction sheds light on the interdisciplinary nature of history, and the study of transnational ideas in modern Brazil.*

Historians have previously characterized Machado de Assis's fiction as documenting the social realities of nineteenth-century Brazil.<sup>1</sup> However, Machado's literature highlights how social and economic institutions set up during the colonial period prevailed in a post-colonial society. His fiction can also be viewed as a laboratory to experiment with ideas like positivism and scientism. For example, his short

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<sup>1</sup> Roberto Schwarz looked to Machado to develop new insights into social power and the problems of a liberal democracy. Sidney Chalhoub argued that Machado portrayed paternalistic relationships, showing how dependents pledged their loyalty to resist and manipulate their patrons. Dain Borges asserts that Machado provides an analysis of the Brazilian upper class. John Gledson claims that Machado illuminates a postcolonial empire that could not discern a clear identity. See also, Dain Borges, "The Relevance of Machado de Assis," *Imagining Brazil*, eds. Jessé Souza and Valter Sinder (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 235.

stories, published in English as a collection titled *A Chapter of Hats*, embody characters maneuvering through a changing society.<sup>2</sup> His novella, *The Alienist* (1882) is an example of scientism, psychiatry, and bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> *Dom Casmurro*, his 1899 novel, references the counterpoint between Brazil's paternalistic and oligarchical structures and the ideas of a new, modern, imperial society.<sup>4</sup> By analyzing two short stories, one novella, and one novel, I explore the underlying importance of Machado's fiction for historians. By reading Machado, historians can learn about Brazil as a favor-ridden, paternalist, and oligarchical society, grappling with ideas equated with modernity like positivism, rationality versus religion, psychiatry, and scientism. Additionally, it is important to note paternalism as a reference to people in positions of authority restricting the freedom or interests of those subordinate to them.

In order to explore Machado's relevance for historians, it is important to understand Machado's life and early literary commitments. Born of mixed-race to a relatively poor family in 1839, Machado lived and died in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>5</sup> He earned his living as a journalist on the Rua do Ouvidor, and as a result, forged many long-lasting relationships with literary and political figures. At the age of twenty-seven, Machado left journalism for the civil service, holding a position in the Ministry of Agriculture until his death in 1908. By the 1870s, Machado was a recognized poet, dramatist and critic. Establishing himself as a novelist, Machado completed his first phase of prose fiction between 1872 and 1882, and from 1891 to 1908 wrote what are argued to be his masterpieces.<sup>6</sup> Though he seldom traveled outside of Rio de Janeiro, Machado's insight into European culture and societies is remarkable, making him a target of interest for historians. As an autodidact and the son

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<sup>2</sup> Paternalism refers to people in positions of authority restricting the freedom or interests of those subordinate to them. Machado illuminates these relationships between masters and servants manipulating each other to carry out each individual's will. Positivism, on the other hand, refers to August Comte's philosophical system that called for non-speculative or provable knowledge, being grounded in verifiable facts as opposed to metaphysical abstractions. See also, Robert G. Nachman, "Positivism, Modernization, and the Middle Class in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 1 (February 1977).

<sup>3</sup> Scientism can be understood as the excessive belief in the power of scientific knowledge and techniques.

<sup>4</sup> When I discuss Modernity with regard to *Dom Casmurro* or Machado's short stories and *The Alienist*, I am referring to concepts drawing on the European Enlightenment, French Revolution, Positivism and Scientism. Although Brazil received independence from Portugal in 1822, it was governed by the Portuguese prince Dom Pedro I who served as emperor of Brazil until he abdicated in 1831, leaving the throne to his five-year old son Dom Pedro II. In 1840, Brazil entered the second empire and would experience a rapid process of economic and social modernization. See also, Leslie Bethell, *Brazil: Empire and Republic: 1822-1850*; Carmen Nava and Ludwig Lauerhass Jr., *Brazil in the Making* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Rio de Janeiro was the capital of Brazil from 1763 to 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 227.

of a freed Afro-Brazilian house painter of relatively low- class standing, Machado was able to write about cultures he had never experienced. Of greater interest to historians, however, is how his work serves as a social critique of nineteenth-century Brazil, and how European structures were essentially “misplaced” in Brazil.<sup>7</sup>

Historians have defined Machado as one of Latin America’s first major authors to depict the newly forming urban society in the late nineteenth-century. At the time, imperial society was turning away from colonial, rural traditions and embracing a new, cosmopolitan style of progress. The second empire was marked by fast-paced modernization and urbanization, despite a prevailing patriarchal and oligarchical ethos that was a remnant from the colonial period.<sup>8</sup> Machado’s plots and characters serve as an example of Brazil’s social transition, and despite Brazil receiving independence from Portugal in 1822, the political hegemony of a traditional and rural oligarchy remained obstacles to progress.<sup>9</sup> Often having urban identities, his central characters can be seen longing for their fading rural and colonial pasts.<sup>10</sup> For this essay, I will be using two short stories: “The Rod of Justice” (1891) to highlight paternalistic relationships, and “The Looking Glass” (1882) to discuss positivism in Brazil.

*Dom Casmurro*, *The Alienist*, “The Looking Glass,” and “The Rod of Justice” all illuminate a society undergoing important demographic, social, and economic changes in the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Historian Emília Viotti da Costa explains that during the second half of the eighteenth century, a colonial oligarchy emerged in Brazil that consisted primarily of *senhores de engenho* (sugar plantation and mill owners), cattle barons, mine-owners, merchants, judges, and bureaucrats.

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<sup>7</sup> In his text *Misplaced Ideas*, Roberto Schwarz explains that an idea becomes “misplaced” in Brazil when conceptual systems created elsewhere are applied to Brazil because their basis rests in other social processes. Roberto Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas* (London: Verso Publishing, 1992), 39.

<sup>8</sup> In John Gledson’s 2009 translation titled *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, Machado discusses Brazil’s modernization in a story titled “Evolution.” See also, Machado de Assis, *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, trans. John Gledson (London: Bloomsburg Publishing, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Emília Viotti Da Costa, “Empire: 1870-1889,” *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 185.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Lauerhass, Jr., “A Four-Part Canon for the Analysis of Brazilian National Identity,” *Brazil in the Making: Facets of National Identity* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), Eds. Carmen Nava and Ludwig Lauerhass, Jr., 11.

<sup>11</sup> Demographic changes were a key feature of the nineteenth-century in Brazil. The population grew from 3.8 million in 1822 to a little over 10 million in 1872 and more than 14 million at the time of the proclamation of the Republic in 1899. Simultaneously, slaves constituted more than half of the population in 1822, but by 1888, only represented 5% of the population. At the same time, economic and social change made it increasingly difficult for political elites to run the country according to traditional rules and in the last decades of the century, the imperial regime became a target of criticism from many groups in Brazilian society. Emília Viotti Da Costa, “Empire: 1870-1889,” *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 164-167.

*Dom Casmurro* represents the remains of this colonial oligarchy and the formation of a new, urban class. Machado's 1882 novella, *The Alienist* is a hypothesis about the dangers of fully accepting ideas of positivism, psychiatry and scientism, without question, in a young nation like Brazil. Moreover, it sheds light on how modern ideas are falsified in Brazil because of Brazil's dependence on a slave economy.<sup>12</sup> "The Looking Glass" contrasts with Machado's portrayal of positivism and scientism in "The Alienist." "The Rod of Justice," like *Dom Casmurro*, highlights religion versus rationality, and paternalistic relationships in a class-based, favor ridden society.

In Roberto Schwarz's 1992 text *Misplaced Ideas*, he argues that nineteenth-century Brazil was a contradiction between "the real Brazil and the ideological prestige of the countries used as models."<sup>13</sup> Claiming that the empire was a liberal facade, Schwarz champions the idea that the "real Brazil" was a system of labor based off of slavery.<sup>14</sup> He terms the liberal facade a "mirror culture," explaining that while it imitates ideas from metropolitan Europe, those ideas did not reflect Brazilian reality, thus making "the mirror culture" a misplaced idea.<sup>15</sup> The notion of a "misplaced idea" is evident in *Dom Casmurro*, which highlights the conflation of ethos between old and new worlds, and the falsity of main characters like Bentinho Santiago clinging to modern values, while still adhering to a slave economy.

*Dom Casmurro* is the story of Bentinho Santiago. Writing his life story at age fifty-seven, Bentinho is now being referred to as Dom Casmurro, a name given to him by an irate neighbor and taken up by the entire neighborhood. He states the meaning of his new title as a "tight-lipped man withdrawn within himself," or as Helen Caldwell defines in her 1960 text *The Brazilian Othello of Machado de Assis*, "obstinate, moodily stubborn, *wrong-headed* man."<sup>16</sup> Bentinho (or Dom Casmurro) is living as a recluse in a reconstructed version of his childhood home of Matacavallos, attempting to comprehend why his wife and childhood lover Capitú betrayed him. As an attorney, Bentinho pitches his narrative as a legal case, sucking the reader into its unreliability, as the entire novel is written as his autobiography.

Insisting that Capitú betrayed him by committing adultery with his dear friend, Ezekiel Escobar, Bentinho began to experience fits of jealousy, believing his son Ezekiel to be the product of Capitú and Escobar. Bentinho and Capitú struggled to have a child, and eventually conceived their son, Ezekiel. Bentinho

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<sup>12</sup> Slavery was not abolished in Brazil until 1888.

<sup>13</sup> Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Helen Caldwell, *The Brazilian Othello: A Case Study of Dom Casmurro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 2.

describes his joy when he finds out that he is to be a father, commenting: “Our envy died, our hopes were born, and the fruit of them was not long coming to this world...As for my joy when he was born...I do not know how to tell it.”<sup>17</sup>

However, as Ezekiel began to grow, Bentinho noticed he resembled Escobar, even remarking, “he has a way of moving his feet like Escobar, and the way he uses his eyes.”<sup>18</sup> Bentinho’s jealousy escalated, eventually exclaiming to Ezekiel, “No, no. I am not your father!” Arriving at a solution for his misery and jealousy, Bentinho traveled with Capitú and Ezekiel to Europe, but left them in Switzerland and returned to Brazil. Leaving Ezekiel with a governess to teach him his mother tongue, Bentinho and Capitú maintained their relationship in writing. As a teenager, Ezekiel returned to Engenho Novo to visit his father. At this point, Capitú was “dead and buried” in Switzerland. Upon their visit, Bentinho stated Ezekiel was “the self-same, the identical, true Escobar,” and that “at first it pained me, that Ezekiel was not really my son, that he did not complete me and continue me.”<sup>19</sup>

Eleven months after his visit, Ezekiel died of typhoid fever and was buried “in the vicinity of Jerusalem” where two university friends set up a tomb for him. At this point in the novel, Bentinho returns to narrate from the present, as Dom Casmurro, declaring that he “lived the best I [he] could,” but still failed to know whether Capitú of his youth had planned on harming him from the beginning of their relationship. He states, “What remains is to discover whether the Capitú of Gloria was already within the Capitú of Matacavallos, or if this one was changed into the other as a result of some chance incident,” and later affirms “If you remember Capitú the child, you will have to recognize that one was within the other, like the fruit within its rind.” Finishing the novel with the words “...my first love and my greatest friend, both so loving me, both so loved, were destined to join together and deceive me.”<sup>20</sup> Bentinho’s statement highlights paternalistic values, despite being a modern archetype, as he informs the reader of his belief that deception was inherent among members of a lower class.

Aside from being a story of love and jealousy, *Dom Casmurro* can also be read as a story of class struggle, paternalism, and the conflation between old and new values. Capitú was of modest means, compared to Bentinho’s bourgeois upbringing. The story begins with Bentinho eavesdropping outside of the living room in his Matacavallos home, where he overhears a conversation between his mother, Dona Gloria, and dependent, José Dias, who asks: “Dona Gloria, are you going ahead

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<sup>17</sup> Machado de Assis, *Dom Casmurro*, trans. by Helen Caldwell (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1953), 203.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

with your idea of putting Bentinho in the seminary? It's high time..."<sup>21</sup> Dona Gloria's first child died at birth, leading her to promise God that if she were to have a second child, she would make him a priest. During their conversation, Dias reminds Dona Gloria that if she still intended for Bentinho to become a priest, the time to send him to the seminary was approaching because Bentinho was growing fond of his neighbor, Capitú Padua. According to Dias, the two were always "getting into corners...and this is the difficulty, for if they should start making love, you'd have a struggle on your hands to separate them."<sup>22</sup> Dias's intervention underscores the manipulation between masters and dependents, alluding to the problems posed by paternalistic relationships. By informing Dona Gloria of Bentinho's relationship with Capitú, Dias appears to be working in favor of the master of the house, Dona Gloria, but in reality, he is attempting to prevent a relationship from developing between Bentinho and Capitú, to ensure his security as a dependent.<sup>23</sup>

Employing complex characters that highlight Brazilian social thought in the nineteenth-century, such as class formation and relations, paternalism, and rationality, Bentinho, Capitú, José Dias, and Dona Gloria can all be read as metaphors for individual ideas relevant in nineteenth-century Brazil. The paternalistic orchestration in the text begins with Capitú when Bentinho alerts her that his mother is planning to enroll him in the seminary. Filled with anger, Capitú immediately considers the problem rationally, and questions who may be able to help Bentinho avoid the seminary. Arriving at José Dias, Capitú suggests to Bentinho that he should utilize Dias as a figure to override Dona Gloria's authority, stating: "Don't be meek with him. The whole thing is for you not to act timid, show him that you will be master one day, show him that you are determined. Give him to understand that it is not a favor."<sup>24</sup> The plan was for Bentinho to flatter and get to know Dias, and eventually ask for his help in changing Dona Gloria's mind. Capitú's plan creates a triangle, reflecting Bentinho's later comment (as Dom Casmurro) that Capitú was bound to deceive him because of their class difference. Economically inferior to the Santiago family, Capitú suggests enlisting the help of Dias, a depen-

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> According to Bentinho, José Dias presented himself as a homeopathic doctor. His father proposed that Dias stay on the family's plantation to look after the slaves, with a small salary. Dias refused saying it was "his duty to bring health to the thatched hut of the poor." Instead, he accepted food and lodging without wages, "except what they gave him as presents." However, when fever was raging, Dias had been asked to look after the slaves, and finally confessed that he was not a doctor. At this point, he had become of value to the family, and "had the gift of making himself welcome and indispensable." Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

dent, with the immediate benefit for Bentinho who is of an upper class standing.

Traditionally, paternalism involves people in positions of authority restricting the freedom of their subordinates. In the case of *Dom Casmurro*, it was Dias as the dependent, who impinged on Bentinho's freedom, not only by reminding Dona Gloria of her vow to send him to the seminary, but by passively alerting Bentinho that he was in love with Capitú. Dias had commented to Dona Gloria that if Bentinho and Capitú "should start making love" there would be problems, causing Bentinho to realize that he was falling in love with Capitú.<sup>25</sup> It is also of interest because Capitú is of a lower class standing than Bentinho, demonstrating the manipulation that was an inherent part of a stratified and oligarchical society. In *Dom Casmurro*, Machado showcases both Capitú and Dias as dependent upon the decisions of those in positions of authority.

According to John Gledson, in his 1984 text *The Deceptive Realism of Machado de Assis*, Dias's interest in Bentinho attending the seminary is inherent in his status as a dependent, as he is an *agregado*.<sup>26</sup> Dias requires the family to survive because he is not paid a salary like servants, but instead, has an ambiguous relationship with the Santiago family, in which the family houses him and could dismiss him without notice. Gledson notes that the Dias's dependence is entirely on the head of the household. The Santiago family recently underwent a major regime change with the death of Bentinho's father and Dona Gloria's husband. Although the household was being governed by Dona Gloria, Dias is already calculating his future, seeing Bentinho and Capitú as a threat to his position. By ensuring that Bentinho attends the seminary, Dias will have prevented him from marrying Capitú, thus securing his position in the household.<sup>27</sup>

Historian Sidney Chalhoub's article "Dependents Play Chess: Political Dialogues in Machado de Assis," published as a chapter in Richard Graham's 1999 book *Machado de Assis: Reflections on a Brazilian Master Writer* argues that Machado's texts were hypotheses of the outcomes of a society based in paternalistic domination, mirroring the wider history of nineteenth-century Brazil. According to Chalhoub, paternalism was "precisely the quality of the world masters idealized, the society they imagined and dreamed of realizing in daily life."<sup>28</sup> Chalhoub's argument is evidenced throughout *Dom Casmurro*, as Bentinho, who is the heir to multiple slaves and properties in Rio de Janeiro, begins to doubt the motives and attitudes of two of his subordinates: José Dias, his dependent, and Capitú, who was of a

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

<sup>26</sup> In the context of *Dom Casmurro*, an *agregado* can be defined as a servant.

<sup>27</sup> John Gledson, *The Deceptive Realism of Machado de Assis* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1984), 52.

<sup>28</sup> Sidney Chalhoub, "Dependents Play Chess: Political Dialogues in Machado de Assis," in *Machado de Assis: Reflections on a Brazilian Master Writer* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), ed. Richard Graham, 52.

lower class status prior to their courtship. At this point, *Dom Casmurro* moves beyond a story of paternalistic domination, and becomes a metaphor for class politics and social domination. Similar to Gledson's reasoning behind José Dias's calculation to prevent Bentinho and Capitú from getting married, Chalhoub's argument stresses Machado's portrayal of a favor-ridden, class-based society in *Dom Casmurro*.

Keeping in mind that Bentinho was the heir to multiple slaves, we can draw on Schwarz's argument that Brazil's liberalism was a fallacy. As a slave owner and member of an oligarchical society, it is impossible for Bentinho to truly apply the principles of order and progress in a slave economy. Although he emerges as a character embodying rational principles, such as defying his mother's wish to attend the seminary, and instead, wishing to attend law or medical school, he transitions to being corrupted by his own wealth as he memorializes that his subordinates were responsible for his demise, when he comments that Capitú and Escobar were "destined to join together and deceive me."<sup>29</sup> By reinterpreting the events of his life while writing his autobiography, Bentinho (as Dom Casmurro) realizes that the problem all along was unsuspected antagonism that his dependents demonstrated against him. Irony at its best, Bentinho rationalizes that he has suffered such hardship as a result of his class standing, but fails to see his participation as a falsified liberal and how he contributed to his own demise.

In addition to illuminating paternalistic relationships and class politics in nineteenth-century Brazil, *Dom Casmurro* also references the conflation between new and old world ethos. Bentinho and Escobar serve as examples of ideas grounded in modernity (albeit a falsified version for Bentinho as he participated in a slave economy), while Dona Gloria reflects the ethos of the land-owning oligarchical class of the eighteenth century. Bentinho describes his mother as "a good example of fidelity to old habits, old customs, old ideas, old-fashioned ways."<sup>30</sup> Serving as contrasts to each other, Dona Gloria is driven by religious fervor, while Bentinho is enthused by logic and rationality. Early in the text, Bentinho asserts his belief that it is possible to "serve God, and serve him well, without becoming a Padre."<sup>31</sup> Acknowledging himself as a Catholic, Bentinho's view of God and religion is similar to the Enlightenment concept of God as a supreme being that does not interfere with daily life. Unlike Bentinho, Dona Gloria understands God as being directly responsible for everything in her life, as it was her promise to God that resulted in Bentinho's birth. Bentinho's relationship to God echoes the concept of scientific rationality, as opposed to religious blind faith. He believes that he can choose his own path and destiny, without punishment from an omniscient God.

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<sup>29</sup> de Assis, *Dom Casmurro*, 263

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

First encountering each other at the seminary, both young men plot to leave the institution, when Bentinho confides in Escobar, commenting: “Escobar, I cannot become a padre. I am here, my people believe and expect me to be one; but I cannot be a padre,” and Escobar responds with “Nor I, Santiago.” Their distaste for the seminary captures the two as modern archetypes, with Escobar saying “And it isn’t that I’m not religious. I *am* religious, but commerce is my passion.”<sup>32</sup> We first encounter Bentinho’s attraction to rationality when he is traveling on an omnibus through Rio, and the bus stops to allow for the passage of the royal imperial coach that is transporting the emperor. Knowing that the emperor was coming from the School of Medicine, Bentinho begins to fantasize about the possibility of the emperor convincing Dona Gloria that he ought to attend medical school, instead of the seminary. According to Bentinho, “When I returned to my seat, I took with me a fantastic idea, the idea of going to see the emperor, of telling him everything and asking him to intervene.”<sup>33</sup> This is a direct contrast to Bentinho’s mother, Dona Gloria, who confides in God, but instead, Bentinho is thinking of asking a sovereign and physical human being for help, as opposed to a metaphysical concept of God for assistance.

Despite being referenced as a Brazilian version of *Othello*, *Dom Casmurro*’s plot extends beyond themes of betrayal and, more importantly, underscores Machado’s relevance for historians, serving as a historical marker to comprehend social preoccupations in nineteenth-century Brazil. Another story, “The Rod of Justice” involves a paternalistic orchestration similar to *Dom Casmurro*, as Damião appeals to favoritism to avoid the seminary, from which he has escaped and is now “in the street, scared, uncertain, unsure where to go for safe haven or advice...”<sup>34</sup> Deciding to hide at Sinhá Rita’s home (an independent widow and his uncle’s mistress), Damião persuades her to help him leave the seminary by getting his uncle to speak with his godfather, commenting to himself: “I’ll take refuge with Sinhá Rita! She’ll call my godfather over and tell him she wants me out of the seminary... Maybe that way...”<sup>35</sup> While staying with Sinhá Rita, one of her slave girls becomes distracted by Damião, falling behind on her work. The story ends with Sinhá Rita deciding to whip the slave, and demands that Damião hand her the rod. The reader is left to question if Damião, who like Bentinho in *Dom Casmurro*, is a modern representation, would have chosen to physically abuse the slave, had he not been beholden to appeasing his uncle’s mistress to meet his own needs. The narrator

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>34</sup> de Assis, Machado, “The Cane,” *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, 221.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

states: Damião felt a pang of guilt; but he needed to get out of the seminar so badly! He went over to the settee, picked up the cane and handed it to Sinhá Rita.”<sup>36</sup>

However, in addition to a paternalistic critique of nineteenth-century Brazil as a favor-ridden and slave owning society, another type of Machadian story exists that deals with the influence of scientism, psychiatry, psychology, and positivism. “The Looking Glass” and “The Alienist” both consider themes of reality and identity, grounded in August Comte’s positivism and the nineteenth-century’s emergence of the social sciences. Jacobina in “The Looking Glass” theorizes that “every human being carries two souls with him: one that looks from inside out, the other from outside in.”<sup>37</sup> In “The Alienist” Dr. Simão Bacamarte, a prominent Portuguese psychiatrist, runs the Casa Verde that interns patients deemed to be mentally ill, or at risk of developing mental illness. Both stories show that Machado was interested in exploring positivist themes like psychology in his literature.<sup>38</sup>

“The Looking Glass” can be read as a reflection of Machado’s interest in the behavioral sciences that he employed in the mature phase of his writing from the 1880s onward. Formulating a new theory of the human soul, the irony in “The Looking Glass” is its material references to Brazil’s colonial history, arguably an allusion to structures that continued to dominate Brazilian society in the nineteenth century. The actual mirror Jacobina looks into when securing his old lieutenant uniform was given to his Aunt Marcolina by her godmother who had inherited it from a family member that purchased it from “one of the noblewomen who came with the court of King João VI, in 1808.”<sup>39</sup> “The Looking Glass” can be interpreted as applauding scientism, as Jacobina emerged from a state of lethargy and realized that he was “an automaton no longer; I was an animated being.”<sup>40</sup> However, symbolic references like the physical mirror suggest that Brazilian society was still reluctant to let go of its colonial heritage.

*The Alienist*, on the other hand, takes another approach to scientism, questioning it. Dr. Simão Bacamarte, a prominent Portuguese psychiatrist who runs the Casa Verde begins by interning patients deemed to be mentally ill or at risk of developing mental illness. At the end of the novella, Dr. Bacamarte questions his authority as a

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>37</sup> de Assis, “The Mirror: A Sketch for a New Theory of the Human Soul,” *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, 28.

<sup>38</sup> Psychological theory even makes an appearance in *Dom Casmurro* when Bentinho compares a person’s soul to a house, commenting: “A person’s soul, as you know, is arranged like a house, not uncommonly with windows on all sides, with much light and pure air. There are also ones that are close and dark, without windows, or with few, and these with bars on them after the manner of convents and prisons. Others are like chapels or bazaars, simple sheds or sumptuous palaces.” de Assis, *Dom Casmurro*, 115.

<sup>39</sup> de Assis, “The Mirror,” *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, 31.

<sup>40</sup> de Assis, “The Mirror,” *A Chapter of Hats and Other Stories*, 28.

doctor, wondering who is mentally ill after all, and places himself in the Casa Verde. In contrast to “The Looking Glass,” science is fashioned by Machado as a failed attempt at social engineering. Highlighting the degeneration that permeated Brazilian social thought from the 1880s to the 1920s, *The Alienist* can also be read as an account of social decline. Dain Borges’ 1993 article “‘Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940,” explains that references of individual thought in literature were frequently linked to national wellbeing, representative of a national decline.<sup>41</sup> According to Borges, psychiatry identified degeneration as a specific syndrome of cumulative psychiatric decline that ran in families. Machado underscores this in *The Alienist* with Dr. Bacamarte’s intensive hospitalization of patients during the chapter “the terror,” perhaps a metaphor for an attempt at social engineering to prevent national decline, like that of Robespierre’s during “the terror” of the French Revolution.

Referring back to Roberto Schwarz’s *Misplaced Ideas*, *The Alienist* can also be understood as Machado documenting the failures of implementing European theories of society in Brazil. Despite most intellectuals in the 1870s and 1880s identifying as positivists, trying to reconcile order and progress in the vein of Spencer and Comte, the fact of slavery still remained in Brazil.<sup>42</sup> Dr. Bacamarte is originally from Portugal and achieved prominence in Portugal for his work, but in Brazil, his experience is completely different, and in the end, paradoxical, as he hospitalizes himself, questioning his own perception of reality:

Back and forth he went, the great alienist, from one end to the other of his vast library, lost in meditation, oblivious to everything except the daunting intellectual problem of cerebral pathology. Suddenly, he stopped. Standing at a window, with his left elbow in his open right hand and his chin on his closed left hand, he asked himself: Were they really insane? And did I really cure them?<sup>43</sup>

Dr. Bacamarte’s questions highlight Roberto Schwarz’s claim in *Misplaced Ideas* that Machado, and the arts in general had the ability to project how liberal ideas became misplaced, representing a “defectiveness, a cultural embarrassment,” by showing that “liberal ideas could not be put into practice, and yet they could not be discarded.”<sup>44</sup>

In a chapter titled “The Terror,” we can see the development of bureaucracy with regard to Dr. Bacamarte’s authority and thought behind hospitalizing patients. The

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<sup>41</sup> Dain Borges, “‘Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993), 235.

<sup>42</sup> Bethell, *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, 185.

<sup>43</sup> de Assis, Machado. *The Alienist and Other Stories of Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2013), 122.

<sup>44</sup> Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas*, 28.

physician reasons that Costa, an esteemed resident of Itaguaí, who squandered his family's inheritance, represented a "disequilibrium of his [Costa's] mental facilities."<sup>45</sup> For Costa, a kind, and perhaps not well-thought out act, resulted in Costa's hospitalization. Costa had inherited "a princely sum, four hundred thousand Portuguese cruzados, a sum that, invested at interest, would produce 'enough,' according to the uncle who left it to him in his will, 'to live on for the rest of his life, and then some.'"<sup>46</sup> When Costa received the funds, he began lending it to anyone who asked, without interest, and "after five years he had practically nothing left."<sup>47</sup> Dain Borges comments that Machado was skeptical about psychiatry, and used *The Alienist* to satirize the scientific pretensions of the field.<sup>48</sup> This is clear when Machado emphasizes the irony in Costa's act. When residents of the town expressed concern, and Dr. Bacamarte insisted: "Science was Science. He could not let a madman go around loose," we can see how bureaucracy and psychiatry become "misplaced ideas" in Brazil.

Immediately after Costa's hospitalization, the town began to regard the Casa Verde as a "private prison," and residents of Itaguaí began to suspect Dr. Bacamarte of ulterior motives.<sup>49</sup> A week later, "more than twenty people, two or three of them leading citizens, had been taken forcibly to the Casa Verde."<sup>50</sup> *The Alienist* highlights Dr. Bacamarte's corruption, perhaps an allusion to the overall state of Brazil's national well-being, while being a commentary on bureaucracy, scientism, positivism, and psychiatry.

By reading Machado, historians can learn about the transferability of ideas, but particularly, how they can be easily falsified depending on their context. In the case of Brazil, Machado's literature highlights Roberto Schwarz's concept of a "misplaced idea." Machado's short stories, like "The Rod of Justice (1891)," and "The Looking Glass (1882)," can be seen as sketches and experiments for themes that became the driving force behind *Dom Casmurro* (1899) and *The Alienist* (1882).<sup>51</sup> Despite two radically different plots, *Dom Casmurro* and *The Alienist* share the overarching theme of characters employing and suffering the consequences of "misplaced ideas." As an heir to slaves, it is impossible for Bentinho to fully embrace a liberal ideology, and as he transitions to being Dom

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> Borges, "Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," 250.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>51</sup> "The Cane" and "The Mirror" have also been translated in English as "The Rod of Justice" and "The Looking Glass."

Casmurro, Machado evidences this impossibility. In *The Alienist*, we can understand that a theory or idea instrumented in Europe will be unlikely to embody the same form in Brazil.

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## **Apprehension to Admiration: The Shift in British Perception of Afghanistan's King Amanullah (1919-1928)**

*Jackson Welch*

*This paper is a study in the change in British perception of the Afghan king Amanullah during his single decade in power. Historians such as Leon Poullada and Thomas Barfield have maintained that Amanullah's relationship with the British Empire was contentious and antagonistic, that both held each other only in disdain; yet, articles and editorials published in The Times of London during Amanullah's world tour (1927- 1928) indicate a contradicting sentiment. Due to King Amanullah's progressive reforms and the British Empire's 'ornamentalist' approach to hierarchy, the two parties grew to respect and adore one another. As The Times demonstrates, the British antipathy that was exhibited toward King Amanullah in 1919 shifted throughout his reign and culminated into a newfound and sincere admiration for the man.*

### **Introduction – Afghan Reforms and British 'Ornamentalism'**

Modern Afghan history has been molded throughout the last two centuries by the region's unavoidable contact with foreign powers and their policies. In the nineteenth and early- twentieth centuries, the political and social institutions of Afghanistan were inescapably tied to such international forces as the British and Russian Empires, which greatly impacted the course of state building and nationalization of the Afghan country. With the imperial power of Great Britain encroaching upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan during most of this period, relations between the two nations were understandably tense. Traditional Afghan tribal culture and the progressive political and social systems of the British Empire clashed heavily, and these differences fostered contempt between the two peoples. However, as a myriad of articles published during the 1920s in *The Times of London* illustrate, the

British perception of Afghanistan's King Amanullah shifted from that of a backwards and uncivilized enemy to an admirable and progressive ally during his reign.

From the moment he took power, King Amanullah sought to institute sweeping reforms based off of Western culture and principles. His restructurings impacted the social, political, and religious conventions of his state, and they were characterized by their "emphasis on the formulation of a legal, judicial, and administrative framework of government."<sup>1</sup> Western ideas and doctrines began to infiltrate Afghan customs and mores, education, and culture. Women were granted rights, the wearing of the veil was officially discouraged, slavery was abolished, many social welfare projects were put into effect, and Western dress was required at court functions.<sup>2</sup> Secular curricula were introduced and educational expansion was proposed and implemented through compulsory primary education, new provincial colleges, a police academy, a medical school, a home economics school for women, foreign language schools, European and Persian study abroad programs, and girls' education. European culture, language, art, and literature flooded Afghanistan due to King Amanullah's progressive vision for<sup>3</sup> his country, and it was this attempt at growth that garnered the respect of Western leaders and the British Empire. The British state and its people developed a sincere admiration and respect for Amanullah not only as a king but also as a person due to the reforms he had been able to implement and the progress he had made in pacifying Afghanistan's tribal factions in just the nine years that he had been in power. In *The Times*, especially during the period of Amanullah's world tour in late 1927 and early 1928, he is depicted as a 'dear friend' of the British and they seemingly perceive him to be one of the most progressive world leaders of the age.

This optimistic perception is a result of not only Amanullah's modernization reforms and personal beliefs but is also an example of David Cannadine's principle of ornamentalism. 'Ornamentalism' describes the way in which the British perceived the overall structure of their empire and identified themselves within that structure. According to Cannadine, "Britons generally conceived of themselves as belonging to an unequal society characterized by a seamless web of layered gradations"<sup>4</sup> and envisaged "the social structure of their empire...by analogy to what they knew of 'home.'"<sup>5</sup> Thus, the British ordered the faraway lands of their empire by binding its hierarchies to their own.

This structuring generally ignores race as the defining trait of British imperi-

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<sup>1</sup> Poullada, Leon B. *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929: King Amanullah's Failure to Modernize a Tribal Society*, p. 69. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, p. 122. USA: Oxford University Press, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

al hierarchy; the relationship between British and imperial subjects was not one “of superiority and inferiority, but a relationship of equivalence and similarity: princes in one society were the analogues to princes in another, and so on and so on, all the way down these two parallel social ladders.”<sup>6</sup> Throughout the British Empire, this “individual social ordering...took precedence over collective racial othering”;<sup>7</sup> accordingly, foreign “natives’ in the empire were regarded as collectively inferior [because] they were seen as the overseas equivalent of the ‘undeserving poor’ in Britain.”<sup>8</sup> For instance, aristocracies in Africa and Asia were accorded some of the same respect due to the British aristocracy, and the great mass of such populations was regarded with disdain just as the urban and rural poor were in Britain itself.<sup>9</sup> To this end, ‘ornamentalism’ and “social hierarchy served to eradicate the differences, and to homogenize the heterogeneities, of empire.”<sup>10</sup> This system essentially gave King Amanullah an imperial social status not quite as respected and laudable as King George V himself, but one within a tier reserved only for world leaders, indigenous elites, and other analogous royal rulers. During Amanullah’s reign from 1919 to 1928, it is evident through articles in *The Times* that international relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain vastly improved. This very combination of ornamentalism, the relatable nature of Amanullah’s reform work, and his personal values shifted the British perception of him.

### **Amanullah in a Historiographical Context**

Amanullah’s world tour spanned seven months during 1927 and 1928 and was well documented in *The Times of London*. Documentation of this travel is a fitting example of the type of history that R.D. McChesney, a Central Asian scholar and retired New York University professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, discusses in a roundtable article. Here McChesney describes the movement of transnational actors out of Afghanistan’s borders and throughout the rest of the world. Travel, for religious, exilic, and economic purposes, he argues, has “helped form the country’s character and shaped its residents’ views of the world.”<sup>11</sup> Rather than revealing an isolated place, the study of Afghan travel might show an Afghanistan “securely embedded in an in-

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, p. 4. USA: Oxford University Press, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> McChesney, R.D. *On Mobility in Afghan History*, p. 135. New York, New York: Department of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2011.

ternationalized world”, which is precisely what Amanullah’s tour puts on display.<sup>12</sup> His rubbing shoulders with the early-twentieth century’s most influential people and the royal treatment he receives from them exemplify this point. He did not go on this tour for religious, exilic, or economic purposes, but he did undertake it in order to garner a greater knowledge and awareness of the progress being made outside of Afghanistan’s borders. According to *The Times of London*, the purpose of his “travelling was to study in the lands he visited lessons in economics, in agriculture, in industry, in applied science, and in education, for the benefit of his subjects and his State.”<sup>13</sup> As *The Times* indicates, this tour invoked mutual empathy and understanding between King Amanullah and the Western powers and consequently altered the perception each had for one other; moreover, the knowledge that he attained on tour and attempted to bring back to his country significantly altered the course of Afghan history and its people’s own perceptions of the West.

This paper, as a study in the British perception of King Amanullah using *The Times of London* as its primary source, is indicative of a structural approach to historiography, principally through its analysis of the social and political landscape connecting King Amanullah and the British Empire. The newspaper articles themselves are a combination of opinion pieces and the factual reporting of Amanullah’s networking across the world. *The Times* was a widely circulated news source that targeted the masses of the British Empire. During the period of Amanullah’s reign, the newspaper “maintained rigorous standards of reporting and writing and strove for meticulous accuracy, and it came to be ruled by tradition, although its editorial views were independent, articulate, and strong.”<sup>14</sup> It had become “a widely respected influence on British public opinion”, and was also seen as the “very epitome of the British establishment.”<sup>15</sup> Not only did the British imperial government support what was published in *The Times* during this period but its imperial subjects did as well. This newspaper was a reliable source of daily news and information for the British at home and abroad, and it was also relied upon to faithfully represent the opinions and sentiments of the people through its many editorial pieces.

Due to Great Britain’s violent and imposing history in Afghanistan, the relationship between King Amanullah and the British Empire has always been characterized negatively. Scholar Leon Poullada argues that “Amanullah’s anti-British feelings

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>13</sup> “King Amanullah’s Visit.” *The Times of London*, 13 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>14</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. “The Times,” accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/596228/The-Times> <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/596228/The-Times>.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

continued to grow and flourish during his entire reign”, and he also states that policy differences and personality clashes “tended to reinforce the mutual antipathy between the Amanullah regime and the British government.”<sup>16</sup> Poullada believes that “Amanullah’s anti-British sentiments...were considerably reinforced in the course of his reign” and that British-Afghan relations only worsened throughout his decade in power.<sup>17</sup> Instead of a mutual respect and admiration for one another, Poullada contends that Amanullah and Great Britain held each other only in disdain. However, through news reports and editorials written in *The Times of London* during King Amanullah’s reign in the 1920s, it is evident that his anti-British sentiments did not grow and flourish while he was in power but rather weakened and diminished. In fact, contrary to Poullada’s findings, *The Times* depicts Amanullah as a man of equality and accepting of other cultures. Even though British imperial culture was villainized in his youth and he won Afghanistan’s independence from the British Empire in 1919, he is still shown to respect and admire British society. British coverage of his world tour further illustrates these sentiments by portraying him as an inspiring trailblazer of progress who also enjoyed amicable and respected relations with his fellow world leaders in the West.

### **British-Afghan Relations Before Amanullah Took Power**

To appreciate the comparable nature of the British perception of Amanullah at the beginning and end of his reign, it is important to understand how British-Afghan relations developed prior to Amanullah taking power in 1919. The political structure of Afghanistan and the role of its people within that structure went through immense changes during the nineteenth century. “The crucible [that brought] about these changes was the two wars that the Afghans fought with the British (1839-42 and 1878-80), or more accurately the consequences of these wars.”<sup>18</sup> Prior to the First Anglo-Afghan War, the “British position on Afghanistan had...moved away from helpful neutrality to a more aggressive policy that sought domination of Afghanistan as a client state” in order to create a large defensive buffer between its imperial holdings in India and the expanding power of Russia.<sup>19</sup> This move peaked British interest in the region and set in motion a series of events that would greatly increase British involvement in the affairs of the Afghan state and in turn negatively affect British-Afghan relations.

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<sup>16</sup> Poullada, Leon B. *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929: King Amanullah's Failure to Modernize a Tribal Society*, p. 46. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>18</sup> Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*, p. 110. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

The British knew the land was too difficult to rule directly so, beginning in the 1830s, they sought the cooperation of the Afghan ruling elite in order to maintain their influence in the region. By pandering to this class, they were able to occupy the state and implement reforms that aimed to increase state power and curb corruption. This centralization of the government and condemnation of corruption doomed the justice system prevailed by the *ulema*, the Muslim religious elite who specialized in Islamic jurisprudence and were considered the arbiters of *sharia* law. Since it was the authority of these Muslim legal scholars that had served as the main glue of the Afghan state for generations, the changes were an infuriating culture shock to the Afghans. These British policies “produced an inevitable and universal antiforeign, pro-Islamic, popular rebellion,” and this sentiment did not fade after the war ended.<sup>20</sup> The chiefs and clergy of the marginalized Afghan groups were the leaders of the opposition, and they developed within their individual tribal cultures a deep-seated grievance against British intervention. Although the central Afghan government was partially to blame for cooperating with the British reformers, the *ulema* “framed their opposition to the British in terms of religious jihad and not as a national struggle...therefore, almost all of the popular resistance was aimed specifically at the infidel British and only obliquely at their Afghan collaborators.”<sup>21</sup> This sentiment continued to be the prevailing opinion of Afghan tribal groups as the century wore on. To them, the British were foreign aggressors who sought to fundamentally change the Afghan tribal culture by implementing taxes and stripping the *ulema* of their traditional right to judge. Though anti-British sentiment was high among the various tribes, it still did not work to unify the opposing factions, which left them vulnerable to the encroaching imperialists.

Much like the first war, the Second Anglo-Afghan War further alienated traditional tribal units from the Afghan state and increased the power of the central government. It also augmented the role that the British played in Afghan state politics, which generated more resentment for British imperial culture. After the Treaty of Gandamak was signed in 1879, various border territories were formally ceded to India and the British were given complete control over Afghanistan’s foreign affairs.<sup>22</sup> Ordinary Afghans did not welcome this treaty or the renewed British presence in Kabul and again they revolted, but these rebellions were quickly squashed. After this uprising, the British ruled Afghanistan directly for a short while, and they warned Afghans that “the only escape

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<sup>20</sup> Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*, p. 122. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

from [their] heavy hand” was through their “entire submission” to British authority.<sup>23</sup>

Policies such as these only incited Afghan tribes, such as the Ghilzai Pashtuns and Kohistani Tajiks, to take up arms once again. The British hoped a credible military threat would invoke compliance, yet the imposition of direct foreign rule provoked even more regional revolts. The desire for these groups “to see the British out of the country outweighed” any existing loyalties to current rulers, and the tribes allied themselves to any who could drive out the foreign infidel from their land.<sup>24</sup> As this conflict further demonstrates, the people of Afghanistan detested these British expeditionary forces that sought to impose such aggressive reforms upon their centuries-established ways of life. The British Empire continually tried to impress ‘progress’ onto the Afghans, but this hegemonic intrusion was too damaging to their conventional mores and ultimately served to spoil the Afghan perception of British and Western culture for future decades.

This was the Afghanistan that King Amanullah was born into in 1892. The British maintained a direct presence by administering Afghan foreign affairs and the main populace sustained an anti-British, pro-Islamic sentiment. Amanullah himself was heavily influenced by immediate factors early on in his life that made an anti-British upbringing unavoidable. He absorbed “from [his mother] and her kinsmen a deep and abiding Anglophobia” that derived from their own personal experiences fighting in the wars against British invasion.<sup>25</sup> These teachings were hammered into him even further by his mentor Mahmud Tarzi, who “drunk deeply in the fountains of the Young Turks, was a worldly...liberal, [and]...had a bitter dislike for colonialism in general and for Britain in particular.”<sup>26</sup> Tarzi also became Amanullah’s father-in-law when the future king married Soraya Tarzi in 1913. Furthermore, as an adult, Amanullah was surrounded by anti-British sentiment through his companions in the War party.<sup>27</sup> Seemingly everyone close to Amanullah shared this aversion to the British Empire and its colonial policies, and with such an upbringing, surely it seems he would have had an equal contempt for the Empire and been hard-pressed to alter this mindset.

### **Amanullah Goes on Tour (1927-1928)**

The argument that Poullada endorses about Amanullah having a deep con-

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<sup>23</sup> Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*, p. 142. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>25</sup> Poullada, Leon B. *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929: King Amanullah's Failure to Modernize a Tribal Society*, p. 39. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

tempt for the British is not found in the articles and editorials of *The Times of London*. Conversely, the newspaper paints a picture of King Amanullah on tour being revered by the British people and thoroughly enjoying his stay in Britain as well as the rest of the Western countries that he visited. This does, however, contrast with the newspaper's depiction of him in 1919, just at the beginning of his reign and before the Third Anglo-Afghan War. In an article titled "A Menace to the Khyber Pass", Amanullah is feared to be conspiring against the Empire and his proclamations have an "ominous ring."<sup>28</sup> Then in August 1919, he successfully secured Afghanistan's independence from Britain, and the Treaty of Rawalpindi was signed, which officially recognized Afghanistan as a sovereign state.<sup>29</sup> These events demonstrated to the British that they were losing their grip on their Afghan buffer state to the Soviet Empire, which drew worry and fear from British diplomats. Such a fearful and averse portrait of King Amanullah only further exacerbates the difference with which he is regarded nine years after this first publication. Between 1919 and 1927, there are a total of forty-five articles in *The Times* that mention Amanullah in some way. This pales in comparison to the ninety total articles written about Amanullah that are published between December 1927 and June 1928, the seven months that he is on tour.<sup>30</sup> This explosion in publications in such a brief period illustrates the increased British interest in the man, and the positivity with which each article is written demonstrates a completely different perception of him from that shown in 1919.

This shift in British perception is due to Cannadine's 'ornamentalism' principle compounded with King Amanullah's demonstrated capability as a reformist and his extremely progressive nature, which was exceedingly liberal and enlightened in comparison not only to his archaic tribal society but also to a few in the West, such as fascist Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini. Examples of this shift take place upon the very first day King Amanullah and his wife, Queen Soraya, embarked on their world tour. King George V himself exchanged pleasantries via telegram with Amanullah to wish him luck on his journey, which exemplifies the respect Amanullah's royal status was given by the Empire's most powerful man.<sup>31</sup> An editorial was written quickly after that lauds Amanullah for the reforms he had been able to implement and credits him with creating enough peace within his country to make such a tour even possible.<sup>32</sup> His progressive and liberal beliefs are documented early in his first stop in Bombay,

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<sup>28</sup> "A Menace to the Khyber Pass." *The Times of London*, 8 May 1919. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>29</sup> Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*, p. 181. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Gale Cengage Learning. The Times Digital Archive 1785-2008.

<sup>31</sup> "Mahan Royal Journey." *The Times of London*, 12 Dec. 1927. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>32</sup> "King Amanullah's Tour." *The Times of London*, 14 Dec. 1927. The Times Digital Archive.

where he preached at a local mosque about treating those who believe in Hinduism as if they were fellow Muslim brothers.<sup>33</sup> Two days later he gave an address at a race-track in which he stated that he “refused to recognize the difference between Sunnis and Shia,” ending his speech “with a passionate exhortation in favor of peace and concord, and, above all, of religious tolerance.”<sup>34</sup> Already before Amanullah even left Central Asia, his ‘enlightened’ values were on display for the world. *The Times* took notice of his actions and reported that he had become one of the first Muslims ever to preach such ideals as cultural acceptance and brotherly love across religions and sects.<sup>35</sup>

Before his visit to London, Amanullah boarded a ship in India that took him to Egypt, from where he traveled to Italy, France, and Germany. On this passage from India, he was the guest of the captain of an Indian mail ship, who documented his experience with the king and had it published in *The Times*. In the captain’s account, Amanullah is portrayed as extremely inquisitive and gracious for the transport; he made no sign of anti-British sentiment but instead went out of his way to accommodate the captain and learn as much as he could about the technology involved in British shipping.<sup>36</sup> Since he was the sovereign of a Muslim nation, the king was accepted warmly upon arriving in Egypt and addressing its people.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, in *The Times*, there is no mention of the speech he gave to the Egyptians having any “anti-British overtones” as it is documented in Ludwig Adamec’s book,<sup>38</sup> which demonstrates either that the British did not pick up on these overtones or that they simply were never there.

When Amanullah arrived in Italy, throngs of enthusiastic crowds, who were impressed by his reforms, received him. The combination of such a reception and the fact that the British were the ones reporting it further demonstrates how positively the subjects of Britain and other countries regarded him while he was on this tour.<sup>39</sup> During his stay in Italy, Amanullah also had an audience with the Pope, and with Afghanistan being “one of the only, if not the only, countries in the world without Roman Catholic subjects or a Roman Catholic mission,” his graciousness and openness towards the Pope embodied and put into practice the ideals of religious tolerance that he preached in Bombay.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> “King Amanullah As Preacher.” *The Times of London*, 17 Dec. 1927. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>34</sup> “The Afghan King At The Races.” *The Times of London*, 19 Dec. 1927. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>35</sup> “King Amanullah’s Visit.” *The Times of London*, 13 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>36</sup> “From Bombay With King Amanullah.” *The Times of London*, 6 Jan. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>37</sup> “Afghan Royal Tour.” *The Times of London*, 27 Dec. 1927. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>38</sup> Adamec, Ludwig W. *Afghanistan’s Foreign Affairs to the Mid-Twentieth Century: Relations with the USSR, Germany, and Britain*. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.

<sup>39</sup> “King Amanullah In Rome.” *The Times of London*, 13 Jan. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>40</sup> “King Amanullah And The Pope.” *The Times of London*, 19 Jan. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

After Italy, Amanullah's tour proceeded to France and Germany and then finally to England to visit the motherland of the British Empire. Prior to his arrival in England, *The Times* published on multiple occasions the updated calendar of events for his visit and other pertinent information, including the procession of carriage routes and a list of other important dignitaries who planned to be a part of the action.<sup>41</sup> These updates demonstrate the anticipation with which the British people awaited his arrival and the accessibility of which the state made his visit to the public. Printing his schedule proved to be effective as thousands of people showed up for his welcoming parade and lined the streets for hours just to get a glimpse of the foreign king. These cheering crowds and the extravagant procession, in which a different band stood every couple hundred of yards in order to keep music playing at all times, illustrate the popular interest of King Amanullah and the positivity with which the people regarded him.<sup>42</sup> At the State Banquet that night, the most important people in the country were present and everyone was dressed splendidly.<sup>43</sup> This elaborative dinner represents a specific feature of Britain's 'ornamentalism', which Cannadine would describe as being "an elaborate system of honors devised to cement the system"; the "most successful British proconsuls and imperial soldiers" became "veritable walking Christmas trees of stars and collars, medals and sashes, ermine robes and coronets."<sup>44</sup> This banquet served as a flowery welcome to the foreign king in order to demonstrate a respect for him and his royalty and keep the order of the imperial hierarchy.

Throughout the rest of King Amanullah's visit in England, he and his wife were followed everywhere by the masses, and the activities the British prepared for him to partake in appeared to make him extremely happy.<sup>45</sup> On his second day in the country, the weather was so foggy that visibility was only a few yards, yet that did not stop immense crowds from lining the streets just to get a two or three second glimpse of his motorcade as it passed by. *The Times* noted the significance of this showing in recalling that "not for many days had there been such large crowds in the city on a state occasion."<sup>46</sup> That night, too, there was a dinner at Guildhall that "shown pageantry unlike ever seen before."<sup>47</sup> Again, this exemplifies the heartiness of the British welcome and the popularity of King Amanullah, as people still came out in record numbers to

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<sup>41</sup> "Court Circular." *The Times of London*, 10 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>42</sup> "Arrival At Dover." *The Times of London*, 14 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>43</sup> "State Banquet." *The Times of London*, 14 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>44</sup> Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, p. 95. USA: Oxford University Press, 2002.

<sup>45</sup> "In The L22." *The Times of London*, 20 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>46</sup> "The Afghan Visit." *The Times of London*, 15 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>47</sup> "Foreign Office Dinner." *The Times of London*, 15 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

give him a sincere greeting despite dismal weather. To woo the King and Queen, the British Royal Air Force put on a special display,<sup>48</sup> the two were taken to Lulworth to watch tank maneuvers and more air displays,<sup>49</sup> and Amanullah plunged over a thousand feet under the ocean in a submarine.<sup>50</sup> In the L22 submarine, he was allowed to send a radio message to his wife and fire two torpedoes at a target, both of which delighted him, as he was described as having a “huge smile on his face” when he came back onto the dry dock.<sup>51</sup> The great lengths that the British went through to please Amanullah are indicative of an ‘ornamentalist’ approach to the treatment of foreign royalty and suggest that the state had both great interest and respect for the man.

At the culmination of King Amanullah’s stay in England, he was presented with an honorary Doctorate of Civil Law from Oxford, another ‘ornamentalist’ tactic. In the presentation of his degree, Lord Birkenhead, the current Secretary of State for India, gave a speech that summarizes this new British perception of King Amanullah and the reason for the shift:

And there is a particular reason why we at Oxford should extend a special welcome to our Royal guest. We were privileged to take part this morning in a very agreeable ceremony; we witnessed the admission to the highest dignity which this ancient University can confer, of a Sovereign who has from the beginning of his reign, identified himself most assiduously with the cause of education. It is not easy for us in the 20th century England to realize what deep-seated difficulties King Amanullah has been called upon to face, and has steadfastly confronted, in order to promote the cause of learning in his far away home. The progress which has been achieved in nine short years is a shining testimony alike to his majesty’s zeal and to his tenacity of purpose.<sup>52</sup>

Lord Birkenhead’s words speak volumes to the new perception of King Amanullah at this time. He was respected for both his leadership ability and for the kind of policies that he sought to integrate into Afghanistan. The British understood how difficult of a task reforming his country must have been, and they sincerely admired the way he had gone about pursuing progress in the face of such adversity.

### **Conclusion - Amanullah Loses His Throne Yet Retains British Respect**

After Amanullah’s departure from England, he traveled back through Russia,

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<sup>48</sup> “King Amanullah.” *The Times of London*, 17 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>49</sup> “Armoured Force Display.” *The Times of London*, 21 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>50</sup> “Afghan King At Portsmouth.” *The Times of London*, 20 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>51</sup> “In The L22.” *The Times of London*, 20 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>52</sup> “Afghan King At Oxford.” *The Times of London*, 24 Mar. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

Turkey, and Persia on his way home and reentered Afghanistan with a bolstered enthusiasm for reform and modernization. His countrymen, however, did not match his zeal, for they did not share his idealized beliefs of progress and innovation. The majority of Afghans preferred their traditional mores and Islamic law to anything Amanullah's new state had to offer. Consequently, when Amanullah pushed his reforms too hard and too fast, the tribal factions of his country revolted and ushered him into exile in British India, where after he traveled to Europe and finally settled in Switzerland. Before his abdication of the throne, *The Times* published a few editorials that showed their support not necessarily for the Amanullah regime but certainly for Amanullah as a man and a leader. As McChesney noted to be the internationalizing force of Afghanistan, Amanullah's world travels not only enriched his country but yielded him considerable admiration from British editorialists. One opinion piece insisted that Amanullah "may fail, but at least he attempted something great, and whether he fails or succeeds his friends in [England] and in India will admire the courage with which he has battled against great odds for a high ideal."<sup>53</sup>

Such words speak dividends to this shifted British perception of Amanullah, and they contrast greatly with Barfield's, which claim that at this time Amanullah "accused [the British] of driving him from power" and that "the British disliked [him]."<sup>54</sup> After he gave up his throne, another British editorialist argued that "whatever his mistakes, whatever his miscalculations, [Amanullah] is entitled to a large measure of sympathy from the Western World which he paid the compliment of imitation. He has failed, but he has failed in what every European who believes in the value of our civilization holds to be a good cause."<sup>55</sup>

It was not only reform and progress that altered this perception, however, for the principle of ornamentalism also played a vital role. David Cannadine coined the term 'ornamentalism' to describe the outward and visible effects of attempts to order the Empire by binding its hierarchies together. He claims "ornamentalism was hierarchy made visible, immanent, and actual. Chivalry and ceremony, monarchy and majesty, were the means by which this vast world was brought together, interconnected, unified and sacralized."<sup>56</sup> To Cannadine, monarchy was seen as the great unifying source of the Empire, which explains the British subjects' enthrallment with King Amanullah, for, simply, he was a king. Cannadine believes that in the period with which Amanullah is concerned, "British officialdom generally was committed to conservative

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<sup>53</sup> "King Amanullah's Troubles." *The Times of London*, 19 Dec. 1928. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>54</sup> Barfield, Thomas. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*, p. 194. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>55</sup> "King Amanullah Abdicates." *The Times of London*, 15 Jan. 1929. The Times Digital Archive.

<sup>56</sup> Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, p. 122. USA: Oxford University Press, 2002.

ideals of cherishing tradition and hierarchy throughout the empire”, which means that it was the custom of the British to impress their own hierarchy on other cultures and treat foreign royalty like their own royalty and foreign subjects like their own subjects.<sup>57</sup> *The Times*’ coverage of Amanullah’s world tour depicts the king’s visit to England and his treatment by the British aristocracy and working-class alike to be a definitive case of ‘ornamentalism’.

Through *The Times of London* publications, it is evident that by the end of Amanullah’s world tour the British had a positive perception of him as a man and as a world leader. They were sincerely impressed with the steps he had taken to modernize his country and respected him for the value he put in education, despite the fact that foreign perceptions of Afghanistan were often the prejudiced beliefs of colonial chauvinists.<sup>58</sup> This may remain true about Afghan culture as a whole, but the shift in the British perception of King Amanullah during his reign demonstrates that foreign biases pertaining to Afghanistan do not necessarily apply to their perceptions of the individual Afghan man and his capabilities. The British Press displayed a great deal of ‘ornamentalism’ as well as a genuine appreciation for the work Amanullah had accomplished during their coverage of his world tour; accordingly, it is apparent that their overall perception of him shifted from apprehension to admiration over his ten years in power.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>58</sup> Schadl, Marcus. *The Man Outside: The Problem with the External Perception of Afghanistan in Historical Sources*. July 2007.

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JULIO GONZALEZ focused much of his academic career at UCLA on the study of ancient Rome. Through his research, Gonzalez had much interest in the religious aspect of ancient Rome. He was drawn to Rome's religion because he believed that it was a dominant force that helped the Romans thrive. His work, *The Evolution of Ancient Roman Religion and its Practices During the Roman Monarchy*, centers on the development and function of ancient Rome's religious customs and practices. His advisor and mentor, John S. Langdon, worked with Gonzalez in creating this piece. Gonzalez would like to thank Langdon for his never-ending support and guidance, Sabrina Ponce for her commitment in polishing the paper, Eva Gonzalez for her insight that strengthened the paper, and Julia Crisler for her patience and editing skills. Currently, Gonzalez is working on a book project with several of his peers focusing on what they believe are various pivotal moments in history.

## The Evolution of Ancient Roman Religion and its Practices during the Roman Monarchy

*Julio Gonzalez*

*The Romans were an Indo-European group from Northern Latium that were polytheistic in character. Roman life was surrounded and dominated by Rome's religious customs and practices. Most of Rome's greatest achievements required the use of Rome's religion. To have become a powerful society, it was necessary for the city's religion to evolve to fit the demands of the Romans. Through its evolution under the seven kings of the Roman Monarchy, the relationship between the Senate and the Roman People strengthened until 509 BCE. Although the connection between the SPQR transformed after 509 BCE, Roman religion continued to demonstrate change and continuity. Religious customs and practices were so prominent in Rome that it held the society together as well as helped it expand. Ultimately, the use of Roman religion and its evolution made it possible for Rome to develop and unify.*

*"There is truth in folklore!"*

- John S. Langdon

The ancient Romans, a group of Indo-European Latins from northern Latium, established the city of Rome in 753 BCE. Within a few centuries, Roman might was known throughout Italy. Rome's growth is often related to have stemmed from shared sovereignty, patriotism, discipline, and innovativeness. Their source of power and in-

spiration that attributed to their social, economic, and political success throughout Italy and later the Mediterranean, however stemmed from ancient customs they adopted from older civilizations, such as from the Etruscans and Greeks. Evidently, for these customs and beliefs to survive in their demanding environment it was necessary for the Romans to add unique features to the customs they adopted, specifically in the areas of religion and religious practices. As such, ancient Roman religion never remained stagnant; it underwent a process of change to fit to the evolving demands of the Romans. As Roman religion continued to be deeply embedded in the lives of the Romans, it soon became the most prominent basis for Roman affairs and decisions concerning politics and war. In this paper, I shall review the results of my research on the evolution of ancient Roman religion during the monarchy from 753 BCE, when Romulus founded Rome, to 509 BCE, when the last king of Rome, Tarquin the Proud, was dethroned and the Roman Republic was formed. I rely heavily on Livy's *Early History of Rome*, but shall also employ various other sources such as Plutarch, Virgil, Ennius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Although primarily focusing on Livy, I shall also review what Plutarch *et al.* adds to Livy, and the potential contradictions among them. Based on my findings, conclusions can be drawn as to why there was a need for the ancient Roman religion to evolve and modify itself over the course of the epoch of the seven kings of Rome. One can then infer the effects of ancient Roman religion on the Roman people and their actions, more specifically how the evolution of their religion helped sustain and warrant the social contract between the Senate and Roman People (SPQR – *Senatus Populusque Romanus*) within ancient Rome.

Rome had many historians, all of whom provided folklore within their histories. Mythologies, legends, and tales in Roman history played a valuable role in ancient Roman society. Roman folklore not only illustrated how to be Roman, but also illustrated what it meant to be Roman. They would often look to their past for inspiration and lessons. The Romans did so because they sought not to repeat the mistakes from their history for they feared a similar and unfavorable outcome would emerge – so much so, that the aftermath of the Roman monarchy proved to have impacted the Romans up until the Roman Empire. For example, in 29 BCE, Caesar Augustus gained enough power and influence in Rome to be a central leading figure, but, instead of being king, he became an emperor.<sup>1</sup> Augustus studied Rome's history and knew that by making himself king he would go against Roman tradition that forbade kingship in Rome. As a result, Augustus became emperor because it connoted military honor and leadership and did not have a connection with kingship.

Sources that date before the Roman Republic, during the Roman monarchy, are

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<sup>1</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 229.

scarce. Because there were no writers during the Roman monarchy, we have to rely on what was written after the monarchy, which was during the Roman Republic. It is difficult, however, to determine what kind of information, if reliable, the ancient authors were presented with.<sup>2</sup> Despite the efforts of many writers who took part in documenting their city's history, there are those who used their influence with a different aim. Writers such as Publius Cornelius Tacitus and Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus used their abilities to produce propaganda that would either promote their standing or persuade the masses. In such cases, those authors would leave out much information about their specific topic and would not only misrepresent the issues they would promote, but also, at times, exaggerate their topics. Analyzing the reality of Roman history becomes difficult for scholars trying to provide a narrative and chronology of Roman history because such works replete with propaganda leave out a great deal of detail.

### **The Ancient Authors on Rome**

Quintus Fabius Pictor, born in 254 BCE, was a Roman senator and is known as the first Roman historian.<sup>3</sup> Many historians, such as Titus Livius Patavinus, also known as Livy, and Plutarch, used Fabius Pictor's work as a source when writing their own histories. When so much existing information was oral, Fabius is credited with creating the first prose narrative of ancient Roman history.<sup>4</sup> As his sources, Fabius relied on "the pontifical *annals*, family records that included speeches, earlier Greek historians like Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus, and most of all, what he had seen and could learn from oral testimony."<sup>5</sup> From his sources, Fabius was able to construct a history of Rome from its ancient beginnings to the Second Punic War.<sup>6</sup> Although Fabius was consulted by many subsequent historians, textual remains of Fabius are scarce. Fabius' work is almost all gone. Scholars have attempted to reconstruct Fabius' history by using the histories of other authors, such as those of Plutarch and Dionysus of Halicarnassus; but one author in particular, whose work is considered the standard history of Rome, used Fabius' work extensively: Livy.

Many Romans, such as Livy, who had a firm grasp of traditional values and political order, viewed the past with reverence and respected commentators who respected their past. Livy was born in Padua, Italy in 59 BCE.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence to suggest

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<sup>2</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Mellor, *The Roman Historians*. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>7</sup> Mellor, *The Roman Historians*. 48.

that Livy ever held a position in the Senate or served in the military.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Livy's history "might be seen as representing the moderately conservative political views and moral standards of the non-political classes of Italy."<sup>9</sup> As a historian, Livy dedicated his life to writing. Livy's primary achievement is his work *The Early History of Rome*, where he describes and depicts events, practices, and institutions of the ancient Romans. Unlike the care of Fabius, modern scholars do not know for certain what sources Livy used to construct his history for the first five of his books – Livy even admits to this in book six; however, although the information that was available to him was scarce, Livy was able to rely on "six annalist versions of the early period, as well as poetic treatments, myths, and legends."<sup>10</sup> Livy also depended on what was circulated orally – albeit he was fully aware of how insecure the information could be, given that most "primary documents were destroyed in the Gallic sack of 390 BCE."<sup>11</sup> Because there was little information for Livy to work with and because he seemed to have relied on selective sources, Livy receives much criticism. Although Livy based most of his history on what seems to many as unreliable sources, Livy expressed that "it was his duty to present the best possible account of the entire history of Rome to understand how the unique character of the Roman people developed," despite the difficulty throughout his endeavor.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, although Livy had noble intentions, his work does not prove the effectiveness of his history. In turn, scholars must continue to analyze his work with caution.

Livy is seen as being skeptical about the tales concerning Roman religion. Livy does not completely doubt the ancient customs and tales – such as the relationship between the goddess Egeria and Numa Pompilius in Roman religion – as it can be discerned in his works that he still believed in the deities.<sup>13</sup> Livy does, however, attempt to provide an "alternative, more rational explanation" concerning "divine intervention in Roman affairs."<sup>14</sup> Livy may have viewed some religious tales as absurd, but he does not negate the fact that these religious ancient tales had social value and, as a result, had a powerful impact on the Roman masses.<sup>15</sup> Livy understood and accepted the "social

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>13</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 48.

value of religion as the securest basis for a healthy public morality.”<sup>16</sup> His aim was not only to inspire the masses in creating a healthy community, but most importantly, to provide the means for social order for the nation. He attempts this by depicting various actions of the deities and religious practices, such as the auguries, performed by the first seven kings of Rome. Livy believed the study and knowledge of Roman religion would “lend order and significance to human life.”<sup>17</sup> Through order and religious connection to one’s community, patriotism for one’s country, as well as discipline, would manifest. Livy uses Roman religion and its involvement with the past to “illustrate the moral qualities needed for a state to thrive, and for individual prosperity.”<sup>18</sup> As a result, Livy, through his writing, attempted to invoke patriotism, discipline, and a sense of purpose in the Roman people.

Plutarch is another historian who wrote about the major personalities of ancient Roman history. Plutarch was born in Chaeronea, Greece in 45 CE, and spent most of his life there with much wealth and influence.<sup>19</sup> He also lectured and taught in Rome<sup>20</sup> as well as took part in several embassies to Rome.<sup>21</sup> He spent the last 30 years of his life as a priest at Delphi and was “a devout believer in the ancient pieties and a profound student of its antiquities.”<sup>22</sup> Plutarch differs from Livy in that he does not “write continuous political history, but [writes] to exemplify individual virtue (or vice) in the careers of great men.”<sup>23</sup> As a result, Plutarch is seen as a “moralist rather than an historian.”<sup>24</sup> He does not focus on politics or how empires change, but on an individual’s actions and motives to action.<sup>25</sup> Plutarch, in his work *Parallel Lives*, wrote histories, inter alia, on specific individuals who he believed played a major role in not only creating Rome, but shaping it. Because he had immense influence, Plutarch was also able to access various other sources, such as Fabius Pictor, that allowed him to construct his work. Plutarch, however, is criticized on his inaccuracies. Scholars have shown that Plutarch is careless about numbers and would often contradict his own

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Lewis, *Roman Civilization*. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Roberts, *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*.

<sup>21</sup> Lewis, *Roman Civilization*. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Roberts, *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. xvii.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. xvii.

statements.<sup>26</sup> Although Plutarch, like other ancient authors, do not reveal an accurate history of Rome, much can still be interpreted and learned from his work.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a “Greek critic and historian,” born 60 BCE and died in 7 BCE.<sup>27</sup> Dionysius taught and lived in Rome during the end of the civil war.<sup>28</sup> In Rome, Dionysius wrote and published the *Roman Antiquities*. He treated his work as his masterpiece and used it to input his theories concerning certain events in Roman history.<sup>29</sup> He believed that it is best for every historian, when writing about history, to choose “subjects noble and lofty and of great utility” for their reader.<sup>30</sup> Dionysius wrote about the early history of Rome because he believed that most Greeks were ignorant of its history and, most importantly, he wanted to not only correct any misconceptions of Roman history, but prove that Rome’s founders were Greek.<sup>31</sup> He argues that the reason why Rome became so powerful is because Rome’s early leaders learned of Greek customs and institutions.<sup>32</sup> For Dionysius, Greek learning was the basis of Rome’s power. Dionysius, however, is a rhetorician who attempts to write a history of Rome, but does so with dramatic effect that impacts the truth of Rome’s history.<sup>33</sup> As a result, Dionysius’s history must be read with caution. Nevertheless, much like the other ancient authors, Dionysius wrote his history in an attempt to inspire or persuade the masses into believing and following a certain moral.

Quintus Ennius, born 239 BCE and died 169 BCE, is one of the earliest poets of Rome during the republic.<sup>34</sup> Ennius was well renowned in Rome and made many powerful friends, such as Cato and Scipio Nasica.<sup>35</sup> He learned Greek at a young age and introduced into Latin the Greek hexameter.<sup>36</sup> He spend most of his time writing poetry and is even credited with creating the legend of Romulus and Remus founding Rome. Because much of his work is in fragments, scholars have to rely on references to him by other ancient authors, such as Marcus Terentius Varro. Ennius’ account of Roman history is mythical and very religious – so much so, that, when finishing the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. xviii.

<sup>27</sup> Hornblower, *Who’s Who in the Classical World*.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. xi.

<sup>30</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. xii.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. xiii.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. xiii.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. xvi.

<sup>34</sup> Roberts, *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*.

<sup>35</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. xviii-xxi.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. xix.

*Annals*, the *pontifex* of Rome wanted to keep a record of his work for religious purposes.<sup>37</sup> Ennius, although surviving in only fragments, does provide more information than other ancient authors in their histories, despite how limited in scope his work is. From Ennius's history, one can ascertain the importance and connotation of religion for the Roman monarchy.

Livy's history of ancient Rome is systematic, but at times obscure. He begins with the fable of Romulus and Remus, twin brothers that, through fate, would lead Rome's foundation. The Romans had a strong sense of destiny, in which they believed that their lives were already predetermined. This is expressed throughout Livy's writing, and illustrates Livy's own character as a Stoic.<sup>38</sup> Livy introduces the twin brothers as being born of a Vestal Virgin, named Rhea Silvia, and fathered by the god Mars.<sup>39</sup> By comparison, Plutarch and Livy both express the belief that the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus were of divine origin. Livy, however, explains that their birth was "written in the book of fate,"<sup>40</sup> whereas Plutarch claims that the brothers' birth was foretold by an oracle of Tethys, in Tuscany. Livy and Plutarch both emphasize the role of fate in the lives of the Romans. Fate provides a sense of purpose, and with its religious connotation, it also serves as a nexus between the Roman people and their deities.

With this sense of purpose, the Roman people established religious positions and continued religious practices for the sake of their deities. One particular position in Roman religious practice is the role of a Vestal Virgin. Rhea Silvia, both in the works of Livy and Plutarch, is said to be the mother of Romulus and Remus despite her role as a chaste Vestal. The religious college of the Vestal Virgins was established long before the founding of Rome and even before the birth of Romulus. In fact, the practice of the Vestal Virgins is thought to have been an Etruscan tradition.<sup>41</sup> Most Etruscan customs and traditions, such as the auguries and the Vestal Virgins, were a major influence to the ancient Romans as they adopted and modified their beliefs to fit their own. The activities performed by the Vestal Virgins illuminate an "aspect of the connection between public and private religion."<sup>42</sup> Public religious practices, such as the auspices, and private religious practices, such as priestly colleges, performed their religious duties separately or privately; however, they would act in accord if it concerned the Vestal Virgins. In this case, the Vestal Virgins can be seen as the bridge

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<sup>37</sup> Roberts, *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*.

<sup>38</sup> Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. 55.

<sup>39</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 34.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 34.

<sup>41</sup> Ward, *The History of the Roman People*. 31.

<sup>42</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 51.

between other Roman religious practices and the city of Rome itself.

In addition, Vestal Virgins resided in the temple of Vesta, who was “the center of family life and worship” as well as a deity with a connection to fire.<sup>43</sup> Although Vestal Virgins had several unique responsibilities, none were more prominent than guarding the sacred fire and remaining chaste. Dionysius, in his book, sheds light on the duties of Ilia when she was a Vestal Virgin. After becoming a priestess of Vesta,<sup>44</sup> Dionysius describes that Ilia, like other Vestal Virgins, was “entrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire and with the carrying out of any other rites that it was customary for virgins to perform in behalf of the commonwealth.”<sup>45</sup> Dionysius continues by stating that one of Ilia’s many duties is to remain “undefiled by marriage for a period of no less than five years.”<sup>46</sup> Failure to perform her duties would have resulted in death. In the tale of Illia, Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius illustrate that the mother of the twin brothers was raped by the god Mars. Dionysius explains that, as Ilia was fetching water, she was “ravished by somebody or other in the sacred precinct.”<sup>47</sup> Besides the legend that it was the god Mars who subdued Ilia, Dionysius provides the possibility that the act may have been caused by one of Ilia’s suitors or by the *rex*, or king,<sup>48</sup> Amulius himself.<sup>49</sup> Nonetheless, the commentators reached a consensus in their belief about the paternity of Mars.

In Ilia’s grief, she is comforted by Mars. Mars explains that “since she had been united in marriage to the divinity of the place and as a result of her violation [she] should bear two sons who would far excel all men in valour and warlike achievements.”<sup>50</sup> It seems, however, that Dionysius had difficulty accepting this tale. Although he had great respect for the deities, Dionysius’s alternative interpretation signifies that he expressed doubt in the story, but, like Livy, he knew that stories concerning the deities had a social value to the Roman people. Furthermore, Dionysius wanted to depict the gods as more pious than human beings as he explains that “god is incapable of any

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<sup>43</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 49.

<sup>44</sup> The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. 253; Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 34. In ca. 800 BCE, Proca was king of Alba and had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. After his death, Numitor, because he was the eldest son, inherited the throne; however, Amulius ignored Numitor’s legitimacy to the throne. As a result, Amulius not only drove out Numitor, but also murdered his sons and made his niece, Rhea Silvia, a Vestal so as to preclude any threats of a successor.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

<sup>47</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 255.

<sup>48</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 36; The Latin word for king is *rex*.

<sup>49</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 255.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 257.

action that is unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature” and thus would not have defiled Ilia since she had devoted her life as a priestess to Vesta.<sup>51</sup> Dionysius lays out the details of failure to honor the standard of chastity of a Vestal Virgin. During this time, the punishment for breaking one’s oath as a Vestal Virgin was clear: to be “scourged with rods and put to death and her offspring thrown into the current of the river” or as “the sacred law ordains that such offenders shall be buried alive.”<sup>52</sup> Plutarch mentions that when Rhea were to give birth, her children were to perish. He explains that Rhea had still suffered the loss of her children because the king, both to follow the prescribed punishment and to eliminate the fear of usurpation, ordered a guard to drown the twins in the Tiber River.<sup>53</sup> The position of the Vestal Virgins was very important to the Romans for it was a religious practice that connected their community to the religious spheres of Rome and their deities.

At the center of family life, Vesta was very much an influence to the Romans. Not only were the Vestal Virgins “paraded as sharing the characteristics of both matrons and virgins, with even some characteristics of men too,” they were also a symbol of a healthy community.<sup>54</sup> The Vestal Virgins represented the “connection between the religious life of the home and of the community.” If anything “went wrong in their house, the threat was to the whole safety of the Roman people.”<sup>55</sup> The role of the Vestal Virgins becomes very important for the Romans mentally and morally. Chastity, for the Vestal Virgins, was “essential for the well-being of [Roman] society;” but, although it is punishable by death for a Vestal Virgin to break her vow, historians had different accounts of the punishment.<sup>56</sup> Livy recounts that Rhea Silvia was put in prison, whereas Plutarch reports that, although she was condemned to her punishment, she was saved by the good word of her friend Antho, the king’s daughter.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, Rhea was put in isolation, and, as one gathers from the sources, not initially put to death.<sup>58</sup> This action suggests a transition of attitude toward the Vestal Virgins. As Dionysius explained, many gave Ilia pardon for her punishment because it was a god who compelled her to violate her oath. As a result, this leads one to assume that sacred vows, if

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 257.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 263.

<sup>53</sup> All the ancient authors subscribed to the belief that the twins did not drown in the Tiber River and that they were saved by a she-wolf.

<sup>54</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 52.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>56</sup> Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. 76.

<sup>57</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 26.

broken, can be pardoned only if they were done so by divine intervention. The Romans regarded the position of the Vestal Virgins in high esteem. Whenever a Vestal broke her vow, disorder would ensue. In the case of Ilia, a Vestal Virgin who broke her vows, she bore the twin brothers who would soon change the course of affairs in Italy.

The fate of the twins is the essence of the legend of Rome. There are many interpretations concerning the events of the twins at the Tiber River, all of which seem to inspire religious tradition. As the brothers were left to die, Plutarch relates that they were left near a wild fig-tree.<sup>59</sup> It was there that the twins were discovered by a she-wolf, known as a *lupa*, and by a woodpecker. The *lupa* and the woodpecker nursed the twins and treated them as their own kin. Plutarch then explains that the *lupa* and the woodpecker were divine; he reports that “these creatures are esteemed holy to the god Mars; the woodpecker the Latins [had] especially [worshipped] and [honoured].”<sup>60</sup> Evidently, the brothers were found by farmers. Dionysius explains that as farmers came by and saw the “babes clinging to [the *lupa*] as to their mother, [such that] they thought they were beholding a supernatural sight.”<sup>61</sup> After scaring away the *lupa*, the “herdsmen took up the babes, and believing that the gods desired their preservation, were eager to bring them up.”<sup>62</sup> As a result, the farmers felt that it was their religious duty and obligation to care for the twin brothers. The brothers were thus “looked upon as the offspring of the gods.”<sup>63</sup> Dionysius, however, relates a different story that sheds light on the upbringing of the twin brothers.

Dionysius explains that the twin brothers were not saved by a *lupa*, but by a woman. He explains that Faustulus, the man who discovered the children, had a wife named Laurentia, who “having formerly prostituted her beauty had received from the people living round the Palatine hill the nickname of *Lupa*.”<sup>64</sup> Plutarch offers a similar alternative interpretation of the legend of the *lupa*. Plutarch explains that the *lupa*, was actually a “woman of loose life” named Acca Larentia.<sup>65</sup> Those Romans who believed the latter version, or those who place more value on the alternative interpretation, honored Laurentia religiously – so much so that a religious tradition in her honor was established known as the Larentian Feast. She became a religious symbol to the Romans. The festival was governed by two bands of priests known as the *Luperci*, “a name related

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<sup>59</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 26.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 26.

<sup>61</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 267.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 267.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 269.

<sup>64</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 289.

<sup>65</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 26.

to *lupus* (wolf).<sup>66</sup> The *Luperci* would meet at the *Lupercalia*, “the cave where the *lupa* was supposed to have suckled Romulus and Remus at the foot of the Palatine,” and would perform their ceremony.<sup>67</sup> The procedure of their ceremony consisted of cutting the “skins of some sacrificial goats,” to which they would attach or tie to their thighs<sup>68</sup> Often, when performing the ceremony, a “group of near naked youth [would run] around the city, striking those they see, [mostly women], with a goat thong.”<sup>69</sup> Many Romans offered sacrifices to the *lupa* and “in the month of April the priest of Mars [would make] libations” in her honor.<sup>70</sup> The purpose of the ceremony is speculative.<sup>71</sup> It is suggested that the ceremony was a ritual of fertility or a ritual of purification.<sup>72</sup> This tradition was not common practice until sometime during the reign of Romulus, and it was continued to be practiced throughout the epoch of the monarchy in Rome. The tale, nevertheless, of the *lupa* impacted the Romans so much that a festival was dedicated to the legend. One can speculate many reasons as to why the Romans created a festival concerning the tale of the *lupa*. Perhaps they wanted to honor the origins of their city in a ceremonial way. The interpretation presented by Ennius, however, assigns no significance to the *lupa*. In his story of the birth of Romulus and Remus, Ennius recounts the tale of how the *Lupa* was “big with young,”<sup>73</sup> but, Ennius does not provide any religious connotation to the wolf, nor mentions any other animal that came to the aid of the twins. Ennius continues describing the early stages of the lives of Romulus and Remus absent of a religious connotation. Nevertheless, many ancient Romans believed the twin brothers were of royal and religious birth, and thus looked upon them with great reverence.

Remus and Romulus, upon reaching adulthood, ventured to establish a new city; however, a quarrel ensued as the twins debated about who the founder of their new city should be. To settle the issue, the brothers agreed to “ask the tutelary gods of the countryside to declare by augury which of them should govern the new town once it was founded, and give his name to it.”<sup>74</sup> Livy writes that Romulus and Remus observed the auspices in their respective settlements: Romulus in the Palatine Hill and Remus in

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<sup>66</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 52.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>69</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 47.

<sup>70</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 26.

<sup>71</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 47.

<sup>72</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 27.

<sup>73</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 27.

<sup>74</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 27.

the Aventine Hill. Although Livy, along with the other authors, use the terms auspices and auguries interchangeably, the terms consists of different functions and definitions. The taking of the auspices “involved ceremonies of divination for the limited purpose of determining if the time was right for a particular private and public action.”<sup>75</sup> Those taking the auspices would search for specific signs from the environment or from animals. Some signs could vary among the “flight and behavior of birds, the unusual behavior of animals, and heavenly phenomena like thunder and lightning.”<sup>76</sup> The auguries would seek similar signs, but would interpret them differently. The auguries “determined if the gods were favorable to an action, to a place where an action was to occur, or to a person about to undertake it.”<sup>77</sup> The major difference between these two fields is that taking the auspices can be performed by anyone, but performing the auguries can only be done by priests, also known as the augurs.<sup>78</sup>

At most, the augurs would act as advisers or witnesses, while the source of judgment on the legality of actions done and not done would be from the augural college as a whole.<sup>79</sup> The auguries were very important to the ancient Romans. This religious practice connected their humanity with the divine nature of the deities. By analyzing the signs, the Romans believed that their deities were attempting to communicate and interact with them. As a result, the Romans placed much political importance on the auguries. Performing the auguries, however, did not require an augur during the time Romulus and Remus were performing the practice, because they themselves read the signs of the gods. By reading the signs, the brothers determined that it was the decision “of the gods [as to] which of them, [Remus or Romulus], should give his name to the colony and be its leader.”<sup>80</sup> After offering their customary sacrifices to the gods, Romulus and Remus were set to participate in the viewing of the auspicious birds.<sup>81</sup> Ennius explains that Romulus had made his search “on high Aventine and so [looked] out for the soaring breed.”<sup>82</sup> While at their stations, Remus claimed to have seen six vultures, making him the first one to have viewed the auguries. Evidently, Romulus

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<sup>75</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 52.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>77</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 52.

<sup>78</sup> Ward, *A History of the Roman People*. 52: Another distinction between the auguries and the auspices is that performing the auguries requires an audience with the gods whereas the auspices do not. Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 22: The auguries and auspices should not be confused with the *haruspices*, which is a practice involving the reading of entrails of sacrificial animals.

<sup>79</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 22.

<sup>80</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 297.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. 297.

<sup>82</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 31.

was ultimately the victor of the auspices because “just when, winging to the left, there flew from the height a bird, the luckiest far of the flying prophets.”<sup>83</sup> Romulus reported seeing twelve vultures, outnumbering Remus’ six. As a result, Romulus was “duly given the chair and throne of royalty, established firm by the watching of the birds.”<sup>84</sup>

With this divination of the flight of birds, the auguries, Plutarch reveals the religious significance of the vultures, not present in Livy’s account. Plutarch claims that a “vulture is a very rare sight” and “their rarity and infrequency raised a strange opinion in some, that they come to [them] from some other world.”<sup>85</sup> As a result, many, such as soothsayers, believed that the vultures were from “divine origination to all things not produced either of nature or of themselves.”<sup>86</sup> Ultimately, the viewing of the birds would be a religious practice that would be carried out by Romulus’s successors. Dionysius explains that “having given them an account of the omens, [Romulus] was chosen king by them and established it as custom, to be observed by all his successors, [and] that none of them should accept the office of king or any other magistracy until Heaven, too, had given its sanction.”<sup>87</sup> Evidently, the auguries would develop and adopt a new custom, which was to legitimize kingship. Consequently, for Romulus to be the victor of the auguries, he had to strike down his brother and claim the right to rule the new city, naming it after himself: Rome.<sup>88</sup>

As the augural practices expanded, so, too, did other religious sanctions, such as the *pomerium*. After slaying his brother, Livy relates that Romulus’s first act after founding Rome was to fortify the Palatine. To do so, both Livy and Plutarch explain that Romulus had to extend the *pomerium*. The *pomerium* was a boundary believed to be sacred. Livy describes it as:

The space on both sides of the wall, the place which formerly the Etruscans, when they found cities used to consecrate with augural rites, fixing definite boundaries on both sides with boundary stones, at the points where they intended to construct a wall, so that on the inside no buildings should be

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>84</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 31.

<sup>85</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 31.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>87</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 329.

<sup>88</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 37: Livy explains that Remus grew discontented over the result of the auguries and did not want to legitimize Romulus’s viewing of the birds. In his anger, Remus jumped over the wall of the settlement to express his own legitimacy to the kingship, but Romulus struck him down shouting the words: “So perish whoever shall overleap my battlements.” Other stories relate that Remus was not stuck down by his brother, but by one of Romulus’s soldiers. In every interpretation, however, Remus is ultimately killed and Romulus is then sanctioned as the first king of Rome.

extended to the fortifications (which now commonly are actually attacked to them), and so that on the outside there should extend some ground untouched by human labor.<sup>89</sup>

Aulus Gellius, a Roman historian who wrote *Attic Nights*, describes the *pomerium* as: “The space within the rural district designated by the augurs along the whole circuit of the city without the walls, marked off by fixed bounds and forming the limit of the city auspices.”<sup>90</sup>

Ennius explains that, upon establishing his right to rule, Romulus fortified the *pomerium*, but not before giving praise to Jupiter, reporting that Romulus relied “more on a wall than the might of his arm.”<sup>91</sup> By praising the wall, Ennius suggests that the wall is under the protection of the deities who thus protect the city; as a result, the wall is seen as holy. These authors, and others, have a similar understanding of the concept and importance of the *pomerium* in the time of the seven kings. The *pomerium* was one of Rome’s “most important lines of division,” for it was the “sacred and augural boundary of the city.”<sup>92</sup> One can only take the urban auspices within the boundary of the *pomerium*.<sup>93</sup> The magistrates also had to be “careful to take the auspices again if they crossed the *pomerium* in order to re-establish correct relations with the gods.”<sup>94</sup> Thus, the *pomerium* acted as another connection between the Senate and Roman People and their gods.

As the *pomerium* was extended, the Roman people began erecting the city within it. Dionysius explains that before Romulus could begin working on his new city, he first had to propitiate the gods.<sup>95</sup> Romulus first “offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities,” to which he then took the omens, which resulted favorably.<sup>96</sup> After Romulus and the Romans completed their religious tasks, such as plowing<sup>97</sup> and sacrificing cows and bulls, “he set the people to work.”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Lewis, *Roman Civilization*. 62.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 62.

<sup>91</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 33.

<sup>92</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 23.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 23.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 23: Beard retrieves this information from Cicero’s work, *On the Nature of the Gods*.

<sup>95</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 303

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 303: Romulus, after believing his sacrifices to the gods were exceptional, continued to build upon the *pomerium*, which would serve as the foundation to Rome’s unifying achievement. The Romans placed much value on the day they built their city together – so much so, it became a tradition of “ploughing a furrow round the city where they [had built their city].”

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. 303.

The day of their work was to be a celebratory day for the Romans called the *Parilia*.<sup>99</sup> Plutarch agrees with the date set by Dionysius for the birth of the city, Rome. He explains that the day the Romans began construction was the 21<sup>st</sup> of April and “that day the Romans annually keep holy, calling it their country’s birthday.”<sup>100</sup> The Romans thus viewed the founding of their city as divinely sanctioned. Thereafter, Romulus is said to have found an underground altar dedicated to the god Consus.<sup>101</sup> As a sign of respect, Romulus had proclaimed the day of the discovery of the altar “a day for splendid sacrifice and for public games and shows to entertain all sort of people.”<sup>102</sup> The actions by Romulus thus portray Rome as a *civitas*, or organized community, that would do its best not to reproach their deities, but honor them. It can then be seen that the Romans not only treated their own city as divinely sanctioned and under the protection of the gods, but also thought that the deities treated their city with great honor. By extension, as the Romans felt great pride in their city, patriotism would soon emerge and take the Romans to new heights.

### **Patriotism in Connection with the Deities**

To be patriotic, the Romans had to believe they were fighting for a cause greater than their city; but, to do so, they needed a strong leader. In forming his new government, Romulus, to further his standing with the Romans, established the twelve lictors, officials who carried “bundles of rods symbolizing the power of punishment,” to attend to him.<sup>103</sup> Livy had claimed the reason Romulus “made the lictors twelve in number [was] because the vultures, in the augury, had been twelve.”<sup>104</sup> By doing so, Livy provides a clear indication of the early stages of Roman government being formed in such a way as to honor their religious practices. Patriotism for the Romans would be at its highest during a battle, and especially if it was fought for the sake of their gods. In the event of war, several religious practices would occur before, during, and after combat with their enemy. During his battle with the Sabines, Romulus defeated an enemy, the

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 303: “The Parilia, or more properly Palilia, was an ancient festival celebrated by the shepherds and herdsmen on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April in honour of the divinity Pales.”

<sup>100</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 31.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 33: Consus is the god of counsel.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 33.

<sup>103</sup> Lewis, *Roman Civilization*. 60: The rods the lictors carried were also known as *fasces* and they served two functions: In the city, they symbolized the power of punishment. Outside the city, during a military campaign, they symbolized the right of execution.

<sup>104</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 39.

prince of Caenina, and stripped him of his armor.<sup>105</sup> Romulus took the armor to the Capitol and laid it down near a sacred oak tree by which he would offer the armor to their god, Jupiter.<sup>106</sup> As a sign of reverence to the god, Romulus dedicated the plot of land to Jupiter and performed a prayer pertaining to the spoils of war. Romulus uttered:

Jupiter Feretrius, to you I bring these spoils of victory, a king's armor taken by a king; and within the bounds already clear to my mind's eye I dedicate to you a holy precinct where, in days to come, following my example, other men shall lay the 'spoils of honor' stripped from the bodies of commanders or kings killed by their own hands.<sup>107</sup>

Not only did Romulus establish the religious tradition of presenting spoils of war to their deities, he also created Rome's first temple consecrating that tradition. Romulus also began the practice of prayer in the battle field. As the Romans were forced to retreat by the might of the Sabines,<sup>108</sup> Romulus, witnessing his troops cower, cried out to Jupiter once more and asked to give the Romans strength to prevail against their enemies. In Romulus's prayer, he signified the importance of the Romans' belief that it was Jupiter who allowed Romulus to establish the foundations of Rome. In evoking a sense of patriotism among his troops, Romulus proclaimed that Jupiter commanded the Romans to continue fighting.<sup>109</sup> As a result, the Romans felt a sense of duty to protect their homeland. Livy claims that Romulus's prayer did not go unheard because the Romans thereafter found the courage and strength to repel the Sabines.<sup>110</sup> A truce was then agreed upon between the two civilizations.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 40: For their new city to flourish and grow, the ancient Romans needed more people, particularly women, because their population was small. The ancient Romans did not allow intermarriage with other neighboring communities, but Romulus, in an attempt to increase the size of his citizenry, gathered neighboring city states, such as the Sabines, for a festival of drinking and eating called the Consualia, which was a festival that honored the god Neptune. As the Sabine parents became distracted, becoming drunk and falling asleep, the Romans proceeded to kidnap the Sabine daughters and rape them. This is known as the "Rape of the Sabines." In turn, the Sabines, after realizing what happened and having their trust betrayed, were outraged and waged war against the Romans.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 43.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. 43.

<sup>108</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 43: The Sabines were more organized than the Romans, thus giving the Sabines the advantage in battle.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 44-45.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 45.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. 45: During the battle, the Sabines and the Romans were interrupted by the Sabine daughters. The Sabine daughters pleaded with both the Romans and the Sabines to end the battle. The daughters claimed to accept their new lives as Roman wives and citizens, and agreed to stay with their new Roman husbands. Evidently, their plea would end the Roman and Sabine debacle, and allow the two civilizations to live under a truce.

There is a similar interpretation of the battle with the Sabines in Plutarch's account: in the battle against the Sabines,<sup>112</sup> Romulus, finding difficulty in subduing his enemies, made a vow to his god, Jupiter, that he would carry and dedicate his adversary's armour to his honor if he should conquer.<sup>113</sup> For his vow to be realized, Romulus first had to "perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter" by cutting "down the tall oak which he saw growing in the camp" and having it "trimmed it in the shape of a trophy, and fastened on it the armour of his enemies."<sup>114</sup>

With this offering to Jupiter, Romulus thus "prayed [that Jupiter] might smite and overthrow his enemy;" in return, Romulus would not only gain royal spoils, but also offer a majority of the spoils of victory to Jupiter.<sup>115</sup> Romulus's prayer was significant in that it boosted Roman morale. As the Romans were nearing defeat, Romulus's next actions had to be decisive and effective. In praying to the god Jupiter, the fear the Roman troops had experienced turned into confidence, and in turn, the Roman troops "rallied again into ranks and repulsed the Sabines."<sup>116</sup>

After the Romans repelled the Sabines and gained increasing confidence, a temple where the confrontation between the two civilizations occurred was erected and dedicated to Jupiter.<sup>117</sup> Thus, war in ancient Rome was closely connected with the belief that their deities would not only provide support, but strength to the Romans. After the debacle with the Sabines, Ennius reports that "Romulus had built a temple to Jupiter Feretrius" and had "caused greased hides to be spread out and held games in such a manner that men fought with gauntlets and competed in running races."<sup>118</sup> Evidently, of course, as the Romans won battles and wars, their belief in their gods grew stronger. The gods played an important role for the Romans in both solidifying their patriotic duty to their city and creating closer ties between the Senate and the Roman People and their deities. As a result, religious practices and institutions began to rapidly emerge and develop.

Romulus, after the defeat of the Sabines, was believed to be the first to have "consecrated holy fire, and instituted holy virgins to keep it, called vestals."<sup>119</sup> Plutarch, it is

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<sup>112</sup> Both Livy and Plutarch share the story of the Romans needing more women to populate their city.

<sup>113</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 35.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. 35: The armor, which Romulus chose to dedicate to Jupiter, belonged to Acron, the king of the Ceninenses, whom he killed in battle.

<sup>115</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 35.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 37: Jupiter Stator.

<sup>118</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 35.

<sup>119</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 40.

true, does acknowledge that there are those who believe that it was Numa Pompilius who later instituted the vestals.<sup>120</sup> Nonetheless, many historians give credit for the establishment of the vestals to Romulus. Over the balance of his reign after the Sabine war, Romulus began increasingly to devote his attentions to religious matters. Romulus was seen as “eminently religious, and skilled in divination” and, as a result, “carried the *litus*, a crooked rod with which soothsayers describe the quarters of heaven, when they sit to observe the flight of birds.”<sup>121</sup> Before long, Romulus came to be perceived by the Romans as divine himself. Shortly after the end of the double kingship, which had been established with the Sabines, Romulus was killed and deified.<sup>122</sup> Maurus Servius Honoratus, a grammarian from Italy, explains that “according to Ennius, Romulus [was] reckoned with Aeneas among the gods.”<sup>123</sup> In turn, the Romans believed that Romulus lived among the gods, and, thus, he was worshiped by the Romans.<sup>124</sup> Plutarch has a similar interpretation about the divinity of the king and the divine support of the city. After his co-king died,<sup>125</sup> Romulus was revered as a god and the Roman people “continued living peacefully in admiration and awe of him.”<sup>126</sup>

Even in cases of disaster, the deities were always revered. When a plague broke out in Rome “causing sudden death without any previous sickness,” the Roman people started to have a growing “fear of the wrath of the gods.”<sup>127</sup> In other moments of crisis, such as the death of Romulus, the Romans believed the deities had a correlation with causation. Upon the death of Romulus, the senate of Rome spread the report that he had been “taken up to the gods, and [was] about [to become one of them], in a place of a good prince... a propitious god.”<sup>128</sup> His death, however, also spread disorder. As a maneuver to calm the masses, a patrician from a noble family, Julius Proculus, explained to the Roman people that he had prayed to Romulus for answers and had not gone unheard. Proculus reports that Romulus replied to him:

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<sup>120</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 40. The details of Romulus’s death are unclear; however, the sources do suggest that the Roman Senators were responsible.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. 40.

<sup>122</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 46–49: Rome, it was agreed, was to be a dual-kingship in which Romulus and the Sabine king, Tatius, would jointly rule the society; however, the Sabine king was not liked by many and was then killed. Romulus did not seem to be bothered by this fact and felt liberated to rule Rome alone thereafter.

<sup>123</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 39.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>125</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 40.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. 41.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. 41.

<sup>128</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 44.

It pleased the gods, O Proculus, that we, who came from them, should remain so long a time amongst men as we did; and, having built a city to be the greatest in the world for empire and glory, should again return to heaven. But farewell; and tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the height of human power; we will be to you the propitious god Quirinus.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, Romulus was not only seen as a god, but was also prayed to in times of need. Consequently, Romulus's name was also changed to fit his divine character. Plutarch explains that:

Romulus's surname Quirinus, some say, is equivalent to Mars; others, that he was so called because the citizens were called Quirites; others, because the ancients called a dart or spear Quiris; thus, the statue of Juno resting on a spear is called Quiritis, and the dart in Regia is addressed as Mars, and those that were distinguished in war were usually presented with a dart; that, therefore, Romulus being a material god, or a god of darts, was called Quirinus.<sup>130</sup>

Livy's interpretation of these events relate that Romulus continued to gain influence in Rome – so much so that the Senate, as Livy suspects, had to dispose of him. Tales about Romulus' death did indeed conjure religious beliefs about his being. A famous legend explains that Romulus was swept away by a whirlwind into the heavens. Speculations about his divinity soon came after many proclaimed Romulus as “a god and son of god, and prayed to him to be forever gracious and to protect” Rome and its civilians.<sup>131</sup> Livy then reports that Julius Proculus, to quell the Roman populace,<sup>132</sup> gave a speech in honor of Romulus explaining the future of Rome. In his speech, Proculus uses the image of Romulus as a god to invoke a sense of patriotism in the citizens of Rome. Using Romulus's image, Proculus explains that the people of Rome must heed his command because he was directed from both Romulus and the deities.<sup>133</sup> Plutarch, however, provides different interpretations of the history of Romulus and his death. Romulus was revered as a great warrior and leader turned into a god – so much so, a temple was soon consecrated in his honor. Ennius explains that upon Romulus's death

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid. 45.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. 45.

<sup>131</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 49.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. 49: Most Romans were angry because they believed that their own senate killed their king, Romulus. They were convinced that the senate feared the increasing influence and power of Romulus and, as a result, decided to kill him.

<sup>133</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 49.

the Romans conferred many titles on Romulus. He reports that as the people were mourning the death of Romulus, the masses spoke thus: “O Romulus, godly Romulus, what a guardian of your country did the gods beget you! O father, o Begetter, O blood sprung from the gods! You it was who brought us forth into the world of light.”<sup>134</sup>

Plutarch’s analysis of Romulus is not entirely meant to be a historical account; rather, it was meant to exemplify Romulus’ character by illustrating and depicting his virtuous being as a role model for the people of Rome. Romulus was thus not only to be viewed as a god, but a hero embedded in Roman culture and religion.

### **Numa Pompilius, the Catalyst of Roman Religion**

Numa Pompilius was the second king of Rome after the death of Romulus, ruling from 715 BCE to 673 BCE. Under Numa, not only had the relationship between the Roman deities and the SPQR strengthened exponentially, but the social contract between Senate and the Roman people solidified. His involvement with Roman religion transformed and reinforced the connection between the Romans and their deities. Numa is credited with establishing and developing ancient Rome’s religion and religious practices. The ancient authors chose different foci when writing about the life of Numa. Livy’s interpretation of Numa focuses on his implementation of religious practices and institutions in the political realm. Plutarch’s account of Numa is much more extensive than Livy’s. Plutarch provides detailed information on the life of Numa, both of his public affairs and private ones. Consequently, Plutarch provides more information on Numa’s implementation of religious institutions and practices. Dionysius’s interpretation of the second king of Rome is more methodical in that he provides alternative explanations to some events, such as Numa’s interaction with the goddess Egeria, or religious customs during his reign not elaborated upon by the other ancient authors. Ennius’ account on Numa is short, but informative. The surviving fragments of Ennius’s work also, like Livy, focus on Numa’s religious achievements and divine interaction with the deities. Numa was the central religious figure of all the Roman kings because of his involvement and influence in shaping Roman religion and religious practices.

Numa Pompilius was greatly favored by the Roman people. Livy explains that “Numa Pompilius had a great reputation at this time for justice and piety” and was “deeply learned in all the laws of God and man.”<sup>135</sup> After the death of Romulus, who, as Plutarch relates, ascended into the heavens, the city of Rome required a new king.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 41.

<sup>135</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 51.

<sup>136</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 75.

The citizens of Rome found the worthiest candidate in Numa Pompilius, who had devoted his life to the religious practices in Rome. It was agreed by the Senate and Roman People that Numa should be the new king to establish a new royal regime. Before committing to that role, however, he first wanted to consult “and [then be] confirmed by the gods.”<sup>137</sup> The Roman Senate admired Numa’s strong character and conviction and therefore summoned him to the city where he “expressed the wish that the gods should be consulted on his behalf, as in the case of Romulus who at the founding of Rome had assumed power only after the omens had been duly observed.”<sup>138</sup> Per this request, Numa was accompanied to the Capitol by the priests and augurs to perform the ceremony of the auspices.<sup>139</sup>

Waiting for a sign from the deities, Numa was revered “as a holy king, and beloved of all the gods,” when “auspicious birds appeared,” thus signaling divine favor to Numa.<sup>140</sup> Dionysius explains that soon after the Roman people and the auguries confirmed his legitimacy to the throne, he assumed office.<sup>141</sup> In Livy’s account, Numa established the practice of inaugurating the next king of Rome through the auguries.<sup>142</sup> Numa’s participation in the auguries set the tradition that those who are next in line to become king of Rome must perform those auspices. By the time Numa became the next king of Rome, Livy mentions that there was a person who specialized in the auguries. Livy does not explain how the position of an augur was developed; nevertheless, the viewing of the flight of birds had certainly become a profession by the time of the inauguration of Numa. Livy explains that the augur’s “service on the occasion was afterward recognized by the grant of a permanent state priesthood.”<sup>143</sup> The augur, when conducting the auguries/auspices, was veiled and “sat on the left, holding in his right hand the smooth, crook-handled staff called the *lituus*.”<sup>144</sup> Dionysius describes that duty of the augur was:

Gazing out over the city and the country beyond, he uttered a prayer, and marking with a glance the space of sky from east to west and declaring the southward section to be ‘right’ and the northward section ‘left’ he took an imaginary point

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid. 79.

<sup>138</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 51.

<sup>139</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 79.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. 79.

<sup>141</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 485.

<sup>142</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 51-52.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. 51-52.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. 51-52.

full in front of him and as far away as his eyes could reach, transferred the staff to his left hand, placed his right upon Numa's head and spoke these solemn words: 'Father Jupiter, if it is Heaven's will that this man, Numa Pompilius, whose head I touch, should reign in the city of Rome, make clear to us sure signs within those limits I have determined.'<sup>145</sup>

The auguries became a special and revered religious practice used for various other purposes besides the naming of the next king. The auguries, however, were not only important to the Romans because they confirmed a new king, but because they provided a connection between Roman religion and Roman government. As a people so devoted to their religion and deities, having such a system for legitimizing a government that would cater to their beliefs was crucial to them. The process of the auguries, from Romulus to Tarquin the Proud, was thus "central to the relations between the city and the gods, and to the legitimacy of public transaction."<sup>146</sup> As mentioned before, the auguries were an Etruscan custom, but Numa continued the practice of the auguries establishing it as a Roman religious tradition. The augural process, however, was not the only proof that demonstrated that the deities favored a new leader.

Numa, in order to emphasize the role and character of the deities, endeavored to make the deities more feared by the Roman People. By this policy, as the Romans experienced times of peace, Numa hoped to make the Romans more disciplined, diligent, and alert so that they would not lose their character and become passive when emergencies arose. Numa hoped to "inspire them with the fear of the gods."<sup>147</sup> As a result, Numa prompted the story that "he was in the habit of meeting the goddess Egeria by night."<sup>148</sup> Ennius explains a similar story as he claims that Numa, during his reign, had intercourse with Egeria.<sup>149</sup> The story circulated that, after performing his duties, Numa did "not retire from human society out of any melancholy or disorder of mind, but... had tasted the joys of more elevated intercourse, and, admitted to celestial wedlock in the love and converse of the goddess Egeria" who was so blessed and possessed divine wisdom.<sup>150</sup> Not only did this story illustrate that Numa had a deep connection with a goddess, but it prompted the belief that they worked together in maintaining and safeguarding Rome.

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<sup>145</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 52.

<sup>146</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 23.

<sup>147</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 52-53.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* 53.

<sup>149</sup> Ennius, *Remains of Old Latin*. 43.

<sup>150</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 77.

The goddess Egeria had played a great role in the administration of Numa. Livy explains that Egeria's will and authority guided Numa "in the establishment of such rites as were most acceptable to the gods and in the appointment of priests to serve each particular duty."<sup>151</sup> Dionysius asserts that Egeria was a nymph that would visit Numa and teach him the arts of ruling a city; he also explains the possibility that Egeria was not a nymph, but was one of the Muses.<sup>152</sup> Dionysius and Livy, however, are skeptical that the interactions between Egeria and Numa actually occurred. Dionysius explains that Numa may have invented Egeria because if the Roman people were possessed with fear of the deities, they "might more readily pay regard to him and willingly receive the laws he should enact, as coming from the gods."<sup>153</sup> Livy is more explicit in his skepticism concerning Egeria and Numa. Livy relates that Numa pretended to receive wisdom and instruction from the divine goddess, Egeria.<sup>154</sup> Many Romans, however, still believed that Egeria had a serious purpose, which was to "assist at the councils and serious debate" and to inspire and direct the Senate.<sup>155</sup> Although the story concerning Egeria and Numa may be fictitious, the legend had social value in Rome. Numa instilled the fear of the gods in the masses. He did so by "professing that strange apparitions had been seen, and dreadful voices heard," so as to tame and humble the minds of the masses "by a sense of supernatural fears."<sup>156</sup> Numa forbade "the Romans to represent the God in the form of man or beast," and did not allow any "painted or graven image[s] of a deity."<sup>157</sup> During the reign of Numa, there was peace in Rome; however, Numa, nonetheless, feared that the Romans would lose discipline and organization. To prevent this from happening, Numa believed that by instilling fear into the masses they would not lose focus and would continue to be vigilant.

Numa was a king of different, if not opposite, qualities from Romulus. Romulus established his city through wars; Numa furthered the growth of Rome through peace and careful observance of religion. Numa sought to give the community of Rome a second beginning by providing a "solid basis of law and religious observance."<sup>158</sup> Numa was the proprietor and innovator of Rome's ancient religions. One of his first acts as king was building a temple honoring Janus to "serve as a visible sign of the alternations

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<sup>151</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 53.

<sup>152</sup> Dionysius, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. 487.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* 489.

<sup>154</sup> Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. 48.

<sup>155</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 77.

<sup>156</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 80.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* 52.

of peace and war.”<sup>159</sup> When the temple door was open, it would “signify that the city was in arms” and, when closed, would mean that “war against all neighbouring peoples had been brought to a successful conclusion.”<sup>160</sup> Gods and goddesses were honored either by building temples or performing various religious actions on their behalf. The Roman deities, however, were not always idle, but, as the ancient sources depict, were used and were involved in the political and social affairs of Rome.

Numa was seen as the king who brought peace to Rome through religion. He focused much of his time and resources solely on improving Rome’s religious practices. Consequently, Numa’s next action was the appointment of priests. To this end, he continued throughout his reign to establish priesthoods. After his consecration, Numa added two priesthoods dedicated to honoring Jupiter and Mars; he also established a priesthood that would honor Romulus, whom he called the Flamen Quirinalis.<sup>161</sup> Numa established priesthoods for Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus in which each had a lead priest.<sup>162</sup> Along with establishing priesthoods for the Roman deities, Numa also “appointed virgin priestesses for the service of Vesta”<sup>163</sup> and the “twelve Salii, or Leaping Priests, in the service of Mars Gradivus.”<sup>164</sup> Numa, says Ennius, “established the Tables” and “also the Shields and the Pancakes, the Bakers, the Rush-Dummies, and the Priests with conical top- knots.”<sup>165</sup> Ennius tells us that Numa also instituted special priests, such as the Flamines,<sup>166</sup> and goes on to say that “while all are surnamed from individual gods... there are special priests whose surnames remain obscure in origin.”<sup>167</sup> Numa established many religious institutions in Rome, all of which served different purposes, yet aimed to serve their deities.

One of Numa’s major achievements during his reign was the appointment of a *pontifex*, which was a priest with many religious responsibilities. The pontifices were seen as a source of “all law, human or divine.”<sup>168</sup> Because Numa was concerned about the wellbeing of the masses and the articulation of Rome’s religion, he felt it imperative to institute the College of Pontifices to take care of the wellbeing of the city of

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>161</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 79.

<sup>162</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 53.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. 53.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid. 53.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. 53.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>168</sup> Beard, *Religions of Rome*. 24.

Rome. Plutarch reports that Numa was the first *pontifex*.<sup>169</sup> Livy, however, explains that Numa appointed as the *pontifex* of Rome a senator named Numa Marcius who had many important responsibilities. Numa gave Marcius “full written instructions for all religious observances, specifying for the various sacrifices the place, the time, and the nature of the victim” as well as “how money was to be raised to meet the cost.”<sup>170</sup> Another responsibility Numa assigned to the *pontifex* was “the right of decision in all other matters connected with both public and private observances, so that ordinary people might have someone to consult if they needed advice, and to prevent the confusion which might result from neglect of natural religious rites or the adoption of foreign ones.”<sup>171</sup> A further duty of the *pontifex* of Rome was “to teach the proper forms for the burial of the dead and the propitiation of the spirits of the departed, and to establish what portents manifested by lightning or other visible signs were to be recognized and acted upon.”<sup>172</sup> Plutarch relates that another duty of the Pontifexes was to “attend the duty of the gods, who have power to command over all;” however, their collateral duty was that of bridge makers.<sup>173</sup> The Pontifexes were in charge of keeping and repairing the bridges over the Tiber.

The next office established by Numa, Plutarch explains, was the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, or chief priest. The *Pontifex Maximus* also had many duties: he would “declare and interpret the divine law, or, rather, preside over sacred rites,” prescribe rules for the public ceremony, “regulate the sacrifices of private persons,” and spread information necessary to perform worships and sacrifices properly for the gods.<sup>174</sup> He was also “guardian of the vestal virgins... and of their perpetual fire.”<sup>175</sup> Numa is credited with the reform of the College of the Vestal Virgins. Like the *pontifex* and *Pontifex Maximus*, the vestals were ascribed many duties: they had to “take a vow of virginity for the space of thirty years,” the first ten of which were to be spent learning their duties, the second ten in performing them, and the remaining ten in teaching and instructing others.<sup>176</sup> The vestals were in charge of maintaining the perpetual fire as well. As a result of Numa’s religious innovations, the Romans’ attitude began to change from merely fearing the gods, to feeling compelled and obligated to perform religious services for

<sup>169</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 81.

<sup>170</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 54.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* 54.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.* 54.

<sup>173</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 81.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.* 81-82.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* 81-82.

<sup>176</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. 82.

the gods.<sup>177</sup> Numa was seen by many as the key religious figure in ancient Rome, for he not only brought forth peace through religious means, but also established many religious practices and institutions that many future Roman leaders continued to practice. Ennius explains that Numa's work was so important that his institutions were to be maintained even after his death.<sup>178</sup> Although Ennius's writings survive in fragments and Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius have different interpretations of Numa's actions, Numa's institutions for the ancient Roman people stayed intact. As a result, Numa is still greatly considered by many scholars, such as Mary Beard, as the pioneer of religious practices in the ancient Roman world. Although there is more myth than fact concerning the life of Numa Pompilius, his implementation of many religious institutions as part of his religious reforms during his reign as king, was so great that upon his death he was considered truly divine. His reign was a period of peace and religious development that prompted unity of purpose among the Romans.

### **Tullus Hostilus and the Development of Prayer in Battle**

After the death of Numa Pompilius, the second *interregnum*, which meant "a period within kingships," commenced.<sup>179</sup> The kingship was to devolve upon Tullus Hostilus who ruled ancient Rome from 673 BCE to 642 BCE. Information pertaining to the kings after Numa Pompilius becomes scarce. One can assert that it is due to those kings' lack of involvement in their reigns; others speculate that the kings after Numa did not perform any memorable feats worth recording.

Livy has little information on the kings after Numa, and other ancient authors, such as Ennius, have even less. However, knowledge of ancient Roman religion can still be gleaned from the fragmentary information in these sources. Livy, it is true, does not provide details or much information pertaining to Tullus' ascension to the throne. What Livy does provide some insight about is the fact that there was tension between the Romans and the Albans – so much so that war would soon break out between the two civilizations.<sup>180</sup>

The Roman leader and king was, of course, Tullus, and the Alban leader was Cluilius. Although Tullus did not establish many religious institutions and practices, he was still heavily involved with the deities so as to strengthen his position, especially in times of war. Tullus added religious attributes to the declaration of war that further strengthened the social contract between the Senate and Roman people as well as their

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<sup>177</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 54: Breaking the peace was seen as sacrilege to the ancient Romans.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>179</sup> Ward, *The History of the Roman People*. 36.

<sup>180</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 56.

connection with their deities. Before the war with the Albans, Tullus said to them: “That the king of Rome calls the gods to witness which of our two peoples was the first to refuse the demand for redress. Our prayer is that the guilty nation may suffer all the misery of the coming war.”<sup>181</sup>

Tullus’s prayer to the gods evoked a sense of duty and patriotism in the Roman people. Tullus’s position and status was further strengthened when the leader of the Albans, Cluilius, was killed. As a result of his death, Tullus declared that “the powers of heaven... had begun their vengeance on the wicked war-makers” and that “their king had been the first to suffer.”<sup>182</sup> He continues: “soon the wrath of God would be felt by every man and woman in Alba.”<sup>183</sup> With the Albans defeated, Tullus sought to promote peace with them through a treaty.

According to Livy, the process of creating a treaty between civilizations was a religious activity requiring a priest, the kings, and the deities.<sup>184</sup> After the ceremony, the king of Rome thus prayed to the god Jupiter:

Hear me, Jupiter... hear me, Alba, and you who speak on her behalf: from the terms of this compact, as they have been publicly and openly read from these tablets today and clearly understood by us assembled here, the Roman people will never be the first to depart. Should they do so treacherously, and by public consent, then, great Jove, I pray that thou mayst strike them even as I strike this pig, and the more fiercely in that thy power and might are greater than mine.<sup>185</sup>

By this prayer, the two civilizations took an oath to honor the treaty. Religious customs and deities dominated almost every facet of the lives of the Roman people. When the treaty expired, however, the Albans and the Romans found themselves at war.<sup>186</sup> Much like Romulus, Tullus “vowed to create twelve Salian priests and to dedicate shrines to Pallor and Panic” if he came back from the war victorious.<sup>187</sup> As a result of his victory, Tullus compelled the Albans to join the Romans and live inside

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>184</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 58.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. 58-59: Instead of fighting a major war, the Romans and the Albans agreed to send three of their best soldiers to fight each other to the death. Who won this battle would not only win the war, but would dominate the losing group. The Roman soldiers took the victory in this fight, forcing the Albans to surrender to the Romans and join them as citizens of Rome.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. 58.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid. 63.

the *pomerium* as Roman citizens, forcing the Albans to leave their homes and abandon their deities.<sup>188</sup> Many Romans and Albans saw this as a sign of disrespect to the deities, a belief that was only strengthened when a plague came to devastate the land.<sup>189</sup> Consequently, many Romans believed that “a return to the state of things under Numa was now their only resource, and that the only way of getting rid of a plague was to pray to heaven for pardon and peace.”<sup>190</sup> Tullus, trying to please both the people and their deities so as to rid Rome of the plague, found the commentaries of Numa and performed the prescribed rites, but he performed them incorrectly.<sup>191</sup>

In consequence for his error, Tullus, having angered the deities, was killed by flames.<sup>192</sup> The ancient sources claim that by burning Tullus in his palace, the deities demonstrated that not even the kings, who were closer to the deities than any other Roman, were spared divine wrath if religious practices were done incorrectly. This not only promoted more fear of the gods, but also encouraged the masses to take oaths and religious practices more seriously. Evidently, the fear of the deities would also strengthened the relationship between the Senate and the Roman people.

### **Ancus Marcius’s Declaration of War**

After the reign of Tullus Hostilius came the grandson of Numa Pompilius, Ancus Marcius. Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of ancient Rome, ruled between 642 BCE and 617 BCE. Livy reports that Ancus admired the work of Numa and learned from the mistakes made by Tullus. Ancus thus sought the “restoration of the national religion in the form established by Numa” and accordingly “instructed the *pontifex* to copy from his commentaries the details of all the various ceremonies and to display the document in public.”<sup>193</sup> As he assigned more duties to the *pontifex*, Ancus turned his attention to a more proper formulation of a declaration of war. This declaration would involve an appeal for divine sanction, as the *rex* of Rome would say:

Hear me, Jupiter! Hear me, land of So-and-So! Hear me, O righteousness! I am the accredited spokesman of the Roman people. I come as their envoy in the name of justice and religion, and ask credence for my words. If my demand

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid. 68.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. 68.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid. 68.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid. 68.

<sup>192</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 68.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid. 69.

for the restitution of those men,<sup>194</sup> or those goods, be contrary to religion and justice, then never let me be a citizen of my country.<sup>195</sup>

Ancus, during times of turmoil with neighboring civilizations, sometimes sought to promote peace, and at other times war. His speech articulated that he appealed for divine sanction of his policy of seeking peace. If the other party were to decline the king's demands, war would be declared. For war to commence, Ancus said:

Hear, Jupiter; hear, Janus Quirinus; hear, all ye gods in heaven, on earth, and under the earth: I call you to witness that the people of So-and-so are unjust and refuse reparation. But concerning these things we will consult the elders of our country.<sup>196</sup>

Before a declaration for war, the deities would first be consulted in a religious ceremony, either through the auguries or some other religious practice. Thus Ancus established a procedure for a more formal announcement of war, different from that of Romulus or Tullus Hostilius. Despite the changes to declarations of war, religious observance always played a strong role before any military action, and when the king of Rome could not deal with those religious observances, either because he was garnering troops or marching into battle, various orders of priests would take his place conducting those observances.<sup>197</sup> Ancus tried to combine the policies of Tullus Hostilius and Numa Pompilius in his administration. Livy believes that Ancus was successful in this feat, as "his fame as both soldier and administrator was unsurpassed by any previous occupant of the throne."<sup>198</sup> After the reign of Ancus Marcius came that of his successor, whose origins are the product of legend and myth – Tarquinius Priscus.

Tarquinius Priscus, Ancus Marcius' successor, ruled as *rex* of Rome between 616 BCE and 579 BCE. Prior to becoming king, Priscus took the name Lucumo. It was only when he arrived to Rome that he changed his name permanently to Tarquinius Priscus. Lucumo, like several kings before him, was a foreigner with an Etruscan heritage. He and his wife, Tanaquil, who were both from Tarquinii, had expressed interest in traveling to Rome.<sup>199</sup> On their way to Rome, Livy reports, Lucumo received a mes-

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid. 69-70.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid. 69-70.

<sup>196</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 69-70.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid. 71.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid. 74.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid. 72-73.

sage from the deities. Livy relates that an eagle took Lucumo's hat right off his head, but, "a minute later, it swooped down again and, as if it had been sent by heaven for that very purpose, neatly replaced the cap on Lucumo's head, and then vanished into the blue."<sup>200</sup> Tanaquil, having knowledge of Etruscan practices, subscribed the event as a favorable omen by the gods.<sup>201</sup> By aiming at the head, "the highest part of [Lucumo], Tranaquil believed that the gods had chosen him to be king of Rome, since the crown was placed on the head."<sup>202</sup> In Livy's narrative, Lucumo, who then changes his name to Tarquinius Priscus, had a favorable omen as a result of an augury. Priscus's encounter with the omen is the first of its kind for a Roman king. Soon after arriving to Rome, Priscus was to gain enough support and influence to be nominated as the next king of Rome.

One of Tarquinius's first acts as king was to wage a campaign against the Latin city of Apiolae, during which Tarquinius enclosed the city of Rome with a protective wall.<sup>203</sup> Encountering problems with the Sabines, however, interrupted his efforts; as a result of tensions with the Sabines, Tarquinius had turned his efforts to attempting to "reinforce the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres," which were centuries, or detachments of troops.<sup>204</sup> His plans were again impeded because he first needed approval by the auguries to perform this task. The role of the auguries became very important to the Romans not only for consecrating a king, but also for licensing various other actions of the Romans. The augural priesthood became central to the Romans' public life, because it was now essential to take the auguries before "any serious undertaking in peace or in war" – so much so that "not only army parades or popular assemblies, but [also] matters of vital concern to the commonwealth were postponed, if the birds refused their assent."<sup>205</sup> By the time of Tarquinius Priscus's reign, the auguries could not be conducted without the approval of the Roman senate. This symbolized a symbiosis of the Roman religion with the Roman government. After subduing the Latins, Tarquinius laid the foundation and consecrated the temple of Jupiter on the Capital.<sup>206</sup> After the end of every conflict, the Romans, including the king, had to pay homage to their deities. The Romans would do so to show respect to their deities so that they could continue to be in their favor. The consequence of any Roman action would usually lead to a religious

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<sup>200</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 73.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. 73.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid. 73.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid. 75.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. 75.

<sup>205</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 76.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid. 78.

observance and/or ceremonial practice, such as the building of the temple. Divinity was vitally important to the Romans because they felt closely connected to their deities. The next king of Rome after Tarquinius Priscus would certainly prove so.

Near the end of Tarquinius's reign, the king and queen heard of a child of prophecy. The child, named Servius Tullius, was sleeping one night "when his head burst into flames."<sup>207</sup> The king and queen witnessed the phenomenon. As an attendant attempted to extinguish the flames, the queen prohibited it. She declared that it was a divine sign and that "it was the will of heaven" for her and her consort to take care of the child.<sup>208</sup> From then on, Servius Tullius was taught and tended to as the king and queen's own child.<sup>209</sup> By the time of Tarquinius's death,<sup>210</sup> the queen insisted that Servius take the throne as his successor. She advised Servius to "follow the gods who long ago by the circlet of heavenly fire declared that... [he] should wear the crown."<sup>211</sup> Servius Tullius thus took the crown and reigned from between 578 BCE and 535 BCE. Livy does not mention if Servius had performed the augural ceremony that every new successor must perform; however, Servius's origin did have divine sanction. The Roman people may not have resisted his accession because Servius was said to have been chosen by the gods to be the next king of Rome. As a result of the acceptance of divine sanction by the Roman people, there was perhaps no need for Servius to perform the auguries. Nevertheless, this king of Rome had had some religious connection with the deities that won favor with the Senate and Roman People. Ultimately, Servius ruled exceptionally well and was involved in religious acts. A particular religious act he performed was the extension of the *pomerium*.

The *pomerium* was sacred to the Romans. It was not only initially established and extended by Romulus, but was connected with the deities. The walls gave the Romans security, allowing them to believe that the gods were protecting them. For the Romans, extending the *pomerium* would expand Rome's and the deities' domain. Servius's reign, although not focused upon the religious sphere, nonetheless expanded Rome's religious consciousness by its focus on the sacred *pomerium*. Unfortunately,

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid. 78.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid. 78.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid. 78.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid. 80: As the king and queen of Rome quickly liked Servius, the two sons of Tarquinius' predecessor, Ancus Marcius, grew resentful toward the fact that foreigners were ruling Rome. As a result, they hired shepherds to slay Tarquinius. They did so by driving an axe on Tarquinius Priscus's head, leaving Servius to take command of Rome as his next successor.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. 80: The queen of Rome told the Roman people that the king was in good health when, in actuality, he was already dead; but, so as to not rouse a riot and to maintain order, she convinced the masses that Servius would serve on behalf of the king as his deputy.

Servius's reign was cut short by the jealousy of his rival Lucius Tarquinius.<sup>212</sup>

### **The Last Contributions to Rome's religion**

Lucius Tarquinius became the last king of Rome and ruled between 535 BCE and 509 BCE, leading toward the beginning of the Roman Republic. Tarquin had begun his reign inauspiciously, for he and his wife collaborated in the demise of his predecessor. After taking the throne, the new king changed his name to Tarquinius Superbus, i.e., Tarquin the Proud. One of Tarquin's first actions was to deny "Servius the rite of burial, saying, in brutal jest, that Romulus's body had not been buried either."<sup>213</sup> Servius, a humble man by origin, was chosen by the deities to lead Rome, and many Romans considered him divine; however, by denying Servius a rite of burial, Tarquin demonstrated that not all persons who have divine connections were held in the highest regard. This action may have signified that the Romans had had a change of attitude as to how they viewed and treated their kings, especially since Tarquin did not perform any augural ceremony to gain the sanction of the deities to become the next king of Rome. Nevertheless, by not doing so was a political miscalculation on his part. Ultimately, Tarquin's actions would not bode well for his future.

Tarquin proved to be an ambitious king. During his reign, he waged a successful war against the Volscians. Although Tarquin did not view his predecessor Servius as divine, he still worshipped the pantheon of Roman deities. As a result, after defeating the Volscians, Tarquin donated the spoils of victory to the temple of Jupiter.<sup>214</sup> Tarquin still believed that, after every victory, a portion of the spoils of war should belong to the god Jupiter for his assistance with the war. Ever since the reign of Romulus, the Romans believed that in every battle they fought, their god Jupiter would assist them and help them win. Consequently, it was very important in Roman religious custom to donate a portion of the spoils of victory to Jupiter. Tarquin also spent some time building temples.<sup>215</sup> During the construction of one temple, however, a snake crawled out from the cracks of Tarquin's palace, which he classified as an omen. As a result, he sent his sons, Titus and Arruns, along with their cousin, Brutus, to the oracle of Delphi, in Greece, to discern the meaning of the omen.<sup>216</sup> After the Pythia, the priestess of the

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<sup>212</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 89: Tarquin and his wife, Tullia, Servius Tarquinius's daughter, had planned to usurp the kingship by killing the current king and forcibly making Tarquin king. The plan was successful and ended with Servius Tarquinius being run over by a chariot driven by his own daughter.

<sup>213</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 90.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid. 94; After making peace with the Aequians, Tarquin devoted some time in consecrating the temple of Jupiter.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid. 98.

<sup>216</sup> Livy, *The History of Early Rome*. 98.

oracle of Delphi, interpreted the sign, the brothers had another question for the oracle: who among them would be the next king of Rome?<sup>217</sup> The oracle replied that “he who shall be the first to kiss his mother shall hold in Rome supreme authority.”<sup>218</sup> The sons interpreted the message as referring to their actual mother whereas Brutus thought otherwise. Brutus decided the oracle directed him to kiss the earth, “the mother of all living things.”<sup>219</sup>

For many Romans, the tale suggested that a time of change was approaching. The snake may have symbolized the impurity of Tarquin’s kingship; it also may have symbolized an impending political change that would impact Roman kingship. This change was to be accelerated when Tarquin’s third son, Sextus Tarquinius, committed rape. His rape of Lucretia, a chaste woman who belonged to Collatinus, meant the end of kingship in Rome. Chastity, mentioned before in connection with the Vestal Virgins, was very important to the Romans. In the case of the Vestal Virgins, it meant an organized and ordered society. Therefore, if one were to disrupt that order by committing rape, such as Sextus had done, disorder would break loose. Lucretia, after the incident, decided to take her own life because her purity had been tainted. In turn, Collatinus and Brutus sought to terminate kingship in Rome. Brutus declared:

By this girl’s blood – none more chaste till a tyrant wronged her – and by the gods, I swear that with sword and fire, whatever else can lend strength to my arm, I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and all his children, and never again will I let them or any other man be King of Rome.<sup>220</sup>

Thus Tarquin the Proud was not only exiled, but never again would any person become king of Rome. The Roman republic had been born.

### **The Aftermath of Roman Religion**

The ancient Romans valued greatly their religion and religious practices. Their religion helped them not only expand as a powerful society, but also helped organize and unify the Roman people. The Roman senate and the Roman people worked together in many religious practices – so much so, that Roman religion was the glue that allowed them to function as a cohesive society. Throughout the reign of the seven kings, Roman religion had to evolve to fit in their time and environment, yet it retained its

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid. 99.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. 99.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid. 99: Brutus, so as to not raise suspicion, pretended to fall on his face in order to kiss the ground.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid 102.

essence. Religion evoked a sense of patriotism in the Romans and a sense of discipline that later helped the Romans fight off neighboring city-states and tribes. One can see that their religious practices reflected their history. Many of their ceremonies were done to commemorate the past, such as conducting the auguries when nominating a new king or sanctioning the *Pontifex Maximus* in fulfilling his duties. The evolution of Roman religion was a necessity for Rome's survival. If their religion had not changed and adapted, there would have been disorder and digression within the city. As the religion and religious practices change, so, too, did the Romans. They began to reinterpret their traditions and make new ones. For example, when the Romans were to engage in battles in the future they would not only pray to the gods for strength, simultaneously evoking patriotism, but they would also give a portion of the spoils of victory to the temples to strengthen their connection with their deities. Religious practices became a social contract between the Senate and the Roman People and their deities. If the Romans wanted to be favored by their deities, they had to follow religious conduct properly. Their religion was central in maintaining a healthy and striving community. The Roman religion and the Roman people were thus deeply connected at a spiritual level. Ancient Rome was in large part able to strive for success because of the evolution of their religion as an inspiration and motivation for their future greatness.

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## A Good Death: The Rebirth of Sir Walter Raleigh

*Michael Stinson*

*This research project tracked the changing public perception of Sir Walter Raleigh after his execution by the English in 1618. In the years after his death his image was recreated into that of an English Protestant Hero, which protected English pirates. The public's perception was gauged using scaffolding speeches which recorded Raleigh's last words, ballads, poems, and popular stories relating to pirates and acts of piracy. Using material released by the English Crown and its affiliates; i.e. treaties, transcripts of trials, royal proclamations, admiralty court records and the accounts of the Ordinary, one finds English authorities only started to develop a discourse to fight this myth with the case of Captain Every in 1696. This rhetoric against the protestant hero-pirate was fully developed by the early 18th century.*

Sir Walter Raleigh proved there is such a thing as a good death for a pirate. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries convicted prisoners needed to face death fearlessly in front of a rapt crowd. Prisoners who were at peace with God were expected to beckon the executioner's axe happily. Sir Walter Raleigh died such a death and, in the years after, his image was recreated into that of an English Protestant Hero. The hero myth that formed around Raleigh in the days and decades after his death created a positive view of pirates. This improved image protected English pirates, such as Captain Henry Morgan, as the Crown was unable to counter the myth of the English Protestant hero-pirate. The Crown only started to develop a discourse to fight this myth with the case of Captain Every in 1696. This rhetoric against the protestant hero-pirate was in full force by the time of the death narratives of Captain

William Kidd.

Sir Walter Raleigh was not considered a devout Protestant (much less a Protestant hero) in life. According to Jesuit provincial Robert Persons who was a political enemy of Raleigh, he was an atheist.<sup>1</sup> This serious accusation led to Raleigh being interrogated by a Crown-sanctioned ecclesiastical commission, about his friends, family and religious beliefs. After answering questions, several people testified that Raleigh was an atheist, including Nicholas Jefferies who said many reported that, “Sir Walter Raleigh and his retinue are generally suspected of atheism.”<sup>2</sup> It seems that popular opinion during his lifetime placed Raleigh not as a Protestant hero, but an unbeliever. The Bishop of Salisbury accused Raleigh of refusing to pay rents, and therefore deserved no respect.<sup>3</sup> It was even rumored that Raleigh was friends with English playwright Christopher Marlowe who was arrested for blasphemy, but that connection was tenuous.<sup>4</sup> Regardless of his connection to Marlowe, popular opinion seemed to have condemned Raleigh, either from his writings or connections. Although Raleigh was never charged in criminal court, his faith as a Protestant was often called into question.

Raleigh lacked a patriotic idolization of all things English, something one would expect from an English Protestant hero. Hardly an anglophile, Raleigh praised Spain in his writings. Most prominently, Raleigh lavished the Spanish with the highest extolment in his *Histories of the World*, saying this of Ferdinand the Catholic, “the politick king, who sold heaven and his own honour, to make his son the greatest monarch.”<sup>5</sup> In another piece Raleigh exalts the courage of the Spanish.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, he had perhaps another connection to the Spanish. In 1593 an Irish Sea captain named Richard Butler was arrested in Lisbon. Not only did Butler claim to be a member of Raleigh’s household, but he was to reveal English plans to the Spanish with Raleigh’s permission.<sup>7</sup> While this claim has never been substantiated, there does seem some

<sup>1</sup> Jean Stone, *Studies from Court and Cloister* (London, 1905), 164. In a book by Jesuit Priest Robert Person in 1592, Raleigh was connected to a group that was called “The School of Atheism” where Moses and Jesus were mocked.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-172. There is a record of nine different questions that were asked of Raleigh and includes a report of the Royal Commissioners, which records multiple accusations of atheism against Raleigh.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholls and Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend* (London, 2001), 164.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Raleigh, *An Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh’s History of the World, in five books* (London, 1628), Clark library Rare Book Stacks, preface.

<sup>6</sup> J.N Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-177* (Ann Arbor, 2003), 374-5. In the *Discoverie of Guiana* after Raleigh berates the Spanish for their treatment of the indigenous people, he goes on to compliment them for their successes. Raleigh also proclaims that Spain was rewarded for “invincible constancy” in the new world in *History of the World*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 37. Richard Butler was condemned to being a spy and was sentenced to death in Lisbon, a sentence that was later reduced by Phillip II.

merit to it. An unrelated source discussing the colony of Roanoke off the coast of current day North Carolina, mentions an Irish man, Richard Butler, who was a boy-page for Walter Raleigh and accompanied him to spy out the land.<sup>8</sup> It is unclear if this is the same Butler who was caught in Lisbon. Regardless, if Butler was sent by Raleigh, there was enough to call into question Raleigh's patriotism. Raleigh even admitted that he tried in vain to escape to France in 1618, avoiding King James I after his failed trip to Guiana in South America looking for gold.<sup>9</sup> Instead of Raleigh's devotion to England being undying, it seems to start when he died, with the birth of the English protestant hero-pirate.

Sir Walter Raleigh served England well under Queen Elizabeth I, but was put on trial in 1603 for treason under James I. While Queen Elizabeth was alive, he benefited from her protection. Shortly before her passing, Raleigh's strongest supporter in court, Sir Robert Cecil, distanced himself. This left Raleigh with few supporters. With Elizabeth's death in 1603, Raleigh lost his patron and his protection. Raleigh tried to contact James I before Queen Elizabeth's death, but apparently had little effect.<sup>10</sup> Raleigh, like other prominent nobles in England, was fearful of the future successor James I and tried to court favor early. Any attempt by Raleigh to court James I's favor was countered by the letters of Henry Howard, who accused Raleigh of being an atheist and a threat to James I's ambitions to the Crown.<sup>11</sup> When James II came to power, Raleigh's fate seemed sealed. He was stripped of his captaincy of the guard, replaced on the Privy Council and relegated to the last group to congratulate James I on his succession.<sup>12</sup>

The stage was set for Raleigh to be accused as a traitor. He was on the outside of court looking in. His allies Lord Cobham and the Earl of Northumberland were accused of being part of a plan to kidnap the king. On July, 1603, Raleigh was placed under arrest. The prosecution only had one piece of evidence against Raleigh, and that

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<sup>8</sup> Donald Akenson, *An Irish History of Civilization, Volume 1* (Montreal, 2006), 245-246. Richard Butler had a long history with Raleigh, accompanying him to Roanoke Island and would later go back to Roanoke with Sir Richard Grenville, a cousin of Raleigh.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholls and Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 319.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 170, 181, 184-7. This communication was conducted through the Duke of Lennox and a show Raleigh was aware of possible persecution with the change of leadership in England.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 183. These accusations were made by Henry Howard through an intermediary and also included Raleigh's friend Lord Cobham and Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland. Howard had teamed up with Sir Robert Cecil to gain favor with James I. Cecil was once friendly with Raleigh, but disassociated himself with Raleigh near the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-3.

was a redacted statement by Cobham.<sup>13</sup> The statement by Cobham was enough and Raleigh was sentenced to death for the crimes of being a traitor on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1603.<sup>14</sup> Besides his last trip to Guiana, Raleigh would spend the remainder of his life in the Tower until his execution in 1618. Found guilty of betraying the English to the Spanish Catholics, few would have guessed the mythical standing Raleigh would achieve in the coming years.

The image of Raleigh as the English protestant hero started shortly after his death in 1619 and was based in part on his scaffold speech. Public executions were communal events. People would take time off work to see a public and grisly death. As in a play, the convicted was judged for their speeches and body language.<sup>15</sup> It is said that Raleigh contemplated suicide, but he wanted his chance to speak out against his accusers.<sup>16</sup> To be remembered well, one had to face death bravely. The scaffold speech was also his chance to appeal to the people directly. Without a doubt Raleigh understood the importance of his last speech and chose his words with care.

By examining the letters, missives and narratives describing Raleigh's execution one can see when the myth started to form.<sup>17</sup> One such letter, which described his execution, was written by Thomas Larkin in 1618. The letter described the brave face put on by Raleigh, who reassured the executor and even kissed the axe.<sup>18</sup> Facing death bravely often convinced the crowd of the person's innocence. It was popular belief that the actions of the convicted at their execution determined if one went to heaven or hell.<sup>19</sup> How you died was sometimes more important than the evidence provided at the trials. By dying well Raleigh was no longer branded a traitor to the English. Writer John Fords who witnessed the execution noticed that a "...great muttering went through the multitude never died a braver spirit."<sup>20</sup> This innocence went beyond the court ruling, and meant you were at peace with God. This proof of peace with God was his first step at shaking off the atheist label.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 193-9. It was called the Bye plot and was connected to two Catholic priest who wanted to kidnap the King for assurances that Catholics could freely practice in England. The ties with Raleigh were tenuous at best.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 214-5.

<sup>15</sup> Anna Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1997), 90.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholls and William, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 308.

<sup>17</sup> Sir Francis Drake had his part in establishing the legend of the English Protestant hero. But what is interesting is the transformation of Raleigh after his death to fit into that mold.

<sup>18</sup> Vincent Harlow, *Raleigh's Last Voyage* (London, 1932), 313. This is a letter written by Thomas Larkin to Sir Thomas Puckering and is not dated.

<sup>19</sup> Anna Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century*, 91.

<sup>20</sup> John Fords edited by Anna Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century*, 96.

The next step in shedding his non-believer reputation and becoming the hero was prayer and penance. An anonymous letter records the powerful effect Raleigh's execution had on the public. This letter described that Raleigh spoke from his notes, invoked God to witness his performance and even led the crowd in prayer. Raleigh hit the mark, and the author of the letter wrote, "The hated atheist became their priest."<sup>21</sup> Additionally, another who claimed to have witnessed the execution thought that Raleigh spoke with great "zeal and adoration" and was, "a- Christ, not an atheist."<sup>22</sup> While they admitted he was known as an atheist, Raleigh's scaffold speech triggered a transformation of his image. After his death, he was relabeled as a pious man. Another witness described Raleigh, "Going to and fro upon the scaffold, on every side he prayed the company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him."<sup>23</sup> While it cannot be discerned if this speech showed true penance, a calculated measure or simply stories created after his death, the narratives circulated about his death overwhelmingly supported Raleigh.

Examining the death narratives, Raleigh had shed the traitor and atheist badges. Popular approval of his actions at the execution swayed many. Even the Crown had to admit as early as 1619 in a published response that "he died like a souldier & a saint, & therefore then to be beleueed, not only against me, but against the attestation of the state."<sup>24</sup> By admitting he was remembered as a soldier, all past rumors and accusations fell silent. After Raleigh's death he was considered a loyal Englishman, not a possible turncoat. This shift in public opinion led many to believe that the king had just murdered a loyal English subject.<sup>25</sup> Raleigh went from traitor to the quintessential patriot. Interestingly, none of the narratives record Raleigh having ever admitted to the crimes he was convicted of nor did he mention Spain or Catholicism.<sup>26</sup> Raleigh was now thought of as a devout worshipper and was even being compared to saints. With his death, people interpreted his words with their own biases. With a Catholic candidate looming to take the English Crown, many looked for a Protestant hero and found it in Raleigh. The making of the Protestant English hero was in its inchoate form

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 88-91.

<sup>22</sup> Nicholls and William, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 320. The full quote is, "That he spake not one word of Christ, but of the incomprehensible God, with much zeale and adoration, so that he concluded that he was an "a Christ, not an atheist."

<sup>23</sup> Vincent Harlow, *Raleigh's Last Voygae*, 320.

<sup>24</sup> Anna Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century*, 92. This was the official response written by Sir Lewis Stukeley in 1618.

<sup>25</sup> Nicholls and William, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 322.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 318.

and would grow in the decades after.

The formation of the hero myth was noted in the poems written shortly after his death, a testament to the changing attitude towards Raleigh's deeds. These poems showed the transformation of Raleigh, from guilty to innocent, from traitor to hero. One such is an anonymous epigram of Raleigh. Not only does it say he was killed by the Crown, but only after his death were his great deeds realized.<sup>27</sup> This epigram states that he died not in a lawful death, but a politically driven one. It also shows how Raleigh's prestige was climbing in the eyes of the English people. Another epitaph acknowledges the transformation saying, "None ever liv'de so ill, that seem'd to dye so well."<sup>28</sup> As the details of his execution spread, so did his renown. Raleigh's religiosity also went through a transformation, demonstrated in the poems after his execution. Past events in Raleigh's life were now shown in a religious light. Raleigh's trip to find gold in Guiana was rebranded as a religious journey. The trip to Guiana was now one in which "right and religion please my cause," and later he would be granted a "Crowne of purest gould [a martyr's crown]."<sup>29</sup> Raleigh no longer took the trip for riches or to trick King James I. The trip became a religious venture. Even though his undertaking ended in failure, he was still crowned, given a holy halo. Supporters now compared accounts of Raleigh's life to Jesus and used heavily religious language. One such poem calls one of Raleigh's betrayers Judas.<sup>30</sup> Gone are any notions that Raleigh was an atheist or only an average believer. He was now under God's employ, doing holy work. An abridgment to Raleigh's *History of the World* was also seen as a religious work in 1634. A poem describes Raleigh's work as, "guided by divinitie," and his hand was guided by God during its creation.<sup>31</sup> Raleigh's works now gained religious significance. The authors who asserted that his actions were guided by divinity granted his works a new authority. These new versions of Raleigh eclipsed any atheist accusations placed on him in life.

Besides showing a change in his religiosity, the poems connect Raleigh directly to heroes of the past. Roman and Greek culture were in vogue and his admirers drew comparisons between Raleigh and these timeless figures. In a piece of poetry

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<sup>27</sup> Rudick, Michael, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Tempe, 1999), 192-3. The epigram includes such pertinent lines as, "Yet thou might'st dy in favour of thy prince" and "And then wert lost, when it was understood, thou might'st doe harme, but could'st not doe more good."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Rudick, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 196-7. A poem called *Upon Sir Walter Rawleigh*, unknown date.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-9. A work of unknown date called *Upon Sir Walter Raleigh*, Stuckeley was said to have betrayed Raleigh when he tried to escape and was now being described as a Judas, inferring that Raleigh was Christ.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 204-5. An abridgement of *The History of the World*, it even appears to have a reference to the Garden of Eden.

written after a comet, the poet compares Raleigh to old heroes, as if he was one of Homer's characters. The piece extolls Raleigh's bravery and wit and calls him, "Englandes Muse," and described him as "Spaines arch foe."<sup>32</sup> The comet also influenced the poem's religious significance, an omen that Catholicism would overtake Protestantism. It seems his death was also seen as a bad omen to Protestantism.

Another poem accentuates the hero qualities of Raleigh, even calling him an incomparable hero in the title.<sup>33</sup> Like the prior poem, it compared Raleigh to a prominent Greek figure, this time Socrates. It compares their deaths, both being executed by overzealous governments. Their life works were not appreciated in life, only in death. The poem exalts Raleigh's *The History of the World*, as a divinely inspired gift that will survive for posterity. It also argues that, like Socrates, Raleigh will be remembered as a timeless national hero. This sacred praise shows the hero-myth in full force.

The next step in the martyr-making of Raleigh would come with the writing of *Vox Populi or Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost* in 1621. This hugely popular work by Thomas Scott was published nine times alone in the first year.<sup>34</sup> In this work Raleigh's posthumous image displays his newfound hero qualities. In the book, Raleigh's ghost interrupts a conversation between the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar and a Jesuit priest.<sup>35</sup> Raleigh implores the English to fight off the Catholics and popery. As the *Vox Populi* was republished for many decades; it was occasionally revised to include additions related to religion, as in a 1653 version. That title page declared it was "written against the atheists," but the piece is mainly against popery and Spain.<sup>36</sup> Raleigh went from being known as a likely atheist to the antithesis. The choice of Raleigh as a ghost is interesting in itself. The scaffolding speech, the death narratives and poems made Raleigh appear as the perfect vehicle for this anti-Catholic writing. *Vox Populi* not only attached itself to the budding Protestant hero myth, but helped build it.

Raleigh's acclaim continued to grow in the seventeenth century. Succeeding generations would be influenced by this myth. Children would grow up listening to the hero narratives, glorifying the acts of piracy. Francis Osborn, in 1673 said this of

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 200. From a piece called *On Sir Walter Raleigh who was beheaded before the appearance of a commett*, the comet passed in 1618.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Rudick, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 203-4. The piece is titled *On the death of that Incomparable Hero, Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight*, and was published in 1650; but the date of authorship is unclear.

<sup>34</sup> Anna Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century*, 118.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Scott, *Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost or Englands Forewarner* (London, 1626).

<sup>36</sup> Leonardus Lessius, *Sir Walter Rawleigh's ghost; or, His apparition to an intimate friend, willing him to translate into English, this learned book of L. Lessius entituled, (De providenti numinis, & animi immortalitate.) Written against the atheists and polititians of these days* (London, 1651), title page. This edition included many additions concerning religion, over 140 pages.

Raleigh's execution, "death was by him managed with so high and religious resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian or rather a Christian a Roman."<sup>37</sup> Raleigh was seen as a religious role model, complete with Roman bravery. The hero myth continued to thrive and blended with other role models. Another interesting connection comes from an epitaph written in 1683 for the Earl of Shaftesbury after the Popish Plot. This Plot created an Anti-Catholic hysteria, as the English people believed Charles II was to be assassinated and replaced by a Catholic monarch. The Earl fought against what he saw as Catholic influences in England and considered himself one in a line of Protestant heroes. Titled "Raleigh Redivivus," or Raleigh reborn, the piece equated challenges faced by the Earl with those of Raleigh.<sup>38</sup> Like the poems about Raleigh, the Earl was equated with Roman heroes. Raleigh was like a founding father, and political figures tried to connect themselves to the hero myth. The process that made Raleigh a hero was a great blueprint and others attempted to copy the method of posthumous recreation.

After Raleigh's execution in 1618, the government did little to combat piracy until Captain Kidd. James I had inadvertently created a hero and by doing so, Raleigh's image was elevated in the eyes of the common people. In the Raleigh myth, going to sea and fighting England's enemies was venerated, promoted as a way of life for young men. The actions of piracy were romanticized. The government used this to its advantage, using privateers in their conflicts against the Spanish and in the Anglo-Dutch wars in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Commissions could and were given by the English to attack merchant ships, treasure conveys, and sometimes settlements. As long as the Crown could direct it, the hero myth was beneficial. English pirates usually were allowed to retire with their booty, not hung from a rope.

From Raleigh to Captain Kidd, the Crown only conducted one trial for piracy, and it was principally against two Irish men in 1670. The narrative described the crime, execution and scaffold speeches of three Irish and two Englishmen. The writing declared the Irish were the ringleaders and the English were duped into following. Their speeches at the scaffolds were also dramatically different. The Irish tried to exonerate the English and took full blame for presuming to act above their station. While they were still executed, the English were described as dying bravely like Raleigh. Like Raleigh, the English pirates were forgiven, given a proper burial dressed in white. The English pirates were still benefiting from Raleigh's hero myth. The Irish were not forgiven and their heads were displayed on the gates to warn others. Being denied a

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<sup>37</sup> Nicholls and William, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 320.

<sup>38</sup> Philanax Milopappas, *Rawleigh Redivivus or the Life and Death of the Right Honourable Anthony Late Earl of Shaftesbury* (London, 1683), 4.

Christian burial consigned them to hell. The trial seemed to be less about piracy and more about keeping the Irish subservient.<sup>39</sup>

England's governance would shift its perceptions on piracy in 1670. The political atmosphere in Europe had changed, as had their relationship with Spain. Spain was ready to capitulate on some of its claims in the Americas and in return receive protection from English pirates. King Charles II of England and his Spanish counterpart King Charles II approved the treaty, which allowed England to keep all lands currently in its possession. Consequently it was in the English government's best interest to stop acts of piracy or the fragile treaty might become undone.

The treaty went to great lengths to cover any possible contingency or possible excuse for piracy. They were sure to mention that this counted for land and sea, including island plantations. The third article's sole purpose was to stop plundering; it even went to the trouble to say, "by land as by sea, and in fresh waters, every where."<sup>40</sup> The fourth article was aimed at the local governors and other leaders giving commissions outside of the Crown's strict control. It voided any commission, letters of reprisal or any type of legal paperwork used in acts of piracy, issued not only to English citizens, but also to "inhabitants or strangers."<sup>41</sup> The treaty was attempting to snuff out any possible excuse for acts of piracy. Article four of the treaty accounted for any of the inevitable violations, saying any offender would not only be punished criminally, but they also had to provide retribution for any losses. England now had legal control of the American colonies and piracy needed to be discouraged. The Crown subsequently had to develop a discourse against the Protestant English Hero myth of Raleigh.

A problem would arise shortly after the ink dried on the treaty, caused by Henry Morgan. He was already a successful soldier, well versed in acts of piracy before the treaty was signed. Henry was popular and would benefit the English hero myth. Sailing out of Port Royal, he worked with and sometimes worked for Sir Thomas Modyford, governor of Jamaica. On July second, days before the treaty was signed, Modyford gave Morgan a commission to defend the island and gave him power to

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<sup>39</sup> D.M., *A new and perfect relation of the takeing and apprehending five pyrates* (London, 1670). In this narrative, the Irish pirate P.F. designed a scheme where he would kill the owners of the boat and act like an Irish Lord. A large portion of his scaffold speech was concerned with class, not acts of piracy. Perhaps this narrative was influenced by the levellers movement because of its focus on class and repeated mention of the Irish acting above their station. Interestingly this narrative does include some of the elements displayed in the narratives after Captain Kidd, cautioning young men against piracy and declaring the acts were against God and the lifestyle one must live to be a good Christian. Nicholls and William, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend*, 333. From time to time, Raleigh was mentioned in levellers pamphlets.

<sup>40</sup> England and Wales, *A treaty for the composing of differences, restraining of depredations, and establishing of peace in America: between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain. Concluded at Madrid the 8th/18 day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1670. Translated out of Latin. Published by His Majesties command* (London, 1698), 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

enforce marshal law bearing the date of July twenty-second.<sup>42</sup> It also gave him the authority to write his own commissions. Producing a dated commission from the Spanish dated the twentieth of April, 1670, Modyford justified the need for defense of Jamaica.<sup>43</sup> It was impossible that Modyford was aware of the ratification of the treaty and he took the steps he felt were needed to defend Jamaica. Modyford assembled boats under the command of Morgan in response to the finding of the Spanish Commission. The gathering of boats was not going to physically defend the island, but it appeared Modyford had the idea of a preemptive attack on the Spanish.

Henry Morgan was in Bluefields Bay, on the south-west side of the Jamaica, when word came from London, commanding Modyford to stop all acts of piracy. A letter was sent by Lord Arlington, which arrived in Port Royal on 18 August, 1670. According to British historian Dudley Pope, Modyford replied to Arlington that he had met with Morgan and claimed he would observe the new orders. The end of Modyford's reply to Arlington was closer to the truth, alluding that Spain would need to suffer before they would sue for peace.<sup>44</sup> The command from London did little; the original plan for attack was not halted. Morgan left with his ships and made his way to Panama with support from Modyford, who sent additional ships to help Morgan near the end of October.<sup>45</sup> Neither Modyford nor Morgan seemed too concerned with the edict from London.

Using the commission from Modyford, Henry Morgan attacked Panama. After crossing the isthmus, Morgan arrived on January 1671. Once the town was fully looted, Morgan started his trip back to Jamaica on 14 February 1671.<sup>46</sup> While the treaty didn't official start in the West Indies until 18 July, the attack on Panama was contrary to what Charles II commanded in the letter, and Modyford was arrested.<sup>47</sup> The English authorities were keen to Spanish pressure and wanted to make an example of Modyford and Morgan. While the Crown was initially eager to charge them, the political will to prosecute would be lost. The hero myth covered both Modyford and Morgan. Official records showed Morgan was not kept in the Tower, but writings afterwards claimed he was.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the records were altered to connect Morgan

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<sup>42</sup> Anon, *The present state of Jamaica* (London, 1683), 40, 74. Thomas Modyford arrived to govern Jamaica in June, 1664. Shortly after his arrival Modyford encouraged privateers, even promoting Henry Morgan to Admiral.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 63. The commission from the Spanish crown granted the bearer the authority to attack British ships.

<sup>44</sup> Dudley Pope, *Harry Morgan's way* (London, 1977), 203-5.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 214, 245.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 264.

with Sir Walter Raleigh, who also spent time in the Tower. It would make sense that Morgan, who benefited from the Raleigh myth, would be linked to him in other ways. Morgan received support from many prominent people and was never charged with any crime. Not only that, Morgan was knighted and made governor of Jamaica when Modyford's replacement became a liability.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps the government was scared of executing pirates, afraid they were about to make another ghost, another martyr for the people. But political sensitivity made them at least pay lip service to Spanish representatives. Morgan and others might be arrested, even imprisoned, but very rarely executed or tried in court. Any berating seems to be done behind closed doors and not in the public sphere. The English government still found acts of piracy useful in the new world but detrimental to trade in Asia.

Pressured by powerful merchant companies, the English government started to fight piracy in the public sphere with Captain Every. The problems started when Captain Every took a ship belonging to the Great Mughal of India in 1695. In a letter from the East India Company, Sir John Gayer, governor of Bombay, described an account of piracy that enraged the Indian court. Gayer wasn't just the governor, but also the chief executive of the East India Company.<sup>50</sup> Every did not attack traditional European enemies, but valued trading partners. While the pirates themselves might have become enriched, the politicians and powerful trading magnates were losing money.

Driven by the printing press, poetry and ballads romanticized the acts of Captain Every, much like they did those of Raleigh. The most prominent of these was a play performed at the Theatre on Drury Lane called *The Successful pyrate*.<sup>51</sup> The work vindicated his actions while it critiqued the legal system of England. Popular culture still venerated acts of piracy when performed by English subjects. He would be used by popular British author Daniel Defoe and publications that claimed to be written by the Captain were in circulation.<sup>52</sup> Ballads appeared as early as 1694, one of which

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 264, 271.

<sup>50</sup> East India Company letter from Bombay, 12 October 1695, TNA: PRO Privy Council Unbound Papers, 1/46. In this letter it described a horrible suicide scene, where women belonging to the royal family, were abused and committed suicide so they would not have to face their husbands in shame. The daughter of the Great Mughal was sexual assaulted in the act. Employees of the East India Company were put in chains and cut off from outside communication shortly after the event.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Johnson, *The successful pyrate. A play. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by Her Majesty's servants* (London, 1713). This was the second printed edition of the play. The date of the first edition is unknown, some scholars putting it as early as 1709.

<sup>52</sup> John Every, *The life and actions of that famous English Pirate captain Avery publish'd for the satisfaction of the world to prevent the many falsities that lies under* (London, 1710).

claimed to be penned by Every. This was a popular ballad, reprinted several years later in two separate London newspapers. The song proclaimed not only Every innocence, but his patriotic ties with England.<sup>53</sup> Another work turned the act of piracy against the Great Mughal into a love story.<sup>54</sup> These narratives not only extolled the works of Every and supported the English Protestant hero, but attempted to delegitimize the English government. These works followed the blueprint started by the creators of Raleigh's English Protestant hero myth.

The English government now found it needed to fight the myth created by Raleigh and needed to do so in the public sphere to be effective. The trial, the announcement of the crimes, the attack of prosecutors and decrees from legal experts would be made public in an attempt to fight Every. At first a large number of printed copies of the trial were ordered for wide distribution, but that was rescinded when the verdict of innocence was announced.<sup>55</sup> The trial was supported by the Magna Carta and was a perfect vehicle for the state to develop a narrative. The message would also be seen as coming from the people, a jury of his peers, and not something developed by the state. The trial accounts allowed the Crown to create a commanding historical narrative of piracy.<sup>56</sup> According to historian Douglas R. Burgess Jr. who specialized in maritime and legal history, there was a difference between trials of pirates and others. Burgess described the publication of pirate trials as singular because, "[it] was the government's motive throughout: the deliberate attempt to manufacture and, if necessary, alter public opinion on piracy through the trial medium."<sup>57</sup> The government did not just want a conviction to sooth the Great Mughal of India; they wanted to change a culture that praised pirates.

The trial was singular for other reasons. It was conducted with a common law jury but under jurisdiction of the admiralty court. According to Burgess, a large cast of legal experts from every branch of law was gathered. It was held in admiralty court because acts of piracy were a grey area in common law.<sup>58</sup> The new rules and a

<sup>53</sup> John Every, *A Copy of Verses, Composed by Captain Henry Every, Lately Gone to Sea to seek his fortune* (London, 1694).

<sup>54</sup> Adrian Van Broeck, *The Perfidious P—(anonymous. The glorius life and actions of St. Whigg (anonymous). The life and adventures of Captain John Avery* (Dublin, 1785). This work was printed in three different editions, 1702, 1708 and 1709. The work described Every as benevolent leader who the daughter of the Great Mughal falls in love with, rather than being raped by him.

<sup>55</sup> Douglas Burgess, *Piracy in the Public Sphere: The Henry Every Trials and the Battle for meaning in the Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (London, 2008), 901, 907. In fact, there is no official mention of the first trial. In the printing of the second trial, there is an oblique three line sentence to explain the first trial.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 893.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 890.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 897. The pirates also had no legal council, handicapping them in court.

new court showed the length to which the authorities would go to show the importance of fighting piracy. The English government now worked on ways to sway public opinion. The authorities realized they needed to win in the court of public opinion to combat piracy at its root.

The first trial of Every did little to change public opinion or to convince the jury of his guilt. He could not be apprehended and the trial was in absentia. The trial did not take place until a year after the acts were committed, long enough for the crimes of Every to be romanticized by the public. Burgess would claim “long before the October trials, popular media in the form of poetry and ballads extolled Every’s courage and daring as a paradigm of English maritime supremacy.”<sup>59</sup> Henry Every was thus placed in the pantheon of “noble pirates.”<sup>60</sup> His trial showed the difficulty of prosecuting pirates under the shadow of the hero myth created by Raleigh. Burgess sums up the situation, “the government’s attempt to channel the Every story to their own ends competed and collided with another, equally potent myth of patriotic pirates.”<sup>61</sup> Even with the government stacking the deck against him and his crew, the jury disagreed. The representatives of the public still supported the English Protestant hero image or patriotic pirates as Burgess called them. Common law juries would not convict pirates until the English government could effectively change the public’s perceptions.

The second trial of Every was more successful. Already bending the rules of laws almost to the breaking point, the government changed the rules again. Although the crimes he was charged with were similar, he was not charged with piracy against a far away noble, but mutiny against an Englishman. By making the victim an Englishman, Sir Charles Hedges, Chief Justice of the High Court of Admiralty, circumvented the public’s attitude on piracy.<sup>62</sup> By changing the crime, the victim was now an English subject not a distant Mughal. The Crown was doing everything in its power, legal or otherwise, to get a conviction. They were also showing a resilient new attitude that they would be tough on acts of piracy.

The presumption of innocence, a staple of the common law trial, did not apply in the trial of Every and his crew. Hedges would be quoted as telling the jury, “You are not obliged in all cases to require a clear and full evidence, but only to exercise till you find, and are satisfied in your consciences, that there is sufficient and just cause to put

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 888.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 888.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 888.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 901. By changing the crime, it made the English people the victim.

the party accused upon his trial.”<sup>63</sup> The government wanted to make sure to get a conviction but at the same time appear to be following at least some of the common laws. The Navigation Act of 1696 was passed in order to give them more legal options to arrest and try pirates. They were willing to use new tactics to fight the English Protestant hero myth. Ultimately the Crown was successful and on 15 November 1696 six of Every’s crew were executed.

The testimony of Every’s crew spoke to the level of acceptance of pirates in the colonies. The crew said they arrived at both Virginia and New Providence in the Bahamas and their visit went unreported.<sup>64</sup> Not only did the pirates enjoy the support of the commoners, but also government officials in England’s colonies. Chief Justice Hedges decried that England was “being a harbour, receptacle, and a nest of pirates.”<sup>65</sup> Captain Every was never caught and neither was the rest of his crew, which proved Hedges’ statement. Their ability to evade the Crown, even with a huge bounty, showed the support that pirates enjoyed.

The published trial was not enough to combat the hero myth, the authorities had to widen their public discourse. This effort would lead to the utilization of the Ordinary of Newgate. The Ordinary worked in the largest Prison in London as a Chaplain. The Chaplain was in charge of giving those condemned to death their last rites. More importantly, the Ordinary of Newgate would record the behavior, confessions and last words and published them in pamphlets that were consumed by the public. The report would be a perfect medium to convey the anti-piratical message. The Ordinary was a man of God, adding spiritual authority to the account. The Ordinary was also a city official, appointed to a position controlled by the Lord Mayor and the Court of Alderman.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, the dying man was thought to be completely honest. So any political statement made in the Ordinary’s account would have added weight as the true sentiments of the condemned.<sup>67</sup> The account was purchased by the common man, the exact people the Crown targeted with their new anti-piracy message.

The second Ordinary’s account that dealt with piracy was that of Captain William Kidd. The first was published a week before that of John Shears. Before he was a pirate, Kidd was respected in England. According to historian Willard Hallam Bonner, Kidd was sent by some of the most prominent colonists and Englanders to crush the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 903.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 904.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 907.

<sup>66</sup> Andrea McKenzie, *From True Confessions to True Reporting? The Decline and Fall of the Ordinary’s Account* (London, 2005), 55.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 56.

pirate scourge in Madagascar. With the authority of King William III, Kidd left New York in 1696 on a mission to capture Captain Tew and other Madagascar pirates. Instead of fighting the pirates, Kidd befriended them. For over two years Kidd captured ships and adopted the pirate lifestyle. Eventually he was lured to Boston in 1699 by a false promise of clemency. Kidd was then shackled and sent to England. After a trial, Kidd was hung in London in 1701.<sup>68</sup> Kidd betrayed the trust of the English. Instead of fighting pirates in Madagascar he became one. The circumstances made his case ideal to fight the Protestant hero myth. The account of the Ordinary of Newgate would complement the trial proceedings and later ballads, all tools to combat the hero myth.

The Ordinary of Newgate's account of Kidd's imprisonment and execution was written by Paul Lorrain.<sup>69</sup> Besides the last words of Captain Kidd, comments by Darby Mullins, a crewmate of Kidd, and two French pirates were included in his accounts. In a document, Lorrain described piracy as an evil lifestyle and the condemned pirates as facing "the severe wrath and terrible judgment of God."<sup>70</sup> Later, Lorrain described the life of Mullins. Lorrain explains how Mullins tried to defend himself and claimed he was a commissioned privateer, and attacked only "enemies of Christianity."<sup>71</sup> Lorrain rejoined, "but now he being shew'd that those [privateers or pirates] were the greatest enemy of Christ and his religion...contrary to the laws of Christianity."<sup>72</sup> The Ordinary's account released right before Kidd's trial claimed piracy was a sinful lifestyle against Christianity. In it, pirate John Shears warned others not to follow his path.<sup>73</sup> This account of a convicted pirate's last words adopted the government's rhetoric against the English Protestant hero. Now acts of piracy were against God's law. Lorrain would go on to explain that these acts were crimes not just against England but the world. Privateers would no longer be acceptable, commissioned or otherwise. The Ordinary's account countered unprincipled governors who often gave sailors commissions.

Besides the official narrative of Kidd's execution, an anonymous portrayal condemned his actions. While the unsigned recountal seems to be based on the

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<sup>68</sup> Willard Hallam Bonner, *The Ballad of Captain Kidd* (United State, 1944), 362-6.

<sup>69</sup> Paul Lorrain, *The Ordinary of Newgate His Account of the Behaviour, Confessions, and Dying- words of Captain William Kidd, and Other Pirates, That Were Executed at the Execution-Dock in Wapping, on Friday May 23. 1701* (London, 1701).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, front page.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, front page.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, front page.

<sup>73</sup> Paul Lorrain, *The Ordinary of Newgate His Account of the Behaviour, Confessions, and Dying-words of John Shears, A Seaman, that was Executed at Tyburn, on Friday, May the 16<sup>th</sup>, 1701* (London, 1701) page two.

Ordinary's account, new information was added to compliment it. This version focused on Kidd's murder charge, that of killing an Englishmen, William Moor.<sup>74</sup> The writing started off by announcing the murder of Moor and piracy was only mentioned second. The commentary brought the crimes of Kidd home. Moor was not a far-away victim, but a protestant from the terra of England. No longer did pirates appear to be noble men who attacked England's enemies, but instead were portrayed as enemies against the world.

The anonymous account of Kidd's execution also attacked the romantic lifestyle of privateers and pirates. In that tale, Captain Kidd is said to tell the onlookers, "to pray for him, and to take warning by him."<sup>75</sup> In the same story, Captain John Eldrige is said to have made a similar statement, which cautioned others not to follow his example. Darby Mullin, crewmate of Kidd, was reported to say, "with many tears and lamentable sighs, desiring all young men, especially sailors, to take timely warning."<sup>76</sup> This would be seen over and over again in the rhetoric to counter the English Protestant hero myth. Pamphlets would be printed that attacked the lifestyle and warned young men not to follow the sinful profession. They were doing their best to make pirates enemies of the Crown and the cross, not a hero for the people to emulate.

The Captain Kidd ballads showed pirates in a sinful light. The hero myth was propped up by ballads and could also be dismantled by them. One such ballad, called *The Dying Words of Captain Kidd* was so popular it crossed into the colonies.<sup>77</sup> The ballad shows the Crown's rhetoric against acts of piracy. It attacked the lifestyle of the pirate from stem to stern. In this ballad, gone was the treasure and glory of piracy. They were replaced with the description of cruel Captains and perilous voyages, where death and sickness were common. No longer could you retire quietly like Henry Morgan. Pirates would be "bound in iron bands" and face the harsh judgment of God and the hangman's noose.<sup>78</sup> No longer would those who committed acts of piracy be celebrated; they would be hung.

Dishonoring one's family and disobeying parents was also a theme in the ballad. The Crown's new rhetoric which placed the victim at home, instead of in Spain or

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<sup>74</sup> Anonymous, *The True Account of the Behaviour, Confession and Last Dying Speeches, of Captain William Kidd, and the rest of the Pirates that were Executed at Execution Dock in Wapping, On Friday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1701* (London, 1701).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., Front page.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., Second page.

<sup>77</sup> Anon, *The Dying Words of Captain Kidd, a Noted Pirate, Who Was Hanged at Execution-Dock*, (New-London, 1800). Started shortly after his death in 1701, the ballad enjoyed popularity in both England and her colonies, with slightly different versions.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

India, made pirates an enemy of England. The ballad was clear; acts of piracy were crimes against your parents. Pirates cursed their father and mother, bringing dishonor to their family. Christianity and piracy, the ballad argued, could not be reconciled. In a sure attempt to brand piracy as unchristian, it reads, "I'd have a bible in my hand by my father's great command, but I sunk it in the sand when I sail'd."<sup>79</sup> Like other rhetoric against acts of piracy, the ballad cautioned young and old to take warning and not follow his path or they would end up in hell.

The anti-pirate rhetoric crossed into the colonies and into the writing of preacher Cotton Mather. In a piece by Mather, all the elements in the Kidd example were present.<sup>80</sup> The work is much like the account of the Ordinary, recording their last words, confessions and a record of spiritual guidance of pirates. Unlike the Ordinary's account, it was steeped in religious justification for outlawing acts of piracy. Mather warned of the sinful lifestyle, and the negative effects it had on one's family and community. The pirates in Mather's piece echoed his warnings of the sinful pirate life and how especially the young should avoid the path of hell. The authorities and the pulpit made great progress in fighting the Protestant hero myth.

When Raleigh was executed, the idea of public space was in its fledging state. The English authorities had no idea what Raleigh would say. They had no idea they unleashed the Protestant hero myth. Quickly they found out though, through the scaffold speeches and items written about Raleigh posthumously that there was indeed a shift in public perception. James I's desire to appease the Spanish would end and the government then focused the myth to their benefit. The new generation born in the aftermath of Raleigh's myth would be used to fight England's Catholic enemies. Spain had prohibited any legal entry into the new world and the myth was useful. Pirates and privateers helped the English to start colonies. They also enriched the crown by robbing Spanish merchants and treasure ships. Valuable trade inroads were also accomplished by using pirates and privateers.

With the treaty of 1670, the benefit of English pirates in the new world ended. 1670 marked a time of great change. The rise of companies like the East India Company denoted a shift in thinking. The attack on piracy was part of a large program, to promote and protect trade while it brought colonies under their control. The English Protestant Hero had outlived its usefulness to the Crown. The

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Cotton Mather, *Useful Remarks an Essay upon Remarkables in the Way of Wicked Men. : A Sermon on the Tragical End, Unto Which the Way of Twenty-six Pirates Brought Them; at New Port on Rhode-Island, July 19, 1723. With an Account of Their Speeches, Letters, & Actions, before Their Execution. [Two Lines from Deuteronomy]* (New-London, 1723).

English authorities would enact several legal measures to curb piracy; they offered blanket pardons, passed navigation acts and bent laws in court proceedings as shown at Kidd's trial. Legal measures did little to stop the support of acts of piracy among the commoners.

The Crown explored new tactics. Raleigh's myth was partially built on death narratives, ballads, poems and pamphlets. The Crown would do the same to diminish the myth, through the Ordinary's account and the creation of anti-piracy narratives. At first, the crown attempted to change public opinion by releasing the trial proceedings of pirates. But trials also showed political statements made by the defendants along with their defense. In these trials the defendants declared themselves innocent. In the Ordinary's accounts, they were contrite enemies of the state and God, who often freely admitted their guilt. In the trials they defended their actions as state sponsored piracy and cited commissions as justification for their actions as in the Darby Mullins case. The Ordinary accounts created the perfect anti-hero.

Anti-piratical narratives accomplished the goals needed to quiet the myth, but not kill it completely. Much like children of today who want to be firefighters, those of England wanted to be pirate heroes fighting for glory and booty. The Ordinary and anonymous accounts, Kidd's last's words, D.M.'s trial and Mather's piece all attacked the lifestyle of the pirate and privateer. It warned young people not to follow the path. The Crown wanted to stop the next generation of pirates and newly developed tactics were effective. Pirates no longer enjoyed a positive legacy. The English authorities turned it into a dishonorable profession, one that would curse your family. Someone who considered piracy had to think twice. They were no longer just endangering themselves; piracy would shame the whole family. The rhetoric against pirates was tied back to religion, which made it a crime against God and Protestant England. Protestant priests used to encourage English pirates to raid the Spanish. Now pirates were argued to be anything but an English Protestant Hero by the clergy.

One can argue how effective the measures taken by the English authorities were in stopping piracy. It did show that the Crown took the problem very seriously and was committed to its end. The state elicited the help of the clergy with continued efforts to protect trade. These clergy helped convert the commoner to the side of the state. But the myth still lived on, although it changed. Raleigh could be seen as a free thinking atheist or a devout Protestant. During wars with Spain and France Raleigh's myth served the Crown. Raleigh was anybody's hero, ready to be recreated.

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