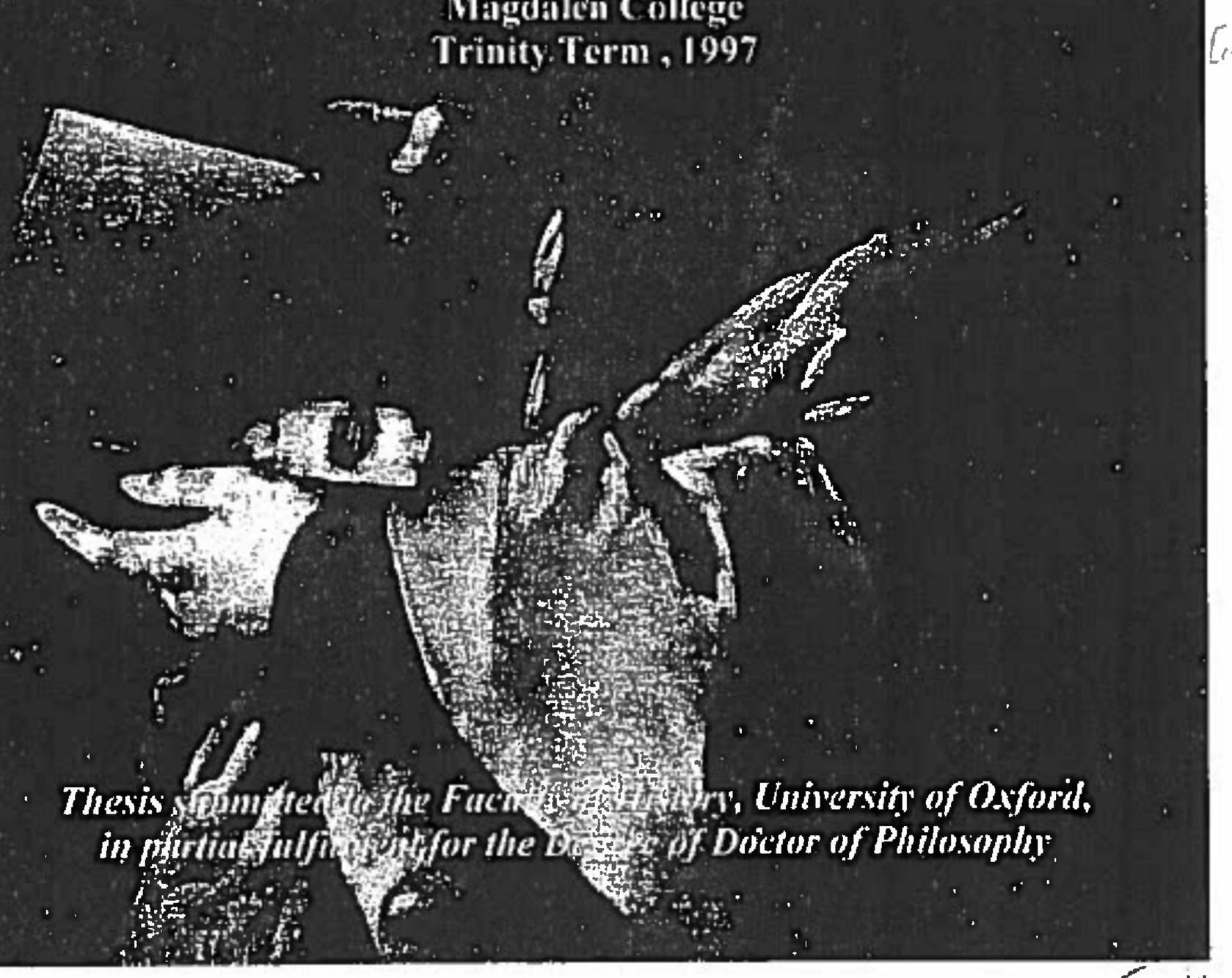
ENGLISH 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY'
c. 1500 - c. 1780



Martin Porter
Magdalen College
Trinity Term , 1997



Thesis submitted to the Faculty of History, University of Oxford,
in partial fulfilment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Martin Porter
(Magdalen College)

English 'Treatises on Physiognomy' c. 1500 - c. 1780.

ABSTRACT

Physiognomy is a ubiquitous subject of both pressing contemporary concern and genuine antiquarian early-modern interest. By examining the ways in which physiognomical treatises were read, this study reconstructs a way of looking at and listening to oneself, other people, nature and God, which I refer to throughout as the art of physiognomating. Known in manuscript form in England from at least the twelfth century onwards and probably long before, printed English 'treatises on physiognomy' were a small but constant feature of early modern European culture which, in part, explains the success of Lavater. Although direct translations of Continental versions, the English texts drew their physiognomical content from a handful of Greek, Arabic and medieval Latin authorities. They were owned and read by people of all ages, from a variety of different social groupings and geographical areas. Physiognomating was a multi-faceted phenomenon of the *longue durée*, understood by some as a natural language based on instinct, a magical knowledge based on divine revelation, a branch of natural philosophy, an aspect of medicine, moral philosophy, political science, humoral theory, astrology, fortune-telling, even game-playing. The meanings of some physical features were more or less consistently agreed upon, whilst many were also supported by physiognomical proverbs and adages. Long understood as an aspect of knowing oneself (*nosce teipsum*), physiognomy has much to say about early modern conceptions of gender, virtue and beauty as well as the language in which early modern people understood and experienced both their own bodies, the civility of themselves and other people, as well as the character of nature and, ultimately, God. Early modern printed expositions of physiognomical doctrine migrated through a number of generically distinct texts. This migration provides evidence of the ways in which this form of looking and listening - the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* - was conceived and used at different times across the period. The readers' graffiti found in the extant copies of these texts show how physiognomating ranged from being the performance of a confessional prayer in the guise of a private medico-moral self-inspection (possibly carried out with the aid of a looking-glass) in the earlier part of the period, to a more public form of bawdy parlour game in the later part of the period. However, it was predominantly a form of political science, a utilitarian visual ideology for those everyday 'negotiations' with other people, with the aim of achieving business and procreational success in what was seen by many as the hazardous realm of the 'brutish sort' and the public sphere. Whilst physiognomy was central to John Dee's conception of science, Francis Bacon felt it needed cleansing of superstition. Most subsequent philosophers relegated it to the realm of mere opinion. Taught to children and examined at university, physiognomy was also practised by gypsies, vagabonds, astrologers, physicians, priests, ambassadors, lawyers, teachers and parents. This physiognomical gaze was also used for the choosing of a physician, a soldier, a partner or even a hat. The most prominent feature of the early modern reconfiguration of this art of physiognomating was the dissolution of the understanding of the self and other people as a constellation of natural Aristotelian and Christian ethical entities in a more fluid, culturally constructed language drawn from the characters of everyday life.

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PRE-FACE

and darkness was upon the face of the abyss.

[Genesis,1;2.]

And when you gaze long into an abyss the abyss also gazes into you.

[Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (1973), Part Four: Maxims and Interludes, No.146, p. 84.]

But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.

[1 Corinthians 28.]

Is not all nature physiognomy?

[Johann Casper Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 3 vols. (1789), vol. I, p. 28]

Let this teach us that we may be deceived in Physiognomies,
and that Physiognomies can never deceive us.

[Jacques Pernetti, *Philosophical Letters upon Physiognomies* (2nd edition, 1751), p. 180.]

Perhaps one can learn from history - perhaps not.
That is secondary to the elementary duty not to allow the human to be forgotten.

[Hans Blumenberg, cited in Herbert Hrachovec, 'Blumenberg: truly memorable memories' in *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 7. No. 4 (November 1994), pp. 61-72: p. 61]

The very configuration of the human body represents
in the form of a *vestige* God's image in the soul.
[Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* 1a. 93. 2, 6]

The body is the great poem.
[Wallace Stevens, 'Adagia', *Opus Posthumous*, ed. M. J. Bates (1990), p. 194]

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ENVOI

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For early modern works, the first name of the author has been given in full. For secondary works, the first name has been abbreviated. References in the text to the treatises under consideration are given by the author's surname, followed by the date of the text and the page number. Thus: Hill (1556), sig. Ci. All books cited are published in London unless otherwise stated. Where necessary, dates have been modernised. This list also includes those abbreviations used in the Appendix.

Abano or AB	Pietro de Abano, *Decisiones Physiognomiae* (Venice, 1548).
ACM	*Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* [various editions].
AHDLMA	*Archives et Histoire de la Littérature du Moyen Age.*
AL	Jacques André, *Anonyme Latin: De physiognomonia liber, Traité de Physiognomonie* (Paris, 1981).
ALg	*Aristotle's Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets* (c. 1700).
Almansorem or RZ	Rhazes, *Liber ad Almansorem* (Book II),Versio Latina A Gerardo Cremonensi, in R. Förster (ed.), *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893), vol. II, pp. 161-179.
AM	Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus Libri XXVI*, ed. H. Stadler (Münster, 1916).
Anon.	Anonymus.
ARC	*Arcandam, The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant Book to Find the Fatal Destiny*…[various editions].
BA	Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal.
BL	London, British Library.
BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library.
BPL	Boston, Mass., Boston Public Library.
BS	Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.
BSt.G	Paris, Bibliothèque St. Geneviève.
CDLC	Marin Cureau de La Chambre, *The Art How To Know Men* (1665).
CP	*Compost of Ptholomeus* [various editions].
CUL	Cambridge, University Library.
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*.
EETS	Early English Text Society.
ESTC	*The English Short Title-Catalogue*, Eureka on the Web [http://eureka.rlg.org/] (1997).
Fitz.	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam College.

FSLW	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library.
G&C	Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College.
GCH	*Kalendar of Shepherds* [1508], ed. G. C. Heseltine (1932).
GWWP	*A Groatsworth of Wit For a Penny* [various editions].
Hist. Anim.	Aristotle, *History of Animals* in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984).
HgL	Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library, Harvard University.
HL	Pasadena, Ca., Huntington Library.
HMES	L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Sciences*, 7 vols. (New York, 1934).
HOS	*The Kalendar of Shepherds* [1503 & 1506], ed. H. O. Sommer (1892).
Indagine or JI	Joannes de Indagine, *Brief Introductions* [various editions].
ISTC	International Short Title Catalogue, Oxford.
Kalendar or KS	*Kalendar of Shepherds* [various editions].
LP	Michael Scott, *Liber Phisiognomiae* [various editions].
MAM	M. A. Manzalaoui, *Secretum Secretorum. Nine English Versions*, EETS, vol. I (1977).
MMLPS	*Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*.
MS	Manuscript.
MS	Michael Scot, *Liber phisionomie* (Johannes Amerbach, [Basel, not before 1485]).
MV	Marc Vulson, *Court of Curiositie* (1669).
NAC	*A New Academy of Compliments; Or, The Compleat English Secretary* [various editions].
NSL	*New School of Love; Being the True Art of Courtship* (1786).
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (1976).
OUA	Oxford University Archives.
Phys	*Physiognomonics* in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984), vol. I, pp. 1237-1250.
POL	Polemon, 'Liber de Physiognomonia' in R. Förster (ed.), *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893).
Ps-POL	Pseudo-Polemon, *Liber de Physiognomonia*, in R. Förster (ed.), *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893).
RC	Robert Copland, *The Secrete of Secretes of Arystotle* (1528).

RSa	Richard Saunders, *Palmestry* (1663).
RSb	Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie....*(1671).
RSTC	A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged by A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson & K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (1986).
Secretum *or* SEC	*Secretum secretorum*, in R. Förster (ed.), *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, 2 vols. (Liepzig, 1893) [unless referring to a specific edition of the text.]
SP	R. Förster (ed.), *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893).
TC	E. Arber (ed.), *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A. D.; with a Number for Easter Term*, 3 vols. (1903).
TFT	*The True Fortune-Teller, or Guide to Knowledge* (1685).
TH	Thomas Hill, *A Brief and Most Pleasaunt Epitomye of the Whole Art of Phisiognomie* (1556).
UCH	Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi, maioris sciliciet et minoris, metaphysica, physica atque technica historia* (Oppenheim, 1619-1621).
WACML	Los Angeles, The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.
WC	*Wits Cabinet* [various editions].
WIHM	London, The Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.
Wing	D. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, revised and edited by J. J. Morrison, C. W. Nelson & M. Secombe, 3 vols. (New York, 1994).

GRAPHS
(between pages 79 and 80)

FIGURE A — English Printed 'Treatises on Physiognomy' c. 1500 – c. 1800
This represents the total number of editions of 'treatises on physiognomy' published per decade for which some record of publication has survived.

FIGURE B — This graph represents the total number of editions of those books published in London every five years and included in the RSTC.

FIGURE C — This is based on the works included in *Wing*. It represents the annual number of editions of printed books published between 1641-1700. The upper line represents all published editions of all works included in *Wing*. The lower line represents only those editions published in London.

ENGLISH 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY' c. 1500 - c. 1780

INTRODUCTION

> There is a Kind of Physiognomy in the Title of Books, no less than in the Faces of Men, by which a skilful Observer will as well know what to expect from the one as the other.
>
> (Samuel Butler, 'Thoughts Upon Various Subjects', in R. Thyer (ed.), *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler*, 2 vols. (1759), vol. II, p. 494.)

PRE-POST-HUMAN:

PAST THE POST

The following introduction will disclose the reasoning and assumptions beneath the outer 'face' of this thesis. Part 1 will elucidate the reasons for having chosen this subject. From a more present-orientated perspective, it will argue that physiognomy is a subject which lies on the cusp of a number of the most pressing contemporary academic and intellectual concerns. From a more antiquarian perspective, it will argue that physiognomy is also a genuine, important, indeed ubiquitous early modern phenomenon. Part 2 will reveal the assumptions upon which the evidence was gathered, analysed and presented.

1

THE RESURRECTION OF THE SUBJECT

1.1 *Present Intellectual Climate: Physiognomating postmodernism*

In his *Reflections on History*, Jacob Burckhardt declared his position in a debate stretching back to Aristotle and Lactantius, when he wrote that poetry achieved 'more for the knowledge of human nature' than history.[1] Since Burckhardt, the last twenty years in particular have witnessed many claims about the artificiality and even invalidity of this very distinction between history and poetry or literature. These still fashionable, though as such, often purely polemical claims are not as new as they are frequently made to appear. In the late seventeenth century, Pierre Le Moyne (1602-1672) had what might be seen as a postmodern opinion on the matter:

> a Man must be a Poet to be an Historian.[2]

Indeed, the very time in which Le Moyne was writing is seen by some as the period when the foundations of the distinctions between poetry, history and science were first laid.[3]

Yet whatever one's position in these traditional disputes, the study and practice of history and the humanities can still reflect something important about both the nature of other human beings as well as being human oneself.[4] Seen through the temporal prism of past, present and future, the humanities can help human beings at any point in time to come to know what being human is, was and could be.[5] This is perhaps

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[1]J. Burckhardt, *Reflections on History* (1943), p. 65.

[2]Pierre Le Moyne, *Of the Art both of Writing and Judging of History* (1695), p. 6. Wallace Stevens is one modern poet who appears to agree with Le Moyne: 'Poetry seeks out the relation of men to facts', *Opus Posthumous*, ed. M. J. Bates (New York, 1990), p. 204. Cf. G. M. Trevelyan's famous discussion of this issue: 'The appeal of history to us all is in the last analysis poetic. But the poetry of history does not consist of imagination roaming at large, but of imagination pursuing the fact and fastening upon it', cited in R. J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (1997), p. 250.

[3]M. Foucault, *The Order of Things* (1974), p. 43. Indeed, in the elegiac vain of 'the world we have lost', Foucault's post-structuralist aim of unleashing upon the world what he sees as a liberating form of intertextuality is essentially a re-introduction of a form of the sixteenth-century 'prose of the world'.

[4]See G. Graham, *The Shape of the Past* (Oxford, 1997), chapter eight. G. Spiel argues that post-structuralist thought has displaced 'the controlling metaphor in historical evidence from one of reflection to one of mediation', in 'History and Postmodernism', in K. Jerkins (ed.), *The Postmodern History Reader* (1997), pp. 260-273: p. 262. The use of the term 'reflection' in this thesis does not assume that 'texts and documents transparently reflect past realities' (p. 262).

[5]Thus, by implication, what it is not, never was and could not be.

especially true of the study of physiognomy. Although there are no early modern schemes of things which classified physiognomy as a branch of poetry, it has, nonetheless, long been understood to be an art which allows one to discern something of one's own or another person's nature, and, in some cases something about that person's past and future.[6]

For Renaissance humanists, this conception of the function of the humanities represented the path to Virtue through Wisdom and Prudence.[7] As such, it not only advocated the necessity of knowing other people, it also carried traces of the Augustinian idea of using scripture as a mirror in which to examine oneself. Beyond Augustine, one can hear the ancient resonance of the Socratic imperative 'know thyself' alongside the Christian dictum 'to know another is to know oneself, to know oneself is to know God.' As will become evident, it was also a conception of the humanities in which physiognomy had a role to play.

This Augustinian or Socratic imperative can be seen at work in the distinctly anthropocentric reflections of many contemporary academic and intellectual investigations.[8] Particularly prominent amongst them are inquiries aimed at what are often described as the fundamental elements of any human being - the body, the senses, the emotions, the soul, the mind, sexuality, gender, the subject and the self.[9]

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[6]The number of artists who have shown a genuine concern with physiognomy is striking. For Geoffrey Chaucer see W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* (Oxford, 1923); for William Blake see 'Annotations to Lavater's Aphorisms On Man' [c. 1788], in G. Keynes (ed.), *The Complete Writings of William Blake* (1966), pp. 65-88; for Charles Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complêtes*, ed. M. A. Ruff (Paris, 1968), pp. 244 & 263; G. Tytler, *Physiognomy and the European Novel* (Princeton, 1982); M. Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist* (Cambridge, 1989). For a poem on physiognomy see Joseph Bartlett, *Physiognomy, a poem... delivered July 18th 1799* (Boston, 1799).

[7]William Jewel wrote of the three eyes of Prudence: 'With the first eye, she considereth the times past. With the second, time present, and with the third, that which is to come', *The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure* (1612), p. 33.

[8]Submerged in all of these allegedly scientific and secular reflections is the question of how religious they all are. Ernst Cassirer has written: 'In all the higher forms of religious life the maxim "Know Thyself" is regarded as a categorical imperative, as an ultimate moral and religious law', *An Essay on Man* (1944), p. 3. Latour suggests reading the paper is a form of prayer, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), p. 2. For the problems with seeing aspects of modernity as secularised versions of Christian concepts see H. Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. R. M. Wallace (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

[9]Derrideans include the 'trace' amongst this ontological list. See R. Smith, *Derrida and Autobiography* (Cambridge, 1996), especially chapter 9. For a discussion of the 'trace' in Henry Vaughan's self-understanding see L. L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), p. 150.

Studies of the human body seem especially evident, particularly in the area of gender studies.[10] And as some begin to wonder 'why all this fuss about the body?', still others to claim that the body has 'been done',[11] it is a topic which, like gender and sexuality, is becoming increasingly characteristic of historical analyses.[12] As one historian puts it, 'the human body...is as much an historical document as a charter or a diary or a parish register'. Like gestures and gender, it 'offers a key to some of the fundamental values and assumptions underlying any particular society'.[13]

Presently it is the human 'senses' upon which the scholarly gaze is increasingly setting its sights, especially the faculty of 'vision'.[14] Coming in to view alongside 'the senses' is an aurora of what one scholar claims will be a flood of studies devoted to the next big historical subject - the history of the emotions - for which the rather awkward but hopeful term 'emotionology' has already been coined.[15] In defiance of literary theories proclaiming the 'death of the author', one preeminent literary critic stands apart by continuing to claim that poetry is a 'mirror of feelings', that the normal home of the self is the novel whilst the lyric is the 'voice of the soul'.[16] Elsewhere, and more in keeping with a constructivist approach, one political philosopher is in the process of constructing an historical work of epic proportions around the issue of 'the constitution of the subject'.[17]

Of all of these alleged fundamental aspects of being human which find themselves firmly under present academic lenses, it is perhaps 'the self' which is at the (much disputed) centre of them all. So ubiquitous is the subject of 'the self', that it

---

[10]J. Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990).
[11]C. Bynum, 'Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1995), pp. 1-33.
[12]J. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned* (1996); T. Laqueur, *Making Sex. Gender from the Ancient Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, 1995).
[13]K. Thomas, Introduction, in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gesture* (1991), pp. 2 & 5-6.
[14]A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); R. Porter and W. F. Bynum (ed.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (1994); M. Jay, *Downcast Eyes* (Berkeley, 1993); M. Banks (ed.), *Visual Anthropology* (1997). For an early modern exploration of the 'transmogrification' of the senses see John Bulwer, *Philocophus: or, The Deafe and Dumbe Mans Friend* (1648).
[15]C. Z. Stearns & P. N. Stearns, *Emotion and Social Change. Towards a New Psychohistory* (New York, 1988), p. 7.
[16]H. Vendler, *Soul Says. On Recent Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), pp. 2 & 6-7.
[17]M. Gauchet, 'La constitution du sujet', lecture series given at L'Institut Raymond Aron, Paris, 1991-1992 & 1995-1996.

has become almost axiomatic to accept that all studies of everything, be they set in the past, the present or the future, can reveal just as much, perhaps even more, about 'the self' of the student than they can about the nature of the object studied. It would seem that there is nothing 'outside' the self, nothing entirely 'other'.[18] Indeed, on a more prophetic if less theoretical note, recent innovations in technology have led one authority to predict that:

> probably the largest employer on the planet in the year 2050 will be 'self'.[19]

Such has been the scale of these self-ish (and for some, claustrophobic) contemporary scholarly concerns, that this apparent sea-change has been characterised as a form of 'narcissistic turn'.[20]

Yet in these postmodern times, the more these fundamental human attributes are placed before the academic mirror, the more they seem to evade scrutiny; the more the nature of their reality, or even their reality itself, is called into question - indeed, in the most fashionable intellectual circles, the closer these human attributes seem to come to disappearing altogether. As one contemporary scholar has written:

> We are no longer even in front of a mirror, but rather stare with fascination at a screen reflecting nothing outside it.[21]

At one forefront of this are contemporary neurologists, whose empiricism remains unsatiated by such notions as 'the self'. When they look in the brain, all they see are neurons - 'the self' being merely a function of 'what the brain does'.[22] In moral

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[18]'Narcissism! There is not narcissism and non-narcissism; there are narcissisms that are more or less comprehensive, generous, open, extended. What is called non-narcissism is in general but the economy of a much more welcoming, hospitable narcissism, one that is much more open to the experience of the other as other', Jacques Derrida in E. Weber (ed.), *Points...Interviews, 1974-1994, Jacques Derrida* (Stanford, 1995), p. 199.

[19]N. Negroponte, *Swissair Gazette*, April, 1997, p. 50. Some would argue that such predictions are nothing more than a reflection of the prophet's own present 'portfolio'.

[20]See J. Starobinski, 'The Natural and Literary History of the Bodily Sensation', in M. Feher (ed.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, 3 vols. (New York, 1989), vol. II, pp. 351-370: p. 370. For a range of different narcissisms, see C. Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York, 1978), pp. 27, 31& 35.

[21]Jay, *Eyes*, p. 544. Much of the proliferation of mirror metaphors in literary criticism stems from Luce Irigaray's *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1974).

[22]C. Blakemore, *The Mind Machine* (revised edition, 1994). The modern division of the brain into different capacities is basically an inside-out, neuro-functional version of physiognomy's successor - phrenology. Instead of each individual feature of the body being attributed a particular moral or psychological trait/meaning, each part of the brain (as opposed to just the skull) is attributed a particular physiological and mental function.

philosophy, Charles Taylor's work has revealed the historical mutations of what was formerly considered a universal, trans-historical, centred and essential self.[23] Daniel Dennett claims that the 'self' is nothing more than the centre of gravity of all the narratives through which we tell our selves.[24]

Another front of the embattled question of identity is patrolled by post-structuralists and deconstructionists. In their allegedly anti-humanist project, Nietzsche's dictum 'God is dead' is echoed in the sometimes apocalyptic talk of the death or the end of man.[25] Foucault wrote of 'the death of man', of the end of an assumed transcendental subject with constant capacities. Indeed, he even claimed that his motive for writing was the desire 'to have no face', to 'stop being imprisoned inside [his] own face, [his] own past, [his] own identity'.[26] From a Derridean perspective, the very idea of there being a singular, individual, centred self whose component parts are hierarchically arranged, is nothing more than the linguistic consequence of a metaphysics of presence exemplified perhaps most blatantly in the ideas of Aquinas and Bonaventura on the *lex naturalis* and the workings of conscience and *synderesis*. Following Heidegger, postmodern subjectivity is thus always 'sous rasure'(under erasure).[27] Indeed, Robert Smith would claim Daniel Dennett's aforementioned 'centre of gravity' can never be told, given that one law of autobiography is that 'the dream of integral cohesion promises itself only in the mode of its withdrawal'.[28]

If the human(ist) self is no longer conceivable from such perspectives, neither is the age-old quest for self-knowledge.[29] The alleged circularity implicit in the classical

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[23]C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self. The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1989).
[24]D. Dennett, *Consciousness Explained* (1992), pp. 410ff.; idem, 'Why Everyone is a Novelist', *Times Literary Supplement*, September 16th-22nd, 1988, pp. 1016 & 1028-1029.
[25]P. Lacou-Labarthe & J.-L. Nancy, *Les fins de l'homme: à partir du travail de Jacques Derrida* (Paris, 1981). Others, such as I. Hassan , see postmodernism as 'a vast revisionary will in the Western world.... intimating a post-humanism', *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture* (Ohio, 1987), p. xvi.
[26]M. Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1968), p. 28; D. Macey, *The Lives of Michel Foucault* (1993), p. xv. For the political implications of this anti-essentialism see C. Mouffe, 'Democratic Politics Today' in C. Mouffe (ed.), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy* (1992), pp. 1-14: p. 11.
[27]I. Burht, 'The Shifting Concept of the Self', *History of the Human Sciences*, 7 (1994), pp. 7-25: p. 8 & p. 10. Interestingly, John Finnis writes 'of natural law itself there could, strictly speaking, be no history', J. Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford, 1980), p. 24.
[28]Smith, *Autobiography*, p. 183. Smith's words resemble Michel Foucault's description of late medieval exegesis, *Things*, p. 41.
[29]Depending upon what one understands by the term 'humanist self', one has also to ask whether it was ever desirable in the first place.

act of self-knowledge, in which, to use Derridean language, the person's self turns to that person's own other 'who is supposed to send [one's] signatures back to oneself', is deconstructed. Thus the self's 'identification with itself gathers an imperceptible difference which permits us efficaciously, rigorously, that is, discreetly, to exit from closure....The return, at this point, does not retake possession of something'.[30] Similarly, Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's favoured term for 'the self', the unrepeatable 'singularity', according to one commentator, articulates a similar impossibility:

> a singularity cannot achieve total self-consciousness, since if it did know itself, the self that it knew would not be the same self as the self that did the knowing.[31]

If the whole of 'the self' and what is assumed to be the classical project of knowing oneself have now been destabilised by the bombardment of postmodern self-grenades of permanent instability, cracks and reverberations are discernible throughout the rest of the classical components of both the 'self' and the 'other'. Whilst the implicit question in classical and early modern physiognomy was 'what sort of mind does this other person have?', the modern post-Wittgenstinian philosophical problem is 'how do I know other people have minds?'[32] Amongst the ranks of those who practise the philosophy of mind, there are many so-called 'hard' materialists who dissolve the mind into matter.[33] Amongst those trying to cling to the notion that human beings have souls, one can find 'soft' materialists who, as far as their theological rivals are concerned, risk destroying the very thing they claim to be trying to salvage; and 'soft duelists' attacked by 'hard duelists' over the issue of the natural immortality of the soul.[34] Today, language, 'discourse' and other forms of

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[30]Cited in Smith, *Autobiography*, p. 86. This resembles Plato's ideas on being and becoming, the latter being non-identical with itself and describable only in the language of myth. See E. Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford, 1963), p. 125.

[31]B. Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 115-116; G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis, 1989). Yet Merleau-Ponty has argued that: 'Our reflection on time is itself situated in time, our reflection on subjectivity is itself part of our subjectivity. We can never coincide with ourselves - and yet we are present to ourselves precisely *because* we have the distance of non-coincidence', cited in M. M. Langer, *Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Perception* (1989), p. 129.

[32]M. Burnyeat, 'Other Minds, Other Faces: Philosophy and Physiognomics in the Ancient World', paper delivered to the conference 'The Self and Its Place in the World', Kings College, London, Saturday 15th May, 1993.

[33]D. Armstrong, *A Materialist Theory of the Mind* (1968).

[34]R. Swinburne, *The Evolution of the Soul* (Revised edition, 1997).

linguistic representation are described as 'the furthest point that philosophy can reach in its quest for knowledge and truth', and it is widely accepted in the historical discipline that it too has undergone a 'linguistic turn'.[35] Of course the claim that there are no 'facts' or no 'reality' outside language is not universally accepted.[36] Nonetheless, there are some post-structuralists and radical constructivists who dissolve even 'the body' into 'discourse'.[37] Some now claim to have 'postmodern bodies' in an explicit attempt to 'displace the human, humanism, and the humanities'.[38]

Whilst the positions just outlined are much less commensurate than the way they have been presented here, nonetheless, numerous 'stories' or explanations for these allegedly intensified, seemingly insatiable and, for some, ultimately doomed forms of self-reflection have been put forward. It is often explained away as part of the 'postmodern condition'.[39] Whilst some stress an embattled post-colonial Western identity and others the shameful and guilt-ridden self-reflection of Western patriarchal and racist societies, still others see it as a consequence of the 'information age' and its characteristically 'disembodied' forms of communication, with its 'virtual bodies' and 'virtual selves' in the interfaces of virtual reality.[40] Another popular contestant in such explanations is the ability of science and technology to penetrate and alter the deepest processes of nature, exemplified most blatantly in genetic engineering and cosmetic surgery.[41] Whilst some trace its origins back to the influence of the Feminist

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[35]T. Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford, 1995), p. 492; J. E. Toews, 'Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience', *American Historical Review*, 92 (1987), pp. 879-907.

[36]One writer has recently explored this issue through an examination of the inarticulable reality of physical pain, E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (1985). Interestingly, physiognomy has often been described as an inarticulable reality, see below, p. 14.

[37]Bynum, 'Fuss', p. 2.

[38]J. Halberstam & I. Livingston, *Postmodern Bodies* (Indianapolis, 1995), p. vii.

[39]R. Young, *White Mythologies. Writing, History and the West* (1990). At the same time, there are, of course, those who would explain postmodernism as some form of aberration. As St. Theresa writes, "Self-knowledge becomes warped if we never take our thoughts off ourselves", cited in Rev. R. Garrigou-Lagrange, *Christian Perfection and Contemplation* (1937), p. 397. For Freud's relation between this form of mirroring and the uncanny see 'The Uncanny', *The Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 14, *Art and Literature* (1985), pp. 339-376.

[40]For example, Stearns suggest that growing interest in the emotions is due to 'a contemporary need to assert, in an age of artificial intelligence, the emotional component of humanness', P. N. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), pp. 813-836: p. 813.

[41]S. Bordo, *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture and the Body* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 25 & 245-50.

movement, some Feminists trace it back to Marx,[42] while many trace it back to the writings of Michel Foucault.[43]

It is not the purpose of this thesis to explain this present state of affairs. An historical perspective on these seemingly new problems can certainly offer its usual sobering, if sometimes over-earnest resonance. Thus it can point out that the term 'postmodern' appears to have first been coined by the historian Toynbee in speaking of a nineteenth-century revolution, which, in turn, Heidegger understood in terms of an earlier transformation in self-consciousness - the Copernican revolution.[44] In philosophical terms it must stress that the 'self-consciousness' of this contemporary 'narcissistic turn' is as old as philosophy itself, personified in no less a figure than Heraclitus.[45] Indeed, the historical perspective shows how much care has to be taken over what is understood by the term 'self-knowledge'. There are certainly some early modern physiognomical texts which come close to articulating the postmodern penchant for non-identity:

> every Man commonly looks upon himself through a Magnifying-glass, so that he cannot behold his true proportion.[46]

As for the present interest in the inherent role of 'the other' in that self-knowledge, such concerns can also be found in the physiognomical writings of earlier periods:

> For it is most certain, that we cannot by ourselves come to a perfect knowledge of our selves: and our Souls may, in that respect, be compar'd to our Faces, inasmuch as the former, as well as the latter, can only view themselves in Mirrours. If she attempts the beholding of herself, the trouble she is at in that self-reflection distracts and wearies her, and self-love corrupts, and poysons, all the judgments she makes of herself...there is no better way for a man to come to the knowledge of himself, then by studying that knowledge in others.[47]

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[42]With regard to the tradtional triptych of the left, the relationship between class and the body has been neglected. See T. L Ebert, 'Ludic Feminism, the Body, Performance and Labour: Bringing Materialism Back into Feminist Cultural Studies', *Cultural Critique*, 23 (1992-1993), pp. 5-50.

[43]In July 1978 Foucault said: 'It's not the assertion of identity that is important; it's the assertion of non-identity', Macey, *Lives*, p. xv; L. H. Martin, H. Gutmar & P. H. Hutton (ed.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (1988).

[44]A. Toynbee, *An Historian's Approach to Religion* (1956), p. 146. Strictly speaking, Joseph Hudnut seems to have been the first to use the term, *Architecture and the Spirit of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 119. Heidegger spoke of 'a second Copernican revolution', cited in Z. Bauman, *Intimations of Postmodernity* (1992), p. ix.

[45]'We must fulfill the demand of self-reflection if we wish to keep hold of reality and to understand its meaning', cited in Cassirer, *Man*, p. 4.

[46]La Chambre (1664), sig. B2-B3(v).

[47]La Chambre (1664), sig. A7(v).

Similarly, the allegedly 'postmodern' idea of the unstable, fragmented, even multiple self can be seen as a contemporary translation of a seemingly persistent phenomenon.[48]

As for this alleged postmodern, intensified concern with the body, it was just such an intense concern with physiognomy that was at the root of all racial theories, disturbingly exemplified by the six-inch ruler embossed on the cover of the earliest editions of the very influential late-nineteenth-century work *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* alongside its colour slides for comparing hair colours, and its recommendation that Martin and Schultz's box-sets of 16 or 20 glass eyes be taken along on any field trip worth its salt. Earlier corporeal obsessions can be seen in the figure of Henrion, the eighteenth-century French Orientalist and member of the Académie Française, who kept a table with the relative heights of some eminent historical personages in which the Christian heroes dwarfed their pagan counterparts.[49] Contemporary idiosyncrasies about the body, such as the most recent peregrinations in search of Descartes' skull or Che Guevara's bones, can be seen in medieval pilgrimages to the remains of dead saints.[50] Any postmodernist with a penchant for particular sorts of eyes or hands or face might be interested to know that Ivan the Terrible did not trust people with blue eyes;[51] Descartes was spontaneously attracted to people with squints or crossed-eyes - the result, he thought, of a childhood sweetheart who had a squint; and Heidegger thought it was the beauty of Hitler's hands which explained his rise to power.[52] Indeed, in the book of Genesis, even 'the abyss' (like Gutenberg's moveable type through which many people encountered it) had a 'face' in front of which different translators felt more or less comfortable.[53]

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[48]This in itself might be read in such a way as to validate Lyotard's claim that 'a work can become modern only if it is first postmodern', J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (1984), p. 79.

[49]S. Baring-Gould, *Curiosities of Olden Times* (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 103.

[50]*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, August 30th, 1996, p. 7; *Guardian*, 9th October 1997, G2.

[51]W. F. Ryan, 'The *Secretum Secretorum* and the Muscovite Autocracy', in W. F. Ryan & C. Burnett (ed.), *Pseudo-Aristotle, the Secret of Secrets: Sources and influences* (1982), pp. 114-123: p. 119.

[52]Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme* , ed. G. Rodis-Lewis (Paris, 1991), p. 133, fn. 1. One wonders to what extent his young love's ocular impairment may have contributed towards Descartes' eventual formulation of the *cogito*. Could it possibly have helped to undermine, in Descartes' eyes/mind at least, the widely known truism 'the eyes are the window of the soul'? B. S. Turner, 'Cruising America', in C. Kosek & B. S. Turner (eds.), *Forget Baudrillard?* (1996), pp. 146-161: p. 147; *Der Spiegel*, November 23rd, 1987, p. 212.

[53]Genesis 1,2: 'Tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi' (Vulgate). In Wycliffe (early and late), the Great Bible, the Bishop's Bible and the Rheims Douai version, 'the deep' (or 'the see' [*sic*] in the early Wycliffe) also has a 'face' but not in Tyndale and Coverdale, Matthew's Bible, Geneva Bible and the

However novel some feel the present intellectual climate to be, and whatever 'stories' are put forward to explain its configuration, one reason for taking the often ridiculed subject of physiognomy seriously is that it is a subject which can be located on the cusp of a number of the most fundamental and interlocking issues at the heart of these aforementioned reflections.[54] To begin with, from the point of view of present corporeal concerns, a historical study of physiognomy provides evidence of some quite specific meanings which at different times were either seemingly inherent in, or textually tattooed into different parts of the human body such as red hair, aquiline noses and big ears. With regard to the vision, the following study of physiognomy attempts to reconstruct an early modern way of looking - what will be referred to in thesis as the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* - and to examine its reconfiguration across time. As far as the emotions are concerned, by the late seventeenth century physiognomy was often confused with the study of the passions of the soul, and soon attempts were made to define it as the investigation of the muscular production of the emotions on the face, long before the appearance of Darwin's epoch-making work on the subject.[55]

Physiognomical treatises are full of assumptions about issues of gender and sexuality. For example:

> If the end of the chinne be round, it is a sign of feminine manners, and also it is a sign of a woman. But the chin of a man must always be square;[56]

or, the more famous:

> When the nostrils be great and wide, it is a sign the mans cods and stones be great: and that he is a whoremonger, a traytor, false, audacious, a lyar, envious, a niggard, and but a little fearfull, and of grosse understanding;[57]

or, its often overlooked female equivalent:

> From the form of the foot one knows the door of the woman.[58]

Good News Bible.

[54]In Latour's words, it weaves together 'the heavens, industry, texts, souls and moral law', *Never Been Modern*, p. 5.

[55]J. Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions* (New Haven, 1994).

[56]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Lv.

[57]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. L(v).

[58]'*Ad formam pedis, tu nosces portam mulieris*', Hill (1571), fol. 94.

With regard to the 'linguistic turn', physiognomical treatises provide an interesting articulation of the problem of 'mediation'. It is only the most dogmatic postmodern perspective which would suggest that the term 'round chin' actually constitutes the reality it purports to describe. Chins are there. Some of them are rounder than others, and always have been. Whilst one might legitimately ask 'how round is a round chin?', there does come a point where a 'round' chin is distinguishable from a 'square' chin (even if that point has changed across time). Furthermore, these same physiognomical aphorisms offer an insight into the language through which people from previous times eperienced, explored, understood (or misunderstood), articulated, even constituted themselves. On account of some widely held physiognomical assumptions, some people no doubt tried to convince themselves of the squareness of their chin. Similarly, some would no doubt have tried to deny or repress an alleged envious nature or accept and cultivate an alleged audacious character. The astrologer William Lilly, to take just one example, 'came to regard himself as a specifically pure and characteristic embodiment of Mercury's celestial influence'.[59]

Physiognomy is also a subject at the heart of current debates in literary criticism and literary history. Indeed, the imminent resurrection of the author in some quarters of contemporary literary studies might itself be considered a form of physiognomy. Past writers on physiognomy have certainly made similar claims. In the eighteenth century Pernetti wrote:

> If Physiognomy leads to the Knowledge of the inward Man, no less certain is it, that from an Author's Productions a shrewd Guess may be given of his Disposition, Circumstances, Talents, and good or bad Qualities.[60]

From a more musical point of view, in the nineteenth century Henry Reed thought it possible to:

> discover the physiognomy, that is in speech, as well as in the face.[61]

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[59]C. H. Josten (ed.), *Elias Ashmole*, 5 vols. (1966), vol. I, pp. 25-6.
[60]Jacques Pernetti, *Philosophical Letters Upon Physiognomies* (2nd edition, 1751), p. iv.
[61]Henry Reed, *Lectures on English Literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 93. For Reed, one's native language was the mirror in which one saw one's own nature (p. 92).

In both of these claims one can hear the two questions which interested W. H. Auden when reading a poem:

> The first is technical: "Here is a verbal contraption. How does it work?" The second is, in the broadest sense, moral: "What kind of guy inhabits this poem? What is his notion of the good life or the good place? His notion of the Evil one? What does he conceal from the reader? What does he conceal even from himself?"[62]

Moreover, some early modern physiognomers would appear to agree with postmodern claims about the ineluctable modality of the self. With regard to the neglected historical study of descriptions of other people, Pernetti also wrote:

> There is scarce any such thing as describing others without discovering one's self.[63]

With regard to art and present obsessions about visual images, many today claim that recent years have seen a profound cultural shift, involving a turn away from the dominance of the printed word to the dominance of the image. Some see it as a reversal of the cultural shift that characterised the period under consideration, the Reformation:

> The verbal, written culture in which my generation grew up owed its existence to technological change reinforced by cultural change. It began with the invention of printing, and was reinforced by the self-conscious change from the culture of the image to the culture of the word implicit in the Reformation. This is the change which has gone into reverse since the invention of television. Increasingly, people wanting to capture the attention of a school class do not show them a book: they show them a video....it is the visual image which raises [the] excitement now...It is a historic shift.[64]

As will become apparent, the study of physiognomy can also be placed on the cusp of this profound shift between the linguistic (the spoken, written or printed word) and the iconic.[65] One might even say it embodies this change. Apart from representing the religious upheavals which characterised the Reformation, the physiognomical aphorisms in these early modern treatises are not just printed words, they are also verbal icons. Not only are they capable of mediating the interpretation of the human images (either plastic or real) that pass before the corporeal eyes (in other words,

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[62]Cited in Paul Fussell, *Poetic Meter & Poetic Form* (Revised edition, New York, 1979), p. 5.
[63]Pernetti, *Letters*, p. iv.
[64]C. Russell, *London Review of Books* (20th March, 1997), p. 17.
[65]The semiologist Roland Barthes has been compared with the physiognomist Lavater, see M. Shortland 'Skin Deep. Barthes, Lavater and the Legible Body', *Economy and Society*, 14, 3 (1983), pp. 1-16.

provide the constituent elements of a visual ideology), they have an innate iconic quality which can also reveal itself to and form itself in the mind's eye. For all the latter may be a commonplace phenomenon, it is one which represents a key difference between human and artificial intelligence. As one scholar has written:

> The manipulation of internally-generated images from a concept network is still only a gleam in some computer-mind's eye.[66]

Of course, if physiognomy in its stricter sense is something the science of which is impossible to establish; if in its more general sense it is a truth which always escapes complete and satisfactory articulation and presentation; if the meaning (or truth) in a person's face 'promises itself only in the mode of its withdrawal', then one might wish to argue that physiognomy exemplifies postmodern ways of thinking. Whilst this is in some ways true, the historical perspective shows that this 'unpresentability' of physiognomical truth was also familiar to the pre-modern Robert Boyle:

> And I have sometimes fancied there may be a physiognomy of many if not most other natural bodies as well as of human faces, whereby an attentive and experienced considerer may himself discern in them many instructive things that he cannot so declare to another man as to make him discern them too.[67]

From such perspectives, physiognomy appears to hold something of an unusual position in this present intellectual climate. Its being a subject which by its very nature is neither exclusively a phenomenon of the body (in the broadest sense) nor the mind/spirit/soul but rather of the interaction, or union (or, as some might prefer, the strange hybrid) of both, is part of the explanation of its amorphous ubiquity. Yet there is more to it than this omnipresence.[68] For not only is physiognomy found on the cusp

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[66]E. Tulving, 'Episodic and Semantic Memory', in E. Tulving & W. Donaldson (eds.), *Organization of Memory* (New York, 1972), p. 301 & pp. 339-341. E. R. Davies, *Machine Vision* (2nd edition, 1997). For a discussion of the absence of physiognomic language games from the computer centre whose 'target' aspect of skill and practice concepts ties them to the human world see R. Harré, 'Wittgenstein and Artificial Intelligence', *Philosophical Psychology*, 1 (1988), pp. 105-115.

[67]Robert Boyle, *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters* (1685), pp. 46-7. Cf. Foucault: 'The commentary resembles endlessly that which it is commenting upon and which it can never express...resemblance cannot be known in itself', *Things*, p. 41. Cf. Adorno: 'Philosophy says what art cannot say, although it is art alone which is able to say it', Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (1984), p. 107.

[68]Assuming that existence is a perpetual condition of swinging, pendulum-like, between the presence and absence of body, then there will be times when one might refer to the omni-absence of physiognomy.

of all of the above-mentioned issues, it was, significantly enough, a central target of Foucault's project as outlined in *The Order of Things*. The ominous final line of that famous book articulated most blatantly this anti-physiognomical stance. There he declared his desire to see 'man' erased - 'like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea'.[69] Yet despite being the bête-noire of post-structuralism, despite the subsequent onslaught it faced from Foucault's followers, physiognomy, curiously enough, constantly appears to resist complete effacement - even by the most radical of philosophical perspectives. Nietzsche himself, upon whom much postmodern writing circles back, was unable to deny the curious persistence of a form of physiognomical truth:

> You may lie with your mouth, but with the mouth that you make as you do so you none the less tell the truth.[70]

Not that such an observation was original to Nietzsche. Exemplifying Shelley's famous description of the poets as the unacknowledged legislators of the world, here Nietzsche was merely echoing a similar observation made by an ancient poet:

> How difficult it is not to produce the crime on the face.[71]

Indeed, those postmodernists for whom Foucault represents some form of post-structuralist St. John the Baptist might be interested to know that Foucault's own apparently fox-like physiognomy, itself the subject of some discussion and concern amongst his disciples, was once deciphered by the historian Le Roy Ladurie in a classically physiognomical way. Reminiscent of the phrenologist's opinion on Wordsworth - 'animal passion' - Le Roy Ladurie's considered opinion about Foucault's physiognomy was 'cunning'.[72]

Yet the relevance of physiognomy goes even further than this enigmatic and stubborn resistance to all form of metaphysical and epistemological effacement. For all those who feel that postmodernism, having made an undoubted and valuable contribution to work on ethnicity, racism, sexuality, gender, identity and power, has

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[69]Foucault, *Things*, p. 387; Macey, *Foucault*, p. xv. Foucault's desire is evidence in itself for those who argue that postmodernism is the penchant of a particularly literary way of life.
[70]Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (1973), p. 87.
[71]'*Heu quam difficile est, crimen non prodere vultu*', cited in Saunders (1671), sig. a2.
[72]For Foucault's bald head, his nickname 'fox' and his 'fox-like' appearance and character, see Macey,

now served its purpose (or, for the more fashion-oriented amongst the academically ambitious, passed its sell-by date), then the study of physiognomy sign-posts some of the possible exit routes out of the present impasse.[73]

For those unsatisfied by postmodernism's overtly textual conception of 'the self', and who advocate re-thinking 'the self' in terms of an embodied, flesh and blood social relation, the art of discerning a person's character by that person's body and its interaction with social and economic, political and cultural factors provides some food for thought.[74] As will be seen in this thesis, the use of physiognomy in the recruitment of soldiers or the promotion of anti-semitism are ways in which the subject allows one to move from a thumb to a military-industrial complex. If the postmodern 'autobiography' seems illusive, then an examination of the subject's personal appearance might render the task of closure more tangible and manageable. As one scholar has put it:

> The body...is autobiography in the most immediate and authentic sense of that word. [75]

A study of physiognomy can shed light on some of the political problems of globalisation. The faculty for making judgements about people by their physical appearance is a common, everyday, seemingly global phenomenon. It is a phenomenon which can cause a great deal of anxiety and friction (on both sides) when one encounters another person from what is perceived to be a completely foreign culture or language. As a form of rhetoric, most physiognomical thinking has a relatively simple, pragmatic and generalising quality about its intellectual content to which even the most intelligent people throughout the globe can succumb. From the point of view of contemporary mass democratic politics, following one's 'instinctive' reaction to the 'look' of a particular politician might be just as reliable a way of deciding how to cast one's vote as deconstructing their manifestos or listening to their speeches. The furore over the Saatchi brothers' 'evil eyes' poster of the present Prime

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Lives, pp. 3, 30, 114, 184, 187, 209, 240.

[73]T. Eagleton, *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford, 1997).

[74]Burkht, 'Self', p. 14.

[75]J. Hoffmeyer, 'Some Semiotic Aspects of the Psycho-Physical Relation: The Endo-Exosemiotic Boundary', in T. A. Sebeok & J. Umiker-Sebeok (ed.), *Biosemiotics* (New York, 1992), pp. 101-123: p. 101. It would appear to displace the deconstructive focus on speech and writing. For a claim that Wittgenstein's ideal 'perspicuous representation' involves something akin to a 'facial physiognomy' in an attempt to put a non-philosophical face back upon everyday language games see K. Linville,

Minister in the build up to the last election in England, or the claim made by one of the present American President's publicity advisers in his first Presidential campaign to the effect that Abraham Lincoln would never have been elected today on account of his beard, are just two examples of how the physiognomical sensitivities of the politician's public relations experts are finely tuned to the physiognomical consciousnesses of the minds of the voters they are hunting.

Beyond this, the above-mentioned iconic nature of physiognomy allows one to enter present religious and cultural debates about the recent 'historic shift' from a culture of the word to a culture of the image, and even allows for the possibility of turning one element of deconstructionism on its head - not to think of the image as a text, but to begin thinking of the text as an image.[76] Physiognomy certainly appears to have something to offer as far as one contemporary influential theologian is concerned. At a time when all transcendent categories are embattled by a postmodern philosophy which denies their authenticity and issues in extreme moral relativism, Emmanuel Levinas has turned to the human face for his moral imperative.[77]

The subject of physiognomy therefore seems ideally positioned to allow for the articulation, exploration and even reconciliation some of the present, conflicting, and mutually exclusive metaphysical penchants for either absence or presence, or for the permanent instability or exclusivity of the temporal distinctions between the past, the present and the future. Similarly, it is capable of showing the limitations of and increasing dangers in the dogmatic evasion of saying something either is or is not. It can also reveal the potential distortions of preferences for what some appear to see as the ideal, perpetual fluidity and ambiguity of the endlessly receding, allegedly

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'Wittgenstein and Criticism', *Southern Journal of Philosophy*, 17 (1979), pp. 85-94.

[76]See Jay, *Eyes*, p. 544ff. Jay cites C. Gandelman, 'Judaism as Conflict between Iconic and Anti-iconic Tendencies: The Scripture as Body', in T. A. Posner & J. Umiker-Sebeok (ed.), *Die Handbuch der Semiotik* (Berlin, 1990). I was not able to see this.

[77]E. Levinas, *Ethics and Infinity* , trans. R. A Cohen (Pittsburgh, 1992): 'the face is what forbids us to kill' (p. 86). However, whether this would suffice as a moral imperative for a blind person is difficult to say. On the issue of faculty of 'facial vision' in a blind person see R. Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker* (1986), p. 23; for the issue of 'ocularcentrism' see M. Jay, 'The Rise of Hermeneutics and the Causes of Ocularcentrism' in *Poetics Today* (1988), pp. 307-326. For a discussion of the religious concerns in Levinas see S. A. Handelman, *Fragments of Redemption: Jewish thought and literary theory in Benjamin, Scholem and Levinas* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991). Levinas's concern with the face is tied to his interest in the work of the German theologian Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929), who conceptualises the divine face in terms of the human face, F. Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption*, trans. W. W. Hallo (1971). When faced with a similar epistemological crisis, Marx returned to the 'labouring body' whilst Freud returned to the 'desiring body', Terry Eagleton, 'The Ideology of the

feminine horizontal, as opposed to the apparently violent, static, allegedly phallic certainty of the masculine vertical.

Having said that, depending upon who is doing the reconciling, one has to avoid seeing the post-colonial critique of Western philosophical discourse as akin to '"merely [taking] a detour to return to the position of the Other as a resource for rethinking the Western self".[78] It is essential to consider this when returning to the resurrection of the subject by placing the aesthetic (in this case in the form of the relationship between poetry and history with which this introduction began) at the heart of the human physiognomy.[79] Many of these aforementioned antagonisms which can be found circulating through the veins of this physiognomical subject may find some forms of reconciliation in the following lines from Rilke - a poet who had a great influence upon another of the philosophical high-priests of postmodernism, Heidegger:

> And if the earthly has forgotten you,
> say to the still earth: I flow.
> To the rapid water speak: I am.[80]

Schopenhauer called the unsolveable mystery of the relationship between the body and the soul/mind the 'enigmatic knot'. This 'enigmatic knot' as embodied in a person's physiognomy can certainly be read as a postmodern 'knot of concerted indeterminacies' which allow one:

> to construct the subject pictorially as a network of possibilities branching out and blossoming into multiple stories and destinies, into overdeterminations of meaning.[81]

Aesthetic', *Poetics Today*, 9, 2 (1988), pp. 327-338: p. 336.

[78]S. Hall, 'When Was 'The Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit', in I. Chambers & L. Curti (ed.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, divided horizons* (1996), pp. 242-260: p. 248. Much of course depends upon how 'Western' the 'Western self' really is, or ever was, and whether 'non-Western' selves are as radically different from it as they are often claimed to be.

[79]'For what the aesthetic imitates in its very glorious futility, in its pointless self-referentiality, in all its full-blooded formalism, is nothing less than human existence itself, which needs no rationale beyond its own self-delight, which is an end in itself and which will stoop to no external determination', Eagleton, 'Ideology of the Aesthetic', p. 338.

[80]Rainer-Marie Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, No. 29. For an introduction into this fascinating issue of the relationship between poetry and philosophy see D. Wood (ed.), *Philosopher's Poets* (1990). For those who would prefer to hear a similar thought from a female poet see, for example, Sophie Hannah, 'The Answer' (1993): 'Why are you neither one thing or the other?'

[81]G. Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico* (Chicago, 1996), p. 43.

To do so woud not be particularly new. Robert Grossesteste's understanding of the task of the writer, which he took from Gregory of Nyssa, was strikingly similar:

> It should be noticed that the holy writers often intend to indicate what was possible rather than to assert what was, and many of their statements are about possibilities rather than certainties.[82]

However, as useful, even fascinating as such exercises can be, in the flux of it all, there are times when things definitely are or definitely are not; times when things and people, in the often harsh realities beyond the printed pages and digital interfaces, need either to be or not to be.

1.2 *The Antiquarian Perspective: To re-coin an old neologism*

The first of the more antiquarian reasons which justify the study of physiognomy is that physiognomy, in and of itself, was a genuine early modern subject which had a role to play in many aspects of early modern culture. The following study has focused on its most immediately accessible and concentrated form, the printed treatises on the subject. Yet it can also be found to impinge in one way or another upon sculptures, painted portraits, numismatics, the physical descriptions of people found in sermons, panegyrics, letters, diaries, horoscopes, biographies and autobiographies, as well as the descriptions of missing and wanted persons found in the newspapers and State Papers of the day. Apart from its prominence in early modern literature, it played a role in numerous early modern social and cultural practices ranging from the choice of midwives, servants, soldiers, counsellors, pupils and partners. It was even incorporated into children's games.[83]

In Europe between c. 1500 and c. 1800 the population increased from c. 81 million to c. 115.3 million.[84] In England the overall pattern was a rise from c. 2.5 million to around 6.5 million.[85] All of these people had a face and most had eyes with

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[82]R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), p. 208. For very suggestive evidence that Grosseteste's theological teachings were a form of physiognomy see p. 176: 'In these comments [on the Psalter]...he skips from one natural object mentioned in the Psalms to the next, bringing his scientific knowledge to bear on them, and attempting to penetrate more deeply into their spiritual meaning by closely observing their natural characteristics'.
[83]See Chapter Four.
[84]C. Cipolla (ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, 6 vols., vol. II, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1974), p. 38.
[85]R. A. Houston, *The Population History of Britain and Ireland 1500-1750* (1992), pp. 28 & 34.

which to read and use the art of physiognomy.[86] Even blindness did not prevent the tutor of Sir Kenelm Digby's son from being able to 'physiognomate' his pupils.[87] The language of the day provides an intimation of the ubiquity of the subject. Although the word 'physiognomy' has died out of the everyday vocabulary of the post-1950s generations of English people,[88] between 1500 and 1800 most early modern English people were familiar with the (often abbreviated) term in one version or another.[89] By the sixteenth century, the word had already become synonymous with the face itself, and many early modern people thought of themselves as having either *phizzes* or full-blown physiognomies.[90]

In fact this word had a unique quality. Not only were the terms for the practitioner (physiognomer/physiognomist), the subject practised as well as the object practised upon all articulated through the same Greek root, but by the early eighteenth century the physiognomical signs themselves even came to be known as 'physiognomicks'.[91] So

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[86]Genetic archaeology might eventually offer some reflections on early modern physiognomies through an analysis of the genetic patterns in sets of dead bones. Temporal relationships between simple and complex gene patterns, inbreeding, the construction of regional physiognomies and their erosion through geographic mobility and population increases will no doubt figure prominently. Whether or not such a study will be felt to have a firm anchor in reality, the question of the myth and/or reality of regional physiognomies in England is not a new one. Thomas De Quincey wrote: 'the character of the [British] face varies essentially in different provinces'. In Westmorland, for example, he found 'the ancient long face of the Elizabethan period, powerfully resembling in all its lineaments the Ancient Roman face, and often (though not so uniformly) the face of northern Italy in modern times', cited in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* , LXXVI (November, 1854), p. 521ff. These ideas were further elaborated upon from the mid-nineteenth century onwards by physical anthropologists. See J. Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (repr. 1971). See Chapter Six for intimations of this in Baconian natural histories as well as the physiognomists amongst the early modern wanderers. For Sir Thomas Browne, reconstructing physiques from dead bones was a form of physiognomy: 'Since Bones afford not only Rectitude and Stability, but Figure unto the Body, it is no impossible Physiognomy to conjecture at Fleshy Appendencies... Physiognomy out-lives ourselves, and ends not in our Graves', *Hydriotaphia* (1658), ii, p. 30. For a suggestion of a link between physiognomy and resurrection in the Middle Ages see C. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption* (New York, 1991), p. 287.

[87]G. Douglas, *Authentic Anecdotes and Biographical Sketches of Remarkable Blind Persons* (n. d.), p. 53.

[88]In my experience, the word has been notoriously difficult for most people to pronounce. One might wish to see this as symbolising the unpronouncable nature of the truth of physiognomy. For debates about the (mis)pronunciation of the word see R. W. Chapman (ed.), *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, 3 vols. (1952), vol. III, p. 894; *Murray's English Dictionary*, 'physiognomy'.

[89]On the issue of the oral origins of spelling variations see R. Williams, *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (Revised edition, 1983), p. 19.

[90]Linguists call this phenomenon semantic change through contiguity of object.

[91]In this respect it is unlike anatomy or engineering. See John Harris, *Lexicon Technicum: or an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1704): 'Physiognomicks: is a Term used by some Physicians and Naturalists for such Signs as are taken from the Countenance of Persons to judge of their Dispositions and Temper'; John Kersey, *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708): 'Physiognomicks: such Signs as are taken from the Countenance of a sick Person, so as to make some judgment of his Distemper'. The following spelling variations have yet to find their way into the *OED*: N. Bailey, *The Universal*

commonplace had the word become by the eighteenth century, that it was included in all dictionaries of slang.[92] In honour of this linguistic lapse, this examination of early modern physiognomy will approach the subject through the use of a single, now completely obscure verb, first coined by the English author Thomas Hill in 1556, never used since, and which, curiously, has never been entered in the *OED* - the verb *to physiognomate*.[93] In other words, this thesis will examine one way in which people came to know nature, each other, themselves and thus God through *physiognomating* their own bodies or the bodies of other people and other things.

1.3 *Historiographical Issues: A visual dialogue*

Post-modernists such as Lyotard have long recommended a stance of 'incredulity towards all meta-narratives' urging historians, like 'all writers':

> not to supply reality, but to invent allusions to the conceivable which cannot be presented.[94]

Apart from the fact that such postmodern positions have their own meta-narrative,[95] much of course depends upon what is meant by invention.[96] If this thesis comes anywhere near fulfilling either of these tasks it does so only by crude default and an inability to present its sparse material in any other way. The study has been undertaken in what it assumes is the empirical idiom, but with an eye to the limits of this idiom. In other words, it assumes that the absence of direct extant evidence for

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Etymological English Dictionary, 2 vols. (1727): 'Physiognomygs [*sic*]'; N. Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730): 'Physiognomycs [*sic*]'.

[92]*A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew, in its several Tribes of Gypsies, Beggers, Thieves, Cheats, &c.*, by B. E. [1720?]: 'Phis, for Physiognomy, Face, or Aspect'; F. Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785): 'Phyz, the face; rum phyz, an odd face or countenance'. See also J. C. Hotten (ed.), *The Slang Dictionary* (1874); H. Baumann (ed.), *Londinismen - Slang und Cant*, (Berlin, 1887); A. Barrere & G. C. Leland (ed.), *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant*, 2 vols. (1890); J. S. Farmer & W. E. Henley (ed.), *Slang and its Analogues Past and Present*, 6 vols. (1902).

[93]Hill (1556), Preface.

[94]Lyotard, *Postmodern*, pp. xxiv & 81.

[95]Paul Crowther, 'Les Immatériaux and the Postmodern Sublime', in A. Benjamin (ed.), *Judging Lyotard* (1992), pp. 192-205. The postmodern denial of all transcendental absolutes falls into the same paradoxical problematic given that such a claim is itself a transcendental absolute.

[96]Wallace Steven's offers an interesting and useful insight into the difference between 'inventing' and a term Francis Bacon used to describe the art of physiognomating - 'discovering': 'The essential fault of surrealism is that it invents without discovering. To make a clam play an accordion is to invent not to discover. The observation of the unconscious, so far as it can be observed, should reveal things of which we have previously been unconscious, not the familiar things of which we have been conscious plus imagination, from 'Materia Poetica', *Opus Posthumous*, p. 203. For Francis Bacon see Chapter

something did not mean that it did not happen. This is best illustrated in two ways. As will become apparent, physiognomy was a body of knowledge which in the early modern period was often learnt off by heart, especially by children - to such an extent that it appears to have entered the literature on dreams. As such it raises the question of the extent to which such knowledge mediated or even constituted a person's more instinctual reaction to, or interpretation and understanding of the appearance of another person in what might be termed an unconscious way. Only a wider examination of the culture of physiognomy in the early modern period than the one undertaken here could attempt to trace this more unconscious aspect in its sources.

Another example of the limits of the empirical idiom was exemplified in the search for a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century monk or a nun looking into a mirror. Although none was found, there is a literature on fish-ponds in medieval monasteries and convents. Barbara Harvey writes of how convalescents at Westminster Abbey in the early fourteenth century 'could take the air in the garden in the south side of the infirmary....and watch the occupants for the time being of the infirmarer's fish pond'.[97] The empirical limitations of this evidence are exposed not only by the formulas of the documents themselves but also by the suggestion that these convalescents may have spent some time looking at their own reflection in the pond. Similarly, the same historian has written of how 'by the mid-fourteenth century, the status of razors as possessions which monks gave to each other as presents points to a flight from the barber's services into private shaving'.[98] It is not ridiculously speculative to suggest that they may also have possessed mirrors despite the mysterious absence of such objects from the records. If such an interpretation is an 'invention' of the 'conceivable' 'without presenting it', then the following is in some respects a work of postmodern history.

With regard to meta-narratives, one such implicit meta-narrative it wishes to distance itself from is one constructed around notions of a fall away from a former early modern state involving a greater and more organic concern with the human body

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Six of this thesis.

[97]B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), p. 90; J. Bond, 'The Fishponds of Eynsham Abbey', *The Eynsham Record*, 9 (1992), pp. 3-17; M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, BAR British Series, 182 (1988).

[98]Harvey, *Dying*, pp. 132-133.

in general or even the decline of physiognomy in particular.[99] Suffice it to say that the contemporary popularity of physiognomy in its most systematised sense warns against this. One recent popular work on face-reading has been published not only in England and America but also translated into Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hebrew, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Serbian, Spanish, Swedish, with Czech and Slovak versions at press.[100]

Another historiographical issue involved in a study of physiognomy is the debate about the history of science and of pseudo-science. This will simply be side-stepped as unhelpful.[101] This study does not approach physiognomy as a science or a pseudo-science. It approaches it, through what is admittedly a very specific and restricted body of evidence, as a phenomenon which was familiar to early modern people in numerous forms. It attempts to understand the ways in which it appears to have been understood at that time as well as to explain the reasons for this.

A more interesting historiographical problem raised by the study of physiognomy is the question of 'vision'. If vision was for most people the dominant sense used in the art of physiognomating,[102] the visual aspect of their craft is one that most textually- bound contemporary historians have neglected, particularly in terms of the utility of images of the people whose texts they study.[103] Early modern scholars were certainly familiar with the classical ideal of scholars surrounding themselves with images of the people whose ideas they were studying. Samuel Hartlib thought:

> the Histories of Men should bee written in its Physiognomies and out of several Nations and these kind of Pictures or Representations should bee shown to children in schooles and others.[104]

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[99]A notion not unlike T. S. Eliot's 'dissociation of sensibility', 'The Metaphysical Poets', in *Selected Essays* (1972), pp. 281-29: p. 288. A similar meta-narrative is discernible in Foucault's claim about 'the raw being [of language] that has been forgotten since the sixteenth century', *Things*, p. 44.

[100]L. Young, *Secrets of the Face* (1983). For her latest work see *The Naked Face* (1994). Given the number of civilisations which have a physiognomical tradition (see below, pp. 27-28), physiognomy might benefit from being considered in terms of present concerns with the issue of globalisation.

[101]For discussions of this issue see B. Vickers (ed.), *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984), Introduction; T. S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge* (Ann Arbor, 1994), p. 15.

[102]M. M. Sassi, *La Scienza dell'Uomo nella Grecia Antica* (Turin, 1988) uses the term 'the physiognomical gaze' (lo sguardo fisiognomico). Historically speaking, this is inaccurate. Physiognomating a person also involved listening to that person's voice, smelling the breath and touching the skin. Poetically speaking, 'all the senses can "gaze"', R. Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms* (New York, 1985), pp. 239.

[103]For arguments for the utility of a more visual approach see Thomas, 'Introduction', *Gesture*, p. 6.

For the 'Studious Physiognomist', as John Evelyn wrote, such images would be conducive 'to the spirit of History'.[105]

To paraphrase E. H. Carr's description of history as 'an unending dialogue between the present and the past',[106] the study of physiognomy is a subject which provides an entry point into what might be termed 'a visual dialogue' or even a 'conversation' between the present and the past.[107] As such it raises a visual version of the Rankean historiographical problem - is it possible to 'see' the appearance of early modern people 'as it was', through early modern eyes - in addition to the perennial linguistic problem of being able to understand their interpretations of what they saw.[108]

One question this immediately raises is whether humans today have the same eyes as their historical predecessors. Darwinian evolutionary theory and its 'non-random process' of 'cumulative selection' posits a continuous series of mutations connecting the modern human eye to a state with no eye at all'.[109] Apart from implying thousands of millions of generational mutations,[110] this model also suggests that small changes occur in the anatomical structure of the human eye with the passing of every generation.[111] Modern Darwinian physiologists would agree that, despite the changes in the analytical paradigms, neither the anatomical structure of the human eye nor the physiological process of vision have changed significantly since the

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[104]*The Hartlib Papers* (Ann Arbor, 1995), fol. 31/22/12A.

[105]John Evelyn, *Numismata* (1697), p. 292. It is this form of reasoning that in part explains the existence of the famous Bodleian frieze. A contemporary analogy appears to be the practice, common amongst children and students, of plastering the walls of their bedrooms with images of their heroines and heroes.

[106]E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (2nd edition, 1987), p. 24. In keeping with the aim of ending the monopoly of the 'logos' in historical investigation, Andrew Ball suggested the use of the term 'conversation' instead of 'visual dialogue'. Private conversation, September 1997.

[107]Physiognomy has other, less visual, historiographical significance. In the mid-eighteenth century, Jacques Pernetti thought history writing was a 'physiognomics of the past', Jacques Pernetti, *Philosophical Letters upon Physiognomy* (1769), p. 12. More recently, O. Spengler *The Decline of the West* , trans. C. F. Atkinson, 2 vols. (1926), described the problematic of a 'world history' as a 'physiognomic', vol. I, Chapter Three.

[108]See 'the period eye' in M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (1985), pp. 29-108. 'Do we have authentic ears?' is a similar question raised by the current musical vogue for 'authentic instruments'.

[109]For Darwin's hesitations over this aspect of his theory see A. Desmond & J. Moore, *Darwin* (1991), pp. 319-320.

[110]Dawkins, *Blind*, p. 78.

[111]A process in which the Darwinian Dawkins suggests 'the human eye' is 'the selecting agent. It surveys the litter of progeny and chooses one for breeding', Dawkins, *Blind*, p. 57. For the relation of this to early modern physiognomy see Chapter Six.

appearance of *Homo sapiens*, and even less since the appearance of the Ancient Egyptians. If one temporally calculates a generation by twenty year sections, then since 1500, with only around 25 generations, the Darwinian changes would appear to have been relatively insignificant.[112]

Therefore, if the eyes of Nicholas Saunderson (See **Plate I**),[113] which fell out as a consequence of a virulent smallpox attack when he was only one year old in 1690, had been miraculously preserved, restored and successfully transplanted into the empty sockets of Andrew Bourne of Lincolnshire (See **Plate II**)[114] who, in 1988, was just one of a number of babies born without eyes, it seems safe to suggest that Saunderson's eyes might function in Andrew's body well enough to provide the same formal representations of the human body which, in another lifetime, Andrew's own eyes might have provided.[115] However, even if contemporary eyes are physiologically the same as early modern eyes, one cannot assume that such temporally different viewers as Andrew Bourne and Nicholas Saunderson would make the same judgments about the physical appearance of the faces and bodies presented to their inspection even if they used the same words as found in the same physiognomical treatises.[116]

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[112]B. Vicki (ed.) *Processing the Facial Image* (1992), special issue of *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 335 (1991). The modern conception has built upon older conceptions from a materialist rather than a dualist point of view. For a classic early modern statement of the mode of operation of the human eye see Isaac Newton, *Opticks* (repr. of 1730 edition, New York, 1952), pp. 15-17. R. L. Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Mind* (1987). However, some modern physiologists claim that the brain's capacity to store images of face has changed.

[113]Saunderson's unfortunate affliction did not prevent him from, and may even have contributed to his becoming Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. He gave his first lecture on Newton's *Opticks* with Newton in the audience.

[114]For a series of articles on 'babies without eyes' (anopthalmia) see *Observer*, 18th, 24th, 31st January, 1993, p.5, 14th February, p. 3.

[115]Transplantation of the eyes is presently the focus of controversy and has led to one doctor being struck off. The main problem is that of re-growing the nerves of the central nervous system. For the argument that transplantation involves transplanting a part of 'oneself' along with the organ see R. C. Fox & J. Swazey, *The Courage to Fail: Social Views of Organ Transplants and Dialysis* (1974). For the classical reports of nations of people born without eyes, as well as those 'monocular' people, see John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, The Artificial Changling* (1653), pp. 101, 104, & 110. For an engraving of Nina Lassave, a famous eighteenth-century one-eyed woman, see Bodl., John Johnson Collection, 'Human Freaks', Box 4. Late in 1648, Samuel Hartlib wrote of one Pere Otto, the Library-keeper for the Jesuits in Brussels, who amongst many curiosities and rarities: 'hath to shew the representation of an Eye to the very life and just as it is naturally', *Hartlib Papers*, 31/22/27A.

[116]Similarly, one cannot automatically assume that people with temporally different eyes are incapable of making the same judgments.

2

THE (ECLECTIC) ANALYSIS:

THE CONSTITUTION OF A TEXTUAL CORPUS

Depending upon one's definition of the term, early modern physiognomy ranges from being a ubiquitous phenomenon to one which is distinctly marginal. Either way, it is a fragmented subject in the sense that references to it are scattered throughout all types of sources collectable only in the course of a lifetime's work. By way of laying some form of foundation, the present study enters this field of inquiry through a series of the most dense physiognomical sources - the ways in which physiognomy was written down in its more systematised form. Stretching from the Neo-Babylonian era to the present day, this enormous textual cobweb could not be accommodated within the confines of a D. Phil. thesis. Indeed, putting manuscripts to one side, the search for examples of printed expositions of physiognomical doctrine in the early modern era alone provided a corpus of work too large for this genre.

This study concentrates therefore on those printed versions written or translated by 'English' people with the limitations of the unicity often implicit in the term 'English' duly acknowledged.[117] There were many people who preferred to read Latin, French or other foreign language versions. Indeed, the first English version of one of the works under consideration here, which appeared for the first time c. 1564, described the work as:

> Now newly turned out of **our French** into **our Vulgar** Tongue.[118]

Even the English 'treatises on physiognomy' included some Latin, Greek and even Hebrew citations. Furthermore, an ability to read one form of writing, printing, spelling or grammar, does not mean that the same reader could deal with any others. On Christmas day 1589, a certain Nicholas Smythe received a physiognomical

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[117]The translator of the 1506 'English' version of the *Kalendar* claimed that the 1503 version was Scottish. This may have been a rhetorical attack playing on established English prejudices about Scottish people. For an example of this prejudice see Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* (1538), q.v. under *Scoti*.

[118]*Arcandam* [c. 1564], title-page. My emphasis.

manuscript, but noted the difficulty his friends had in reading and understanding the writing.[119]

With regard to the time-scale, c.1500 was chosen because the earliest date of the publication of a printed exposition of physiognomical doctrine in English (though strictly speaking in 'Scottish') in England (but strictly speaking in France), assuming the date was correct (for, as will be seen, many of the dates on these early works cannot be relied upon), and assuming that it arrived in England soon after its publication, was 1503. The cut-off point of c. 1780 was determined by the more or less constant output in the number of extant English physiognomical treatises published throughout the eighteenth century, up to the arrival of Lavater's famous work. Lavater's phenomenal success seemed an obvious and convenient terminal point.

The phrase 'treatises on physiognomy' was originally coined in a hurry in order to provide a legitimate research proposal. Strictly speaking, there were no English 'treatises on physiognomy' in the sense of any of them being original to an English writer. They were all translations of either earlier or contemporary European originals. Moreover, many would no doubt prefer to call these works astrological treatises or chapbooks. All but one of them contain much more material than the physiognomy, and in some cases the physiognomy plays a relatively minor role. Yet 'treatises on physiognomy' seemed less cumbersome than the more accurate: 'Printed Works either Printed in English, Published in England or 'Written' by English Men, Containing Systematised Expositions of Physiognomical Doctrine c. 1503 - c. 1780'. Given the use of one or two manuscripts, even this would not be accurate. In the end, the fact that its continued use rendered the whole title something of a misnomer and thus demanded the use of scare-quotes only added to what Samuel Butler would hopefully have seen as its physiognomical charm.

The search for early modern printed works which included expositions of physiognomical doctrine produced a corpus of generically different texts each of which saw numerous editions and for which there is often more than one extant copy. In this study, each extant copy of each edition might be seen as an event in itself, whilst all the editions of each text taken as a whole might be seen as a series. Where

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[119]Bodl., MS 26.

possible, in order to reveal any significant textual differences between the various editions of any single text, as well as any significant graffiti made by early modern readers in these various editions, each surviving example of each edition has been examined.

The analysis of any text is fraught with difficulties, ambiguities, potential anomalies and numerous methodological objections. Both literary theory and now art history have provided many useful analytical tools for the historian to deal with these problems. However, these tools can also be seen to have introduced as many puzzles and problems as they allow the historian to 'solve'. Nowadays any analysis of a text cannot but reflect the tension between those who view the text under consideration as carrying a specific meaning, a specific structure, often intended by the author, and those who think there cannot be any specific or correct interpretation of a text, that there are no implicit structures, that any text can be interpreted in any number of ways, each one as valid as the rest. This debate is not simply a result of the irreconcilable conflict between structuralist and post-structuralist theories. Any text, like any historical 'reality', is made up of, and shot through with, layers of multiple meanings - many of them accidental, uncertain, contradictory, ultimately ungraspable.

On the whole, the following analysis will not grapple directly with such theoretical issues in a theoretical way. Instead, the texts were analysed in ways that seemed appropriate whether or not they fitted into any particular theoretical perspective. With hindsight, it appears to have attempted what some claim Barthes failed to do in an essay on the book of Genesis - to reconcile historical criticism, structural analysis and textual analysis.[120] Much of this will prove uncontroversial. For example, it has attempted only to provide an idea of the origin of each text in the series, of the generic nature of each of the texts as well as a brief idea of the most immediate context into which these relatively obscure texts could be fitted. A traditional bibliographical approach has helped to provide estimations of the quantity of texts involved as well as the chronology of their output and the audience at whom they appear to have been aimed. In terms of the actual content, the physiognomical content of each of the texts has been examined from the point of view of the

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[120] 'Wrestling With the Angel: Textual Analysis of Genesis', in Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. R. Howard (New York, 1988), pp. 246-260.

relationship of this content to other similar bodies of knowledge, as well as the consistencies and contradictions in this physiognomical content as it is presented by different texts in the series. All of this has, in turn, been used as evidence to reconstruct an early modern way of looking and listening. None of this is particularly controversial.

However, the examination of the implicit rhetorical effect of these texts and the ways in which they appear to have been read is open to theoretical criticism. The first is the suggestion that there is a basic, even unchanging structure in every presentation of physiognomical doctrine, namely that of a rather inane list - a structure which is discernible in the earliest Mesopotamian fragments as well as in the later eighteenth-century chapbooks in which the physiognomy has been so distilled as to be virtually on the edge of disappearing altogether save for a handful of physiognomical aphorisms. This has been suggested simply because it appears to be the case. Given that most of the texts are not very sophisticated, there are really no complex structures to articulate.

The second is the suggestion that one of the rhetorical consequences which follow from the interaction of a general reader with this 'list' is characterised by the reader placing his or her sense of his or her self (or a person known to them) at the centre of this quite simple structure (or, vice versa, placing this structure inside his or her own self) in order to create some otherwise absent dramatic interest. In effect, the reader then spins its meagre narrative around the reader's sense of his or her self, comparing the contents of the physiognomy with his or her knowledge of his or her self. Apart from the readers' graffiti, no other direct evidence has been found for an early modern reader having used any of these texts in this way. It has been reconstructed in part through what might be described as a process of anthropological back-projection. In other words, it was revealed partly through an analysis of how such texts are read today and projected back on to the past. As Marc Bloch wrote:

> it is always by borrowing from our daily experiences and by shading them, where necessary, with new tints, that we derive the elements which help us to restore the past.[121]

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[121]M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester, 1989), p. 37.

In order to admit the limitations of such an exercise, it might also be seen as an exercise in what Foucault calls a 'history of the present'.[122]

The texts analysed are for the most part obscure and as such, difficult to link to any wider social and cultural changes. Another aspect of the thesis which is open to theoretical attack is its attempt to prepare the way for linking these texts to these wider developments - through the use of the term 'genres of physiognomating'. Scholars use this wider sense of the term 'genre' to designate and differentiate the interaction between society and the changing forms of these texts, or at least a particular text being read at a particular time. Each genre has been constituted by an attempt to colour and nuance the aforementioned basic mode of interaction with concepts and ideas taken from the rest of the text.

I claim that these concepts and ideas are prominent throughout the rest of the text, and as such, might even be seen to dominate the text or to be what the text is ultimately about. However, I am not making any purely theoretical claim at this point about texts in general. Moreover, whilst I am not suggesting that this description of the predominant ideas in these texts is a fiction of my own fabrication (the nature of the element of invention involved seems to me to have been restrained by the moral and ethical limitations of the present condition of the historical muse), neither am I claiming that these allegedly dominant ideas were never ignored or misread. Furthermore, it is always possible that there are other ideas in these texts which could stake equal claim to being the most characteristic and predominant. However, their examination is somebody else's task.

The readers' graffiti have been turned to in an attempt to support the hypothesis about the 'genres of physiognomating'. Although a notion of a general reader has been posited in order to do this, I have also tried to accommodate the fact that these texts were read by many different people (sometimes at the same time) in many different ways at many different times. Nonetheless, due to the intellectually limited nature of the texts, as well as the fragmented nature of the evidence, I do not argue for an infinite amount of such possibilities, nor do I think that there is any endless play of difference in the study of these texts that can be pursued. Indeed, as will become apparent, the analysis may have bestowed too much care upon the texts and accredited

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[122]M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York, 1979), p. 31.

them with a content more sophisticated than they or any body else during the early modern period realised they had - a sophistication which attempts to signpost the ways in which the endless play of difference may have been experienced by early modern readers of these texts.[123] All in all, having no direct evidence to support my claims one way or the other, I may have been forced to bring out a sophisticated reading in order to provide some form of 'ceiling' upon the interpretation of these texts, but one which few early modern readers may ever have reached, acknowledged or even recognised.

[123]In other words, what Barthes described as the way in which the text 'is unmade, how it explodes, disseminates'...in that 'open network, which is the very infinity of language', 'Angel', p. 247.

CHAPTER 1

THE THEORETICAL ASPECT OF THE ANCIENT, ARABIC AND MEDIEVAL LATIN PHYSIOGNOMICAL TRADITIONS:

THE TRANSLATION OF A PERSISTENT PHYSIOGNOMICAL CURIOSITY

INTRODUCTION

Expositions of physiognomical doctrine exist in a wide variety of texts and historical contexts stretching from back beyond antiquity up until the present day. This chapter will examine the basic intellectual components of the art of physiognomating as presented in the most prominent physiognomical treatises written before 1500 and provide a brief resumé of the most significant contributions made by each of the writers concerned. The most prominent (with one exception) have been judged to be those which were also printed in the West in the early modern period.[1] Given the large time-span, this chapter cannot deal with such issues as the original meaning of these pre-sixteenth-century texts nor the rich particularities of the contemporary dynamics into which each one was born.

Section 1 will examine the ancient traditions, section 2 the Arabic traditions, and section 3 the medieval Latin traditions. Section 4 will examine the presence of these manuscript treatises in the libraries of Western Europe in the Middle Ages before the coming of print.

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[1]Where possible the treatises have been examined with the help of a modern scholarly edition, or an early modern printed edition.

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THE ANCIENT TRADITIONS:

FROM ADAM TO ADAMANTIUS

If a man with a contorted face has a prominent[?] right eye, far from his home dogs will eat him.
If a man has curly hair on his shoulders, women will fall in love with him.[2]

These two sentences are taken from a series of eleven Mesopotamian tablets found in an area which is today known as Iraq. They date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. Each tablet consists of a simple shopping-list presentation of about 150 oracles concerning the physical appearance of human beings.[3] If physiognomy is defined as the art of telling a person's character by that person's physical appearance these oracles might not be classed as physiognomical, since they are concerned with the future rather than the character of the person. However, the dividing line between character and future is thin, even permeable. Divining a person's character is one very small step away from divining that same person's future, if only in the sense of predicting how he or she is going to behave or the problems that person will meet in life given the sort of character he or she has.[4] As physiognomy was often defined as a mantic discipline, these tablets will be taken to represent the earliest textual form of what will be referred to as the prophetic vein of the art of physiognomating.[5]

Numerous ancient civilisations have left a textual physiognomical tradition to posterity. The earliest extant complete Sanskrit text on physiognomy dates from c. 1160. However, treatments of the subject are also found in numerous influential Sanskrit encyclopedias, extant copies of which date from as early as the first century B.C.[6] Although the principal Chinese physiognomical treatises date from the

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[2]J. Bottero, 'Symptomes, Signes, Ecritures' in J-P. Vernant (ed.), *Divination et rationalité* (Paris, 1974), pp. 70-196: p. 82 & 109; idem, *Mesopotamia. Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (Chicago, 1992), p. 127.
[3]Generically speaking, they appear to be related to curse tablets (*tabellae defixionium*), see T. S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge* (Ann Arbor, 1994), p. 97; Bottero discerns a remarkable degree of systematization particularly in the section dealing with the head and the hair of a man, Bottero, *Mesopotamia*, p. 134ff.
[4]In literature, this is often explored through the notion of 'character as destiny'; in medicine the same issue is found in the relationship between diagnosis and prognosis, and in modern genetics through 'biology as destiny'. See E. O. Wilson, *On Human Nature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).
[5]E. C. Evans, 'Physiognomics in the Ancient World', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 59 (1969), p. 13.
[6]D. Pingree, *JYOTIHSASTRA. Astral & Mathematical Literature* (Wiesbach, 1981), pp. 67-69 & pp.

fourteenth century, numerous scholars have pointed to the antiquity of the Chinese physiognomical tradition, dating it from at least the ninth century B.C., and suggesting a possible Indian influence.[7] The first Japanese attempt at systematising physiognomy appears to have occurred between the mid-fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, but there too one finds a more ancient tradition.[8] Physiognomy also had a place in ancient Semitic mysticism. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain, amongst other things, a form of astrological physiognomy; and from at least the third century A.D., physiognomy constituted a part of the Jewish *Kabbalah*.[9]

It is of course impossible to be certain about the origins of physiognomy. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Hippocrates and Galen have all been put forward as the founder of the more reflective and systematised Western tradition.[10] It is often assumed to be a 'language' based on instinct or intuition - an intuition which was often seen as a divine gift. For Erasmus, such instinctual knowledge was embodied in the proverbial idea 'To see on the face of it', which he suggests originates with the physiognomists:

> **Ex fronte perspicere** - *To see on the face of it.* We are said to see something on the face of it when we perceive it immediately and as it were, at the very first moment of contact. It is taken from the experts in physiognomy, who maintain that they can discern a man's character from his facial peculiarities and other bodily features.[11]

John Evelyn, in following an ancient Hebraic exegetical tradition based on Genesis 2, 19-20:

> and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof,

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76-77; A. Caquot & M. Leibovici, *La divination*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), vol. 1, p. 118 & p. 127.

[7]J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1980), vol. 2, p. 346; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1950), part 1, vol. 3, pp. 270, 1232; Caquot & Leibovici, *La divination*, vol. I, p. 342.

[8]*Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan* (Tokyo, 1983), vol. 6, s.v. 'Physiognomy'.

[9]Caquot & Leibovici, *La divination*, vol. I, pp. 109-10; J. M. Allegro, 'An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumram', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 12 (1962), pp. 291-4; idem, *Dead Sea Scrolls* (1964), p. 127; G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 14, 215 & 317. For implications for their relationship with possible oral predecessors see W. Ong, 'Writing Restructures Thought' in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 23-50.

[10]Barton, *Power*, pp. 98-100, fn. 40 & p. 101 fn. 45 & fn. 48 & Evans, *Ancient World*, p. 27-8. For a suggestion that the Pythagorean physiognomical admission procedure stems from the Semitic practice by which the prospective novices were examined by Inspectors - those with the gift for *hakkarath panim* (perception by the face) - before being admitted to the schools of Jewish mystics, see G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edition, New York, 1974), p. 48, fn. 26.

[11]*The Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols., vol. 33, *Adages*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Toronto, 1991), vol. II, p. 191.

is not the only one who thought that Adam had such an instinctual knowledge and used physiognomy to name the animals.[12] The work of modern Darwinian linguists who think spoken language arose from the pre-spoken, pre-written, 'visual-gestural systems' of 'face-to-face interaction', might lead one to speculate along similar instinctive lines to Evelyn.[13] Ernst Gombrich is another advocate of the instinctive element in physiognomy.[14]

The earliest and most authoritative extant physiognomical treatise as far as the 'Western' tradition is concerned is a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise dating from the fourth century B.C. This Greek text was translated into Latin in the twelfth century by Bartholomew de Messina and was known as *Physiognomonica*.[15] Unlike the shopping-list format of the Mesopotamian oracles, the *Physiognomonica* presents its lists of physiognomical conclusions alongside a more reflective and disputational exploration of the rational processes involved in their formation. As a whole it provides a clear idea of the relatively simple constitutive elements of physiognomical doctrine.

In this conception of the discipline, physiognomical signs were drawn from a wide range of sources:

> movements, gestures of the body, colour, characteristic facial expression, the growth of the hair, the smoothness of the skin, the voice, condition of the flesh, the parts of the body, and the build of the body as a whole.[16]

Alongside the vision, the hearing was used to physiognomate the sound of the voice, and the touch to physiognomate the condition and smoothness of the flesh.[17]

This physiognomating is based on the basic philosophical assumption that:

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[12]John Evelyn, *Numismata* (1697), p. 293; J. Agrimi, 'Fisiognomica: Nature allo specchio ovvero luce e ombre', *Micrologus*, IV (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 129-178, p. 155, fn 1. See Foucault, *Things*, p. 35.
[13]C. F. Armstrong (ed.), *The Nature of Language* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 198.
[14]E. Gombrich, 'On Physiognomical Perception', *Daedalus*, 89 (Winter, 1960), pp. 226-241: p. 234.
[15]*Physiognomonics* in J. Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984), vol. II, pp. 1237-1250. For the editions of this text see *SP*, I, p. xviiiff. Around 140 extant manuscripts have so far been brought to light.
[16]*Phys*, 806a 25. This list seems to provide a fragment of quite systematic order. The universal category of movement is followed by its particulars - gestures. The final two categories invert this, moving from still particulars (body parts) to the still universal (whole build).
[17]For the use of touch, smell and taste in medical diagnosis see V. Nutton, 'Galen at the Bedside: The Methods of a Medical Detective', in R. Porter & W. F. Bynum (ed.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (1993), pp. 7-16. The use of the touch also reflects the practice of buying slaves. For the latter see Rhazes, *SP*, II, p. 178, cap. LXII; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe* (Paris, 1939), pp. 55-57.

> Mental character is not independent of and unaffected by bodily process, but is conditioned by the state of the body.....And contrariwise the body is evidently influenced by the affections of the soul.[18]

In other words:

> Soul and body, as it seems to me, are affected sympathetically by one another.[19]

No claim is made about the location of the soul, the nature of the soul, whether or not it is a substantial form, its faculties and so on. This provides physiognomy with a chameleon-like intellectual property, enabling it to be incorporated into a wide variety of otherwise conflicting perspectives on these issues without being monopolised by any one of them.[20]

The *Physiognomonica* assumes a constant correspondence between a particular physical attribute and a particular mental or moral property:

> There never was an animal with the form of one kind and the mental character of another.
> Permanent bodily signs will indicate permanent mental qualities.
> Soft hair indicates cowardice.[21]

This also reveals strains of the syllogistic logic on which the various veins of physiognomical thinking presented by the *Physiognomonica* are based, particularly the *enthymeme*.[22] To use the example cited in Barton:

> X resembles a sea-monster.
> Sea-monsters are gluttonous, voracious and impious.
> X is gluttonous, voracious and impious.[23]

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[18]*Phys*, 805a 1.

[19]*Phys*, 808b 10. Aristotle appears to be the authority for this: 'It is possible to infer character from physical features, if it is granted that the body and the soul are changed together by the natural affections', *Prior Analytics*, Book II, 70b 5.

[20]Such as, for example, the Aristotelian claim that there was only one principal organ, the heart, associated with the spirit, and the Galenic claim that there were three (heart, lungs and liver). Similarly, one might not accept that the soul is in the blood without also rejecting the validity of physiognomy.

[21]*Phys*, 805a 10; 806a 5-10; 806b 5. Aristotle's more provisional statement appears to be the authority: '[If it were also granted that] there is one sign for one affection, and if we could state the affection and sign proper to each kind of animal, we shall be able to infer character from physical features', *Prior Analytics*, 2.27.70b11-13. For arguments about whether Aristotle was referring to men see Evans, *Ancient World*, p. 7, fn. 4.

[22]'A rhetorical mode of reasoning as opposed to a dialectical or demonstrative mode of reasoning', Barton, *Power*, p.104.

[23]Barton, *Power*, p.106.

The same rhetorical form of reasoning can be used to refer to a person's ethnic background. For example, X resembles an Ethiopian, Ethiopians are cowardly and lazy, X is cowardly and lazy.

It was recommended that any physiognomator consider more than a single sign in order to avoid rushing into a judgement.[24] To resolve the contradictions and tensions between the multifarious signs, the *Physiognomonica* offered a particular grammar of physiognomating:

> It is advisable, in elucidating all the signs I have mentioned, to take into consideration both their congruity with various characters and the distinction of the sexes, for this is the most complete distinction. It will be found, moreover, in every selection of signs that some signs are better adapted than others to indicate the mental character behind them. The clearest indications are given by signs in certain parts of the body. The most suitable part of all is the region of the eyes and forehead, head and face; next to it comes the region of the chest and shoulders, and next again, that of the legs and feet; whilst the belly and neighbouring parts are of least service. In a word, the clearest signs are derived from those parts in which intelligence is most manifest.[25]

There is no discussion of this 'distinction between the sexes' or of how it was arrived at in the first place. The different sexes are presented as *a priori* categories. With regard to the 'characters', the *Physiognomonica* presents a list of different mental/moral properties followed by the physical sign or signs of each of these metaphysical properties.[26] This inverted form of physiognomating begins with the metaphysical and works its way down to the physical embodiment of these metaphysical categories. The metaphysical categories used have a tendency towards becoming fully fledged characters in the Theophrastian sense, such as 'the sly man' or 'the gambler'. It will henceforth be referred to as the characterological vein of physiognomation. It is used as a way of cross-checking the conclusions drawn from an inspection of the person's body in order to reveal the particularities of the individual as opposed to these general characters:[27]

> for in physiognomy we try to infer from bodily signs the character of this or that particular person, and not the characters of the whole human race.[28]

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[24]*Phys*, 807a 1 & 807a 25-30.
[25]*Phys*, 814a 5.
[26]*Phys*, 807a 35.
[27]At one point the *Physiognomonica* offers a 'new' method by which one might be able to deduce the presence of a particular trait which has no physical mark from the other signs that are present. In effect, it comes close to the aforementioned genealogy of moral qualities, *Phys*, 807a 1.
[28]*Phys*, 807a 30.

Unfortunately, this statement is not elaborated upon. It is possible to read it as suggesting that one should see all these various facets of the art of physiognomating as a form of *a priori* grid which one has ultimately to abandon in order to ascertain the particularity of the inspected person's character.

The *Physiognomonica* reveals three other veins of physiognomical thinking - the zoological, the ethnological and the anthropological. The first of these 'three methods':

> took as the basis for physiognomic inferences the various genera of animals, positing for each genus a peculiar animal form, and a peculiar mental character appropriate to such a body, and then assuming that if a man resembles such and such a genus in body he will resemble it also in soul.[29]

This zoological form of physiognomating must be taken to mean the examination and symbolisation of the mental characters of animals through their bodily form, as well as the analogous inference that a man resembling an animal in body will also resemble it in soul.[30]

The ethnological vein was constructed in the same way:

> except that they did not draw their inferences from all kinds of animals but confined themselves to human beings: they distinguished various races of men (e.g. Egyptians, Thracian, Scythian) by differences of appearance and of character, and drew their signs from these races.[31]

As Dagron has put it, this method found itself shored up by numerous popular sayings, by the refinements of an astrological choreography and of the theory of the *klimata* which places regions and people under the influence and patronage of the planets, the signs of the zodiac (such as one can find in Ptolemy), or under the influence of specific environmental conditions, such as one finds in Hippocrates' *Airs, Waters and Places*.[32]

Another method:

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[29]*Phys*, 805a 20. Aristotle is the authority for this: 'For if there is an affection which belongs properly to an individual genus, e.g. courage to lions, it is necessary that there should be a sign for it, for *ex hypothesi* body and soul are affected together, *Prior Analytics*, 70b 10-15. For the zoological physiognomy in Aristotle see *History of Animals*, Bk. I, Sec. 8, 491b 10. For arguments about whether he intends a comparison to be drawn with man, see Evans, *Ancient World*, p. 7.

[30]Aristotle's statements found their way into the main physiognomical tradition. Gilbert Dagron suggests zoological physiognomy 'était la pierre angulaire de la physiognomonie, et en constituait aussi la limite', 'Image du bête ou image de dieu. La physiognomonie animale dans la tradition grecque et ses avatars byzantins' in *Poikilia. Etudes offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant* (Paris, 1987), pp. 69-80: p. 70. *Phys*, 70b 10-15.

[31]*Phys*, 805a 20-25. Biologically speaking, there is of course no such thing as race. In contrast to Dagron, one scholar has argued that the ethnological vein was the first one to be established, G. Misener, 'Loxus, Physician and Physiognomist', *Classical Philology*, XVIII (1923), pp. 1-22.

[32]Dagron, 'Image du bête', p. 70.

> took as its basis the characteristic facial expressions which are observed to accompany different conditions of mind, such as anger, fear, erotic excitement, and all other passions.[33]

This seems to be the equivalent of what today is referred to as pathognomy - the study of the facial configuration of particular transient emotions.

The *Physiognomonica* thus established the relatively simple make-up of the art of physiognomating which can be found to a greater or lesser degree in all subsequent treatises. There is a hint of the influence of humoral theory,[34] as well as some blatant physiological determinism:

> Men of abnormally small stature are hasty, for the flow of their blood having but a small area to cover, its movements are too rapidly propagated to the organ of intelligence.....not being confined in too small a space, they do not withdraw.[35]

and even a hint of the signs of illness found in medical physiognomy.[36] However, there is no sense of either the prophetic vein of physiognomical thinking found in the Mesopotamian fragments, nor the astrological vein of physiognomical thought found in later texts.

The next sure evidence of a development in physiognomy is found in the writings of the sophist Antonius Polemon (88-145 A.D). This famous, wealthy and powerful rhetorician in the Roman Empire who rose to prominence in the service of the city of Smyrna, was granted honours by the Emperor Hadrian.[37] Polemon's first innovation was to use physiognomical observations in his rhetorical attacks upon his political opponents. Apart from coining a large number of new aphorisms which eventually found their way into this mainstream tradition, his treatise omits all discussion of the formal logic behind the aphorisms found in the *Physiognomonica*. This was an innovation in itself.[38] The brief aphorisms often just lie there as given.[39] In that sense

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[33]*Phys*, 805a 25-30.
[34]See *Phys*, 806a 1-5, 807b 5-10, 807b 30-35, 808a 1, 808a 15-20, 808b 1-5 & 812a 10-15.
[35]*Phys*, 813b 5-35. See also 809a 5-10.
[36]The exception is: 'A flaming skin, however, indicates hastiness, for it results from an overheated body, and extreme bodily heat is likely to mean mania', *Phys*, 812a 20-25.
[37]Barton, *Power*, chapter two; M. Gleason, *Making Men. Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, 1995), chapters 2 & 3. For the extant versions of Polemon's text see *SP*, vol. I, pp. 95-294. The remarkable scholarship of Richard Förster, the editor of *SP*, would benefit from an examination in terms of his own late nineteenth-century context, the institutionalisation of anthropology, and the rise of eugenics in Germany.
[38]Barton, *Power*, chapter 2.
[39]See *SP*, I, 210, 18-23, for one of the very rare nuggets of physiological explanation.

they retain their oracular nature. Some have even been infused with an element of prophecy.[40]

Another of Polemon's innovations was his introduction of the concept of *epiprepeia* or 'overall impression' into the process of physiognomical inspection. Hovering between instinct and reflection, it is the 'overall impression' which considers the most important signs in the midst of the often contradictory signs which any physiognomical inspection produces. It is expressed most clearly in Adamantius' epitome of his treatise:

> The most powerful determining factor is the overall impression of the whole man that makes itself visible on all parts of the body. One must look upon this in all cases as if it were the seal of the whole. It has no rational principle, in and of itself, but the details, the signs of the eyes and all the rest, synthesise the complete appearance of the man.[41]

Polemon's treatise was later epitomised by the unknown fourth-century writer named Adamantius. Adamantius removed Polemon's contemporary and historical illustrations alongside other rhetorical trimmings, thus rendering the series of physiognomical conclusions even more like the oracular shopping-list format of the Mesopotamian tablets of physiognomical oracles with which this chapter began.[42] Furthermore, Adamantius tainted the notion of the physiognomical instinct (*epipepreia*) with a divine element:

> it speaks as if with signs, Nature announces the ways of each person, from some god-sent, unerring divination, the physiognomist knows the habits and inclinations of all men, so to speak.[43]

Finally, unlike Polemon, Adamantius suggested the importance of considering changes attributable to age and once again emphasises the Hippocratic notion of the importance of the nature of the locality.

With the fourth century A.D. *Anonymous Latin* treatise (henceforth *AL*), a compilation of the physiognomical writing of Aristotle, Polemon and a physician named Loxus, one arrives at the last of the 'pagan' treatises which formed the 'Western'

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[40]See *SP*, I, p. 126.
[41]Adamantius, 2.1, 1. 348-49ff., cited in Gleason, *Making Men*, p. 34. For an edition of this work see *SP*, I, pp. c-cxxx & p. 297-426.
[42]The characterological vein has been included. *SP*, I, ch. LIII -LXVI, p. 268-282; Evans, *Ancient World*, p. 16.
[43]Cited in Barton, *Power*, p. 107. If, as is sometimes claimed, Adamantius was Jewish, this might reflect an influence of Jewish mysticism.

foundations of the subject, and the beginnings of the Dark Ages.[44] Little is known about the physician Loxus. The material contained in this treatise that is not from Polemon nor the *Physiognomonica* is usually thought to have originated with Loxus, or the anonymous compiler.[45] The earliest extant Latin version of this text was written between 1096 and 1123.

In this treatise the prophetic and medical veins of physiognomating are more discernible.[46] There is also a more detailed elaboration of the division between the sexes.[47] Moreover, the *AL* is the first physiognomical text to take a position on the location of the soul, which it suggests has its seat in the blood.[48] Above all, the *AL* provided the most detailed elaboration of the grammar of physiognomating, in which it not only showed how many factors besides the human physique could be taken into account, but also how, when signs were compared with each other:

> one will reduce the dominant signs in proportion to the contrary signs.[49]

This introduced an elasticity into the relationship between the signifier and the signified of a physiognomical sign.

2

THE ARABIC TRADITIONS:

FIRASA, RHAZES AND THE *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*

The Arabic and Islamic physiognomical tradition is a vast and complex area which awaits its scholar. George Sarton wrote of how he kept stumbling across treatises on physiognomy even when he was not looking for them.[50] By the tenth century the aforementioned Greek works were circulating in Muslim lands, where they were then

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[44]J. André (ed.), *Anonyme latin. Traité de physiognomonie* (Paris, 1981), p. 40.
[45]Misener, 'Loxus', p. 5.
[46]*AL*, p. 140 & # 29, 31, 41 53 & 82. Artemidorus also included physiognomy amongst the divinatory sciences, see R. A. Pack, 'Artemidorus and the Physiognomists', *American Philological Association, Transactions and Proceedings*, 72 (1941), pp. 321-324.
[47]*AL*, p. 51ff.
[48]This was an idea often said to have originated with Empedocles. See Evans, *Ancient World*, p. 11.
[49] *AL*, pp. 57-60. See below, p. 121.
[50]Sarton, *Introduction*, vol. III, p. 120.

translated into Arabic, mixed with an already long-standing Arabic tradition and passed to the West in the wave of twelfth- and thirteenth-century translations.[51]

There are Muslim texts which claim that the prophet said to one of his followers 'You resemble me both in outward appearance and in character'. Other Islamic concerns with the significance of physical features can be seen in a text dating from at least the eleventh century which recorded the physical defects of rulers and nobles.[52]Moreover, in the writings of the seventh to twelfth centuries, as well as in present day folklore, the figure of the Holy Fool, a nomadic scholar with the physiognomical gift of *firasa*, makes frequent appearances.[53]

This term *firasa* is central to the understandning of Arabic physiognomy. Lane defines *firasa* as:

> Insight; or intuitive perception; or the perception, or discernment, of the internal, inward, or intrinsic, state, condition, character, or circumstances, by the eye [or by the examination of outward indications etc.,]...a faculty which God puts into the minds of his favourites, in consequence whereof they know the states, conditions, or circumstances, of certain men, by a kind of what are termed [thaumaturgic operations], and by the right direction of opinion and conjecture: and also a kind of art [such as physiognomy]...learned by indications, or evidences, and by experiments, and by the make and dispositions, whereby one knows the state, conditions, or circumstances, of men.[54]

Numerous sciences and mantic disciplines were subsumed under this term. Despite the generality of 'outward indications', most used different parts of the human body. The oldest practice which *firasa* subsumed was the practice of *kiyafa* - the recognition of signs of paternity.[55] Moreover, its spiritual element had a scriptural authority in such passages of the *Qur'an* such as XLVII, 30:

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[51]The treatise of Fakhr Al Din Al Razi escaped the Hellenic influence, but does not appear to have entered the Western tradition. See Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*. For another which did not circulate in the West but which does show Hellenic influence, see A. Ghersett, 'Una tabella di fisiognomica nel *Qabs al-anwar wa Bahgat al-Asrar* attribuito a Ibn 'Arabi'', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 12 (Rome, 1994), pp. 15-49.

[52]C. E. Bosworth (trans.), *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 93-96. See p. 93, fn. 27 for works relating to the significance of blue eyes.

[53]M. W. Dols, *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1992), p. 405. For medical examples see also pp. 309 & 319; H. M. El-Shamy (ed.), *Folktales of Egypt* (Cairo, 1980), p. 108. For the place of physiognomy in various Arabic schemata see D. Jacquart & F. Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident mediéval* (Paris, 1990), p. 15. For Averroes' position see Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*, p. 25ff.

[54]E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (1874), s.v. *Firasa*.

[55]Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*, p. 1. This practice perhaps explains the following ancient oracle: 'the wife of that man pregnant by another man, will not cease to implore the goddess Istar, and say to her while looking at her husband: "May my child look like my husband' cited in Bottero, *Mesopotamia*, p. 132; *Exegese coranique et langage mystique. Nouvel essai sur le lexique technique*

> And if We wish it, We shall make thee see them [the false Muslims]; thou shalt recognise them by their physiognomy [sima-hum]; thou shalt recognise them by their lapsus linguae (lahn al-kawl).[56]

Constantinus Africanus (d. before 1098/9) had already introduced the West to Arabic medicine in the eleventh century in the form of his Latin translation of the *Pantegni* of 'Ali Ibn Al-Abbas Al-Magusi, a tenth century Persian Zoroastrian.[57] However, it did not (nor ever was to) contain an exposition of physiognomical doctrine. The are two Arabic works which contain an exposition of physiognomical doctrine which where influential in the West: the *Liber ad Almansorem* (henceforth *Almansorem*) of Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi (henceforth Rhazes) and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* (henceforth *Secretum*). The first to arrive was Gerard of Cremona's twelfth-century translation of Rhazes.[58]

Relatively little is known about the alleged translator Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187) other than the phenomenal amount of Arabic works he translated into Latin.[59] Similarly, little is known about Rhazes' (850- c. 923-4) life other than that he was a physician, born in Rayy, a Persian town a few kilometres south of Teheran, who in the last years of the ninth century arrived at the court at Baghdad, and took up the practice of medicine.[60]

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des mystiques musulmans (Beirut, 1970), pp. 296-297.

[56]See also XV, 75: 'Behold ! in this are Signs/ For those who by tokens /Do understand', and XLVIII, 29: 'On their faces are their/ Marks, (being) the traces'[*]. Footnote 4915 reads : 'The traces of their earnestness and humility are engraved on their faces, i.e. penetrate their inmost being, the face being the outward sign of the inner man. If we take it in its literal sense, a good man's face alone shows in him the grace and light of God', *The Holy Qur'an* , trans. A. Yusuf Ali (Maryland, 1983). For the striking parallels with Ecclesiastes 8, 1 and Isaiah 3, 9 see below.

[57]C. Burnett & D. Jacquart (eds.), *Constantine The African and Ali Ibn Al-Abbas Al Magusi. The Pantegni and Related Texts* (Leiden, 1994), p. 5.

[58]The physiognomy is found in book II, chapters xxvi-lviii. See *SP*, I, p. clxxvii-clxxviii, and II, p. 161-179. According to Thomann's list, there are around 21 extant Latin and several Arabic manuscripts of this work dating from before 1500.

[59]Sarton, *Introduction*, II, part I, pp. 338-344; C. Gillispie (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York, 1978), xv [suppl. I], pp. 173-192; P. Pizzamiglio (ed.), *Gerardo da Cremona. Annali della Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica di Cremona*, XLI (Cremona, 1992). For doubts about his involvement with this work see D. Jacquart, 'Les traductions médicales de Gerard de Cremone', in *Gerardo da Cremona*, pp. 57-70, p. 63.

[60]See L. Thorndike, *HMES*, vol. I, p. 668; L. I. Conrad, 'The Arabic-Islamic Medical Tradition', in L. I. Conrad, M. Neve, V. Nutton, R. Porter, A. Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 93-138: pp. 112-113.

The *Almansorem* itself has not yet been the subject of an in-depth study.[61] The work as a whole is addressed to a ruler and appears to be of a purely medical nature.[62] Nonetheless, a spiritual element is clearly visible in the reference to the Creator which opens the anatomy.[63] Book I anatomises the human body. Book II then begins to physiognomate it. The rest of the text deals with ways of looking after the health of the body before moving on to the recognition and treatment of disease and malfunction.[64]

The physiognomy is simply a list of signs followed by the physiognomy of various characters.[65] Seen within the context of *firasa,* Rhazes might be seen as attempting to render the formerly instinctual Islamic inspection more rational.[66] Overall, Rhazes' specific contribution to physiognomical writing appears to be threefold. First, his soft link between physiognomy and generation foreshadows Michael Scot. Secondly, his stronger connection between physiognomy, anatomy and God echoes Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and foreshadows Albertus Magnus' *De Animalibus*. Thirdly, Rhazes' presentation of these physiognomical aphorisms is exclusively anthropocentric - an anthropocentrism made all the more striking by the discussion of both the female and the eunuch.

The impact of Rhazes' physiognomy on Western medicine in the Middle Ages and beyond must have been limited by the fact that the *Almansorem* appears to have been most widely known through its non-physiognomical Book IX. His concern with the importance of the complexion in medical diagnosis inscribed itself perfectly into the Salernitan tradition in the twelfth century,[67] but curiously, his physiognomy did not - that is if the standard Salernitan medical textbook, known in the Renaissance as the *Articella*, is anything to go by.[68] Whilst his influence began to be felt after 1270,

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[61]Jacquart, *La médecine arabe*, p. 67.

[62]For its derivation from Galen, Hippocrates and Oribasius amongst others see W. A. Greenhill (ed.), *A Treatise on the Small-Pox and Measles*, Sydenham Society (1898).

[63]See *Trois traités d'anatomie arabes*, trans. P. de Koening (Leiden, 1903), p. 3.

[64]With regard to the intertextuality of the work, there are no physiognomical references in any other section. Readers, of course, may have made such a connection for themselves. (A reader of a copy now in the BL [IB.22966, (Venice, 1497)] has left marginalia in book V but none in book II.)

[65]Cf. Rhazes, *SP*, II, 168, 15-16 with *Phys*, 806b 25-30, or Rhazes, *SP*, II, 167-8, 21-1 with *Phys*, 811b 25 where both agree the small, narrow forehead is a sign of stupidity.

[66]On Rhazes' empiricism see Jacquart, *La médicine arabe*, pp. 60 & 255.

[67]D. Jacquart, 'La physiognomonie a l'époque de Fredèric II: Le traité de Michel Scot', *Micrologus*, II (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 19-37: p. 23.

[68]P. O. Kristeller, 'The School of Salerno. Its Development and its Contribution to the History of

particularly in Paris, Montpellier and Bologna, it was always less discernible than that of Avicenna's *Canon* - the work which it has been suggested 'shaped and formed anew the medical thought of the early thirteenth century' even more than Galen.[69]

The *Secretum secretorum* is often referred to as a pseudo-Aristotelian work despite the absence of any extant Greek original.[70] It is in fact a translation of a ninth- or tenth-century work of Arabic origins known as the *Kitab sirr al-asrar*, whose more proper title should be translated as *The Book of the Science of Government, or the Good Ordering of Statecraft.*[71] Presented as the mystical advice which Aristotle sent to Alexander the Great during his conquest of Persia,[72] the first three discourses are very derivative from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Elsewhere, it shows the influence of Hippocrates in its material on humoral theory and the seasons. By at least the middle of the tenth century, it was carrying a section devoted to physiognomy.[73] Transmitted to the Christian West in two different forms, the Long form (with physiognomy) translated by Philippus Tripolitanus, working for Guy de Vere of Valence, Bishop of Tripoli, dates from the 13th century.[74]

The three versions of the physiognomy presented by Förster are distinctly anthropocentric and at times very similar to the *Almansorem*.[75] However, unlike Rhazes' physiognomy, the *Secretum* experienced an 'extraordinary European diffusion'.[76] Since this work will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, the analysis will now turn to the medieval Christian tradition.

Learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 17 (1945), pp. 138-194. However, see B. Lawn (ed.), *The Prose Salernitan Questions* (Oxford, 1979), p. 134 (B 280) and cf. *Phys*, *SP*, II, p. 117.

[69]Jacquart, *La médecine arabe*, p. 175; M. McVaugh, 'Medical Knowledge at the Time of Frederick II', *Micrologus*, II (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 3-17, p. 7; on the relationship between Avicenna's Canon and the work of Rhazes see A. Z. Iskandar, *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library* (1967), pp. 2, 29-32.

[70]Most of this section is based on the following works: MAM; W. F. Ryan & C. B. Schmitt (eds.), *Pseudo-Aristotle, the Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences* (1982); S. J. Williams, 'The Scholarly Career of the Pseudo-Aristotelian "Secretum Secretorum" in the 13th and 14th Century' (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1991).

[71]MAM, p. ix.

[72]Williams, 'Scholarly Career', p.5.

[73]M. Grignaschi, 'L'origine et les metamorphoses du "Sirr al-asrar"', *AHDLMA*, 43 (1976), pp. 9-112.

[74]Some versions were a union of the two forms. For example, Bodl., MS Rawlinson C. 274 f. 33. For the debate over the identity of Tripolitanus see MAM, p. xiv n. 2.

[75]Rhazes: 'cuius facies est longa, inverecundus est' (*SP*, II, 168-9, 24-1); *Secretum*: 'qui habet oblongam faciem, est iniuriosus' (*SP*, II, 207, 10-12); Ps-Polemon: 'qui faciem longam habet, insolens est' (*SP*, II, 154, 5-6).

[76]A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1985), p. 83.

3

THE MEDIEVAL LATIN TRADITIONS:

FROM SCOTUS TO SAVONAROLA

Physiognomy in the medieval West also awaits its scholar.[77] Medieval physiognomy is often assumed to have begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the arrival of the Latin translations of the *AL*, the *Almansorem*, the *Physiognomonica* and the *Secretum*.[78] No manuscripts have been found dating from earlier than this.[79] However, there is evidence to suggest some form of physiognomical practice, if not theory, during that period. In 1546 John Bale (1494-1563), Bishop of Ossory, celebrated bibliophile and religious polemicist, blamed Archbishop Theodore for introducing into England many 'vayne & craftye scyences' including 'Physnomye, Palmestrye [and] Cyromancye' in the seventh century.[80] It was an educated polemic, for Bede tells us that astrology was taught at the school set up by Theodore.[81] Given Archbishop Theodore's Byzantine education, one contemporary scholar can think of no reason why he would not have been familiar with Aristotle, and perhaps even the *Physiognomonica* or the *Secretum*.[82]

The word physiognomy does not appear in any of the Anglo-Saxon and Old English Latin glossaries that have been edited by recent scholars.[83] Yet they do include some interesting, potentially physiognomical material. For example:

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[77]A starting point is J. Agrimi, 'Fisiognomica tra tradizione naturalistica e sapere medico nei secoli XII-XIII, con particolare riguardo alla Scuola di Salerno', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su Medicina Medievale e Scuola Medica Salernitana* (Salerno, May 1993), pp. 44-57.

[78]The emphasis here has to be placed on the 'Christian' tradition. The relation between medieval Christian, Islamic and Jewish mysticism would benefit from further study. For the extremely influential late-thirteenth-century Hebraic encyclopedia, the *Book of Splendour* (*Sefer ha-zohar*), which was written in Castile and contains the physiognomy of the *Secretum*, see Scholem, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 156-160.

[79]A. Beccaria, *I Codici Di Medicina Del Periodo Presalernitano* (Rome, 1956); L. Thorndike & P. Kibre, *A Catalogue Of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings In Latin* (1963); C. Kren, *Medieval Science and Technology. A Selected Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1985).

[80]J. Bale, *The Actes of the English Votaries* (1546).

[81]B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (eds.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 331ff.

[82]Conversation with Jill Kraye, October 1994.

[83]J. H. Hessells (ed.), *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (Cambridge, 1890); J. H. Hessells (ed.), *A Late-Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (1906); R. T. Oliphant (ed.), *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary. Edited from BM MS Harley 3376* (The Hague, 1966); T. Wright & R. P. Wuelcker (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon and Old-English Vocabularies* (repr. 1968).

> Fronte capillata. Quamdiu Frontem capillatam habueris. hoc est quam diu divitas habueris. tunc amicos habebis.[84]

The Church fathers appear to have been aware of physiognomy even earlier than this. Origen speaks, albeit disparagingly, of Zopyrus' physiognomical ability. Cassian also uses the term in talking of Socrates.[85] Moreover, whilst the Coptic texts carry no specific mention of physiognomy, they do provide evidence for something that sounds very much like a form of *firasa* or the *hakkarath panim* mentioned above. In one text, Paul says:

> I looked at each one of those that entered [the church] to see in what state were the souls that went in.' For he had this gift from God, to see how each one was, in the way that we see the faces of one another.[86]

Scriptural authorities for this can also be found in Ecclesiastes 8,1:

> a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the boldness of his face shall be changed

Isaiah 3,9:

> the shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not

and even Leviticus 21, 17-24:

> For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach (v. 18.)

By the fourth century, physiognomical and spiritual concerns were sufficiently intertwined for the exclusion of the physically deformed from ordination to be enshrined in Canon Law.[87]

With regard to the texts known in the Anglo-Saxon period, Isidore's *Etymologies* contained much of the humoral material on which certain conceptions of physiognomy were based; Oribasius at least mentions Adamantius, and Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* or his *De fato* would have made Anglo-Saxons familiar with

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[84]Oliphant, *Harley 3376*, p. 199.
[85]J. Cassian, *Collationes*, cap.V, 0905A. The source for this is probably Cicero.
[86]V. MacDermot, *The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East* (1971), p. 417. See also p. 420.
[87]Gratian, *Decretum*, Dist. XXXVI, 1, Dist. L, 59, Dist. LV, 1, and Gregory IX, *Decretales* 1. 20, 3. 6, in A. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879).

Socrates' physiognomical encounters.[88] Moreover, the proverbs spuriously ascribed to Alfred the Great include the famous physiognomical aphorism about red hair.[89]

The evident proliferation of physiognomical texts from the thirteenth century onwards is linked to the assimilation of the Greco-Arabic medical tradition as well as the arrival of the newly translated Aristotelian corpus, particularly the *corpus vetustius* (which sometimes included the *Physiognomonica*), and the ensuing redefinition of both natural philosophy and medicine.[90]

The first of these medieval physiognomical works is the *Liber introductorius* (henceforth *LI*) of Michael Scot, the third part of which is the *Liber phisionomie* (henceforth *LP*).[91] Michael Scot is most widely known as the court astrologer of Frederick II from about 1228 to c. 1235, in whose court he wrote this most original of his works.[92]

Jacquart has argued that Scot's *LP*, possibly intended as an encyclopedic introduction to natural science for students,[93] was the first original treatise on physiognomy to have been composed in the medieval West.[94] His broad and at times divinatory conception of the subject, she argues, is strongly anchored in the Islamic physiognomical tradition which, as was seen above, incorporated more varied subjects and diverse divinatory techniques. The originality of this treatise lies first in the changes Scot has introduced into the form of the physiognomical aphorisms by making the genealogy of the metaphysical signifieds more complex.[95] Secondly, Scot forms a strong link between physiognomy, generation and astrological ideas of

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[88]J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known To The English 597-1066* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

[89]'The rede man he is a quet [wicked man]; for he wole the thin uvil red [will give thee evil counsel]', Ogilvy, *Books Known*, p. 63.

[90]McVaugh, 'Medical Knowledge', p. 3.

[91]Manuscript copies of the *LI* exist in two forms, long and short, not all of which contain the *LP*. See L. Thorndike, 'Manuscripts of Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius*', in *Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda* (New York, 1961), 427-47.

[92]Murray, *Reason and Society*, p. 266. See Jacquart, 'La physiognomonie', p. 20, for other earlier evidence of physiognomy in the West.

[93]P. Morpurgo, 'Il capitolo *de informacione medicorum* nel *Liber introductorius* di Michele Scoto', *Clio* (Rome, 1994), pp. 651-659: p. 652; G. M. Edwards, 'The *Liber introductorius* of Michael Scot', (unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1978); idem, 'The Two Redactions of Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius*', *Traditio*, 41 (1985), pp. 329-340.

[94]Jacquart, 'La physiognomonie', p. 20.

[95]See below, p. 87.

conception.[96] With regard the latter, Jacquart has suggested that the *LP* was included in the *LI* in order to help Frederick II choose his second wife.[97]

The next major scholastic exposition of physiognomical doctrine is found in the *De animalibus* of the famous thirteenth-century Dominican philosopher Albertus Magnus (d. 1280).[98]As master of theology at Paris he taught Aquinas and in 1260 he was made Bishop of Regensburg. Despite his reputation for being something of a magician, he was finally canonised in 1931.

His *De animalibus* was completed in the 1260s.[99] Based mainly on Aristotle, it also includes material from other writers. Book XII for example is based largely on Galen's *De complexionibus* via the *Canon* and *De animalibus* of Avicenna. The physiognomical material is interspersed with anatomical material throughout the whole work, in a similar vein to the zoological writings of Aristotle. All of the physiognomical material is taken verbatim from the *AL* and interspersed with citations from the *Secretum*.

The connection between anatomy and physiognomy in Albertus remains as yet unexplained, as does their relationship to his theology. He may have been suggesting a way of circumventing the problems of syllogistic thinking inherent in physiognomy,[100] or implying the need for a physiological causal explanation which would link anatomy and physiognomy.[101] It is also conceivable that he saw physiognomy as a way of linking the high-ranking Aristotelian natural philosophy with the often scorned lower-ranking mechanical arts of medicine with an aim to incorporating both into devotional practice.

The next significant contribution to the physiognomical textual canon was the work of physician philosopher Pietro d'Abano (d. 1314). Despite his fame at the time, he is still a relatively obscure and neglected figure. He taught philosophy, medicine and astronomy at Paris and Padua. His most famous and influential text was the

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[96]For the debates on this issue see S. J. Williams, 'The Early Circulation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets in the West: The Papal and Imperial courts', *Micrologus* II (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 127-144.

[97]Jacquart, 'La physiognomonie', p. 34.

[98]The following paragraph is based on J. A. Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great' in J. A. Weisheipl (ed.), *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences. Commemorative Essays* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 13-51.

[99]*New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1966), p. 255.

[100]E. Synan, in Weisheipl (ed.), *Albertus Magnus*, pp. 6-8.

[101]However, see N. Siraisi, in Weisheipl (ed.), *Albertus Magnus*, pp. 382-383.

Conciliator, a general synthetic overview of medicine similar to the *Isagoge*, Avicenna's *Canon* and Constantinus Africanus' translation of Haly Abbas' *Pantegni*.[102] His *Compilatio Physionomiae* was written in Paris c. 1295.[103]

The physiognomy in this work is a compendium of all earlier works. Abano offers a traditional definition of physiognomy as the art of deducing the quality of the soul from the physical aspect, of comparing the human aspect with that of the animals, and of analysing the difference between men and women. He also makes the utility of physiognomy more explicit when he suggests that it can help one discern friends from enemies.[104]

Abano's innovation lies more in his elaboration of the idea of the 'necessary proportionality of cause and effect' and its link with physiognomy and astrology.[105] Although not the first to link physiognomy with astrology,[106] he explored it in detail. His physiognomical descriptions of zodiacal types included notes about their state of health as well as their preferences, their colours and their fortunate days. This was all placed within a framework governed by the notion of 'proportionality' - the unique mathematical law that determines the reciprocal harmony of the universe, including the relationship between body and soul, and the foreseeing of the primary and secondary cause. Thus, whilst bringing physiognomy nearer to medicine (for it allows one to determine the state of health, the predisposition to illness, longevity or imminent death), he places it in the realm of the mantic disciplines. Paschetto has argued that Abano conceived of physiognomy as a complete science of man.[107]

The final treatise to be discussed in this brief resumé is the *Speculum Phisionomia* written by Michael Savonarola (1384-1464).[108] He was a professor at the University of Padua until his fifty-fifth year, spending the last twenty-five years of his

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[102]N. Siraisi, 'Pietro d'Abano and Taddeo Alderotti: Two Models of Medical Culture' in *Medioevo. Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*, XI (Padua, 1985), pp. 139-162: p.160.
[103]E. Paschetto, 'La Fisiognomica nell'enciclopedia delle scienze di Pietro d'Abano', *Medioevo. Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*, XI, (Padua, 1985), pp. 97-111: p. 97.
[104]Paschetto, 'La Fisiognomica', p. 98.
[105]Paschetto, 'La Fisiognomica', p.105.
[106]Apart from Ptolemy, this relationship is also suggested in the *Secretum* and developed further in an obscure physiognomical treatise which was never printed known as *Elegans est naturae cognitio*. See R. Pack, 'Auctores incerti de physionomia libellus', *AHDLMA*, 42 (1975), pp. 113-138.
[107]Paschetto, 'La Fisiognomica', p. 109 & p. 111.
[108]The following is based entirely on the only available study of this text, A. Denieul-Cormier, 'La très ancienne physiognomonie de Michel Savonarole', *Biologie Médicale*, 45 (Paris, 1956), I-CVII: p. XXXVI.

life as court physician to the Estes. He wrote widely, but mostly on medicine. The *Speculum* is predominantly a medical work, written before 1450 and dedicated to Leonello d'Este. Although it appears to have exerted influence upon some Renaissance authors,[109] it was never printed, and is, in that sense, the exception amongst the texts of the Middle Ages.

Whilst most of the physiognomical aphorisms derive ultimately from the *AL*, Savonarola's originality lies in the degree of specificity with which he attempts to correlate the doctrine of the temperaments and the law of the four elements with physiognomy. He attempts to determine the corresponding temperament of each physiognomical sign as well as offering a physiological causal explanation of the particular physical feature before giving its psychological meaning. Savonarola also stressed the practical aim of physiognomy. He thought it would teach Leonello to know the character and secret inclinations of the heart of man, as well as the temperaments and the diseases to which they were predisposed, the marvellous secrets of nature, the proportions of the human body, some principles of the physiognomy of animals, particularly horses, and to guide his sons in choosing their entourages.

4

MANUSCRIPT 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY' IN ENGLAND c. 1200 - c. 1470:

A FAMILIAR MEDIEVAL TEXTUAL INTERFACE

The large number of extant manuscripts suggest that physiognomical treatises were familiar material for libraries throughout Europe from the twelfth century onwards.[110] By the late Middle Ages, the subject may have been taught at numerous

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[109]It was translated into Greek by the eminent humanist Theodore Gaza.

[110]Williams, 'Scholarly Career', pp. 89, 92ff., & 124. Thomann's list includes manuscripts in numerous European vernaculars whose original provenances range from across Europe. See also W. Humfrey, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars* (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 119 & 125. See also J. N. Hillgarth, *Readers & Books in Majorca, 1229-1556*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991). The range of different works with which these physiognomical manuscripts were often bound in a single volume and the different categories under which they were shelved in medieval libraries provides evidence of the different ways in which physiognomy was conceived in and of itself, as well as of its relationship to other subjects. It deserves further study. Chapter Four, section three of this thesis is an example of how the same approach can be applied to printed texts.

universities.[111] Evidence of the different ways in which it was conceived can be seen in the fact that, throughout Europe, expositions of physiognomical doctrine were to be found in Aristotelian *florilegia*,[112] collections of occult sciences,[113] or astrological/medical material, often beside chiromancy.[114] One manuscript associates the *Secretum* with the coronation of kings,[115] another with manuscripts entitled *Itinerarium*.[116]

With regard to English manuscripts, there is an extant thirteenth-century Latin manuscript of the *AL* possibly written at Evesham.[117] There are also extant thirteenth- and fourteenth-century physiognomical treatises in English and Latin whose provenance was originally English Benedictine and Augustinian.[118] The Franciscans at Oxford owned at least one which Roger Bacon and John of Wales both used. Whilst there are no extant records of English Cistercians or Dominicans owning a physiognomical treatise, Hiltgart von Hurnheim, a young Cistercian nun of the convent of Zimmern in south Germany, set a precedent for all Cistercian communities with her translation of the long *Secretum* into German in 1282. As discussed earlier, Albertus Magnus set a similar precedent for the Dominicans.[119]

Numerous English monks and nuns had physiognomical manuscripts in their private possession both before and after the arrival of print. Simon of Bozoun, Prior of Norwich (1344-52), had his own personal copy of the *Secretum*.[120] A manuscript of Lydgate's versified *Secretum*, in a version compiled by John Newton on 25th October

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[111]J. Agrimi, 'L'istituzionalizzazione della fisiognomica nell'insegnamento universitario', in *Istituzione Scolastiche, Logica e Metafisica* (Pavia [1997?]). I was not able to see this article.
[112]Williams, 'Scholarly Career', pp. 92ff & p. 124.
[113]BL, MS Sloane 213 f.5.
[114]BPL, MS 1527; Bodl., MS Ashmole 396 and MS Lyell 36.
[115]BL, MS Add. 32097 (re. Richard II); Bodl., MS Douce 95 (re Edward IV); others dating from the 15th century are BL, MS Royal 12 D iiii; BL, MS Harley 2901; Bodl., MS Rawlinson C. 274, ff. 109v-114v.
[116]R. Sharpe et al. (eds.) *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, vol. 4, *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues* (1996), B58 *26 (p. 303).
[117]Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 339, ff. 105-(108).
[118]BL, MS Egerton 847, ff. 26r-34v (15th cent.), BL, MS Royal 12. C. VI, ff. 43r-49r (14th cent., St. Edmunds), Oxford, Mert., MS 281, ff. 180-183r (14th century), Paris, BN, MS lat. 1118, ff. 61r-74v and Vaticano, BA, MS Borgh. 308, ff. 271v-277 are in English; Cambridge, Fitzw., MS M. Maclean 154, ff. 232r-240r (14th-cent., French version) may have some connection with John of Salisbury. See also Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 339A, ff. 47v-99r, 105r-117v; Cambridge, G&C, MS 225 f. 177; BL, MS Royal 12. C. VI ff. 12 - 39; BL, MS Harley 978 ff. 22r - 23r; Williams, 'Scholarly Career', pp. 93-4.
[119]R. Moeller (ed.), *Hiltgart von Hurnheim's Mittelhochdeutsche Prosauebersetzung des 'Secretum Secretorum'* (Berlin, 1963).

1459, in Rhodes, Lancashire, was held in Syon, Middlesex, in the Abbey of St. Saviour and St. Bridget (Bridgettine Nuns). One of its owners was a sister called Anne Colville. After her death in 1531 it became the property of Clemencia Thraseborough until her death in 1536.[121] Such works could also be found in lay hands. A physiognomical manuscript was included in the seven volumes donated to the Benedictine cathedral priory of St. Cuthbert in Durham by one 'Master Herbert the Doctor'.[122]Finally, and very significantly, those who did not possess their own copy may have heard one read out in the Refectory. Hiltgart von Hurnheim, in her translation of the *Secretum*, addresses both 'readers' and 'listeners', thereby implying that the text may have been read out aloud to a group of people.[123]

This evident spiritual interest in physiognomy has yet to be explained.[124] If the status of medicine as a *scientia* was still very much disputed, the status of physiognomy as a *scientia* was even more ambiguous. As Charles Schmitt has argued, by the fifteenth century, with the rise of more rigorous humanistic critical methods, the lack of a Greek original meant that a hitherto supposedly Aristotelian work, such as the *Secretum*, would be deemed as spurious. Indeed, Williams has clearly shown that whilst some scholars took the *Secretum* very seriously, as early as the 14th century most schoolmen had questioned its paternity, and by the late 15th century, this doubt was quite widespread.[125] In the case of the *Secretum*, this then followed through in its printing history. It never appeared in any Latin edition of the Aristotelian *Opera*. Indeed, like the *Chiromantia*, the *Secretum* was 'the only work of any size attributed to Aristotle....which never went into a printed edition of the Opera', and by the 16th century 'it was no longer worth discussing whether or not it was by Aristotle'.[126]

Yet for all that scholars might argue about the authenticity of the *Secretum*, the credibility of physiognomy itself was not as widely dismissed. Even if the theological, medical and philosophical authorities of Albertus, Rhazes, Scot and Abano were

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[120]Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, p. 303.
[121]Bodl., MS Laud Misc. 416 fol. 253. See D. N. Bell, *What Nuns Read. Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Michigan, 1995), Syon A. 35e.
[122]Edinburgh, NLS, MS Advocates 18, 6. 11, ff. 82r-84v; CUL, MS Og. IV 29 ff. 130r - 140r belonged to a northern English monastery.
[123]D. H. Green, *Medieval Readers and Listeners* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 80, 96 & 152.
[124]See below, pp. 123-129 and pp. 196-198.
[125]Williams, 'Scholarly Career', p. 90.
[126]C. B. Schmitt, 'Francesco Storella and the Last Printed Edition of the Latin *Secretum Secretorum (1555)*', in *Sources andInfluences*, pp. 124 -131: p. 125, n. 6.

considered dubious, physiognomy could still claim an Aristotelian authority. To begin with, there were numerous other genuine works of the Stagyrite, including the *Problemata*, which contained physiognomical doctrine. Secondly, there was a Greek original for the *Physiognomonica*. Thirdly, unlike the *Secretum*, the *Physiognomonica* appeared in numerous printed Greek editions of the Aristotelian *Opera* as well as numerous Latin editions. Having said that, despite this authority that physiognomy appears to have retained, Jean Buridan's criticisms of it are just one example among many of the ambiguity one can find in the as-yet-unexamined medieval attitudes towards physiognomy.[127]

[127]L. Thorndike, 'Buridan's Questions on the Physiognomy ascribed to Aristotle', *Speculum*, XVIII (1943), pp. 99-103.

CONCLUSION

Many civilisations in history have left textual evidence of a theoretical and practical physiognomical tradition, none of which shows physiognomy to have been a very sophisticated intellectual subject in itself. The fundamentals of the subject can be reduced to a single philosophical assumption about the mutually interactive relationship between the body and the soul/character, a handful of basic constitutive logical elements (particularly the *enthymeme*), a simple grammar used in the manipulation of the hierarchy of signs, and a number of modes of physiognomical thinking (anthropological, ethnological, characterological, zoological, astrological and prophetical) which can be found to a greater or lesser degree in all traditions. Drawing on all aspects of the human physique, including the voice and some forms of movement, it was said to be able to reveal the fundamental nature or character, the complexion, the future or even the past of a person. Some of these systematised presentations of physiognomy conceived of it as the product of rational reflection, whilst others, whether Pagan, Islamic, Semitic or Christian, presented it as the product of an instinctual, intuitive, often divine gift. Before the end of the Middle Ages, physiognomy had been conceptualised as a form of rhetoric, as an aspect of medicine, as a colleague of anatomy, as a branch of generation, as a part of astrology, an extension of humoral theory, each of which, in turn, was no doubt incorporated into the governing spiritual framework of the day. Alongside these conceptual and theoretical innovations, physiognomy was often conceived of as very practical knowledge. Whilst the coming of print ensured the distribution of physiognomical doctrine in a new medium to a wider audience, the presence of manuscript treatises in England in the medieval period suggests that the early modern printed material cannot be seen as a sudden awakening of interest in physiognomy. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest it was known in Anglo-Saxon England.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FACE OF ENGLISH PRINTED 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY' c. 1500 - c. 1780:

AN INFLUENCE BEYOND THEIR STATURE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two will be presented in three sections. Section 1.1 will briefly examine the scale of the European corpus of physiognomical writings. Sections 1.2 - 1.5 will trace the European origins of the English treatises and present what sparse contextual evidence there is for the publication of each of these generically different physiognomical texts. The period divisions have been determined more out of a sense of the clarity of presentation than argument. Section 2 will deal with the overall number of 'treatises on physiognomy' in early modern England. It will suggest a tentative figure of around 325,000. It will argue for a more or less constant chronological output of such works from the beginning to the end of the period with apparent peaks in the 1510s, 1550s, 1610s and 1660-1700. The numbers were increasing long before the arrival of Lavater. Section 3 will argue that the wide variety of formats and prices of these printed treatises suggests a body of material aimed at the entire spectrum of English literate society. They were distributed to places beyond the printing presses of London by chapmen and hawkers. By the mid-eighteenth century, some of these texts began to fall from the provincial presses.

1

EUROPEAN ORIGINS AND ENGLISH HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1.1 *The European Corpus*

As was shown in Chapter One, expositions of physiognomical doctrine had been available in manuscript form throughout Europe since at least the late eleventh/early twelfth century. By about 1470 this material began to appear in print.[1] As will become apparent, all of the English versions derive from these Continental works. In terms of volume and chronology, my brief bibliographical investigation of this early modern European corpus has suggested that a substantial number of physiognomical treatises were published in Germany, Italy and France, and to a lesser degree, in Switzerland, the Low Countries and Spain. Chronologically speaking, they began to appear in print in most European countries earlier than they did in England. The earliest extant copy, so far brought to light, of a printed physiognomy is the *Physiognomonica* which was included in a collection of Aristotelian treatises published in Cologne c. 1472.[2] In Italy the earliest so far discovered is 1474;[3] in France, c. 1478;[4] in the Low Countries, c. 1486;[5] whilst in Spain, 1494.[6] Although such works continued to be published in the nineteenth century, the latest extant copy prior to 1780 so far brought to light of a physiognomical text published in France is dated 1729.[7]In Italy, it is 1736,[8] in Spain it is 1741,[9] in the Dutch Provinces it is 1760;[10] in Germany, 1769,[11] and in Portugal it is 1779.[12] These latter figures are particularly provisional. All that can be suggested at this point is that, at least as far as Germany, Italy and France are concerned, the

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[1]The following incunables have been checked against the unpublished records of the ISTC in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[2]Aristotle, *Tractatus de pomo et morte....tractatus de phisionomia* [(Cologne c. 1472)].
[3]Pietro de Abano, *De physiognomia* (Padua, 1474).
[4]Michael Scot, *Liber physiognomiae* [Lyon, c. 1478].
[5]Michael Scot, *Liber physiognomiae* [Antwerp, between 1486 - 1491].
[6]Joannes de Ketham, *Compendio de la Salud Humana* (Saragossa, 1494).
[7]*Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (Troyes, 1729).
[8]Jacob Spon, *Dissertation de l'utilité des medailles pour l'étude de la physionomie* (Rome, 1736).
[9]Geronimo Cortes, *Phisonomia y Varios Secretos de Naturaleza* (Barcelona, 1741).
[10]Michael Scot in Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum libellus...Adiecimus Michaelis Scoti, de secretis naturae opusculum* (Amsterdam, 1760).
[11]Christian Adam Peuschel, *Abhandlung der Physiognomie, Metoposcopie und Chiromantie* (Leipzig, 1769). The precursor to Förster's *SP*, I. Franz's *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres* was published in Altenburg, in 1780.
[12]Geronimo Cortes, *Fysiognomia, e Varios Segredos da Natureza* (Lisbon, 1779).

numbers of physiognomical treatises so far brought to light suggests that they were published more frequently there and in greater numbers throughout the entire period than they were in England.

1. 2 *The English Corpus*

1. 2. 1 *1503 - 1555*

The evidence surrounding the publication of most of the English physiognomical treatises is scant. The only three printed English texts published between 1503 and 1555 which contained expositions of physiognomy are no exception. Although the physiognomy in each one is similar, as will be seen, it has been placed in three generically distinct texts - each one of which appears to be embroiled in the religious divisions of the period.

The Kalendar of Shepherds was first published in 1503. It was possibly the Scottish divine Alexander Barclay (1475?-1552)[13] who translated it from a French text entitled originally *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers*, published anonymously in Paris by a 'priest-artist' named Giout Marchant on 2nd May 1491.[14] There were at least twenty-one further English editions, the last published as late as 1656.[15] It was also widely read in early modern France, and possibly even Switzerland and Germany.[16]

The *Kalendar* is a handbook of private devotion. Alongside sections on astrology, the seasons, medicine and health, it is dominated by material and woodcuts relating to the virtues and vices, the four last things and other liturgical matters.[17] If, as appears, the physiognomy was taken directly from the Arabic *Secretum*, then the *Kalendar* was a

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[13]Barclay eventually became a Benedictine monk. His friends and patrons included Cardinal Morton [d.1500], Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Richard, Earl of Kent (d.1523) and Sir Giles Alington. For more information on him see *DNB*.

[14]J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear. The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries* (1990), p. 205.

[15]Subsequent editions were based on the third translation by Robert Copland for Wynkyn de Worde in 1508.

[16]Between 1491 and 1551, for example, there were at least 22 editions published in France, the last dating from 1729. There was even a version for women. I have not been able to consult the most recent bibliography of this work, A. Loisidou, *Le kalendrier des bergiers. Edition critique de l'incunable de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon* (Lyon, 1978); *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (Geneva, 1497 and 1500); *Der Schapherders Kalender* (Rostock, 1523), 4o. No vernacular Italian, Spanish or Portuguese versions have yet been brought to light.

[17]C. Brotherton-Ratcliffe, 'Illustrations of the Four Last Things in English Pre-Reformation Books of Devotion' (unpublished D.Phil. Dissertation, University of London, 1994).

pre-Reformation handbook of devotion which, in effect, synthesised Roman Catholic liturgy with an Arabic/Islamic mysticism.[18]

The next two works in this English series are both English versions of the aforementioned *Secretum secretorum*.[19] The first was a printed version of Lydgate's and Burgh's *This present boke called the Gouernaunce of Kynges*, published by Pynson in 1511.[20] The second was Robert Copland's *The Secrete of Secretes of Arystotl*, printed by Copland in 1528.[21] Little is known of these authors. John Lydgate, (d. after 1452) a monk at Bury St. Edmunds,[22] died before completing this work. It was Benedict Burgh (d. 1483), canon of St. Stephen's at Westminster from 1476 who completed the physiognomy.[23] Robert Copland (c. 1484 - 1547?) was a London printer whose religious sympathies may have made him a reformer.[24]

The reasons for their publication are also quite obscure. The 1511 version appears to have been commanded by Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, for the young King Henry VIII.[25] Its versification may have been an attempt to render the content more memorable, perhaps more oracular, as well as to bestow upon it a higher intellectual status.[26] Copland claims that his version had been commanded by King Henry VIII.[27] Both works overlap with a number of different but popular genres. They could be classed as a 'mirror for princes',[28]or a 'book of secrets'.[29] Indeed, Copland describes his work as a 'boke of good maners'.[30] Although the *Secretum* appears to have seen only one more English edition (1572), the appearance of these works may be an early

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[18]Its appearance a year before the fall of Muslim Granada is suggestive of the extent to which Islamic thought had permeated Christian thought and practice and hence the backlash. However, it is possible the physiognomy was taken from the Kabbalah.
[19]See Chapter One.
[20]John Lydgate, *The Gouernaunce of Kynges and Prynces*, ed. D. T. Starnes (Florida, 1957).
[21]MAM, pp. 229-289.
[22]Bury St. Edmunds contained a fourteenth-century vernacular manuscript of the *AL*, BL, MS Royal 12 C. VI. ff. 43r-49r.
[23]R. Steele (ed.), *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres. A Version of the 'Secreta Secretorum'*, EETS (1894), especially, pp. xv-xviii
[24]Robert Copland. *Poems*, ed. M Carpenter Erler (Toronto, 1993), p. 25, fn. 7, p. 4 & p. 8-9; F. C. Francis, *Robert Copland, Sixteenth-Century Printer and Translator* (Glasgow, 1961).
[25]See Starnes, *Gouvernaunce*, p. xi-xii.
[26]Bennett suggests otherwise, *Chaucer*, p. 156.
[27]MAM, p. 253-255.
[28]A. H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, North Carolina, 1938), pp. 3-15; For the manuscripts see T. Prosiegel, *Die Handschriften zu Lydgate's Book of the Gouernaunce of Kynges and of Prynces* (Munich, 1903).
[29]W. Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (1994).
[30]MAM, p. 253.

intimation of what Charles Webster has suggested was, by 1540, a growing interest in the works of Roger Bacon.[31]

Even less is known about the third of the texts published in this period, *The Compost of Ptholomeus*. Only ever printed in England, the earliest estimated date has been given at 1540.[32] It is an edited version of the *Kalendar* from which all of the devotional material has been removed. What was formerly a devotional text was distilled into an astrological/medical treatise. The market for such a work, and indeed the deletion of the liturgical material from the *Kalendar*, has a convenient and obvious explanation in the break with Rome. The extant copies of this work and the *Kalendar* which have their references to the Pope scored through by hand reflect this even more.[33]

1. 2. 2 *1556 - c. 1619*

Of the three works published in the second-half of the sixteenth century which ended this quasi-monopoly, the first was Thomas Hill's *A brief epitomye of the whole art of physiognomie*, published in 1556. Hill (c. 1528-c. 1576), although not university-educated,[34] was a prolific translator and populariser of everything from almanacs to cosmetics and gardening.[35] His works sold in large numbers and continued to be popular well into the seventeenth century.[36] His immediate circle of patrons and friends included Henry Dethick (d. c. 1613), Chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle;[37]George Keable, a noted practitioner of physic and surgery and teacher of William Clowes the surgeon;[38]

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[31]Charles Webster, 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine' in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 301-334.
[32]J. Halbron, *Nicolas de Bourdin* (Paris, 1992), p. LII.
[33]See for example, Bodl., Douce K.97, sig Di. It is being assumed that these marks were made by early modern readers.
[34]Thomas Hill, *The Schoole of Skil* (1599), 'To the Reader'.
[35]Most of the following is based on L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 566-571; F. R. Johnson, 'Thomas Hill: An Elizabethan Huxley', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 7 (1944), pp. 329-351. His father, William Hill, may have been a humbler member of the Barber Surgeons Company.
[36]H. R. Plomer, 'Henry Denham, Printer', *The Library*, 2nd ser., X (1909), pp. 241-50. Some of Hill's (posthumous) works certainly contributed to what Webster claims was a significant assimilation of Paracelsianism between 1560 and 1600, Webster, 'Alchemical', *Health*, p. 323.
[37]Author of *Feriae sacrae* (1577). Dethick's opulent family was of Dutch descent. See *DNB*.
[38]Johnson, 'Thomas Hill', p. 337, fn. 22 & fn. 23.

Henry Finch, a London merchant; Sir Henry Seamer[39] and possibly Sir William Cecil.[40]

Hill's 1556 text was a translation of a text popular throughout Europe, Bartholomaeus Cocles' *Physiognomiae & chiromantiae compendium* (Strasbourg, 1533).[41] By 1530, Cocles' text had been translated into German.[42] The earliest known French translation is 1548, the latest 1700.[43] Indeed Cocles' text is, in turn, a plagiarisation of Michael Scot's even more popular *Liber physiognomiae*, which, by 1556, had already been published numerous times in France, Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, Spain and Switzerland in both Latin and the respective vernaculars.[44]

Hill's version represents the first attempt in printed English to clear physiognomical doctrine from its former mystical and astrological associations.[45] As such, it should really be understood as a treatise of natural and/or moral philosophy. This is made clear in the opening of Hill's preface where he attacks those who 'condeme or dispise natural

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[39]This was possibly the son of Sir Thomas Seamer, prominent member of the Mercers Company and Lord Mayor of London in 1526, or possibly Henry Semour (d. 1578), younger brother of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (1506?-1552).

[40]Thomas Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth* (1577). However, Henry Dethick, who saw this work through press after Hill's death, may be responsible for this connection. Similarly, the dedication of another of Hill's works to the Countess of Oxford may be due to George Baker, household surgeon to the Earl of Oxford and later Master of the Barber Surgeons Company. John Hester, the noted empirical chemist, took over Hill's translation of Leonardo Fioravanti's remedies against the plague, which he dedicated to James Blunt, Lord Mountjoy.

[41]Cocles (1467-1504) was an Italian vagrant 'seer' who famously predicted misfortune for minor Italian princes by reading their faces and palms and was murdered on September 24th, 1504, days after the joint publication of his physiognomical treatise alongside his patron, Alessandro Achillini's methodological introduction, De *chyromantiae principiis et physionomiae. Bartholomei Coclitis chiromantie ac physionomie anastasis: cum approbatione magistri Alexandri de Achillinus* (Bologna, 1504). Achillini (b. 1463, d. 1512), was an Averroist professor of logic and medicine at Bologna. This collaboration with Cocles was also published in Pavia in 1515, and again in Bologna in 1517 and 1523. Cocles based this work on the *Secretum*. In 1516, Achillini published *Aristotelis...secretum secretorum ad Alexandrum* (Bologna, 1516). In 1520 it was published in Parsi, and sometime after 1560 in Venice. C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 495-496. For Cocles see *HMES*, vol. V, pp. 51ff.

[42]*Phisnomei. Eins Ieden Menschen Art, Nature und Complexion, auss Formierung und Gestalt des Angesichts, Gilder, und Allen Geberden, Zuerlernen* (Strasbourg, 1530). By 1555 there had been ten further Latin and German editions.

[43]*Le compendion et brief enseignement de physiognomie & chiromancie* (Paris, 1546); *La physionomie naturelle* (Rouen, 1700).

[44]*Liber phisionomie* (Lyon, [c.1478]); *La phisionomie de maistre Michael Lescot* ([Paris], 1540); Germany: *Liber phisionomie* (Cologne, [c. 1485]); Excerpts in German translation in Francesco Imperiale, *In Disem Iechlin Wirt Erfunden von Complexion der Menschen Zuerlernen Leibiche und Menschliche Natur ir Siten, Geberden und Nayglichayt Zuerkennen und Urtaylen* (Strasbourg, 1511); *Liber phisionomie* [Antwerp, 1486-91]; *Der Vrouwen Natuere ende Complexie...*(Utrecht, 1538); *Liber phisionomie* (Venice, 1477); *La Fisionomia di Michel Scoto* (Venice, 1555); Spanish translation in Joannes de Ketham, *Compendio de la Salud Humana* (Saragossa, 1494); *Liber phisionomie* [Basle, after 1484].

[45]The expanded 1571 and 1613 editions contain material on chiromancy and metoposcopy.

Philosophy', and advocates the virtues and use of 'natural reason' to understand the end of man's creation, and, as it is manifest in 'moral philosophy', to learn:

> what is juste, what honeste, what cumly, and what profitable.[46]

As will be shown in the final Chapter, Hill's attitude towards physiognomy is not far from Francis Bacon's. Interestingly, in the 1571 much expanded edition (which is dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk) Hill defended:

> Mayster Dee, by whose helpe and ayde at the beginning, I receyued such monuments and principles, as gaue me great light unto this knowledge....for that he wisheth well unto his Countrie men, and hath taken great paynes to do his Countrie good.[47]

Thus, despite Hill's less mystical philosophical stance, his publishing career may have initially been encouraged by John Dee.

Despite Hill's efforts, the next two English physiognomical texts in the series which appeared in the late 1550s and early 1560s once again enveloped physiognomy in astrology. The first, entitled *Briefe Introductions, both natural, pleasant and delectable unto the art of Chiromancy, or Manuel divination, and Phisiognomy*, was published in 1558.[48] It was a translation of another popular European text first published in a Latin folio in Strasbourg on 7th May 1522.[49] Although it appears never to have been published in Italy, by 1523 it had been translated into vernacular German,[50] by 1536 into Dutch,[51] and by 1545 into French.[52] It was also published under other names.[53] The English version saw at least fifteen subsequent editions, of which the latest extant copy is dated 1697.

Little is known of the author, Johannes de Indagine (1467-1537). In 1485 he became a priest in Stenheim. His original name was Rosenbach, but he eventually adopted the

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[46]Hill (1556), Preface.
[47]Hill (1571), Preface, sig. qq v-qq v(v).
[48]There were two issues of this work in 1558, the second containing woodcuts.
[49]*Introductiones apotelesmaticae elegantes, in chyromantiam, physiognomiam, astrologiam naturalem, complexiones hominum, naturas planetarum, cum periaxiomatibus de faciebus signorum, & canonibus de aegritudinibus, nusquam fere simili tractata compendio.*
[50]*Die Kunst der Chiromantzey, usz Besehung der Hend. Physiognomey, usz Anblick des Menschens...*, (Strasbourg, 1523).
[51]*Chyromantia....Enn dit Boed Leert vn drie Naturlike Consten als Phisiognomia, astrologia naturalis, chiromantia* (Urecht, 1536).
[52]*Proposition astrologique, et pronostication naturelle* (Paris, 1545). So far 23 different editions of this work published in France between 1522 and 1666 have been discovered.
[53]See Book VII of Jean Taisnier's *Opus mathematicum* (Paris, 1562); Guilelmus Gratarolus, *Opuscula* (Basle, 1554).

tautological 'Indagine'. He was included amongst the entourage of Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz during his visit to Rome in 1514, and was the astrologer consulted for the dating of the election of the Emperor in 1519 in which he predicted a success for Charles V.[54] In later life he became a reformer. The English translator of Indagine's work, Fabian Withers, is even more obscure.[55]

By 1564, a text entitled *The most excellent, profitable, and pleasant book of the famous Doctor, and expert Astrologian, Arcandam, or Alcandrin, to finde the fatall destiny, Constellation, complexion, and naturall inclination of every Man and Childe by his birth: with an addition of Physiognomy, very pleasant to reade* had appeared. It was a translation of a Latin text, first printed in Paris in 1542 and usually attributed to the unknown Richard Roussat,[56] but which had a manuscript tradition stretching back to the Middle Ages.[57] By 1563 it appears to have been translated into the French vernacular and an exposition of physiognomical doctrine added.[58] It was this redaction of the text which William Warde decided to translate into English in the early 1560s.

William Warde (1534-1604?), later the Queen's Professor of Physic at Cambridge, is also known for his translation of a very popular book of medical recipes entitled *The Secretes of the Reverende Maister Alexis Piemont* (1558 first edition).[59] He appears to have made this translation whilst studying medicine at King's College, Cambridge, in the late 1550s and early 1560s. His translation of *Arcandam* went on to see at least twenty-five editions, the latest extant copy of which dates from 1686.

There is little astrology in the actual physiognomical sections of these two works. However, contrary to Hill's conception, Indagine tries to bring palmistry, physiognomy, and the examination of the signs of the planets together in one unified process of astrological investigation:

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[54]F. Herrmann, 'Der Astrolog Johannes Indagine, Pfarrer zu Steinheim a. M., und die Frankfurter Kaiserwahl des Jahres 1519', *Archiv für hessiche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, 18 (1934), pp. 274-291.

[55]He also translated Cardinal Reginald Pole, *The Seditious and Blasphemous Oration of Cardinal Pole Intytuled the Defence of the Eclesiastical Unitye* ([1560]); Claude Dariot, *A Breefe and Most Easie Introduction to the Astrologicall Iudgment of the Starres* ([1583?]).

[56]Richard Roussat, *Arcandam doctor peritissimus ac non vulgaris astrologus, de veritatibus, & praedictionibus astrologiae & praecipue nativitatum seu fatalis dispositionis, vel diei cuiuscunque nati* (Paris, 1542).

[57]*HMES*, vol. I, pp. 710-718.

[58]Nine French editions of this work have so far been brought to light, the most recent dated 1625. It does not appear to have been printed anywhere else in Europe.

[59]Alongside *Thre Notable Sermones made by the Godly and Famous Clerke, Maister John Calvyn* (1562), and *The Arte of Angling* (1577).

> I loke upon the hand and therewithall behold the whole bodye, with the lyneamentes, and proportion of the same, which is called hys Phisiognomie....then I cast my minde to the houre of Nativity, moneth, day, or yeare - the whiche knowen, I referre strait to the rules of naturall Astrologye....then plainely iudging none of these by themselves sufficient.[60]

Its aim is to:

> foresee and prognosticate what so ever shall happen touchinge health, or adversitye, or other thinges naturall..... great and small things to come, yea of every man whosoever he be, for as much as you shall know more certainly his deedes and his manners, in keeping this Rule and way,[61]

and, even more physiognomically:

> the inward motions and affections of the mind and heart, with the inward state of the whole bodye: as also our inclination and aptnes to all external actions and doings.[62]

Similarly, *Arcandam* aims:

> to find out (as much as the Art of Astrologie can certifie) mans fate and constellation indicative, touching the natural inclination of Man.[63]

The reverse of Indagine, *Arcandam* begins with the mathematical figure in the calculation of the nativity based on the relation of the person's name to a preordained set of numbers, followed by a presentation of the 'physiognomy' of each star sign, à la Abano, according to the different 'houses' in which the sign resides. A brief return to the numbers game is followed by an awkward addition of a much more physiologically-oriented physiognomy.

1.2.3 *c. 1619- c. 1665*

It was not until 1619 that physiognomy found itself incorporated into a new English text. Robert Fludd's (1574-1637) *Utriusque cosmi, maioris sciliciet et minoris, metaphysica, physica atque technica historia*, was published by Johannes Theodore de Bry at Oppenheim in 1617, 1618, and 1619. Some historians have suggested that the place of publication was due to the 'occult' nature of the contents, though Fludd himself claimed that the reasons were purely financial.[64] Fludd probably began this text whilst at St. John's in Oxford in the 1590s. The physiognomy, along with the rest

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[60]Indagine (1558), sig. B4.
[61]Arcandam (1634), sig. M4(r).
[62]Indagine (1558), sig. A3r.
[63]*Arcandam* (1634), sig. A3.

of the content of the work, is compiled from earlier authorities and enveloped in (but not infused with) astrology.[65]

Fludd refers to it as a work of 'Theosophy', an attempt to construct a science based on hermetical revelation and the correspondence between macrocosm and the microcosm.[66] In his *Mathematical Praeface* (1570) John Dee had suggested the term *Anthropographie* as a term for the art of all arts, the interdisciplinary study of all that is in man, to which physiognomy had something to contribute:

> You must of sundry professions, borow or challenge home, peculier partes hereof: and farder procede: as God, Nature, Reason and Experience shall informe you. The Anatomistes will restore to you, some part: The Physiognomistes, some: The Chyromantistes some. The Metaposcopistes, some: The excellent, Albert Durer, a good part: the Arte of Perspectiue, will somwhat, for the Eye, helpe forward.[67]

In the same vein, Fludd placed physiognomy amongst the techniques of the microcosm, which he labelled *Anthroposophia*.[68]

After Fludd, it was not until 1653 that a new physiognomical text was published. Richard Saunders' *Physiognomie, Chiromancie and Metoposcopie* was a plagiarisation of *Les Oeuvres* (Paris, 1623) of Jean Belot (fl. 1620),[69] lawyer and counsellor to Louis XIII, and member of the Académie Française where he was the contemporary of Marin Cureau de La Chambre.[70]

Saunders (1613-1675), was an astrological physician whose patients included Lilly and Ashmole.[71] Saunders was the author of the almanac *Apollo Anglicanus*, which he published every year from 1654 until his death.[72] However, his

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[64]F. A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), pp. 78-79.
[65]The physiognomy contains material taken from Pomponi Gauricus' *De sculptura* (Florence, 1504). For a discussion of Fludd's other sources see S. Hutin, *Robert Fludd (1574-1637) Alchimiste et philosophe rosicrucien* (Paris, 1971), pp. 70ff. See also B. Vickers, 'Introduction', in B. Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 3-6.
[66]Yates, *Rosicrucian*, p. 76.
[67]F. A. Yates, *Theatre of the World* (1969), p. 190.
[68]Hutin, *Fludd*, p. 83.
[69]The *Biographie universelle* (Paris, 1854) lists two different people under this name; however, both appear to be the same person.
[70]In turn, Belot compiled it from earlier and contemporary continental works such as those of Michael Scott, Paracelsus, Della Porta, Cardano, Goclenius, Robert Fludd. Belot's *Oeuvres* saw at least seven more editions. See *Biographie universelle* and *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1855). His *Instruction familiere pour apprendre les sciences de chiromancie et physionomie* first appeared in Paris, 1619 and saw at least one more edition in Lyon, 1654.
[71]Ashmole was godfather to Richard's son Charles. For details on the family see L. G. H. Horton-Smith, *The Saunders and Lumley Families of the County of Northampton in the Sixteenth Century* (1941).
[72]It continued to be published in his name, then in the name of one 'Richard Saunder', until at least 1781.

Physiognomie was his first major work. It saw at least one subsequent, slightly enlarged edition in 1671. Between 1663 and 1676, there were at least four editions of a cheaper pocket-version of this 1653 folio entitled *Palmestry*.[73]

For all its pretensions, this text has none of the rigour of Fludd's 'Theosophy'. The result is a confused bundle of occult and astrological sciences, beginning with chiromancy, followed by geomancy, physiognomy, diseases, moles on the body, dreams and the art of memory. This lack of coherence might be seen as the first intimation of a genre which, within a couple of decades, would come to be a very popular genre in itself - the cabinet of curiosities. Saunders claimed he wrote it:

> To relieve and promote the curiosity of the ingenious....That which I do, is out of no other design than to satisfie thy curiosity, and thy good.[74]

Over ten years later, in 1664, John Davies published his translation of Marin Cureau de La Chambre's (1594-1675) *The Art How To Know Men*. La Chambre achieved a brilliant reputation in his time. In 1634 he was chosen by Cardinal Richelieu for the *Académie Française*, and may even have been consulted by Mazarin and Louis XIV.[75] In 1666 he became one of the first members of the Académie des Sciences.[76] La Chambre's original, *L'art de connoistre l'homme*, was first printed in Paris in 1659.[77]

The translator, John Davies (1625-1693), attended Jesus College Oxford, then, during the Civil War, went to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he declared himself a Presbyterian. From 1652 he worked as a translator for the booksellers. His decision to translate La Chambre's work may have been a reflection of his own dissatisfaction with the growing success of Cartesian philosophy, for he also translated *A treatise against the Principles of Descartes* in 1654, as well as Naudé's *The History of Magic* in 1656.[78] Davies dedicated his translation of La Chambre to Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Viscount

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[73]His other works were *Two Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny; or The English Fortune-Teller* [c. 1675],co-authored with one "Dr. Coelson"; *The Astrological Judgment and Practice of Physick* (1677).
[74]Saunders (1671), sig. a2v & p. 162.
[75]A. Fabre, *Chapelain et nos deux premieres academies* (1890), p. 32. See B. Haureau, *Histoire littéraire du Maine*, 4 vols. (1845), vol. 3, p. 298.
[76]*Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1858); [?] La Place, *Pièce interess, et peu connus*, 4 vols. [n. d.], vol. iv, pp. 8-10, speaks of an unnamed Cabinet in Paris which contained the correspondence of La Chambre and Louis XIV on the subject of physiognomy.
[77]It was then published in Paris in 1662, 1663, 1667 and again in Amsterdam in 1669. Part II was published in 1665 and again in 1669, whilst Part III appeared in 1667.
[78]Naudé's involvement with physiognomy can be seen in his publication of Girolamo Cardano's *Metoposcopie* in 1658.

Howard, who, just prior to its publication, had served as Ambassador extraordinary to Russia, Sweden and Denmark (20 July 1663 - December, 1664).

This text stands out in this series of physiognomical treatises in that the physiognomical aphorisms are few.[79] The bulk of the text consists of a thorough examination of the conceptual apparatus behind the art of physiognomating, particularly the nature and causes of the disposition, the faculties and motions of the soul, the relationship between the soul and the body, along with a classification and physiology of the passions and the virtues and vices. Thus, like Hill's 1556 text, it is a treatise of both natural and moral philosophy.

1.2.4 *1669 - c. 1700*

In 1669, the vogue for cabinets of curiosity was exemplified by the publication of *The Court of Curiositie*.[80] It claimed to be a translation of a work allegedly written by Marc de Vulson, sieur de La Colombiere (d. 1658), published possibly as early as 1646 in Paris under the title of *Palais des Curieux*.[81] Vulson himself was the grandson of a Huguenot gentleman, and Governor of Die. After a vigorous military career, he bought the office of Gentilhomme Ordinaire a la Chambre du Roi and moved to Paris, where he dedicated himself to the study of heraldry.[82]

Another candidate who has been put forward as possible author of this work is Denis Salvaing de Boissieu (1600-1683).[83] His motive for publishing under Vulson's name has been tied to the contemporary aristocratic concern with lineage and his desire to claim genealogical antiquity for his own house.[84]More to the point, his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic, as well as German, Italian, Spanish and English, and his interest in many forms of knowledge make him a strong candidate.[85]

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[79]La Chambre (1669), pp. 22-24 & 35-36.
[80]Vulson (1669).
[81]For other editions see *Biographie universelle*. The earliest edition I have seen is *Palais des curieux....augmentée d'un traité de la phisiognomie* (Rouen, 1666).
[82]*Biographie universelle*; *Nouvelle biographie universelle*; G. Allard, *La bibliothèque de dauphine* (Paris, 1680), pp. 222-22; J. Guigard, *Bibliothèque heraldique de la France* (Paris, 1861).
[83]Guigard, *Heraldique*, fn. 34.
[84]A.de Tenebrasse, *Relation des principaux évenements de la vie de Salvaing de Boissieu* (Lyon, 1850).
[85]Vulson and de Boissieu were deeply concerned with the physiognomically-related issue of the purity of noble blood and semen, see A. Devyver, *Le sang épurée. Les préjuges de race chez les gentilhommes français de l'Ancien Regime (1560-1720)* (Brussels, 1973), pp. 48, 97-98, 135, 170, 189 & 204.

However, this work is essentially a reissue of the unknown Edmé Gallimard's *Traicté physiognomique, par lequel un chacun peut apprendre a se bien cognoistre, et aussi la nature, les moeurs, et inclinations des autres*. The earliest extant edition was published in Paris in 1626. Like Saunders's book, Vulson's text is a mixture of various bodies of knowledge. The fact that it was later published under Vulson's name suggests a connection with the rise of the debate on the purity of noble blood at the time.[86]

Before the end of the seventeenth century, physiognomical doctrine had migrated to a small pocket-size text by the unknown J. S., entitled *The True Fortune Teller, Or, Guide to Knowledge*. First published in 1685, it saw at least five subsequent editions. This is the first text in the series which does not have its origins on the Continent. Indeed, it is very similar to Saunders's *Palmestry* and even contains some of the same woodcuts. Once again physiognomy is joined with chiromancy, moles, dreams, astrology and medical observations, all of which is vaguely presented as a collection of 'divine knowledge'.[87]

1. 2. 5 *c. 1700 - c. 1780*

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, physiognomical doctrine was published in a handful of obscure, almost indistinguishable texts. Only two copies of *Aristotle's Last Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets Opened*[88] have survived. One dates from around 1700, the other is dated 1711. Another text from which it is hardly distinguishable is the anonymous *Wit's Cabinet: A companion for gentlemen and ladies*. Only one copy of this work has survived, dated around 1711.[89] There is an extant copy of a 1753 text entitled *A New Academy of compliments; Or, The Compleat English Secretary* similar to all of those just cited.[90] Only one other copy has survived dated 1772. Indeed, by the late eighteenth century, very short and extremely basic expositions of physiognomical doctrine had migrated to the cheapest form of penny

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[86]Devyver, *Sang*, p. 71. Saunders himself had advocated improving a degenerating human race by scientific breeding, B. Capp, *English Almanacs 1500-1800: Astrology and the popular press* (Ithaca, 1979), p. 117.

[87]There are no extant copies of William Andrews' *The Ladies Diversion*, which was first advertised in 1694 (TC, vol. II, p. 526).

[88]There were also many others with a similar title. Only this one contained physiognomy.

[89]It is not to be confused with, though it was certainly influenced by, another similar but non-physiognomical text entitled *Wit's Cabinet*, which saw something of a vogue between 1684 and 1737. For the earliest and latest known copies see *TC*, vol. II, p. 75 and BL, 12316.c.12.

[90]This is the only text amongst numerous other very popular texts similar in title and conception, which contained an exposition of physiognomical doctrine.

chapbooks. The earliest extant copies of these, dating from around 1770 are *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny* and *Nine Pennyworth of Wit for a Penny.*

All of these texts present physiognomy alongside the traditional triptych of material on moles, dream interpretation, and palmistry as well as other popular fortune-telling information. They are distinguished only by the fact that each one accretes a new body of information, such as cosmetics, popular songs, riddles, as well as advice on how to woo through letters and compliments.

Perhaps the most famous of these works was *The Book of Knowledge*. This grew out of the famous almanac *Erra Pater*, which first appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century and was continuously published throughout the period.[91] Physiognomy may have migrated to this text as early as 1694. It was certainly available in this form by 1704. The main difference between this and the other physiognomical texts published in this period was the more serious addition of 'The Dealer's Directory' - a section which gave the reader information on bills, bonds, indentures and other aspects of business transactions, as well as the information on weights, measures, fairs and road distances one still finds in diaries today. By the late eighteenth century it was being published in Ireland, Scotland and America.

The final text in the series, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*, was a very different sort of physiognomical text.[92] Although this work was one amongst many works of 'self-education sex literature' which began to roll off the presses from the late seventeenth century onwards, one recent scholar has described it as 'the most successful primer in English'. William Salmon, the medical populariser, may have had something to do with it.[93] D'Arcy Power has suggested that the physiognomy dates from the third century.[94] However, the physiognomy in this text, like so many others, is a translation of Michael Scot's writing on the subject. Whilst the bulk of the text is devoted to issues surrounding reproduction, with the addition of 'the treasure of health or family physician', alongside the religious framework in which the text is set,

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[91]Of the numerous versions of *Erra Pater* in circulation during the eighteenth century, only the one entitled *The Book of Knowledge, Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients* contained physiognomy.
[92]Only *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* and *Aristotle's Works Compleated* contained physiognomy.
[93]R. Porter, '"The Secrets of Generation Display'd": Aristotle's Master-piece in Eighteenth-Century England', in R. P. Maccubbin (ed.) *Unauthorized Sexual Behaviour During the Enlightenment*, Special Issue of *Eighteenth Century Life*, IX (1985), pp. 1-21: p. 1 & p. 2.
[94]Cited in J. Blackman ' Popular Theories of Generation: The Evolution of Aristotle's Works, The Study of an Anachronism' in J. Woodward & D. Richards (eds.), *Health Care and Popular Medicine in Nineteenth Century England* (New York, 1977), pp. 56-88: p. 75.

it does not bring us full circle to the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, but the echoes cannot be ignored.

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VOLUME AND CHRONOLOGY

How many of these physiognomical treatises were published throughout this period? Were there any periods that saw a greater volume than others? How can the dynamics of this chronology be explained?[95] Calculating the overall volume of physiognomical treatises published is, in the last resort, a question of one's empirical temperament. Using the list presented as part of the bibliography, one person's more conservative nature might wish to emphasise the gaps in the years when a physiognomical treatise was published, such as those between 1518 and 1528 or [1530?] to [1540?], or the seven-year gap between 1656 and 1663.[96] As a corrollary of this they might wish to conclude a lack of interest in physiognomy or the relative unimportance of the subject. On the other hand, another less empirically cautious person might wish to emphasise the evidence which suggests (short) runs of consecutive years in which a physiognomical treatise was published - for example, 1570-1572, 1617-1619, 1663-1666, 1669-1672, 1710-1712, 1757-1759 and 1768-1776. Indeed, the same person might point out that some years saw two publications in the same year. From 1670 onward there are some that saw three such publications in a year, and there may have been four a year in 1720, 1753 and 1766. This might lead one to exaggerate the importance of physiognomy and the presence of physiognomical treatises in early modern England.

Yet whichever way one's empirical temperament is inclined, any calculation and attempt to attach significance to these patterns must bear in mind that many of the dates of publication are the result of past and obviously erroneous bibliographical guesswork. This applies particularly to the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, the *Compost of Ptholomeus*, and many of the chapbooks of the eighteenth century.[97] The records of many of these

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[95]See the bibliography.

[96]The gaps are even more evident for the eighteenth century: 1711-1725, 1733-1741, 1776 -1782.

[97]The *Kalendar* listed in the bibliography as printed by J. Charlewood for John Wally has been dated 1580. Yet the Stationers' Register records that on 29th October 1580, John Harrison was 'assigned over from Hugh Stapleton to have *the sheppardes callender* which was Hughe Singleton's copie', E. Arber (ed.) *A*

bibliographical investigations are no longer accessible. Even when accessible, the process of checking each one is extremely time-consuming. Certainty in this area necessitates a degree of bibliographical expertise that is the equivalent of a deep pool of empirical quicksand.

Dating with certainty is hindered by such factors as the transference of printing material between different houses and generations, as well as the numerous strategies of subterfuge, fraudulence and piracy employed by early modern publishers looking to publish works they knew would sell well.[98] Most of the publishers involved with 'treatises on physiognomy' were fined at one time or another for publishing works without a licence. It was a lucrative occupational hazard.[99]

Another obstacle to quantification is the fragmented nature of the main source for any such calculation, the Stationers' Register. It does not begin until 1557.[100] Furthermore, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Stationers' Company 'lost its hold on registration enforcement' for a couple of decades, and by the late 1650s its records began to falter once again.[101] Even during the period for which the records are more reliable, bibliographers suggest that only about 60-70% (perhaps less) of works actually published were entered on the Register.[102] With a 1530 statute banning the profession of physiognomy,[103]it is always possible that a greater than average proportion of this unregistered percentage consisted of the works under consideration here. Did not Thomas Hill change the title of his 1571 physiognomical treatise to the more discreet and philosophical *The Contemplation of Mankinde*?

When calculating volume, bibliographers today normally opt for a figure of between 1,000 and 1,500 for an average print run. Taking the list of English physiognomical treatises at face-value, and assuming a print run of 1,000 for each, produces a total of about 185,000. This is not a very large figure. However, one has to take into account a

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Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640, 4 vols. (1875-1894), vol. II, p. 173; see CUL, Sel. 3. 60. See also *The Athenaeum*, No. 3890, May 17th, 1902.

[98]See P. Needham, 'ISTC as an Analytical Tool for Bibliography', in L. Hellinga & J. Goldfinch (eds.), *Bibliography and the Study of Fifteenth-Century Civilisation* , British Library Occasional Papers, 5 (1987), pp. 39-54: p. 49.

[99]For Thomas Colwell & Henry Denham, see Arber, *Registers*, vol. I, pp. 142-143; for Thomas Marshe, vol. I, p. 158.

[100]M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories. Popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 10.

[101]T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 44 & p. 105, fn. 34.

[102]G. B. Harrison, 'Books and Readers, 1599-1603', *The Library*, XIV, 1 (June, 1933), pp. 1-33: p. 2; P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), p. 184.

number of other factors which necessitate increasing this figure.[104] To begin with, since a number of the texts in the bibliography were stumbled upon haphazardly, it is very likely that there are others still extant which have not been included.[105] Secondly, the list represents only those treatises for which a copy has survived or for which some record of a published edition has survived. However, this does not include those entered in the Stationers' Register. On May 31st, 1594, the Register records an entry to James Roberts for the printing of Hill's *palmestry and physiognomye*. No copy of this edition has survived - assuming it was ever printed in the first place.[106] Thirdly, the bibliography itself provides evidence of no-longer-extant editions. For example, there may have been third edition of *The True Fortune Teller* sometime between 1686 and 1698, as well as at least four more post-1656 editions of Indagine and several additional editions of *Arcandam*. Fourthly, works such as the late-eighteenth-century penny chapbooks may have been printed in runs larger than 1,000. Indeed, since most of the English 'treatises on physiognomy' are examples of 'cheap print', then the numbers which have not survived and for which there is no extant trace might be even more considerable than with hardier products.[107] By way of taking into account all of these factors, an addition of 30% (roughly 60 editions) to the total number of unregistered editions, plus the eight editions suggested by the bibliography, raises the total output to about 250,000. By way of making up for the fact that some of them saw print runs greater than 1500, one might calculate the overall total using an average print run of 1,500. This would bring the total to around 400,000. Either way, the numbers are not huge.

Yet beyond the mathematical problems of quantification, there is the conceptual problem of defining a 'treatise on physiognomy'. Palmistry, for all its distinctiveness as a discipline, was in some very important ways basically a physiognomy of the hand and

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[103]See Chapter Six.

[104]An excellent example of the scope for underestimation in any such calculation is D. F. McKenzie & J. C. Ross, *A Ledger of Charles Ackers* (1968), p. 18.

[105]This was also true of the search for the early-modern European literature on the subject. Whilst it is not surprising to find an exposition of physiognomical doctrine in a huge encyclopedic work such as Johannes Alsted's *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (1620), the physiognomical doctrine in the *Liber de homine* of Girolamo di Manfredi ([n.p.], 1474) or the *Anthropologium de hominis* of Magnus Hundt (Leipzig, 1501), was stumbled upon by accident.

[106]Arber, *Register*, vol. II, p. 308. Another such example appears to be a work entitled '*The Phisiognimye of dreames &c*', licensed to John Wolfe on 30th April 1591 (vol. II, p. 273), and '*The phisiog[o]mony of Dreams*', licensed to George Purslowe from John Pindley's widow on 2nd November 1613 (vol. III, p. 245). Neither of these spelling variants of the term physiognomy has ever been included in the *OED*.

[107]Spufford, *Small Books*, p.48.

was seen as such in the early modern period.[108] Similarly, treatises on moles are essentially physiognomical in conception. From 1540 onwards, both often appeared alongside expositions of physiognomical doctrine. Indeed, from the late seventeenth century onwards, the non-physiognomical texts of palmistry, moles, dreams and fortune-telling are much more numerous than those which include physiognomy. Their inclusion in the calculation would substantially increase the overall figure.

At the same time, concentrating on texts which include expositions of physiognomical doctrine (which are often found in an extremely contracted form[109]) overlooks the fact that, from the late-seventeenth-century onwards, nuggets of physiognomical thinking spread to an even greater variety of interrelated texts.[110] The *New Academy of Compliments* (1753) contains the following physiognomical nugget under the section headed: *Signs to chose Husbands and good Wives*:

> An extraordinary long Chin, with the under Lip larger than the upper, signifies a cross grain'd Person, fit for little Business, yet given to Folly.[111]

Another section consists of a small fortune-telling game entitled '*As to what Kind of a Husband a Widow or Maid Shall have*'. Some of its conclusions are clearly physiognomical:

> Handsome Youth be sure you'll have,
> Brown hair'd, high Nose, he'll keep thee brave,
>
> Fair, ruddy, bushy-hair'd is thy Love,
> He'll keep the well, and call thee still his Dove.[112]

Mother Bunch's Closet advised young men not to choose a wife with:

> a long nose, a scoldy brow, and thin lips: for in such there is great danger,

and young maids were advised to:

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[108]Although the dictionaries of the period consistently defined chiromancy as a form of divination and a way of telling a person's future by looking at the lines of the hand, John Kersey's 1707 dictionary defined chiromancy more physiognomically as a way of telling a person's constitution. This was taken up only by Bailey in his 1730 work and appeared again in the Scott-Bailey collaboration of 1755. It is not unusual to find manuscripts of physiognomy and chiromancy from at least the fourteenth century onwards bound together.

[109]*The New School of Love* (Glasgow, 1786) [CUL, 7180.e.19].

[110]See V. E. Neuberg, *Chapbooks* (1964).

[111]Bodl., Harding E 328 (1753), p. 57.

[112]Bodl., Harding E 328, pp. 61-63: p. 62. This work also included material on palmistry and nails (pp. 58-59) and moles (pp. 69-71).

> take no one that has got a red head....nor a yellow hair...nor a black man.[113]

Such was the general culture of physiognomy in many of these chapbooks that it had even entered the material on dreams. To dream:

> that you have long hair, in seemly order, is good for a woman; but if in disorder it shows trouble and heviness....That you have a far great nose is good to all, except sick persons it being a sure token of death.[114]

Indeed, *The New Academy of Compliments* was even aimed at a physiognomical audience, selling itself as 'suitable to all Constitutions and Complexions'.[115]

Beyond these more conceptual problems of defining a 'treatise on physiognomy', any such calculation must consider the likelihood of the production of the physiognomical section separate from the rest of the text. The possibilities for this had for a long time been built into the process of manuscript production. The *pecia* system, by which an *exemplar* was deposited with the *stationarius*, divided it into pieces of about four leaves 'which the *stationarius* distributed to his scribes to be copied out section by section'.[116] The physiognomy from the *Secretum* was often transcribed and circulated independently from the rest of the treatise.[117] Thus, the survival of the physiognomical section from the *Arcandam* treatise now in the British Library may not be a surviving fragment of a complete edition of the work.[118] It is possible that it was sold as a separate off-print, perhaps even in a deliberate attempt to circumvent the restrictions on print runs, and as such may not have appeared in the Stationers' Register. The survival of a number of Italian and German physiognomical pamphlets suggests that this may also have been commonly practised on the Continent.[119]

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[113]*Mother Bunch's Closet Newly Broken Open* [c. 1790], pp. 16 & 6-7.
[114]*Dreams and Moles* [n.d.] Bodl., Douce PP 162 (17), pp. 3-4.
[115]Bodl., Harding E 328 sig. A3v.
[116]J. F. D'Amico, 'Manuscripts', in Schmitt & Skinner, *Renaissance Philosophy*, pp. 11-24: p. 18.
[117]MAM, p. xvii.
[118]BL, 1482 aa.1.
[119]HL, Phil. 6012.9 is a German physiognomical pamphlet, possibly printed in Strasbourg around 1576; see also University of Rome, Racc. gen. Filosofia, VI, 60, *Trattato di fisiognomia* (undated, but probably early modern). I once found an extremely crude sixteenth-/early-seventeenth-century Italian physiognomical pamphlet in the BN. However, I have misplaced the reference and subsequent attempts to find this pamphlet were unsuccessful. In 1536 and 1538, Nicolaus Schirlentz of Wittenberg, one of the major printers of the 1530s German pamphlets in the Freytag collection, published a small octavo version of the *Physiognomonica Aristotelis latina facta a Iodoco Willichio...addita est euisdem interpretis oratio in laudem physiognomoniae*. See also an eight-page pamphlet by Johannes Roehnus, *Moderatore summo fortunate, physiognomiam anthropologicam* (Wittenburg, 1670).

Representations of early modern book-shops reveal the way in which a great deal of the material was still kept in sheet form and not bound until later, thus making it possible to sell one particular section of the work.[120] The encyclopedic nature of many of the works containing the art of physiognomy may have been conducive to this method of selling. The process may even have been a forerunner of serial selling.

Furthermore, any meaningful calculation has to consider the overall volume of all physiognomical writings in circulation in England during this period rather than simply concentrating on those in English. As was seen in Chapter One, manuscripts on physiognomy, in Latin, English and French, had been in circulation in England since at least the thirteenth century. The number of extant copies is not insignificant, and many were still being read by early modern 'English' eyes. In 1556, John Dee borrowed a manuscript of the *AL* physiognomical treatise from the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and never returned it.[121] Indeed, manuscript versions of physiognomy were still being produced. Sir Miles Stapleton, who by the 1450's had already commissioned a translation of a treatise on physiognomy from John Metham,[122] also commissioned an English translation of the *Secretum* which was completed c. 1484.[123] William Forrest versified the *Secretum* for Prince Edward in 1548.[124] The mathematician Thomas Allen (1542-1632), the physician William Bull (d. 1576), Thomas Twyne, Obadiah Walker (1616-1699), the Master of University College, Oxford, and the topographer James Botwell (1753-1813) all owned physiognomical manuscripts.[125]

But perhaps most spectacular of all is James Boevey (1622-1697). A merchant-lawyer from Cheam, Surrey, he made his own physiognomical manuscript entitled *The Art of Discerning of Men*.[126] This was one of thirty-two manuscripts which he wrote on the 'Arts and Tricks of Negotiation', and which he arranged into a private philosophical

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[120]S. Taubert, *Bibliopola. Bilder und Texte aus der Welt des Buchhandels*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1966), vol. I, p. 43 & p. 57 provides illustrations of German examples. Roger Chartier also sees the cunning of publishers as a causal force in the development of different formats, *The Order of Books*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (1994), p. 8.

[121]This manuscript, claiming to be Avicenna's 'physiognomia', is now Bodl., MS Ashmole 1471. See J. Roberts & A. G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (1994), M24.

[122]H. Craig (ed.), *The Works of John Metham*, EETS (1916).

[123]R. Steele (ed.), *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, EETS (1898).

[124]MAM, pp. 391-534.

[125]See Bodl., MS Digby 11, ff. 92r-94r; MS Digby 28, ff. 150r-161v; MS Digby 75, ff 67r-67v; MS Digby 95, ff 7r-7v; Bodl., MS 26, fol. 209r and Bodl., MS Auct. F. 5. 28, fol. 209v-212v.

[126]See CUL, MS Dd 15. 28 and WIHM, MS 699. It is not, as the Wellcome catalogue suggests, a translation of Dominicus de Rubeis' *Tabulae physiognomiae* (Venice, 1639).

system entitled 'Active Philosophy'. In true Elizabethan style, they circulated amongst his friends. John Aubrey, for one, certainly read most of them.[127]

Some such manuscripts were no doubt transcribed from printed editions. This reduced prices, circumvented the limitations of print runs and official proscriptions, and continued well beyond the sixteenth century.[128] With orders ranging from 250-500 copies, this could represent a significant body of material in itself.[129] Here again, numerical calculations are ambiguous. Eamon, citing Sir Hans Sloane's collection of manuscript books of secrets, has suggested that 'texts of this genre were but the tip of a huge iceberg'.[130]

Did any English printed 'treatises on physiognomy' actually circulate in manuscript versions?[131] Thomas Hill certainly advertised his 'Two pleasaunt Bookes of Paulmestrie', which he suggests could also be supplied in manuscript. Whilst his translation of Thaddeus Hagecius' *Metoposcopie* was 'in a readinesse to the printing', he wrote:

> if any be desirous to enjoy a private Copy of this, let them resort unto maister Barkers shop, and there they shall common with the Translatour, and knowe his minde for the writing of the Pamphlet.[132]

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[127]There are thirty-two in all. The titles are as follows: 1: *The Characters, or Index rerum: in Four tomes.* 2: *The Introduction to Active Philosophy.* 3: *The Art of Building a Man: or Education*.* 4: *The Art of Conversation.* 5: *The Art of Complyance.* 6: *The Art of Governing the Tongue.* 7: *The Art of Governing the Penn.* 8: *The Government of Action*[*?]. 9: *The Government of Resolution.* 10: *The Government of Reputation.* 11: *The Government of Power*: in two tomes. 12: *The Government of Servients.* 13: *The Government of Subserviency.* 14: *The Government of Friendshipp*.* 15: *The Government of Enmities*.* 16: *The Government of Law-Suites*.* 17: *The Art of Gaining Wealth.* 18: *The Art of Buying and Selling.* 19: *The Art of Preserving Wealth.* 20: *The Art of Expending Wealth.* 21: *The Government of Secrecy.* 22: *The Government of Amor Conjugalis*: in two tomes[*?]. 23: *Of Amor Concupiscentiae.* 24: *The Government of Felicity.* 25: *The Laws of Atticus.* 26: *The Causes of the Diseases of the Mind*[*?]. 27: *The Cures of the Mind, viz. Passions, Diseases, Vices, Errours, Defects*[*?]. 28: *The Art of Discerning of Men*.* 29: *The Art of Discerning of Man's selfe*.* 30: *Religion from Reason*: in three tomes. 31: *The Life of Cum-fu-zu, soe farr wrote by J.B..* 32: *The Life of Mahomet, wrote by Sir W. R.'s papers, with some small addition for methodizing the same.* See A. Clark (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1890), vol. I, p. 114. [I have since traced those manuscripts marked *.]

[128]D'Amico, 'Manuscripts', p. 21.

[129]H. Love, *Scribal Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 37.

[130]Eamon, *Secrets*, p. 4. The B St.G, BN, and BA have quite a number of manuscripts on physiognomy dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (many of which appear to have been written, copied, or owned by doctors). For example, B. St. G: MS 1038, ff. 1-27; MS 2234 ff. 102-174; MS 2327 ff. 14-26v; MS 2241 ff. 124-188; MS 3106; BN: MS 3638; MS 39543; MS 2234 ff. 102ff; MS 2057; MS 2540; MS 19953; MS 2084; BA: MS 2800 ff. 40vff; MS 873 ff. 11-197.

[131]The inside back cover of Bodl., MS Laud Misc 673, a fifteenth-century manuscript of Lydgate and Burgh's *Secretum* reads: 'John Bevyn of Stroud Inne for my Master Poulet or ellis enquere for Thomas Warreyn of Tantoun'.

[132]Hill (1571), pp. 234-235.

It does not appear to have been printed and so possibly only ever circulated in manuscript. The single surviving manuscript fragment of Hill's writings does represent the slightly modified title-page to his 1571 physiognomical treatise. However, it looks more like a fragment of an 'authorial holograph' than 'a copy made by a specialist scribe' or 'the copy made by an individual who wished to possess the text'.[133]

Finally, any accurate and meaningful quantification must take into account the large number of European works which were being imported and read throughout the whole period. Thus, for example, there is a French 1503 edition of the *Calendrier des Bergiers* in the Radcliffe Science library which has manuscript zodiacal and calendrical comments in a contemporary English hand.[134] Numerous editions could be found in the private libraries of numerous gentlemen, such as John Dee,[135] Brian Twyne,[136] and of course Robert Burton.[137] John Aubrey swore by Camillo Baldi's huge tome.[138] Pepys certainly collected some of them.[139] Others, such as Francis Willoughby, who may not have had any of them in their private libraries, have left records of their having consulted copies of such works in the Bodleian.[140]

To err on the conservative side, these aspects of quantification should not be seen as greatly affecting either the bottom total figure of 250,000 or the top figure of 400,000. Thus, a conservative average would be a figure of about 325,000. Whichever of these figures one's historically empirical temperament prefers, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that physiognomical treatises were, numerically speaking, relatively insignificant, particularly when one considers the overall textual output of nearly three hundred years of English printing press activity. The figure pales in comparison, for

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[133]Bodl., MS Ashmole 417, fol. 74ab. These categories are Harold Love's, *Scribal Culture*, p. 47.
[134]Brotherton-Ratcliffe, 'Four Last Things', p. 256ff.
[135]Roberts & Watson, *Dee's Library*, M 24.
[136]R. F. Ovenell, 'Brian Twyne's Library', *Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications*, new series, IV (1950), pp. 3-42. His physiognomical books included Cocles and Taisnier and Fludd, as well as numerous other works by writers of physiognomical treatises such as Gratarolus, Della Porta and Thomas Hill.
[137] F. Madan (ed.), *Robert Burton and the Anatomy of Melancholy*. Papers by Sir William Osler, Edward Bensly and others', in *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, vol. I, part III (1925), pp. 156-246: especially pp. 224-246. Burton had physiognomical works by Della Porta, Fuchsius and Indagine.
[138]Bodl., Aubrey MS 10, fol. 47v. Camillo Baldi (ca. 1547 - 1634) was a professor of philosophy and medicine at the University of Bologna. His most famous work, *In physiognomica Aristotelis commentarii* (Bologna, 1621) is one of the most sophisticated works on physiognomy. There were at least two more editions, in 1661, and 1670. See *HMES*, vol. VIII, p. 451; *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani* (Rome, 1963).
[139]Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 93.

example, to the number of Bibles, ABC's and Catechisms, or almanacs. Nor does its significance change much when compared with the overall volume of other publications to which they might be seen as related. One study of popular medical literature published between 1480 and 1603 has suggested a total figure of 400,000 actual books. For the same period there are thirty four extant physiognomical treatises. If one adds the customary thirty percent to this figure as well as the assumed print run of 1,000, it leaves one with an overall volume of around 45,000 for roughly the same period of time. Thus physiognomical medical works were outnumbered by non-physiognomical medical works by about nine to one.[141] A sobering perspective is provided by the fact that medical works in themselves only constitute about 3% of the total printed output of the sixteenth century.[142]

Similarly, most books of secrets, like most astrological works, appear to have been non-physiognomical.[143] Whilst almanacs were next to the Bible in being 'the most common form of printed word in English households' and exempt from the usual limited print run, and although the demand, particularly after the Interregnum, was huge,[144] none of the texts in this series can be considered almanacs, not even the version of *Erra Pater* known as the *Book of Knowledge*.[145] Thus the numbers remain small.

Yet having said all that, the apparent smallness of the numbers involved does not automatically reflect the insignificance of what can be found in a history of physiognomy. To begin with, from a methodological point of view, just as much skill is required in delineating its marginality as would be in revealing its centrality. Its size has to be gauged correctly. The significance of writing its history does not require these numbers to be exaggerated.

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[140]University of Nottingham MS Middleton Mi LM 15, fol. 83r, consists of the notes Francis Willoughby took from various books on magic, geomancy, chiromancy and physiognomy (including the Achillini\Cocles 1504 *Anastasis*), which he called up in the Bodleian in 1663.

[141]A single European comparison is revealing. The total of physiognomical works sold by Herder at the 1586 Frankfurt Book Fair was half the number that he sold of a general medical work entitled *Das Handbuechlin Apollinaris* (which was his second best-seller). However, even this was only a small percentage of the 5,918 books he sold overall during the Fair, J. Westfall Thompson, *The Frankfurt Book Fair* (Chicago, 1928), p. 34 & p. 187.

[142]P. Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Webster, *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, pp. 239-240.

[143]Eamon, *Secrets*, Appendix.

[144]J. Sommerville, 'The Distribution of Religious and Occult Literature in 17th century England', *The Library* (1974), pp. 221-5; Capp, *Almanacs*, p. 44; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), pp. 348 and fn. 41 & p. 341.

[145]M. E. Fissell, 'Reader, Texts and Contexts. Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850* (1992), pp. 72-93: p.72.

Moreover, to gauge the significance of 'treatises on physiognomy', let alone physiognomy itself, by the relatively insignificant numbers of treatises would be to miss the point. As will become apparent, the resonance of even such a small number of physiognomically dense documents of early modern culture in the form of these relatively explicit physiognomical treatises is certainly increased when one takes into consideration the very close and often very confused relationship between physiognomy and astrology and the doctrine of the four humours - two of the most widely disseminated bodies of knowledge (textual and non-textual) in the early modern period. This resonance is similarly increased when one considers the presence of physiognomy in the literature and plays or the proverbs and folklore of the period.[146] The extent of the presence and importance of physiognomy in early modern culture should not be judged simply by the relatively small and obscure stature of the corpus of 'physiognomical treatises'. Just as the presence of a 'physiognomical treatise' should not be automatically taken as a reflection of the presence of physiognomy, so physiognomy was present in places where there were no physiognomical treatises.

Whatever the overall scale of the presence of these works, it was a presence which, from Figure A, appears to have had a chronological dynamic. Appearing for the first time in printed English in 1503, the general picture is one of a continuing and rising interest as one moves through the period. There appears to have been an exceptional burst of interest in the 1510s and between 1555-1575 (which one might easily see as sustained until 1600.)[147] The next peak appears to have occurred in the last twenty to thirty years of the seventeenth century. This continued until the middle of the eighteenth century (the recorded fall between 1700 and 1710 is likely to have been the result of changes in the licensing laws), when, long before the arrival of Lavater's writings, their numbers began to increase.

Due to the relative obscurity of most of the texts in the series, it is difficult at this stage to account for these peaks. They are possibly distortions of the random survival of texts. However, Figures B & C, which show the overall output of English printed material c. 1500 - c. 1700, suggest that the peaks of the late 1550s and 1660s, as well as that of the last decades of the seventeenth century, occur at times when there has been a

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[146]See Chapter Six.

[147]1560-1600 saw a large increase in almanac production. My preliminary study of the European production of physiognomical texts suggests that the 1540s-1560s saw a significant burst in the output

FIGURE A

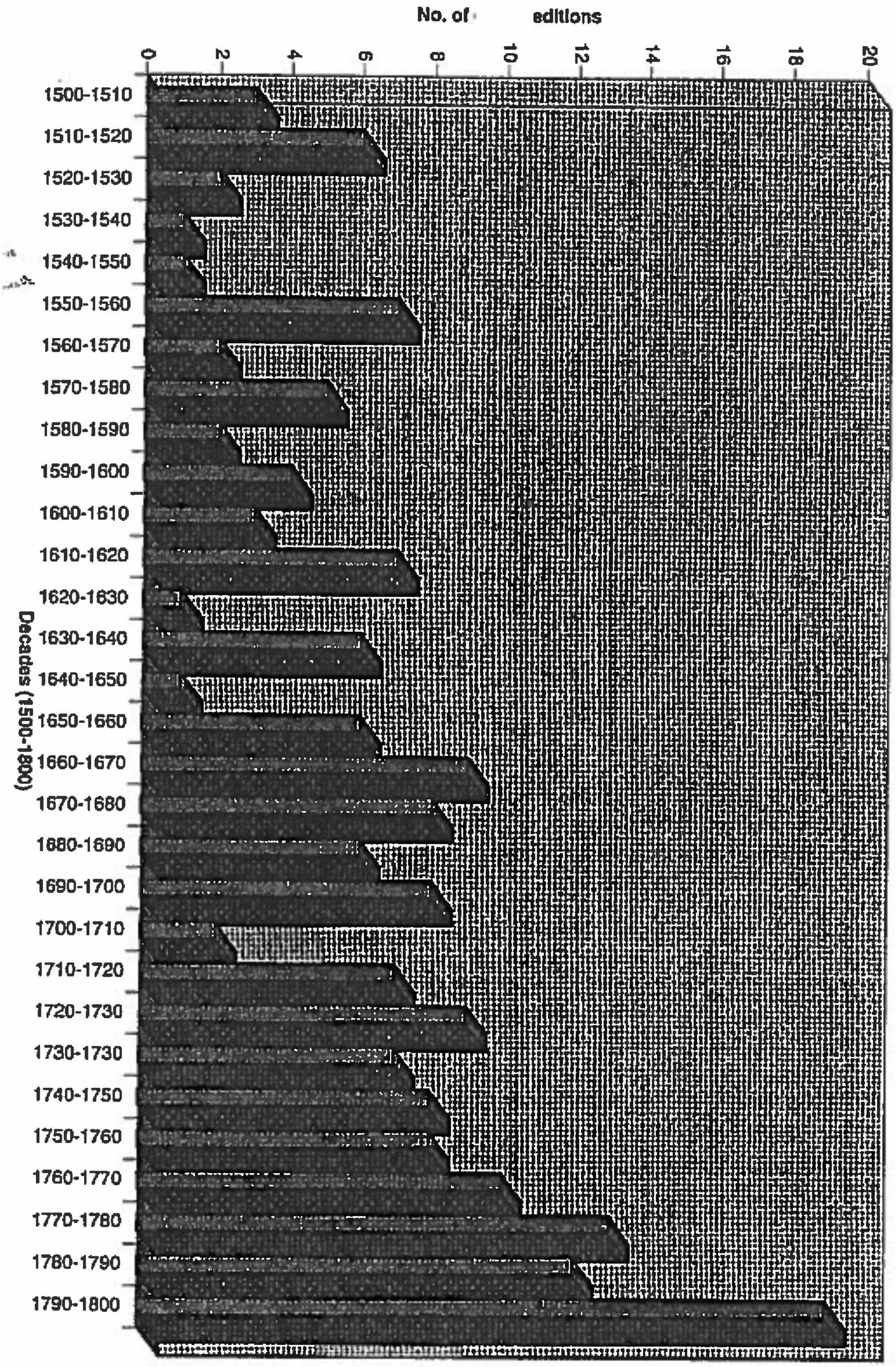
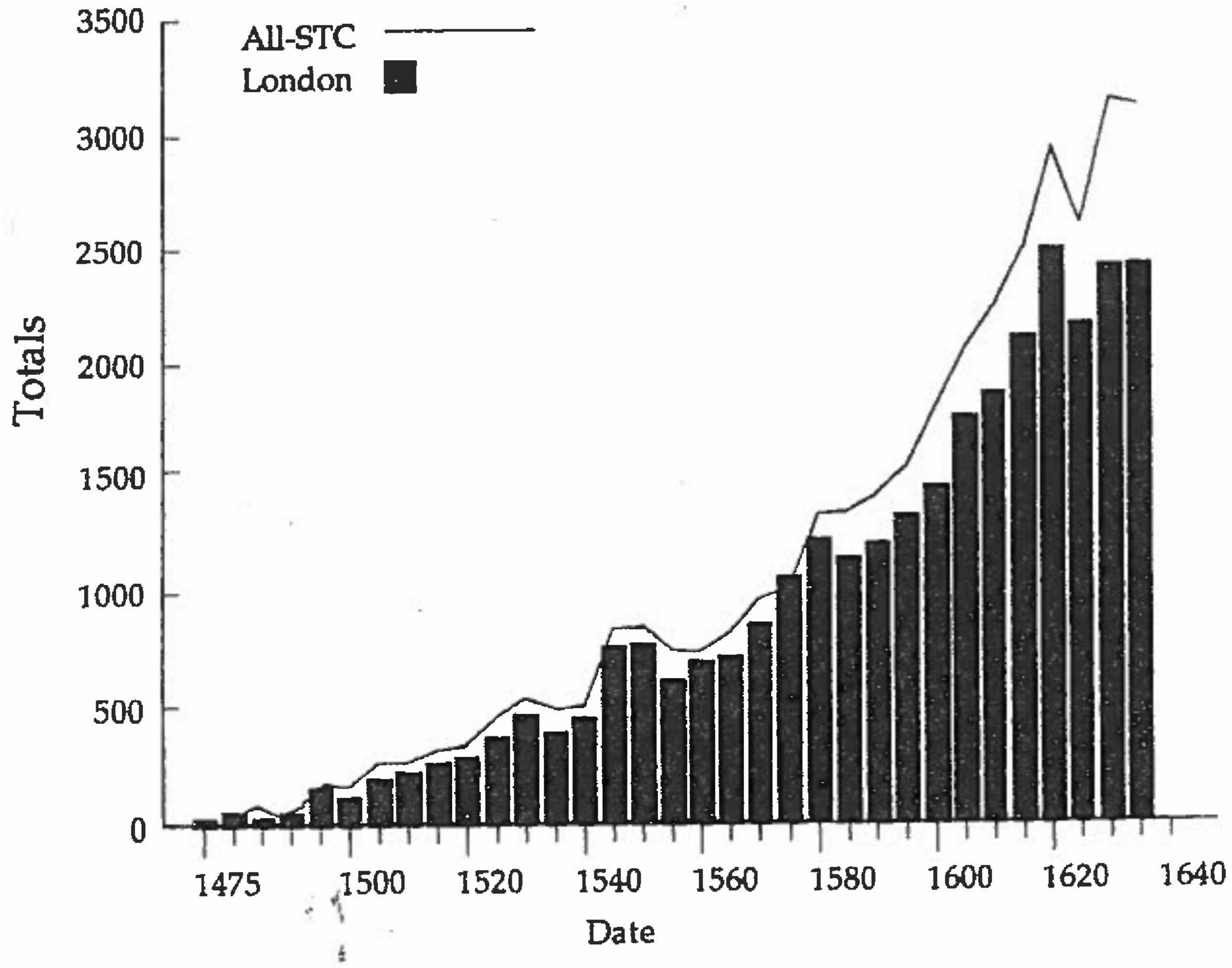

No. of editions
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
Decades (1500-1800)
1500-1510
1510-1520
1520-1530
1530-1540
1540-1550
1550-1560
1560-1570
1570-1580
1580-1590
1590-1600
1600-1610
1610-1620
1620-1630
1630-1640
1640-1650
1650-1660
1660-1670
1670-1680
1680-1690
1690-1700
1700-1710
1710-1720
1720-1730
1730-1730
1740-1750
1750-1760
1760-1770
1770-1780
1780-1790
1790-1800
ENGLISH PRINTED 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY' c. 1500 - c. 1800

FIGURE B

5-year totals: all *STC* and 'London'



WING CDROM ANNUAL TOTALS 1641-1700

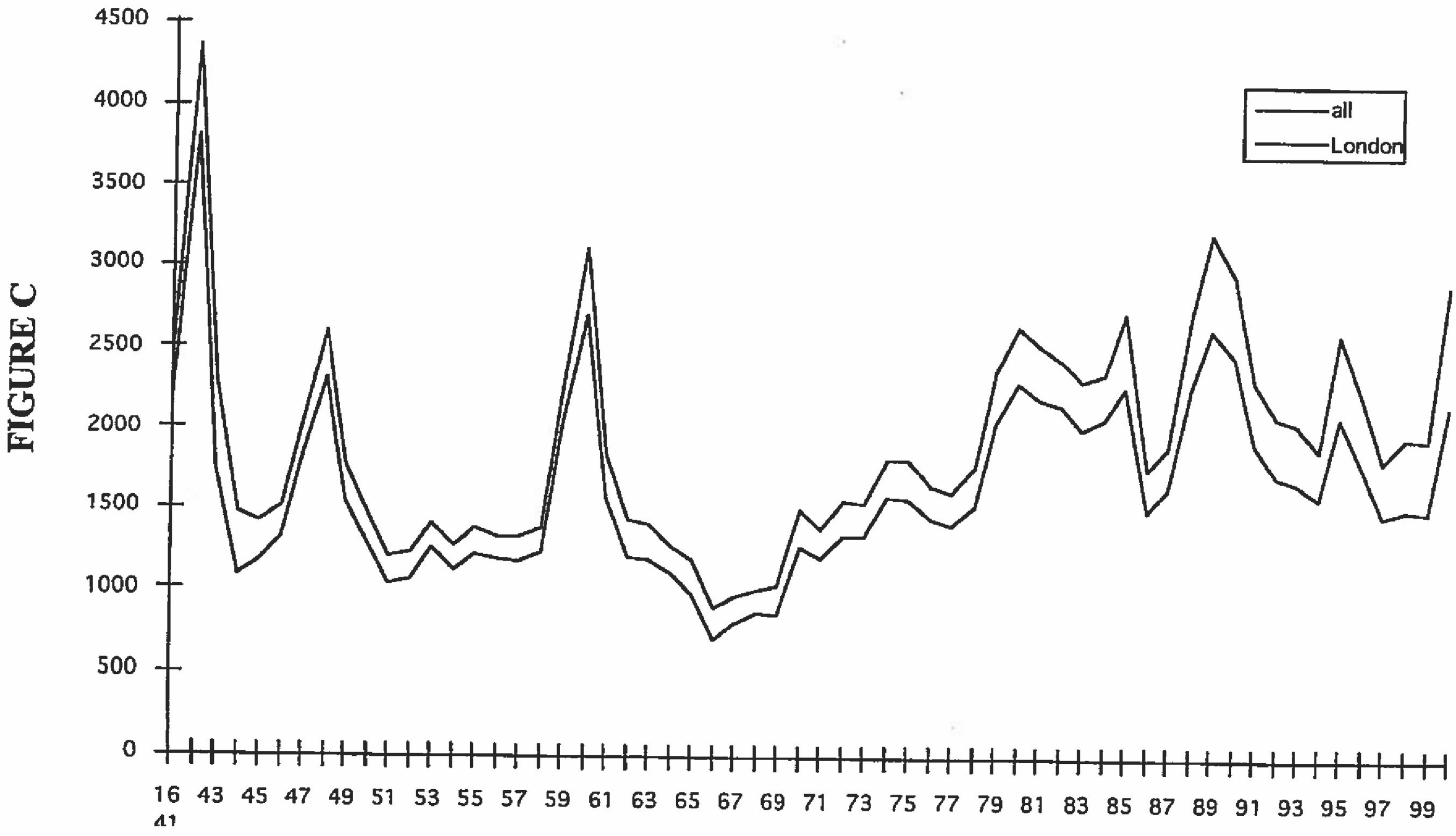


FIGURE C

relative decline in the overall numbers of books published. It is at least suggestive that both of these periods saw two of the great plagues of London (1563 and 1665).[148]

3

PRICE, FORMAT AND DISTRIBUTION

The sparse evidence for the prices of 'treatises on physiognomy' suggests that, by the late seventeenth century, they were available along the full range of the price spectrum and therefore available to people from across the social/income spectrum. The second edition of Richard Saunders's *Physiognomie and Chiromancie* was priced at '10 s' unbound, or '12 s' bound, whilst his *Palmistry* cost '1 s 6d'. The Vulson text cost '2 s' in 1669 and in 1672 but 18d in 1681.[149] This represented the top end of the market for leather-bound pocket-size octavos which were being sold for '1 s' from the 1660s onwards. *The True Fortune Teller*, Indagine and *Wits Cabinet* for example, all sold in this format for '1 s'.[150] In 1699 *Aristotle's Legacy* was being sold, bound, for 6d.[151]

Evidence for the lower price range can be seen in the 600 copies of 'Books of Palmistrie' (presumably the Indagine treatise) found in Charles Tias' warehouse in 1665 which were valued by the appraisers at '2 1/2d each', though it is difficult to know if this reflects estimated wholesale prices or prices at which they were actually sold. The fact that Pepys had 'a pair of duodecimo *Art of Palmistry* books from Tias's cheapest titles amongst his collection' suggests the latter.[152] In the eighteenth century, although *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* was relatively expensive, chapbooks such as the *School of Love*, or the *Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny* which incorporated expositions of physiognomical doctrine were sold in very large quantities at prices even cheaper than 2d.[153]

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of physiognomical works in France, Germany and Italy.

[148]P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1985), p. 54. James Manning's *Complexion's Castle* (1604) was advertised as useful in times of pestilence.

[149]Saunders (1671), p. 289; Arber, *Term Catalogues*, vol. I, pp. 15, 62 & 454.

[150]*TC*, vol. II, pp. 148.

[151]*TC*, vol. III., p. 130

[152]Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 93.

[153] CUL, 7180.e.19; CUL, SSS.25.29(4). This also holds for the European corpus. Antoine Gerard's 1493 edition of *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (which included a section devoted to physiognomy) was printed on vellum with sixty-six miniatures and presented to Charles VIII. Cornelio Ghiradelli's *Cefalogia Fisionomica*, published in Bologna in 1630, contained even more engravings. Both

Much the same can be said for works published earlier. Fludd's text probably cost far beyond the 12 shillings of Saunders, yet some of Hill's works were priced at 2d and 3d. and 6d.[154]Although no price details survive for the *Kalendar* or the *Compost* it is possible to estimate their market value. Francis Johnson has suggested that between 1560 to 1635 the price of normal new unbound books printed in pica or larger type was usually 1/2d a sheet.[155] Whilst it is likely that the *Kalendar* cost over 1 shilling prior to 1540, there is an early-seventeenth-century *Kalendar* printed on cheap paper whose cheap type-face and woodcuts have all the attributes of a cheap edition published by Wyer.[156] At around 18-20 sheets in length on average, this may have priced some pre-1540 versions of the *Kalendar* at around 9d.[157]

There is much disagreement over who would have been able to afford them. Some argue that books were becoming more and more affordable as one moves through the period. Johnson has argued that prices remained steady between 1560 and 1635, when the prices of other commodities nearly doubled and wages rose between one half and two thirds.[158] In 1560 a builder could earn 8d to 10d per day. Therefore, one of these books would have cost him a day's wages. By 1600 he was earning 1 shilling, and by 1640 this had risen to 16d. However, Wrightson's suggestion of a basic subsistence level of between £110-£114 for a family in a normal year, with the wages of a labouring man totalling around £9-£10, leaves little if anything to spare for books. However, an early-seventeenth-century husbandman holding 30 acres of arable land might have around £3-£4 surplus, which is an average of between 14d to 18d per week.[159] Tessa Watt has suggested that "a lesser yeoman with £40-£50 income a year would hardly

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were no doubt priced well above 12 shillings. Yet the most common format of those that have survived is the much cheaper, pocket-size octavo illustrated with cheap woodcuts - the most widely read example being the *Physiognomiae & chiromantiae compendium* of Bartholomaeus Cocles.

[154]Johnson, 'Book prices', p. 104.

[155]Johnson, 'Book prices', p. 83.

[156]Bodl., Vet A2 c. 52 [RSTC 22423]

[157]This estimate does not take into consideration the numerous woodcuts in any edition of the *Kalendar*. However, the 1522 inventory of a Parisian bookseller Jean Janot which valued one hundred and fifty undated quarto copies of the *Kalendar* at 69s might be seen as supporting this calculation. On 14th March 1547, an inventory was made of the library of M. Jean Le Fenon, an advocat of the *Parlement de Paris*, at his home in the cloister Sainte-Opportune. It listed a '*Phisionomia Aristotellis, cum commanto Micaelis Scoti*'. This refers to the 1515 folio published in Pavia. It was given an estimated value of '12s', R. Doucet, *Les bibliothèques Parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1956), p. 102 (item No. 139), & p. 144 (item No. 438).

[158]Johnson, 'Book prices', p. 93; E. H. Phelps-Brown & S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables compared with Builder's Wage-Rates' in E. M. Carus-Wilson (ed.), *Essays in Economic History* (1962), p. 262.

[159]K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (1982), pp. 32-4.

have to think twice about buying pamphlets or ballads, and probably represented a more regular market".[160] Whilst Johnson has suggested that after 1635 prices rose by about 40%, as was shown above physiognomical texts were coming down in price.[161]

With regard to the distribution of these texts, there were a number of routes down which they appear to have passed. Many of these texts were passed on from generation to generation, either through families or through the second-hand book market. Visual evidence of the second-hand availability of at least one of the works under consideration can be seen in **Plate III.**[162] In this late-seventeenth/early-eighteenth-century engraving by Sutton Nichols, the sixth book from the left on the front row is a copy of *Aristotle's Masterpiece.*[163]Although the engraving may be satirical, the inclusion of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* is a reflection of the popularity of the work.

In terms of the geographical distribution of these works, little can be said that has not already been illustrated by Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt. Their respective studies of small books and cheap print in early modern England show very clearly how, for those booksellers who did not have direct trade connections with the provincial sellers,[164] they could rely upon pedlars and hawkers. From at least as early as the 1570s onwards, the numbers of such tradesmen grew, ensuring a distribution of the works of these London publishers in formats priced between 3d and 9d far beyond the capital and throughout the mainland, but particularly in the Home Counties.

Did these chapmen carry 'treatises on physiognomy' in their baskets? Deacon, Back and Passinger, whose shops provided places where 'English and Irish Chapmen...may be well-furnished, and have good Penniworths'", all sold physiognomical treatises, as did many other booksellers in the same area, such as Josuah Conyers, Charles Dennisson, John Wright, Philip Brooksby and John Clarke.[165] Indeed, in the 1711 edition of the

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[160]Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 262.
[161]Johnson, 'Book prices', p. 93.
[162]Taubert, *Bibliopola*, vol. I, p. 77.
[163]The earliest copy of *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* so far brought to light is dated 1710 [Bodl., Johnson f. 1906.] The travel books of John Ogilby which also appear on the table (right hand side of the front row), published first between 1670 and 1673 also contain an element of physiognomy in his descriptions of the stature and character of the different inhabitants of the various countries and the regions within those countries.
[164]Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 125.
[165]Deacon's trade-list also included Richard Saunders, *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny, Or the Interpretation of Dreams*. See Spufford, *Small Books*, pp. 111-112.

Aristotle's Last Legacy sold by Thomas Norris, Norris included a catalogue of the works he had on sale including 'all sorts of Chapmen's Books whatsoever'.[166]

In the later eighteenth century, regional presses began to print physiognomical chapbooks, such as the J. Turner in Newcastle who printed an '11th edition' of *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny* alongside another entitled *Nine Pennyworth of Wit for A Penny*.[167] Indeed, by this time such works were also being published in Scotland, Ireland and America.[168]

[166]The iconography of European hawkers and chapmen suggests that this was a European phenomenon. See Taubert, *Bibliopola*, vol. I, pp. 25, 33, & 35.
[167]BL, 11621.b.26 (6); BL, 1078.k.72 (3 & 4). No. 4 might be early eighteenth century.
[168]See Bibliography.

CONCLUSION

Printed 'treatises on physiognomy' were a European-wide phenomenon, particularly in France, Germany and Italy, from the early 1470s right up until the eve of the publication of Lavater c. 1780. The English 'treatises on physiognomy' first arrived in 1503 and continued to be published until the end of the period. Until the late seventeenth century, they were all derivative, in one form and another, from some European, predominantly French, counterpart, usually via direct translation. After that, they began to be reformulations of each other. There were approximately 325,000 copies of 'treatises on physiognomy', printed and manuscript, in circulation in England during the early modern period, sufficient to keep the subject before the public, but distant enough to safeguard its awe of mystery. Beginning in 1503, the demand for the English printed versions may have peaked in the 1510s, 1550s and 1610s, the latter two periods being times of plague. Demand reached a plateau in the late 1660s which was sustained until the mid-eighteenth century when the numbers once again began to increase. From the 1540s onwards, they had been available in all formats, at all prices, from the most lavishly illustrated folio to the cheaper pocket-size octavos, and, by the eighteenth-century, in the form of penny chapbooks. They were distributed far beyond London by the numerous chapmen and hawkers connected with the London book-trade. In the eighteenth century regional presses began to print texts which contained some form of physiognomy.

CHAPTER THREE

OF THE ART OF PHYSIOGNOMATING c. 1500 - c. 1780

I

THE PHYSIOGNOMICAL CONTENT OF PHYSIOGNOMATING: THE LANGUAGE OF AN EARLY MODERN WAY OF LOOKING AND LISTENING

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will deal with the intellectual content of the physiognomical doctrine found in the series of texts outlined in Chapter Two. Section 1 will examine the spectrum of early modern conceptions of physiognomy and the way these appear to have changed over time. Section 2 will discuss the symbiotic relationship between early modern physiognomy, astrology and humoral theory. Section 3 will examine the issues of physiognomy and beauty, utility and gender as articulated in these texts. After discussing the issue of continuity and discontinuity in these printed physiognomical aphorisms, it will provide the reader with an idea of what specific physical features can be said to have meant throughout the period and the significance of any apparent changes.

1

THE PARAMETERS OF PHYSIOGNOMATING

In his 1747 Royal Society lecture, James Parsons articulated the broadest understanding of the term 'physiognomy':

> The Word Physiognomy signifies a View of Nature in general;.....the Term Metoposcopy (which denotes Opinions arising from a View of the Face alone.....is less understood than the other, and....most People now-a-days mean no more by the former than what regards the Countenance.[1]

Physiognomy, in this Parsonian sense of 'a view of nature', can be found in an English treatise as early as 1556. In Thomas Hill's mid-sixteenth-century text, the art of physiognomating extended beyond human beings to knowing the 'effectes' caused through the mixtures of the elements in all forms of natural 'bodies'. In other words:

> the knowledge of the temperaunce of bodyes by theyr shape & fourmes.[2]

This covered:

> stones, plantes, herbes, fish, foule, beastes and men.

Hill even suggested a new term for physiognomating:

> bodye skyl.

Hill's understanding of the term placed physiognomy on the fringes of a system of predominantly medical thought known as the doctrine of signatures. Most often identified with Paracelsus, it saw the external shapes of things as signs of their internal medicinal qualities.[3]

A similarly general conception resurfaced in the works of Robert Fludd, who, in 1619, wrote:

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[1]James Parsons, 'Human Physiognomy Explain'd: in the Crounian Lectures on Muscular Motion'. *Philosophical Transactions*, 44 (1747), vol.44, pt. 1. Explicit definitions of physiognomy only provide evidence of the way in which it was conceived at a theoretcial level. The way physiognomy was perceived in everyday life might have a very different chronology. Furthermore, the extent of physiognomical understanding cannot only be gauged by the appearance of the word. Just as the word physiognomy can be used without any knowledge of the subject, so a knowledge and use of the subject physiognomy can exist without the appearance of the word.

[2]Hill (1556), Preface.

[3]See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (1974), pp. 25-30.

> Indeed Physiognomy is called a sign of nature.[4]

By this etymological definition, Fludd placed physiognomy within a tradition inherited from the Middle Ages, the idea of the 'book of nature', in which nature was seen as a system of natural signs created by God which revealed the nature of the creator if one knew how to read it.[5] Understood in this sense, the art of physiognomating again extended to discerning the inner meaning, as opposed to cause, of every natural body, be it the sky, or the plants, or the animals. Closely related to this was another long-standing system of thought prominent in the Renaissance into which Fludd incorporated physiognomy - the microcosm/macrocosm analogy. This viewed the Universe as a system of signs by which 'the visible revealed the invisible, where it was convenient to look for concordances, analogies and sympathies between all of the constituent parts of the universe as between the outside and inside of everything.'[6] This was, for the most part, as intellectually sophisticated as physiognomy got.

Thirty years after Fludd, one can find Richard Saunders writing:

> In general Physiognomy teacheth the method of knowing the internal affections of natural bodies by the external signs thereof....many distinctions there are of Physiognomy, but the full extent thereof...refers to all natural and celestial bodies.[7]

Thus, for Saunders, alongside an anthropological physiognomy, there was a botanical physiognomy, a phytognomical physiognomy, a therielogical (zoological) physiognomy and a celestial physiognomy. All in all it would appear to pre-empt Lavater's question:

> is not all nature physiognomy?[8]

Parson's more anthropocentric but still quite loose definition of physiognomy - 'opinions arising from a view of the face' - was not unique to the eighteenth century either. The term physiognomy had been used as a synonym for either the face or the entire physical countenance since at least the thirteenth century, sometimes implying

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[4]'Unde Physiognomia quasi naturae signum appellatur', Fludd, *UCH* (1619), p. 119.
[5]J. Huizinga links such 'mental association based on acausal similitude' to mysticism and primitivism, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), p. 184ff; E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1953), pp. 319-326.
[6]E. Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford, 1963); Foucault, *Things*, pp. 17-25. Cf. 'The poet is the priest of the invisible', Wallace Stevens, 'Adagia', *Opus Posthumous*, ed. M. J. Bates (New York, 1990), p. 195.
[7]Saunders (1671), sig. a2r.
[8]J. C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 3 vols. (1789), vol. I, p. 28.

the way in it reflects the soul.[9] Just when it began to be used in this Parsonian way is not known. One hundred and fifty years earlier Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Maister* (1596) had offered a simple definition of 'physiognomie' similar to Parson's:

> Knowledge by the visage.[10]

'Visage' is used here in order to distinguish it from the more purely anatomical term 'face'. As the *Arcandam* treatise stated:

> The face is taken simply for a naturall look: but the visage is understood of the quality of the mind.[11]

By Coote's definition, looking at the visage was an inherently physiognomical procedure. Coles' 1676 definition confirmed this:

> a discovering of men's natures by their looks, also contracted to Physnomy.[12]

This *physnomy* made no distinction between the still physical features and gestures, nor was the exact nature and content of the knowledge gained by looking at a visage restricted in any way. Throughout the entire period it referred instead to one's general, intuitive, even unconscious ability to discern something about a person by that person's physique - an ability attainable as much by everyday experience as by the reading of physiognomical treatises.[13]

Two years after Parson's lecture, Pernetti's writing appeared in English. He claimed that 'everything has its physiognomy', but that genuine skill in physiognomy was 'a gift of Nature'. Significantly, he continued to grieve those who still credited:

> Analogies or Connections betwixt the celestial Constellations and a human birth, and to Similitudes with Animals, grounded on some exterior Resemblance.[14]

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[9]For early modern examples see F. J. Furnivall & W. G. Stone (eds.), *The Tale of Berinus* [c. 1400], EETS, extra series, 105 (1909), line 3196ff.; Robert Green, 'Tu Quoque: or The City Gallant' (1614), in W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), *A Selection of Old English Plays*, 15 vols. (1874-76), vol. XI; *The Spectator*, ed. R. F. Bond (1987), vol. I, Mon., April 30th, 1711, p. 222. This use of the term seems to have disappeared within living memory.

[10]This was a school-book which, between 1596 and 1737, saw at least fifty four editions. This definition of physiognomy is similar to the one found in Jewish mysticism - *hakkarath panim* (perception by the face). See Chapter One.

[11]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Kviii(v).

[12]E. Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1676). Edward Cocker, *Cocker's English Dictionary* (1704) defines Physiognomists as 'discoverers of people by their features'.

[13]For example: 'An honest fellow call you him? If he have not rogue writ in great letters in's face, I have no physnomy', J. S., 'Andromana, or The Merchant's Wife'(1660), in Hazlitt, *Plays*, vol. XIV, p. 253.

[14]Jacques Pernetti, *Philosophical Letters upon Physiognomies* (1751), p. 3.

Lavater made equally large claims that 'absolutely all men, estimate all things whatever, by their physiognomy', and that physiognomy was 'the origin of all we do and suffer'. Although his physiognomy was strictly anthropocentric, his description of the human countenance as 'the mirror of Divinity' which revealed:

> knowledge of the correspondences between the external and internal man, the visible superficies and the invisible contents,

had distinct overtones of Fludd's Rosicrucian philosophy.[15]

Given all of the above, Foucault's claim in *The Order Of Things*, that he was pausing at 'a moment in time when resemblance was about to relinquish its relation with knowledge and disappear, in part at least, from the sphere of cognition', takes on a very different shape when seen from such a plurality of cognitive spheres and temporal schemata.[16] Similarly, despite the imminent changes in 'tone' Huizinga discerns in the fifteenth century, his claim that 'the characteristic modes of thought of the Middle Ages did not die out till long after the Renaissance', might in some ways be sustained well into the eighteenth century.[17]

Notwithstanding, how was physiognomy defined in the more restricted sense of the systematic art of examining a person's physical features?[18] With regard to its changing intellectual status, Francis Bacon's influential definition located physiognomy amongst the knowledge which dealt with the 'league' of mind and body:

> the knowledge concerning the sympathies and concordances between the mind and body, which, being mixed, cannot be properly assigned to the sciences of either.

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[15]Lavater, *Essays*, pp. 20, 25-26.
[16]Foucault, *Things*, p. 17.
[17]Huizinga, *Waning*, pp. 308 & 297.
[18]During this period, there were about twenty seven different dictionaries published in numerous editions all of which have been consulted. See D. W. T. Starnes, *Renaissance Dictionaries. English-Latin and Latin-English* (Edinburgh, 1954); D. W. T. Starnes & G. E. Noyes, *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604-1755* (1946); R. C. Alston, *Bibliography of the English Language From The Invention of Printing To the Year 1800* (Ilkley, 1974); G. Stein, *The English Dictionary before Cawdrey* (Tuebingen, 1985); J. Schaefer, *Early Modern English Lexicography. A Survey of Monolingual Printed Glossaries and Dictionaries 1475-1640*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989). Only very specialized or minor dictionaries did not include an entry for physiognomy. Examples are John Ray, *A Collection of English Words, Not Generally used, with their Significations and Original, in two Alphabeticall Catalogues* (1674); J. Cowel, *The Interpreter of Words and Terms used in either the Common or Statute Laws of this Realm* (1684); *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689).

Bacon distinguished 'two branches' of this hybrid. The first - 'how the one discloseth the other' - he termed 'Discovery'. The second - 'how the one worketh upon the other' - he termed 'Impression'.[19] In this scheme of things, physiognomy was an art:

> which discovereth the disposition of the mind by the lineaments of the body.

Prior to this, physiognomy had usually been referred to as a science, probably because of the influence of the Latin term *scientia* which had the more general meaning of 'knowledge' than it came to have in the seventeenth century.[20] For the humanist Elyot in 1538, physiognomy still had the scholastic status of 'a rule'.[21] In 1587 Thomas used both 'rule' and 'science'.[22] Hill's 1556 treatise called it an art, and by 1599, Minsheu was referring to physiognomy as an 'art' or a 'rule'.[23] Although this became received opinion, it was not without its dissenters. During the seventeenth century, Saunders's 1653 and 1671 editions called physiognomy a science. In the eighteenth century *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* referred to it as an 'ingenious science'. Although Martin's 1749 dictionary followed suit,[24] by the time of the *Encyclopédie* in 1750s, Diderot was dismissing physiognomy as both 'pretended art' and 'ridiculous science':

> which teaches one how to know the humour, the temperament and the character of men by the traits of their visage.[25]

Soon after, Pernetti and Lavater defiantly flew in the face of such Enlightened opinion in claiming scientific status for physiognomy.[26]

What was the material of the more anthropocentric mode of physiognomating? The *Physiognomonica* gave a broad range of sources from which the physiognomers drew their signs.[27] For Bacon it was the 'lineaments of the body'. This was in

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[19]J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath (ed.), *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols. (1858), vol. III, p. 367.
[20]Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565): 'a science to know a mans naturall affections by his visage or fourme of the partes of his body'.
[21]Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elyot* [1538]: 'a rule to knowe a mannes naturall affections by his vysage or fourme of his members'.
[22]Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587): 'a science or rule to coniecture or iudge a mans naturall affections by his visage or forme'; John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (1598).
[23]John Minsheu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599): 'the arte or rule to know his naturall inclination by his face or visage'.
[24]Benjamin Martin, *Lingua Britannica Reformata: Or, A New English Dictionary* (1749): 'the science of discovering mens natures by their looks'.
[25]Yet for his belief in the representation of character in human physiognomy, Diderot was compared with Lavater. Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 97.
[26]Pernetti (1751), p. 21; Lavater (1789), vol. I, p. 24.
[27]See Chapter One.

contradistinction to the earliest versions of the *Kalendar of Shepherds* which referred to the features themselves as 'signs' which 'the planetis sheweth of them'. Whilst some late-seventeenth-century texts still carried traces of references to the more chiromantical 'lines of the face',[28] after the middle of the seventeenth century, most definitions (and new treatises) refer either only to the 'face' or above all the 'looks'.[29] Although the eighteenth-century editions of *Erra Pater* and particularly *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* reversed this tendency by including physiognomical signs for the entire body, the signs for breathing and various gestures such as walking, evident in earlier treatises, had disappeared. Indeed, one significant feature never mentioned by any definition (the *Physiognomonica* being the exception) was the voice (or the laugh or the breathing), despite its frequent presence in many treatises.[30]

Theoretically, the art of physiognomating was conceived of as a predominantly visual process. One exception to this was the *Kalendar*. Its use of the phrase 'by beholding them only', appears to distinguish this form of physiognomical inspection - an act involving both the sight and the hearing (the *Kalendar* includes physiognomical aphorisms relating to the voice) - from other more medical forms of physiognomating that may have involved the senses of touch, smell or taste. As such, this probably reflects a desire to distinguish the more contemplative and pastoral cleric from the more practical, manual physician or empiric.[31]

However, not all conceptions of the nature of this visual process were the same. Scholars often state that Fludd's illustrations are an integral part of the exposition of his philosophy.[32] The illustration which accompanies his presentation of physiognomy is no exception. [See **Plate IV**] The image shows a man and a woman looking at each other, presumably physiognomating each other. Both have been placed in the middle of the pupil of an eye. Illustrations throughout the rest of the work show that this eye is the

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[28]*GCH*, p. 152; *ALL* (c. 1700), p. 11.

[29]The only exception is John Kersey, *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708): 'an Art which discovers or guesses at the Natures, Conditions and Fortunes of People, by observing the Countenance and Disposition of their Members'. All of the eighteenth-century dictionaries refer to 'face' or 'looks'. For example, John Wesley, *The Complete English Dictionary Explaining most of those Hard Words which are found in the Best English Writers* (1753): 'the art of discovering men's natures by their looks'.

[30]See Appendix I.

[31]The sense of touch was certainly implied in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*. See above, p. 29. One of the reasons physicians were looked down upon was due to the fact that their work involved manual labour. See for example, L. Brockliss & C. Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1997), p. 298.

[32]R. S. Westman, 'Nature, Art, and Psyche: Jung, Pauli, and the Kepler-Fludd Polemic' in B. Vickers (ed.),

providential eye of an omniscient, omnipresent, all-seeing God - the three parts of the eye being equated elsewhere with the Trinity. It was a notion for which there was abundant scriptural authority (for example 2 Chronicles 16.9; Psalms 33.18, 34.15), and which was also common to other writings.[33] Thus, for Fludd, not only did the art of physiognomating provide 'certain observations', its optic nerves were seen as a continuation of and an illuminating participation in the divine providential gaze of God.[34]

A rich array of verbs was used to describe the process of the physiognomical gaze, each one bestowing a different degree of authority upon this act as well as implying a variety of social interactions. Whilst clear patterns are difficult to establish, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the verb most frequently used to describe what this art allowed one to do was the verb 'to know' - the key term of the changes taking place in natural philosophy at the time.[35] Before Bacon's use of the term 'discovery', Thomas's 1587 dictionary appears to have been the first to use 'conjecture' or 'judge'.[36] The eclectic Saunders also used the verb to 'judge' alongside 'divine' and 'understand'. By the late seventeenth century, the frequent use of the verb 'to guess' probably reflects the extent to which it was seen as a form of fortune-telling.[37] Indeed, after the 1660s, 'to guess' was most often used when the definition included a reference to the future (Dyche (1735))[38] whilst the term 'discover' was used when the definition referred only to the nature of the person. The treatises most often used such prophetic verbs as 'to predict', 'to prognosticate' 'to discern', 'to foretell' and 'to pronounce'. Others were 'to be instructed', 'to make 'certain observations', 'to guess' - but never the Baconian 'to discover'.

When one asks what was it that physiognomy enabled one to discern, these definitions also reveal conflictual understandings of the nature and constitution of a

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Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 177-229: p. 193.

[33]'God...who is....an infinite eye, beholding all things', Sir Walter Ralegh, *History of the World* (1614), Bk. I, ch. 1, pp. 18ff.

[34]In this divinely inspired conception of the physiognomating stare, one can see the mystical influence of either Arabic *firasa*, the Jewish *Kaballah* or the *Seers* found in the Coptic texts mentioned in above,

[35]See below, pp. 174-187. Charles Taylor describes this change in the process of 'knowing' in terms of the decline of the pre-Cartesian 'ontic logos', *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 186.

[36]John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616): 'the art to iudge of ones nature or conditions by his visage or forme of his bodie'. Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie* (1623) is the same.

[37]Randle Cotgrave had used this as early as 1611, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611): 'a guess at the nature or the inward disposition, by the feature or outward lineaments'.

[38]Thomas Dyche, *A New General English Dictionary* (1735).

human being in early modern England. The most frequently used terms are the 'inclination', the 'disposition' and the 'condition'. In astrology, the 'disposition' referred to the situation of the planets and stars in a horoscope which was supposed to determine the nature or fortune of a person or the course of events. When transferred to the human condition it represents an existential state - 'a natural tendency or bent of mind, especially in relation to moral or social qualities' - but also carried with it some of these astrological overtones.[39]

The 'inclination' was a very closely related term referring to general or permanent mental tendencies, or the condition of being disposed to something. Whilst it is easier to think of it as a category of the human condition, in the early modern period it is one that also had distinct astrological resonances. This is because of the widely held belief that it was the influence of the stars which configured one's character in such a way as to make one have a propensity to certain qualities and to act in a certain way. Considered alongside the features created by the planets, these definitions reflect the depth of the astrological way of thinking. The planets do not simply incline from the outside, they are literally on and in human beings; they are both the physical, metaphysical and thus the ontological constituents of man and woman. In fact, put like this, it was not a way of thinking, but an entire way of being.

The 'condition' was most often used to refer to the essential state or nature of one's being whilst avoiding the astrological overtones. Indeed, in the early modern period it was also used to refer to one's social rank and wealth. However, many early modern definitions fail to make a clear distinction between the way a person is at the present moment and the way a person is more fundamentally, or by nature.

Only Cocker's 1704 dictionary used the humoral terms 'humour and temper' for that aspect of the person which was revealed by the physiognomical gaze. Saunders' 1653 treatise also made this claim (adding 'the inward part of the soul'). There was very little difference between the 'humour', the 'temperament' and the 'complexion'. All were terms used to describe the result of the mixture of the fundamental elements of air, fire, water and earth along with their inherent qualities of hot, cold, dry and moist, in the four humours of the body, the phlegm, the yellow bile, the black bile (melancholy) and the blood, technically referred to in Greek as the *krasis*.

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[39]*OED*.

Bacon's definition claimed that physiognomy allowed one to discover the 'disposition of the mind'. Later, in 1663, Saunders suggested that physiognomy revealed the 'qualifications of the mind' and in 1669 the Vulson translation spoke of the 'characters and sentiments of the Mind'. One might be tempted to see in this the introduction of a version of the Cartesian distinction between mind and body. However, it must be noted that Saunders wanted it all ways. He also wrote of the 'things kept secret in the heart'; likewise La Chambre. Furthermore, Indagine had already spoken of the 'inward motions and affections of the mind and heart' as early as 1558.

Most dictionary definitions speak of either the more Aristotelian 'natural affections', the 'natural conditions' or the more general and non-committal 'nature' of a person as the thing that is revealed by the physiognomical gaze. Throughout the eighteenth century, most use the term 'nature', with many adding 'natures, conditions and fortunes' - in other words, past, present and future.[40]

2

PHYSIOGNOMY, ASTROLOGY AND HUMORAL THEORY:

A PERMANENT INSTABILITY

Physiognomy was just one of a number of early modern forms of semiotics which, in the more anthropocentric sense of the term, were based on the natural signs of the human body perceptible by the senses. Semioticians made many different technical distinctions between the signs of these disciplines.[41] Although none of the physiognomical treatises under consideration discussed the signs from this more technical point of view, was there anything which distinguished physiognomical signs from the signs found in medicine, humoral theory, physiology, or astrology?

There are some purely physiognomical signs. They consist of signifieds made up of a still, physical feature, unaltered through either disease or cosmetics, and a signifier consisting only of a metaphysical category, be it a moral or psychological

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[40]In 1708, in an answer to a reader's question about whether fortune-telling was sinful, the British Apollo replied: 'Under so Unlawful a Pretension we may include Palmistry, Physiognomistry, &c.', *The British Apollo, or Curious Amusements for the Ingenious*, No. 66 2/1 (Sept. 24-29 1708).

[41]I. Maclean, 'Medicine, Semiology and the Interpretation of Texts', paper delivered at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford, 8th May, 1997.

category. To take an example at random:

> a litle nose a disceitful person.[42]

Fludd's more sophisticated work contains physiognomicks which are even more simple, stripped of any verbal grammatical adjuncts and reduced to a phrase consisting of a single adjective and a single signified. This one refers to the nose:

> blunt weak.[43]

A spectrum of the entire corpus of the physiognomical signs found in these texts could be arranged along a number of intersecting continua, each of whose teleology is sign-posted by increasing degrees of complexity in the element each continuum represents. That is to say a complexity which is defined by either 1) an increase in the number of adjectival modifications of the single natural signifier, 2) an increase in the number of moral or psychological signifieds and the adjectival modifications thereof, or 3) an actual increase in the number of natural signifiers.[44]

At one stage in the laborious process one would encounter more complex signs such as:

> The nose retorte and crokyng upwarde, and long, hauyng the ende congruently grosse: declareth that man to be bolde, proude, a niggarde, enuiouse, couetouse, Ireful, leacherouse, a lyar, a deceauer, vayne gloryouse, unfaythful, a stryuer, and a brawler.[45]

Here the correspondence between the signifiers and the signified is less straightforward. One cannot be sure if the nose is to be taken to refebr to one or all or just some of these signifiers. However, it is still a physiognomical sign.

The table in *Arcandam* adds some form of analogical reference to even simple signs. For example:

[The ears:]	Great	Dull	Asses.[46]

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[42]Indagine (1558), sig. Ivii.
[43]'Obtusus mollitiem' Fludd (1619), p. 126. Fludd took this verbatim from Pomponi Gauricus' *De sculptura* (Venice, 1504), sig. Cvi(v).
[44]For an example of a one signifier, two adjectival modifications and one signified physiognomick: '[a nose] thicke and lowe, evil manners', Indagine (1558), sig. Ivii; a one signifier, one adjectival and two signifieds physiognomick: 'The nosethrilles drawen in length, mery & coragious', Indagine (1558), sig. Ivii.; and so on and so forth.
[45]Hill (1556), sig. gii.
[46]*Arcandam* (1664), sig Hviiir-I.

Other analogical reference points include other animals (lions, foxes etc.), foreigners (Ethiopians), particular characters (such as the fool) and gender. As such it was merely echoing the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*:

> A nose thick at the tip means laziness, as witness cattle.[47]
> A round, blunt tip indicates pride, as in lions.[48]

Whilst all of the above signs consist of natural, still physical features, the treatises are also replete with pure physiognomical signs whose signifier is a gesture, particularly the eyes and the walk, as well as physiognomical signs of the breath, the voice and the laugh.

Yet many of these pure physiognomical signs are interspersed throughout these treatises with signs taken from other disciplines. Many more actually shade into signs which can be found in other disciplines. This is particularly a feature of those from astrology and those from humoral theory.

Astrological theory had long since had a physiognomical component in as far as it posited physical and mental properties caused by living in specific regions under the influence of the various climates, planets and the various signs of the zodiac.[49] Early modern astrology was no exception. Thus, in writing of the 'signification of Jupiter', Lilly describes in great detail the 'corporature', from the 'upright, straight and tall Stature; browne, ruddy and lovely Complexion; of an ovall long Visage, and it full or fleshy; high Forehead; large gray Eyes, his Hair soft, and a kind of auburne browne' and so on, as well as the 'Manners and Actions when well disposed..[and] when ill': 'Magnanimous, Faithfull, Bashfull,....Honourable and Religious....Hypocritically Religious, Tenacious...Ignorant, Carelesse' and so forth.[50] However, the difference between this astrological physiognomy, and the more simplistic physiognomical signs, is that in the former there is no direct and exact connection made between a specific corporeal feature and a specific mental property.

Yet having said that, some physiognomical signs tended to do this themselves. The more the number of signifiers or signifieds and qualifying adjectives a

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[47]*Phys*, 811 a1, 25-30.
[48]*Phys*, 811a1 30-5.
[49]T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (1994); For a detailed comparison of all of the main texts in the Middle Ages see E. Hoffmann-Krayer & H. Bachtold-Staubli (eds.), *Handworterbuch Des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin & Leipzig, 1930-1942), vol. VII (1935/36), s.v. 'planeten' (pp. 35-291).
[50]William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1647), p. 58.

physiognomical sign carries, the more difficult it is to assign a one-to-one relationship between these elements. For example with:

> A person that laugheth gladly and hath green eyes is debonair, of good wit, wise, and lecherous,[51]

it is not clear whether it is the laugh or the green eyes which should be connected with the wit or the lechery. The more that physiognomical signs do this, in other words, the more adjectives and signifiers they incorporate, the more they become like the physiognomical signs of astrology.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned form of astrological physiognomy can itself be found in these physiognomical treatises.[52] The *Arcandam* treatise is full of physiognomical descriptions of the different signs of the zodiac, which, like that for the planets, gives descriptions of body and mind. Thus, corporeally, Aries is described as 'somewhat ruddy or yellow coloured....small belly, nimble and straite, thin and leane of body', whilst 'Touching the disposition of the minde, [h]e shal be subtile, politick, and crafty'.[53] Moreover, the lean thin body was also sometimes given as a physiognomical sign in itself. Indeed, the version given in Hill's 1556 treatise initially sounds as though it were taken from this description:

> The stature long leane and thynne, declareth that man to be sapyente, vayne, a lyar, of a grosse feadyng or feader, importunate, to wished [sic] thynges sone crediting, weake, slowe in doing thynges, and very self willed.[54]

At times the physiognomical section in the *Indagine* treatise actually collapses into astrology. The section on the chin mentions only one physiognomical sign (a sharp chin) before elaborating upon how different planets cause incompatibilities in different persons, such as the Iovials and the Saturnines, who 'do mutually dissent and disagree':

> So that what so ever is in the quality of the planets, the same effecte they worke in us through theyr influence, according to thinclination of oure dispositions, who therfore can plainly set forth & declare their inclinations, but he which is lerned in Astronomy, knoweth what is to be attributed unto every one, and bi his knowledge ether to augment or mitigate the affections of the mind.[55]

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[51]*GCH*, p. 154.
[52]For the parallels between Ptolemy and Polemon see Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, p. 183.
[53]*Arcandam* (1652), sig. Bi-Bi(v).
[54]Hill (1556), sig. Fi(v)-Fii.
[55]Indagine (1558), sigs. Hv & Hvi(v).

Even in the least astrological of physiognomical treatises one finds astrological physiognomy creeping in:

> The lippes well coloured, and more subtyle then great, declare that man to bee of a good condicjon in all thinges, and lightlie conuertible to good or euill, and rather to vertues, then to vices as Michael the Scot saieth, and there Jupiter is represented.[56]

Indeed, whilst this sign does not appear in Lilly's aforementioned description of the physique of Jupiter, there are others, such as the high forehead which can be found in these treatises which do seem to correspond with Lilly's description of Jupiter:

> The forehead very hygh and round declareth that man to be liberall to his friendes and acquaintaunce, meary, of a good understanding, tractable to other, and in manye graces vertuouse.[57]

Others have simply been taken over by the basics of fortune telling. For example:

> a high forehead, large and long, signifieth increase of goods.[58]

Much the same can be said for humoral theory.[59] It too provides descriptions of the physical and mental traits of its types, and, like astrological physiognomy, it does not make any specific connection between a single physical feature and a specific mental property or group of properties. Similarly, references to humoral theories are smattered throughout these physiognomical treatises. The *Kalendar*, like Thomas Hill's 1556 text, begins with sections devoted to the physiognomies of the four complexions.[60] Furthermore, there are many physiognomical signs which include some complexion theory as an explanation:

> A long face testifieth yt man to be without shame and iniurious: and that cometh of heat.[61]

In the following case, the Aristotelian zoological analogy in the sign for the large forehead - stupidity, like an Ass - has been replaced by an explanation based on complexion theory:

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[56]Hill (1556), sig. Ci.
[57]Hill (1556), sig. Aviii.
[58]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. K3.
[59]R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky & F. Saxl, *Saturne et la Melancolie* (Revised edition, Paris, 1989); J. B. Bamborough, *The Little World of Man* (1952).
[60]*HOS*, pp. 145-146; Hill (1556), sig. Ai-Aiii. Hill also includes the writing of Rhazes on this matter.
[61]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Kviii(v).

> A *Forehead* very big, exceeding the symetrical proportion of the face; notes the person slow, dull, idle, full of folly, this is a simptome of a Flegmatick Constitution.[62]

Indeed, the entire metaphysical signifier is often replaced with a causal explanation based on complexion theory:

> If hair grow exceeding fast, it denotes the body inclyning to dryness and decay, its growth being suddainly forced by heat, which is destructive to the brain.[63]

One indication of the symbiotic nature of the relationship between physiognomy and medicine was the word 'physiognomicks':

> a Term used by some Physicians and Naturalists for such Signs as are taken from the Countenance of Persons to judge of their Dispositions and Temper.[64]

Some signs were both physiognomical signs and medical symptoms:

> the face that sweateth often, yea with a little moving, betokeneth heate, letchery, gluttony: and that the man is a great eater, and therefore falleth into indigestion: and at the last into great sicknesse.[65]

Others were purely medical symptoms. Hill's treatise includes 'The sygnes of a temperate and healthful body'.[66] Signs in Indagine'section on the face are diagnostic and prognostic:

> a yelow colour like saffron which is not natural, declareth the opilacio[n] of the spleen & ouerflowing of the gal and cholor, the phisitions opinion is, that such men as are therwith infected, shal neuer liue til they be. iii. score yeares of age.[67]

Saunders' 1653 treatise even has an entire section devoted to 'The Physiognomical Divination of Diseases'.[68] Indeed, the pseudo-Galenic work on prognosis (*Prognostica*) quotes Hippocrates as saying:

> In those who practise medicine without a knowledge of the subject of physiognomy, the judgment goes to seed, wallowing in darkness.

Genuine or not, it was often repeated in physiognomical treatises.

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[62]Saunders (1663), p. 173.
[63]*TFT* (1686), p. 64. On Galen's humoral framework for the physiognomical observations of Aristotle and Hippocrates, see T. Barton, *Power and Knowledge* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 98ff.
[64]John Harris, *Lexicon Technicum: or an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1704). See also Barton, *Power*, p. 98.
[65]*Arcandam* (1652), sig. L.
[66]Hill (1556), sig. Aii.
[67]Indagine (1558), sig. Ii(v).

Thus it can be seen that these treatises are made up of material gathered from a variety of disciplines, from physiognomy, from astrology, from humoral and complexion theory and from medicine. Whilst the treatises contain many purely physiognomical signs, even these are often on the border of becoming, for example, a medical symptom rather than a physiognomical sign. Indeed, the innate problem with a physiognomical sign was that it was not always apparent that either the signifier or the signified was not the sign of an illness in the first place. Whilst this might imply that physiognomy was always on the verge of being subsumed in something else, as far as these treatises are concerned, it is equally true the other way around - both medicine, astrology and humoral theory were at times seen as branches of physiognomy.

3

THE APHORISMS OF PHYSIOGNOMATING

3. 1 *The Leakage of Transmission and Translation*

To understand the changes in physiognomical signs necessitates assembling all of the aphorisms that appear in all of the texts concerned into a series of lists arranged by physical feature. However, this is extremely difficult.[69] In some cases it is virtually impossible to visualise what is meant. For example:

> when one part of the nostrils is mixed with the Forehead, and taken honestly from the forehead & separated by a good complexion, so that it be not too high not too low, with some line descending it is sign of constancy, manlynesse & prudence.[70]

Often, one cannot be sure one is comparing the same aphorisms referring to the same specific physical feature. For example, in Copland's *Secretum* one finds:

> The vysage that is ful & flat and that is not swollen nor to bygge is a token of an yll persone enuyous iniuryous and a wrangler,[71]

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[68]Saunders (1671), pp. 199ff.
[69]The scale of the task goes beyond the confines of a D. Phil thesis. Therefore the following will attempt to address some of the aforementioned questions using one or two examples of aphorisms whose genealogy has been traced from the earliest classical authorities through to their late-eighteenth-century counterparts.
[70]*Arcandam* (1652), sig. L3.
[71]MAM, p. 381.

whilst in Hill's 1556 treatise one finds:

> The face very flatte, or playne, without verye high puffyng or bearyng up: declareth that man to be of a good condicion, hauyng a sufficiente loue to all thynges, seruiseable to one, or contente to serue one, sone crediting, not verye warye, sufficient faythfull, & more simple then wittie, and commonly quiete, and well bearyng the losse of waightie thynges, by misfortune.[72]

It would appear that the signs are the same. Both signs refer to the flatness of the face and both state a negative aspect of the sign, the absence of swelling ('not swollen' and 'without verye high puffyng or bearyng up').[73] Yet the signifiers could not be any more different.

What is the cause of such differences and changes? Given that the former originates with a version of the *Secretum* whilst the latter is a translation of a sign from Michael Scot's *Liber phisionomia*, any explanation of the difference has to lie in an in-depth analysis of the signs provided by Scot in the perspective of all of the classical signs.

Some disagreements are no doubt the result of much earlier scribal errors which have been transmitted to the printed versions depending upon which manuscripts were used. Chaytor has suggested that such changes may have come from the medieval scribe's substitution of the auditory memory (which it is argued was stronger than the scribe's visual memory) of his or her own dialect in the places where the dialect of the text seemed impenetrable.[74]

Others no doubt occurred in the printing process itself. The crudely printed table in the *Arcandam* treatise exemplifies this perfectly.[75] There it is difficult to tell which signifier is meant to go with which signified, and a reader could resolve the tension in numerous ways. In that sense the printing process has introduced an element of instability into the subject, and thus provided what might be referred to today as some free-floating signifiers and signifieds.

Some of the minor changes simply refuse explanation. For example, Hill's 1556 treatise contains the following aphorism in the section devoted to laughter:

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[72]Hill (1556), sig. Diiii.
[73]In postmodern terms this might be termed an absent signifier.
[74]H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 19.
[75]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Hvii(v)-Iii(v).

> The bellowse, or hollowe of the cheke that seldom laugheth, and soon hath done, declareth that man to be stable, a niggarde, or sparer, warye or wittye, of a parfyt understandinge, secret, faythful and **gloryous**.[76]

This particular aphorism is a translation of a passage from Michael Scot's *Liber Phisionomia*. Yet in the earliest printed version of Scot's work (as well as in later editions), this aphorism reads:

> Cuius bucca raro ridet & breuiter significat hominem stabilem, tenecam, sagacem, clari intellectus, secretum, fidelem, & **laboriosum**.[77]

This raises the possibility that the term 'gloryous' was the result of a conscious choice on Hill's part, thus perhaps reflecting something of his own and perhaps his culture's value-system. However, in a 1536 Strasbourg edition of Scot's text which was published under Cocles' name, one finds this sign using the term 'gloriosum' and thus what appears to be the source for Hill's altered translation.[78] Hence the explanation for this change is deferred to another location. Having said that, it is still possible that the choice of the term 'gloryous' from this 1536 text was a conscious choice on Hill's part, since there are other places where the 1536 Strasbourg text differs from the 1477 Leipzig edition, but Hill chooses to follow the latter. One such example is:

> The bearde in the masculyne, groweth after fourten yeares, by little and little, from daye to daye.[79]

Here the 1536 Strasbourg text has:

> barba nascit viro ultra xxiiii annum **paulatim** de die in diem.[80]

whereas in the Leipzig version one finds 'satim' as opposed to 'paulatim'.[81] Thus, in this case, Hill has chosen to follow the Leipzig edition.[82]

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[76] Hill (1556), sig. Cvii. My emphasis.
[77] Michael Scot, *Liber phisionomia* ([n. p.], 1477), Sig. hvii. The same appears in Bodl., MS Canon misc. 555, fol. 59r-89r, fol. 83v-84r; the Johann Amerbach (Basel, not before 1495) edition, sig. e2(v) [p. 68]; in the [n.pl.], 1484[?] edition, sig. e2(v), (p. 33v); in Albertus Magnus's *De secretis mulierum... &.. Michaelis Scoti philosophi, De secretis naturae opusculum* (Lyon, 1594), p. 298, and in Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum* (Amsterdam, 1669), p. 307. My emphasis.
[78] I have used the 1536 version, sig. bv.
[79] Hill (1556), sig. (v).
[80] Cocles (1536), sig. hviii. My emphasis.
[81] Cocles (1536), sig. bv(v).
[82] Bodl., MS Canon misc. 555 also has 'paulatim' (fol. 84r). There is further evidence that in 1556 Hill used the original Leipzig version. His section on the 'shoulder poyntes' (sig. Eii) and part of his material for his section on the 'hole stature of man' (sig. Fi), have been translated either from the 1477 Leipzig version of Scot or a manuscript of this version. Neither of these sections appeared in the 1536 Strasbourg/Cocles' edition.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions about the significance of these small changes. Even if they are read as reflecting conscious choices on Hill's part, one is then left with the problem of deciding whether they reflect Hill's own particular choice or a wider cultural value of the time. Even then, it is difficult to know whether the choice has been made on physiognomical or purely linguistic grounds. Furthermore, it may not even be true to speak of 'Hill's choice'. The most likely explanation for this problem is the existence of a single edition of the Scot/Cocles text which contained both 'gloriosum' and 'satim'. This can only be verified once a version containing these two forms has been discovered.

Other changes occur simply as a consequence of the process of translation where it is evident that the writer has attempted to find more appropriate contemporary language for the signifier, and especially for the signified. For example, in Abano's late-thirteenth-century treatise one finds the following aphorism:

> Qui vocem habet crassam altam & sonoram, est audax eloquens & bellicosus.[83]

By the eighteenth century, the author of *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* had obviously felt it more appropriate to translate it as:

> A great and full voice in either sex shews them to be of a great spirit, confident, proud, and wilful.[84]

Some such changes seem to reflect the pressure of the reality of the time. The following series is based on a sign first coined by Michael Scot in the early thirteenth century:

> **1250** Cuius nasus fuerit in medio valde elevatum significat hominem sempe mendacem, vanum, instabilem, luxuriosum, cito credentem importunum ingenii boni grossi nutrimenti et plus simplicem quam sapientem & malitiosum.[85]

> **1511** Large nose in myddes/whiche dothe up ryse. Of a lyer and grete spekynge/is sygne.[86]

> **1556** The nose very highe eleuated in the middle which we name a copped nose: declareth that man to bee an often lyar, vayne, unstable, leacherouse, sone or lightly credytyng,

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[83]*CP* (1548), sig. Ci.
[84]*ACM* (1764), p. 108.
[85]*LP*, p. 65.
[86]Lydgate (1511), p. 84.

importunate, hauyng a good wytte, grosse in feadyng, and more simple then wyse, and malycyousek.[87]

1663 A Nose more than ordinary elevated in the middle like a ridge, intimates the person to be much given to Lying, Idle, Unconstant, Luxurious, easie of belief, importunate, of a ready flashy wit, of grosse nourishment, more simple than wise, and malicious.[88]

1710 A nose broad in the middle, and less towards the end, denotes a vain and talkative person, a liar, and one of hard fortune.[89]

Whilst all of these might be seen to agree, in a 1664 text it is given as:

> **1669** When the Nose is large in the middle upwards, it is a signe the person is addicted to superfluous Romantick stories.[90]

Being addicted to 'superfluous Romantick stories' was certainly not a thirteenth-century phenomenon. It is this change which one might characterise as representing the pressure of late-seventeenth-century reality. In this sense, physiognomy is similar to common law. Thus one can see how, in certain cases, the metaphysical signifieds in the physiognomical signs, for so long dominated by the allegedly natural phenomena of Aristotelian ethics and zoological analogies and Christian vices and virtues, have been replaced by a phenomenon from the realm of late-seventeenth-century culture, but one which is now physiognomically expressed as a new nature.[91]

Whilst the final section of this Chapter will consider those signs on which most treatises appear to have agreed and which changed little throughout the entire period, it is actually the changes which are the most interesting, particularly the changes in the signifieds. The latter is one such example of the way in which the same physical feature is given a meaning more reflective of the time in which it was written. In that sense a traditional sign has been translated through a later culture. The problem with such changes lies in estimating their significance. Once such changes have been isolated, one would then need to examine the culture of the time in which this change occurred in order to see the extent to which this change can be said to reflect a wider cultural change rather than the particular idiosyncrasy of the writer who made the change in the first place.

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[87]Hill (1556), sig. Cvii.
[88]Saunders (1663), p. 192.
[89]*ACM* (1764) p. 105. However, the same text includes 'He whose nose riseth high in the middle, is prudent and politick, and of great courage, honourable in his actions, and true to his word', *ACM* (1764), p. 106.
[90]Vulson (1669), p. 175.
[91]See Chapter Six.

3. 2 *Physiognomy, the Beautiful, the Virtuous and the Useful*

In physiognomical texts from the earlier part of the period, one encounters the following warning:

> we must abstain from the company of such as be markt & lame in any member, I speake of such as are naturally defectiue and lame and not by chaunce or witchcraftes.[92]

This explicit equation of deformity with vice impicitly equated beauty with virtue. What was the relation of physiognomy to beauty and virtue?

There were certainly distinct physiognomical ideals. To illustrate the point, the following series of signs from the earliest and the latest texts in the series presents the most virtuous type of face:

> **1503** The wysage that ys not short no long and that as not gret fatnes and as good couleurbetoknys oon parson werytabyl lowabyl sage and of a good wyt fer wysabyl debonayr and weelordonnyt to alys thyngys.[93]

> **1508** A visage neither too short nor too long and that is not over fat with good colour betokeneth a man veritable, amiable, wise, witty, serviceable, debonair, and well ordered in all his works.[94]

> **1511** Sygnes before full conclucion/As in wrytnge phylosophers sayne./Whan face kepeth dewe proporcion./These dymencions he kepyth in certayne./Not engrosyd nouther ouer playne./Jawes and temples in meane uprysynge./Whiche sygne is of wytte & grete understandynge.[95]

> **1528** But he that hath a meane vysage of fourme of chekes and eyes neyther to fat nor to leane he is trusty pouynge and of grete understandynge wyse and full of seruyce and wytte.[96]

> **1556** The face meane to the disposicion of the others afore but more fatte, then leane: declareth that man to bee true in talke,willyng to be bounde to serue, commonly ingeniouse, wary and perfitie of memorye.[97]

> **1556** The face commune betwene long and rounde, leane and grosse, declareth that man to be congruente to all thynges, but soner to good then euill.[98]

> **1558** A mene face not ouer lene, nor very fat, signifieth a man apt to all things.[99]

> **1558** A meane slender face is token of an ingenious, studious & wise man.[100]

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[92]Indagine (1558), sig. Hv(v).
[93]*HOS* (1503), sig. K viii .
[94]*GCH* (1508), p. 153.
[95]Lydgate (1511), p. 84.
[96]MAM (1528), p. 381.
[97]Hill (1556), sig. Diiii.
[98]Hill (1556), sig. Diiii.
[99]Indagine (1558), sig. Ii(v).

1564 The face of them that be very clean, is meant in the Cheeks, and Temples and somewhat fat. And that face is a true face, loving and not disdainful: the merry Face commeth of a merry Heart, and so the contrary.[101]

1564 The face well proportioned of color, and other things appertaining, declares a commendable life, and abundance of vertues.[102]

1571 The faces of such wel borne and complexioned, are on such wise: that is, meane of composition in the cheekes, and temples, declining unto a fatnesse. Such a creature (after Phisiognomie) is iudged iust, louing, faythful, and of a good understanding.[103]

1619 *Quadrata*, sapientem, & constantem, ac boni consilii.[104]

1663 A mediocrity appearing in the Face neither to short nor long, too Fat, nor Lean, *Aptum significat ad omnia*, signifies the person ingenious, and apt to all things that are laudable and commendable.[105]

1663 A mean and competent leaneness in the Face, a mediocrity between fat and lean, indicate a studious, ingenious, prudent person.[106]

1694 A well proportion'd Face, shew a Person to have virtuous qualities, and to live a commendable Life, whether they be rich or poor.[107]

Thus it was virtue not beauty which was defined as a mean. Indeed, it was virtue with which physiognomy was principally concerned. This is confirmed when one considers the question of beauty.[108] For part of the purpose of the physiognomical pursuit of virtue was to help the viewer guard herself or himself against what some saw as the sinful seductions of beauty. In the earlier part of the period, this explains the detrimental meanings which physiognomical treatises often attempted to etch into physical features described as beautiful. For example, in Hill's 1556 treatise stated that a 'beautiful' voice was a sign of a vice:

> The pleasantnes or bewtyfulnes of the voice, declareth folishnes, cockebraynes, and stoutnes.[109]

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[100]Indagine (1558), sig. Ii(v) .
[101]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Kviii(v).
[102]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. L.
[103]Hill (1571), fol. 84(v).
[104]Fludd (1619), p. 125.
[105]Saunders (1663), p. 202.
[106]Saunders (1663), p. 2[0]3.
[107]*Erra Pater* (1758), p. 65.
[108]Physiognomically speaking, the term 'beauty' is ambiguous and one has to be careful what is meant by it and other cognate terms. For example, *Arcandam* equates the 'mean form' with the 'handsome', which, in 1564, meant 'easy to handle, apt, skilled and clever', *Arcandam* (1664), sig. Kviii(v). The *OED* suggests that by 1590 handsome meant 'beautiful with dignity'.
[109]Hill (1556), sig. Cv.

Having said that, the tradition of equating beauty and virtue can also be seen in these treatises. Fludd, for example, wrote:

> *Facies non multum pulchra* raro importat bonos mores.[110]

Although the meaning of the term 'pulchra' is open to debate, it does suggest an equation of beauty and virtue. There are other intimations of this in physiognomical treatises of the late seventeenth-century. In his 1671 treatise Saunders wrote:

> A Nose that is round and long of a pleasant feature, besides that it is one of the perfections of Beauty, denotes the Woman or Maid, wise, prudent and chaste, and especially when she hath a blue eye.[111]

Putting the issue of gender to one side for the moment, it has to be said that this is unusual. Fourteen years later the same sign appeared in another treatise, but all reference to beauty had, significantly enough, been dropped:

> A Nose round and long, of a pleasant feature, denotes in the Female Sex, especially if they have blew Eyes, prudence, chastity, and good conduct in affairs.[112]

Thus, when the notion of beauty was articulated in physiognomical treatises, it was usually, but not always, accompanied with references to mental properties which go with it and thus interpreted either in terms of virtues or vices. Physiognomically speaking, beauty was never left to stand as a signified in itself.

At the end of the period under consideration, Mary Wollstonecraft's understanding of the physiognomical gaze revealed the heart of the matter. In her writing, this way of looking was one which aimed at moralising what she saw as an inferior and purely physical understanding of beauty. She advised children that:

> the soul of beauty...consists in the body gracefully exhibiting the emotions and variations of the informing mind. If truth, humanity and knowledge inhabit the breast, the eyes will beam with a mild lustre, modesty will suffuse the cheeks, and smiles of innocent joy play over all the features. At first sight, regularity and colour will attract, and have the advantage, because the hidden springs are not directly set in motion; but when internal goodness is reflected, every other kind of beauty, the shadow of it, withers away before it, as the sun obscures a lamp.[113]

At the same time she was concerned to relieve the oppressive consequences which the more purely physical and geometric view of beauty had for woman judged only by these

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[110]Fludd (1619), p. 125.
[111]Saunders (1671), p. 195.
[112]*TFT* (1686), p. 69.
[113]J. Todd & M. Butler (eds.), *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, 7 vols. (1989), vol. IV, pp. 390-2.

standards, by exposing the sexual prejudice upon which the physiognomical gaze of her patriarchal society was founded. Wollstonecraft termed it:

> the male prejudice, which deems beauty the perfection of woman - mere beauty of features and complexion, the vulgar acceptation of the word, whilst male beauty is allowed to have some connection with the mind.

From this it was widely accepted that women arrived at 'maturity' (defined in terms f physical beauty alone) by the age of twenty whereas in men (in whom it was considered as a more physiognomical phenomenon) it was not reached until thirty. Hence the physiognomy of women was understood according to very different criteria to that of men:

> Strength of body, and that character of countenance, which the French term a physionomie, women do not acquire before thirty, any more than men.[114]

If the purpose of physiognomy was to contemplate a person's physical features with the aim of avoiding the numerous vices embodied in that person, including the seductions of that person's beauty, or at least the seduction of a beauty understood in a predominantly physical way, if the aim of the art of physiognomating can thus be said to be the pursuit of virtue, was physiognomy then simply concerned with distinguishing good from bad, as the classic definition of prudence would have us believe?

The majority of the signs in these treatises certainly do not offer a flattering 'dignified' view of human nature.[115] For example, of the eighty seven or so signs in the 1508 *Kalendar* only about fifteen can be said to be signs of virtue, whilst about sixty four appear to be signs of vice. However, the surplus eight signs reveal the limitations of thinking about these signs in the black and white terms of good or bad, virtue or vice. Some signs fit neither category. For example:

> great erys betokeneth foly in a man but he is in gode mynde.[116]

Here folly is not compounded by another very bad quality like deceitfulness or ignorance. Thus the person is foolish but nonetheless good.[117] Indeed, classifying

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[114]Wollstonecraft, *Works*, vol. V, p. 138.

[115]This might provide some justification of Lacan's famous statement about the vision: 'the eye may be prophylactic but it cannot be beneficent'. If the number of unflattering meanings given to a range of voices in these treatises is anything to go by, nor can the ear. One of Pernetti's correspondents wrote: 'this Science too usually begets misanthropy, the prudential become cold and suspicious in their Converse', *Letters*, p. 21.

signs as good or evil overlooks the highly pragmatic and utilitarian streak that runs through much of the physiognomical thinking presented in these treatises. Take the following very common sign:

> A sharpe nose sheweth an angry person.[118]

Irascibility, and thus, from a physiognomical point of view, a sharp nose, might be a vice in an ambassador or a prospective novice but a virtue in a soldier. It is from this perspective that one is able to discern the very strong element of utility in many of the early modern expositions of physiognomical doctrine.

3. 3 *The Gender of the Physiognomator, Physiognomatee and the Aphorisms.*

To what extent was the gender of either the physiognomator or physiognomatee made explicit in these treatises? The implicit physiognomator is represented in some cases by the respective masculine figures of the Shepherd (in the *Kalendar*), the Astrologer (in the *Compost*) and the King (in the *Secretum*). This might be seen as either a consequence of the rhetoric of the presentation of the material or a patriarchal society. However, none of these texts explicitly claimed that the physiognomating eye was the preserve of the male gaze. Indeed, by the later seventeenth century, physiognomical treatises specifically addressed women as potential physiognomators.[119] With regard to the physiognomatee, the very first *Kalendar* suggested that both men and women could be physiognomatees.[120] As early as 1528 the *Secretum* refers to the physiognomatee using the more neutral and pluralistic term 'people',[121] and from the late seventeenth century onwards, the move towards using gender neutral terms such as 'people' and 'person' to designate the physionomatees is quite striking.[122]

To what extent were physiognomical signs gender specific? Most include terms such as 'he' or 'man'. However, this is probably a reflection of the more general

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[116]*HOS*, p. 147.
[117]At this point the grammar of the discipline could be brought into play in order to resolve this apparent contradiction. See Chapter Four.
[118]Indagine (1558), sig. Ivii.
[119]Vulson (1669), sig. A3.
[120]*HOS* (1503), sig. Kvi(v); *GCH* (1508), p. 150.
[121]MAM, p. 238.
[122]For example Guy Miège, *The Great French Dictionary* (1688): 'a guess at one's nature or inward disposition by the features of the outward lineaments'.

tendency to assume a masculine abstract third person.[123] The few treatises which do explicitly discuss the differences in nature between men and women depict man as, in Hill's words, 'perfiter than the woman'.[124] Hill presents a number of philosophers' very different ideal pictures of man and woman. For Abano men are:

> of a liuely minde and courage, and unto brunte or an attempt prest and vehement: yet slowly moued to yre, slowly pleased, aduised in businesse, in due and fytte tymes studious, abroade lyberall, stowte, iuste, and trustie, unconstant or wandring from place to place, and true of his worde.[125]

For Avicenna, women, on the other hand are presented as:

> more pittiful and gentle than men: more conuertible, lighter perswaded, sooner seduced, enuiouser, fearefuller, unshamefaster, more foolishe, lyars, more fraudulent, more receiue frawde, more esteeming trifles, slower, tenderer, weaker, and more prone, or sooner drawing into familiaritie, and into companie with another.

Similarly, in *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*, there are signs of a less explicitly unfavourable view of women. Whilst its definition of the subject suggests it can discern the disposition of both men and women[126] the following introduction reveals a certain discomfort with the problem:

> In the judgement that is to be made from physiognomy, there is a great difference betwixt a man and a woman, the reason is, because in respect of the whole composition, men do more fully comprehend it than women do, as may evidently appear by the manner and method we shall give in the following section. Wherefore the judgements which we shall pass in every chapter, do properly concern a man, as comprehending the whole species, and but improperly the woman, as being but a part thereof, and derived from the man.....But does physiognomy give the same judgment on her, as it does of a man that is like unto her? By no means, but far otherwise, in regard that the conception of the woman is much different from that of a man, even in those respects which are said to be common. Now in those common respects, two parts are attributed to a man, and a third part to a woman.[127]

The ambiguity here appears to be a consequence of what were thought to be different processes of conception for male and female persons.

Yet in the subsequent sections of the same work there are few distinctions made between signs for men and signs for women. Indeed, at the end of the section on the hair one finds the following note:

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[123]See T. Lacqueur, *Making Sex* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).
[124]Hill (1571), sig. Biiii.
[125]Hill (1571), sig. Biiii(v).
[126]'And the disposition, vice, virtues, and fatality, either of a man or a woman, are plainly foretold', *ACM* (1764), p. 97.
[127]*ACM* (1764), p. 97.

> *Note*, that whatsoever signification the hair has in men, it has the same in women also.[128]

In the *New School of Love* (1786), the very short physiognomical exposition, which uses the masculine pronoun throughout, is followed by a similar note:

> Note. *That most of the above observations will hold in either sex.*[129]

It would appear that with regard to the issue of gender as it is articulated in the treatises from the later part of the period, the issue has for the most part been avoided altogether, probably out of a desire not to restrict the market.

With regard to specific signs being gendered in one way or another, there are few about which one can be certain. For example one writer gives:

> A Forehead without lines, shews a man to be Effeminate.[130]

Yet one can also find what appears to be the same sign which makes no mention of effeminacy:

> Who hath the *Forehead* plain and smooth without lines or wrinkles; is signified to be litigious, contending for trifles, vain, fallacious, more simple then wise.[131]

Elsewhere one finds gendered signs which appear to be one-offs:

> a low forhead is no sign of a manly man.[132]

On the whole, there are very few physical features which are always given as belonging to a woman, or, if in a man, are seen as a sign of effeminacy. Those that are visible reveal the urge for a clear distinction between the male and the female through the fact that signs of the 'manly woman' and the 'effeminate man' are never complimentary. For example, the male with the effeminate voice:

> **300B.C.** Shrill, soft, broken tones mark the speech of the effeminate; for such a voice is found in women and is congruous.[133]
>
> **1528** He that hath a femynyne voyce is soone angry and of yl nature.[134]

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[128]*ACM* (1764), p. 100.
[129]*NSL* (1786), p. 2.
[130]Saunders (1663), p. 174.
[131]Saunders (1663), p. 172.
[132]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. K3.
[133]*Phys*, 813b 1.
[134]MAM, p. 381.

Similarly, for the *Kalendar of Shepherds* at least:

> A great voice in a woman is an evil sign.[135]

It is even less common to find evidence of a series of relatively unchanging signs. One such is the small round chin. In the mid-sixteenth century it appeared in Hill and *Arcandam*:

> The chin rounde, declareth that parsone to be effeminate, condicioned lyke the woman: as Pythagoras wryteth.
>
> If the end of the chinne be round, it is a sign of feminine manners, and also it is a sign of a woman. But the chin of a man must always be square.[136]

It was still the same in 1690:

> A round Chin, denotes a Man effeminate, yet haughty and proud.[137]

There is an even more impressive continuity in the gendered meaning given to the white face:

> **1558** a white feminine coloure, soft & cold, declareth a cold, soft and te[n]der person.[138]
>
> **1619** *Alba* foemineum, mollem, frigidum.[139]
>
> **1653** He that hath it white, womanish, soft, and cold, is tender and effeminate; this colour suits well with women; for such are good natur'd, but fit for men.[140]
>
> **1663** a white Flegmatick Face, intimates a Feminine, soft condition.[141]
>
> **1685** A high white complection, bespeaks a man to be good natured, seldome angry, soon pacefied, and ever faithful to his friend, but fearful and effeminate; and therefore is best suited with women, to render them more admirable in the Eyes of their Admirers.[142]

Having said that, there is always at least one contradiction. In the *Arcandam* treatise one finds:

> **1564** Very White Strong Meanness.[143]

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[135]*GCH*, p. 153.
[136]*Arcandam* (1664), sig. Lv.
[137]*ALg* (1690?), p.26.
[138]Indagine (1558), sig. I.
[139]Fludd (1619), p. 125.
[140]Saunders (1671), p. 197.
[141]Saunders (1663), p. 202.
[142]*TFT* (1685), p. 62.
[143]*Arcandam*, table (1664), sig. Hviii(v)-I .

On the whole it would appear that signs meaning one thing for a man and another thing for a woman also appear more often in the later treatises. For example, elsewhere in *Aristotle's Legacy*, one finds:

> A round Nose at the extremity [and?] small Nostrils, denotes, in a Man Pride and incredulity; in a Woman, mu[ch?] give to Love and lust.

Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece offers another:

> A nose very sharp on the tip of it, and neither too long nor too short, too thick, nor too thin, denotes the person, if a man, to be of a fretful disposition, always pining and peevish; and of a woman, a scold, contentious, wedded to her own humours; of a morose and dogged carriage, and if married, a plague to her husband.[144]

3. 4 *Continuity in the Meaning of the Voices*

To what extent is it possible to speak of continuity in the aphorisms found in these texts? This issue will be addressed through an examination of the aphorisms relating to the voice.[145] In each case the aphorisms have been traced back from the latest eighteenth century treatises through to the earliest classical sources.

The search for continuity and change, particularly in meaning and language, can be a paradoxical and illusive quest. In the case of most physiognomical aphorisms, one can always find at least one contradictory meaning either between the same signs as they appear in different texts (assuming one is dealing with the same sign) or even within the sign itself - the latter frequently being a consistent feature of signs which originate with Michael Scot's treatise. Furthermore, one has also to bear in mind that even when the wording of a particular sign remained constant throughout the period, the meanings given to either the adjective describing the physical feature or to the signifieds themselves had changed. Above all, there are frequent occasions where the writer has deliberately translated the meaning into its more contemporary equivalent, using categories which appear to fulfill the same function - but which a more in-depth examination might reveal to have fulfilled a very different function in the culture of its time to those fulfilled by the earlier categories in the time of their original coinage or any subsequent use. Thus, the following can do no more than make crude general claims about the seemingly high degree of continuity in the physiognomical signs relating to the

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[144] *ACM* (1764), p. 106.
[145] See Appendix.

human voice. Just as in poetry certain meters have come to be associated with certain kinds of statement and feelings and hence a given meter tends to maintain a portion of its meaning, so certain features came to embody specific meanings through survival and constant repetition.

Unsurprisingly, the 'medium' voice was always given as a sign of such virtues as reason, wisdom, prudence and justice. Similarly the 'good sounding' voice was always seen as reflecting the qualities of peacefulness and wisdom. The deep cavernous voice was usually understood to be a sign of magnanimity, boldness, courage, even truth, and often compared to the lion. It is often difficult to distinguish this type of voice from the voice described as sonorous, which was most often given as a sign of boldness, and eloquence.

At the same time there was another form of 'deep' voice which was understood to be a sign of gluttony or greed, in other words, of a person addicted to the pleasures of the stomach. A 'great' voice was often seen as a sign of stupidity (as was the 'thick' voice), irascibility and a general bad nature. It was often equated with the ass, and in a woman was seen as an 'evil' sign. A voice which started low and ended high was also often given as a sign of irascibility and violence. Similarly the strong, quaking voice as a sign of violence; a 'rough' voice as a sign of stupidity and rancour.

There appears to have been much agreement over the nasal voice, which was frequently given as signifying envy and mendacity and the impudence, ignorance and mendacity of a hasty speaker. The person who moved when speaking was also understood to be a liar, whilst the person who was still when speaking was good, clever and wise. The 'sweet' or 'fawning' voice was a sign of envy, a liar and a person full of suspicion; the fair or beautiful voice for the most part was seen as a sign of stupidity. Although it is often difficult to distinguish between the variety of soft and high voices given in these treatises, the soft voice appears to have been understood to be a sign of gentleness, often compared with the sheep, the high voice a sign of timorousness, and both often understood to be women's voices. The shrill high voice was seen as a sign of lewdness and anger, often compared with goats.

CONCLUSION

Physiognomy meant different things to many different people at different times throughout the early modern period. From the beginning until the end of the period, it was understood as the knowledge one gained, often intuitively, even unconsciously, from one's experience of a person's physique - a form of discernment which, at any time could have been seen as natural or mystical. It was also a form of thinking which was often incorporated into larger systems of ideas such as the book of nature, the doctrine of signatures or the macrocosm/microcosm analogy. In its more strictly anthropocentric and systematic sense, by the turn of the sixteenth century physiognomy was seen as an art rather than a science. By the turn of the seventeenth century it was most often popularly characterised as a form of fortune-telling. As a body of knowledge, physiognomy had an extremely symbiotic relationship with complexion theory, astrology and medicine. The relations between each of these bodies of knowledge rendered each equally as unstable and in danger of collapsing into one another.

The purely physiognomical signs themselves were also unstable, due to the hazards of scribal and printers' errors as well as the process of translation. The fact that physiognomical knowledge was available in cheap print only increased the room for error. Other changes appear to have occurred through the whim and circumstances of the writer, or due to a conscious decision on that writer's part to update the signifier to suit the language of the age. The theoretical aim of early modern physiognomy was the pursuit of virtue and the evasion of vice, including those vices which arise from the seductions of beauty. At the same time physiognomy had a very practical aspect which affected its reaction to both virtues and vices. Despite the changes in meaning through transmission and translation, some signs did manage to keep their meaning throughout the entire period. Those signs were, for the most part, those provided originally by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* and Michael Scot.

CHAPTER FOUR

OF THE ART OF PHYSIOGNOMATING c. 1500 - c. 1780

II

THE GENRES OF PHYSIOGNOMATING: FROM PRAYING TO PLAYING

INTRODUCTION

The first section of the following Chapter will examine the rhetoric of the individual physiognomicks and compare them with a number of other sententious genres prominent in early modern culture. Section 2 will concentrate on the implicit modes of reading which the rhetoric of the exposition of physiognomical doctrine as a whole invokes - the pedantic, the functional, the mnemonic, as well as a more involved mode of (self) physiognomating. Section 3 will colour and differentiate these modes of physiognomating using ideas taken from the rest of the various texts in which it occurs. This produces a number of different genres of physiognomating. The implied genres range from a private, salvation-seeking confession to a more public form of bawdy parlour game.

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THE RHETORIC OF THE PHYSIOGNOMICKS:

SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS, PROVERBIAL LAWS AND ICONIC MEMORIES

1.1 *Structure and Genre*

The intellectual content of expositions of physiognomical doctrine was never particularly sophisticated. The most basic element - the simple or the complex (purely) physiognomical physiognomicks - might seem to a modern mind too simplistic, illogical or simply inane to be taken seriously. The inanity of physiognomical treatises long ago prevented one eminent scholar from undertaking a study of them.[1] However, this apparent inanity is a fundamental part of what makes these texts interesting.

To begin with, however unsophisticated they might appear, both simple and complex physiognomicks carried within them a different potential rhetorical impact and a different implicit mode of reading. Simple aphorisms such as:

> a litle nose a disceitful person,[2]

were more easily committed to memory and, depending upon the context, might have had a greater more immediate rhetorical impact.

Such brevity emphasised a utilitarian reading. In this sense, many expositions of physiognomy were like the 'epitome', a popular early modern genre which also placed the emphasis on the utility of the conclusions rather than the elaboration of the proof. Rhazes, for example, in his *The Proper Pursuit of Health*, presented the six Galenic non-naturals in a similarly terse tabular form. The reason for this was, he claimed, to avoid:

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[1]Professor Jennifer Montagu told me that she had once contemplated a study of physiognomy but could not face reading all of those 'boring treatises', preferring instead to spend her career looking at beautiful paintings. Private conversation, December 1994. Similar feelings on the part of early modern editors and authors might explain the presence of woodcuts in many physiognomical treatises.
[2]Indagine (1558), sig. Ivii.

> prolixity....[for] what [laymen] need from the sciences is that which will benefit them, not the proofs for these things or their definition.[3]

Such brevity also encouraged memorisation. As one physiognomical treatise put it:

> the Brevity of these Rules will render them infinitely useful to the memory; which is my Intent in this Epitomy.[4]

Indeed, some parts of these treatises were written from memory or possibly dictated. At one point in a section dealing with the face Saunders writes:

> these are the chief Observations concerning the Face to be noted, others more trivial we shall pass by.

The finality of this statement is followed by a final flourish

> and with Polemon and Indagine conclude....

He then presents five more brief Latin physiognomicks which appear to have just sprung into his mind.[5] At the very end of the section on the eyes Indagine adds:

> Also, diuers mennes eyes do runne and droppe, the whiche do not [show] his nature, but onlye the moistnesse of the braine, with aboundance of fleume. This is sufficient.[6]

This suggests Indagine was working from memory, or was dictating the work from memory to a scribe. At this point he appears to have checked himself just as he began to veer off into physiological explanation rather than physiognomical signification and the scribe or student simply wrote down what he said as he did so.

The more complex physiognomicks, such as:

> The nose retorte and crokyng upwarde, and long, hauyng the ende congruently grosse: declareth that man to be bolde, proude, a niggarde, enuiouse, couetouse, ireful, leacherouse, a lyar, a deceauer, vayne gloryouse, unfaythful, a stryuer, and a brawler,[7]

which often carried within them seeming contradictions, or, small genealogies of related signifieds, required a more drawn out meditative form of contemplation, since their range of meanings had to be weighed and considered at greater length in terms of

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[3]L. I. Conrad, 'The Arab-Islamic Medical Tradition', in L. I. Conrad, M. Neve, V. Nutton, R. Porter & A. Wear (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 93-138, p. 122.
[4]Saunders (1663), p. 204.
[5]Saunders (1663) p. 2[0]3..
[6]Indagine (1558), sig. Hii.
[7]Hill (1556), Preface.

each other. In this case, one might reflect upon the relationship between being proud and being envious or consider whether there is a contradiction between being bold and being unfaithful.

Yet to understand the early modern experience of all types of physiognomicks, one must begin by seeing them in the context of a number of other extremely popular and influential early modern genres to which they bear a striking resemblance. The most obvious is the aphorism. One early seventeenth-century definition of the aphorism ran:

> A short sentence, briefely expressing the properties of a thing; or which serveth as a maxime or principle to guide a man to any knowledge, specially in Philosophy and Phisicke.[8]

If contemporary definitions are anything to go by, little has changed:

> Any principle or precept expressed in few words; a short pithy sentence containing a truth of general import; a maxim.[9]

Both definitions overlap with a number of other brief sentences to which the aphorism, generically speaking, is or was closely related - the oracle, the axiom, the adage, the maxim, the proverb and even the commandment.[10]

All of these longstanding sententious genres had an authoritative and persuasive potential which these seemingly inane physiognomicks could incorporate into their rhetorical impact upon a reader. Thus, as aphorisms, the physiognomicks share in some of the authority achieved by the most frequently used and widely recognised medical work of the period and one to which a number of the treatises themselves make reference, Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*.[11] From a more purely rhetorical point of view, many of the simpler physiognomicks could claim to be axioms, in the sense of being one premise in a syllogism - particularly since it was a form of syllogistic thinking that produced many of them in the first place.[12] From a more mystical and magical perspective, Pynson's 1511 text called them:

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[8]John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616). See also Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (1740).
[9]*OED*.
[10]In many ways, the contemporary equivalent are advertising slogans and company logos.
[11]Indagine (1558), sig. Hvi.
[12]One contemporary equivalent might be the coded devices, used by cyber terrorists, which can be remotely detonated, known as 'logic bombs', *Sunday Times*, 2 June 1996, p. 1.

> secrettis of olde Phylosophers.[13]

Other texts referred to them as utterances:

> The face appeering leane, doth argue a carefull person, and sometimes a betrayer: as the learned Albertus, and Conciliatore utter.[14]

Others were presented in the form of oracles. Richard Saunders claimed to be 'obeying the Oracle of Apollo' in compiling his physiognomical text.[15] Indagine described them as 'auncient prophecies'.[16] The more future oriented physiognomicks reinforced this oracular quality. Indeed, all of these sententious genres should in turn be understood in terms of an heraldic culture of mottoes and emblems which, as Huizinga has argued, was inherited from the Middle Ages.

Yet of all the above utterances, secrets, oracles, prophecies, adages, maxims and aphorisms, perhaps the most important, and the one into which many of the simple physiognomicks tended to blend, was a relatively elastic genre known as the proverb.[17] The book of the Bible and Erasmus' *Adages* are two monuments to the respect in which proverbs were held in a society soaked in such wisdom.[18] On Erasmus's suggestion, many were included in early school note-books.[19] Another scholar has suggested that they were the 'small change of conversation'.[20]

The self-conscious proverbial nature of some of the physiognomicks is beyond dispute. Tilley speaks of the 'Chinese brevity' of some proverbs, such as 'Unknown unkissed'.[21] Whilst the physiognomicks found in Fludd's treatise lack this sort of alliteration, they are just as simple.[22] Moreover, in other treatises one finds physiognomicks which have a rhythmic and alliterative quality that borders on proverbial:

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[13]Lydgate (1957), p. 4.
[14]Hill (1571), fol. 85.
[15]Saunders (1671), sig. a1.
[16]Indagine (1558), sig. G7(v).
[17]M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. v.
[18]Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. vvi-viii.
[19]N. Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (1989), chapter five & p. 74. Erasmus recommended the study of proverbs. See Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550) (facs. Montreal, 1966), p. 204.
[20]Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. vii.
[21]Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. vi.
[22]See Chapter Three.

> A round face signifieth folly and a great face signifieth sloth[23]

or

> Of a red Beard and black Hair./ If th'art wise, thou'lt have a care.[24]

Others incorporate an actual proverb as a rhetorical support:

> The face of them that be very clean, is mean in the Cheeks, and Temples and somewhat fat. And that face is a true face, loving and not disdainful: the merry Face commeth of a merry Heart, and so the contrary.[25]

Indagine, who constantly refers to proverbs, informs the reader at one point that the physiognomick which equated tallness with stupidity had attained proverbial status:

> I have seldome sene a tall man wise, or a litle ma[n] meke.[26]

The early modern educated practice of incorporating Latin aphorisms into one's writing and speech is also evident in these treatises. One Galenicism which was often used as an authority for the justification of physiognomy was frequently presented in these treatises in the form of a proverb:

> This confirms the old Proverb, *Animi mores corporis temperamentum sequuntur*;
> The disposition of the soul follows the temperament of the body.[27]

At one point, some of these physiognomical proverbs appeared to have blended into another ancient genre known as 'curse tablets' (*tabellae defixionium*).[28] For example, with regard to women with beards:

> Of such a woman you have this Proverb, *Foeminam barbatam lapidibus eminus salutandam esse.*
>
> *A Bearded Woman should saluted be*
> *With Stones at distance at her head to flee.*[29]

Some writers actually attempted to coin physiognomical proverbs themselves. Saunders, plagiarising Jean Belot, writes of the big nose:

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[23]Arcandam (1664), sig. Kviii(v).
[24]Saunders (1671), p. 186.
[25]Arcandam (1664), sig. Kviii(v).
[26]Indagine (1558), sig. Iv-v(v). Indagine also suggests its origins. Hill (1571) suggests that the same origins mentioned in Indagine led to the formation of another proverb 'Climacis Aegipta, & Caliga Maximini', fol. 113.
[27]Vulson (1669), p. 115.
[28]T. S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge* (Ann Arbor, 1994), p. 97.
[29]Saunders (1671), p. 191.

> Whereupon to recreate my self I made this distick or Epigram, on the parts of one of these Noses, in imitation of Martial:
>
> *Cui longu est & pendulus nasus viri*
> *Pendantem habet longuamque valde mentulam.*[30]

Aubrey's litigious friend, James Boevey, author of a physiognomical treatise, not only had a dislike for people with red hair, but actually coined his own aphorism in their honour:

> He used to say :-
> In rusa pelle non est animus sine felle.[31]

Even more importantly, some physiognomicks resembled an even more influential early modern genre; one which was displayed on a tablet in every parish Church - the commandment. This can be seen in the following physiognomical imperative which many of the treatises carried:

> beware of all persons that hath default of members naturally, as of forehead, eye, or other member, though he be but a cripple, and specially of a man that hath no beard, for such be inclined to divers vices and evils, and one ought to eschew his company as his mortal enemy.[32]

It was distinctly reminiscent of Leviticus 21, 16-24:

> For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or anything superfluous (v. 18).

The rhetoric of the commandment had certainly been claimed by physicians for the medical recipe. Andrew Borde wrote in his *Dyetary of helth* in 1545:

> folow the counseyll of both Physycyons whiche is to say the physycyon of the soule, & the physycyon of the body....For saynt Augustyn saith he that doth not the commaundements of his physycyon, doth kyll him self.[33]

With regard to physiognomical treatises, it is the first page of the *Kalendar of Shepherds* which reveals this most blatantly. There an attempt is made to present the content with the same irrefutable authority as the commandment and the same

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[30]Saunders (1653), p. 184. See Jean Belot, *Oeuvres*, p. 302-3.
[31]'In a red pelt there is no soul without poison', A. Clark (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), vol. I, p. 113.
[32]*GCH*, p. 152.
[33]Andrew Borde, *A Compendious Regyment or Dyetary of Helth* (1542), sig. Niii(v).

mnemonic imperative as the *Pater Noster*. It extols the importance of understanding how one was bound:

> to lerne & knowe on peyne of everlastinge dethe....the lawes of god....and the remedyes to withstande deedly synne.

Its contents had to be known:

> as parfytely as theyr Paternoster.....For how can you kepe the commaundmentes of oure sauyoure Jhesu cryst and yet ye knowe them not. Also ye be bounde to breke not one of the Shepher[ds]...on payne of dampnacyon...thou breke one thou brekes all.[34]

All in all, these seemingly inane aphorisms had the rhetorical authority of numerous sententious genres, as well as of numerous philosophical and scriptural authorities.[35] All of the above genres contain the idea of a short, pithy sentence, often handed down from antiquity, frequently repeated, and often standing as some form of what Aquinas would have called self-evident truth.[36] This confirms Huizinga's description of the 'living function' of such 'crystallized forms of thought' which in the Middle Ages were 'substantial and unchallengeable'. They even appear to exemplify what Foucault described as a language 'coeval with the institution of God.'[37] It all helped etch them deeper into the memory.

1. 2 *Iconic Quality*

Huizinga also claimed that medieval 'religious emotion tended to be transmuted into images' and that 'all realism, in the medieval sense, leads to anthropomorphism'. This alleged anthropomorphic nature of medieval religious thought highlights another feature of these early modern physiognomicks in terms of which they have to be understood if one is to come closer to an early modern experience of them - their latent iconic quality.[38]

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[34]*Kalendar* (1528) [Bodl. Douce K. 97], sig. Ai.
[35]See Chapter Six.
[36]J. Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford, 1980), p. 32.
[37]Huizinga, *Waning*, pp. 209ff; Foucault, *Things*, p. 34.
[38]Huizinga, *Waning*, pp. 182-186. This iconic element in physiognomical aphorisms itself has metaphorical parallels in the theological issues of the Incarnation. The Incarnation (the physical embodiment of the divine) is parallelled metaphorically when physiognomical aphorisms are seen as representations of the physical embodiment of universal virtues and vices. This might prove a fruitful issue to pursue if the theological and psychological framework of early modern physiognomical beliefs is to be more comprehensively examined. No direct evidence has yet been found which explicitly relates physiognomy to this theological debate. However, if one accepts the notion of one belief being

The physiognomick is a verbal phrase or sentence which has the potential to produce a mental image of the physical feature in the mind of the reader/hearer. For example, the physiognomick, 'a long sharp nose signifies irascibility', contains within it the latent image of a long sharp nose. This abstract image, once experienced by being formed in the mind's eye then has the potential of later mediating one's vision of any actual sharp nose. A recent theorist of this iconic quality of language has referred to it as 'the snap-shot memory' aspect of language.[39]

This linguistic theory is often seen as unsatisfactory because there are so many other aspects of language which it cannot explain satisfactorily. For example, it is not as easy to form the mental picture of an abstract category such as 'happiness', or of general terms such as 'animal'. However, it is being put forward here only to support a feature of the early modern physiognomick, not as an explanation of how all language works. Indeed, the particular language and thought of physiognomy even render possible the imagining of the aforementioned abstract categories. Given the frequency with which, for example, the aquiline nose appears to have been described as a sign of magnanimity, then it is possible that the abstract category of maganimity was sometimes automatically represented visually in the mind by the image of an aquiline nose.[40]

To come closer to the early modern psychological experience of this aspect of the physiognomicks requires placing them within a religious, even magical framework. Apart from Huizinga, Roland Barthes's description of photography as:

> a kind of primitive theatre, or tableau vivant, a figuration of the motionless and 'made-up' face beneath which we see the dead,

could be also applied to these physiognomicks; all the more so when considered in the context of the issue of death which was often a prominent theme in the content of

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supported by or reflected in a number of other related ideas or beliefs, then, given that one can discern developments and changes in these related ideas or beliefs which, at a metaphorical level, seem to parallel those which the central idea or belief underwent and which (like the same related beliefs) can be articulated directly through the empirical idiom, it not only raises questions about the limitations of the empirical idiom, it also raises the question of 'the unconscious'. On the Incarnation see Chapter Six.

[39]J. Aitchison, *Words in the Mind* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 41-43 & pp. 68-72; R. Brown calls 'the image that the word evokes' 'the click of comprehension', *Words and Things* (1958), pp. 83-84.

[40]Contemporary advertisers are very aware of this.

these treatises.[41] This in turn raises the relation of the early modern experience of these physiognomicks to Aristotelian 'phantasmata', Aquinas's 'corporeal similitudes', images of ghosts, necromancy and the early modern equivalent of the Freudian uncanny - the intrusion of strange anthropomorphisms into the security of one's inner mind and self .[42]

Finally, consideration of this iconic aspect of the physiognomicks reveals yet another process which may have etched them even deeper into the memories of early modern minds.[43] These various mnemonic aspects of early modern physiognomicks are symbolised most clearly by those expositions of physiognomical doctrine which were printed alongside treatises devoted to the art of memory.[44] Indeed, the classical art of memory may also have been used to help fix these physiognomical figures more firmly in the memory. Francis Bacon accepted this rule of the art of memory:

> We find in the art of memory, that images visible work better than other conceits; as if you would remember the word philosophy, you shall more surely do it by imagining that such a man (for men are best places) is reading upon Aristotle's Physics; than if you should imagine him to say, I'll go study philosophy.....the more lustrous the imagination is, it filleth and fixeth the better...[bringing about] a binding of thoughts.[45]

And as the *Anonymous Latin* treatise had long since stated:

> Whosoever wishes to practice physiognomy must first commit the meaning of the signs to memory.[46]

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[41]R. Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (1993), p. 32.

[42]T. Castle, *The Female Thermometer* (Oxford, 1995); K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), p. 587. Not only did these physiognomicks reappear in early modern dreams, the interpretation of dreams was called by Hill and Saunders the physiognomy of dreams. For a postmodern physiognomick see Damien Hirst, 'The Physical Impossibility of Death in the Mind of Someone Living' (1991), in *Sensation. Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection* (1997), p. 93. Cf. Foucault on Saussure's '"psychologistic" definition of the sign (the linking of a concept and an image)', *Things*, p. 66.

[43]F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (1966), pp. 231ff.

[44]See, for example Fludd, *UCH*, p. 47ff.; Saunders (1671), pp. 371-377; Guilelemus Gratarolus, *Opuscula* (Basel, 1554).

[45]Bacon, *Works*, vol. V, p. 244.

[46]'Quicumque igitur physiognomoniam assequitur, primo memoriae mandare debet significationes signorum', *AL*, p. 58. On the multiple temporal operation of the figure and the art of memory see Georges Didi-Hubermann, *Fra Angelico. Dissemblance and Figuration* (Chicago, 1995), p. 74.

2

THE RHETORIC OF THE EXPOSITION OF PHYSIOGNOMICAL DOCTRINE:

DISCOVERING SOMEONE IN THE MIDDLE OF A TEXT

All in all, the art of physiognomating in and of itself, as presented in these treatises, had a relatively simple intellectual make-up. The philosophical assumption on which the subject was based does not appear in any of these English texts. The closest any of the treatises come to this are proverbial statements about the soul following the temperament of the body, or the face or the eyes being a mirror or index of the mind or soul.

Much the same can be said of the grammatical rules behind the manipulation of the signs. Although the most elaborate statement of them was found in the fourth century *AL*,[47] most early modern treatises went no further in their articulation of the grammar involved than re-telling the classical anecdote about Zopyrus' physiognomical examination of Socrates.[48] The most sophisticated elaboration of these rules appears in the *Kalendar*:

> Shepherdes sayeth that many of these synes in man and woman be sumtyme contrare but iuge moste comonly after the synes of the vysage and fyrst of the iyes for they be the moste faythefull & provable.[49]

It also suggests that somebody might not be the way they seem according to the signs:

> moste the men wyse & vertuous may be al other wyse than the planetis sheweth of them the man by his wysdom foloweth nat ye yll inflewens of the selestyal bodys aboue but yet the natural synes hath dominasyon in them whiche they be in.[50]

In different texts one finds slightly different versions. For Hill, certainty was prevented by:

> reason and grace [which] may brydle nature or turne the prouocacions therof unto goodnes.[51]

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[47] *AL*, p. 57-58.
[48] When told by the physiognomist that his basic nature and character was bad and lecherous, Socrates replied that what the physiognomist said was true of his nature but not his present condition - for he had reformed himself through philosophy, Cicero, *De fato*, 5.
[49] *HOS*, p. 147.
[50] *HOS*, p. 145.
[51] Hill (1556), Preface.

It is not until 1653 that a treatise suggests the necessity of considering:

> the insitution and education of Man; these particulars are much to be heeded, as conducing much to the benefit of a certain judgment.[52]

From the late seventeenth century onwards, most expositions of physiognomical doctrine did not even contain this. Indeed, it is the intellectual simplicity of the content which renders an examination of the rhetorical structure all the more necessary.

The basic structure of most expositions of physiognomical doctrine is that of a list.[53] For example, as late as 1786, *The New School of Love, or True Art of Courtship* consisted of one page of about ten aphorisms relating to the hair and the nose alone.[54] In other cases one might see it in the form of four or five brief physiognomical answers to a series (or list) of questions.[55] Such lists have a relatively unsophisticated literary interest. The narrative structure is nothing more than an uninterrupted straight line running usually from the head to the feet. It is devoid of the dramatic interest created, for example, by the fully developed characters and the unexpected twists of plot one finds in more explicitly literary writings.[56]

Yet when this banal structure is considered from the point of view of the interaction between the text and the reader, three obvious modes of interaction between an assumed solitary reader and an exposition of physiognomy can be discerned, each of which appear to be, to a certain extent at least, a function of the literary banality of this printed material. These three modes are best characterised as the pedantic, the mnemonic and the functional. The pedantic is implied by Copland's suggestion that his work was:

> also veray good to teche chyldren to lerne to rede Englysshe.[57]

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[52]Saunders (1671), p. 264.
[53]Lists formed by people who thought they were gathering together the interpretations of the ancients. See Foucault, *Things*, p. 33.
[54]Bodl., Douce 2702 PP (15), p. 3.
[55]See Chapter Two.
[56]Unless one is dealing with the characterological form of physiognomy. Furthermore, some printed texts contain woodcuts of faces which can add to the drama. Manuscripts of physiognomical treatises often contain drawings of faces.
[57]MAM, p. 388.

The simple shopping-list prose structure was probably the most conducive to getting down to the business of learning the physiognomicks off by heart. By versifying the aphorisms, the Lydgate text resorted to a small element of literary interest to render this more possible. If read in private, one might use the woodcuts in some of the texts as a mnemonic aid. The faces drawn beside the physiognomical aphorisms in one late-fifteenth-century manuscript might even suggest a greater degree of systematisation than simple memorisation, possibly the construction of a private physiognomical religion driven by some now ungraspable physiognomical ideal.[58] One might even use one's own body or, if read in the vicinity of others, the bodies of the people close at hand.[59] Thirdly, the functional way was similar to the way a dictionary is normally used, save that instead of looking up the meaning of words one looked up the meaning of a specific physical feature or the physical feature that went with a specific mental property. This is perhaps how a practising physiognomist or a painter or writer may have used the text.

However, there is another much more striking way in which this banal literary form captured and sustained the reader's interest which has not yet been discussed. It is one characterised by a process whereby an assumed solitary reader, reading the physiognomical treatise in private, supplies what narrative and dramatic deficiencies these lists of physiognomical aphorisms lack by placing his or her sense of his or her self (or people known to the reader) inside the text, thus supplying the role of the central character around whom the physiognomical narrative is then spun.[60] The drama then becomes a more complex, dramatically interesting and infinitely variable interaction between the reader's own sense of self and the potentially indisputable truth status of those physiognomical aphorisms/oracles of the text which strike some

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[58]Bodl., Douce 48, fol. 50r-50v. John Dee had a habit of doing this in his copies of alchemical or natural philosophical works, W. H. Sherman, *John Dee. The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass., 1995), p. 88; CCC, MS 144, fol. 30r-v; CCC, MS 123, ff 138v & 193r; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1451, pt II, ff. 11v, 17v, 35r, 51v, 53v, 55r; Bodl., MS Digby 119, ff. 24r, 114r, 115r, 117r, 118r. Some of these human and animal faces are the culminating point of a process of predominantly abstract ornamentation initiated by a capital letter. This practice may have been understood as a form of decorative exegesis, beginning in 'the word' (the captial letter) and finishing in an image of 'the flesh' (the face). See for example, Bodl., MS Canon misc. 555, fols. 83(v) & 80(r). For a connection between this and the contemplation of the Incarnation, see Chapter Six.

[59]Saunders's section on 'artificiall memory' used the human hand as a mnemonic device, Saunders (1671), p. 372.

[60]Or the text can be said to enter the reader's mind in search of its characters.

sort of chord with the reader. In brief, the reader begins to physiognomate her or his own self or people (present or absent) known to the reader.[61]

To grasp this more fully it must be remembered that early modern physiognomy was still in many ways simply a form of rhetoric. The second-century orator Polemon illustrated its power, using it as a 'new magic' in the 'winning of [his audience's] souls'.[62] However, unlike Polemon's oratory, these early modern printed physiognomicks were presented as a more or less comprehensive collection of ancient opinion on the subject aimed at no one person in particular. As such, two different rhetorical effects ensued, both characterised by the process of filling this vacuum - a reflection on the physiognomy of either another person, oneself, and thus, to a greater or lesser extent in the early modern period at least, God. Each way was characterised by a varying degree of critical reflection upon the physiognomicks themselves.

This process can be triggered off by a single aphorism. Taking an arbitrary entry point, one might read that:

> Thin lips signifieth lecherousness and lyings.[63]

When any one is physiognomating themselves, (assuming for the moment a self-reflective process) there are numerous logical and illogical pathways in any reader's mind along which this quite simple physiognomical aphorism/oracle can travel towards the reader's understanding of her or his inner self, depending upon who is doing the reading.[64] Similarly, this inner encounter of the reader's soul/mind/self with the content of this aphorism/oracle can produce a number of different reactions. For example, if one has thin lips, and one knows one is slightly lecherous and susceptible to lying, the impact of the alleged truth of the aphorism can be quite powerful, even uncanny. Similarly, if one has thin lips, one might feel one has to guard oneself against the vices of lechery and lying - even if until that moment one did not consider oneself a person normally disposed to such vices (all the more so perhaps if one has previously been convinced by the truth of an aphorism encountered earlier). In that sense, the

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[61]This raises the fundamental Burckhardtian question of whether a fourteenth-century reader had the same sense of self as that available to contemporary readers and whether that sense of self was approached, experienced and understood in the same way.
[62]Barton, *Power*, p. 97.
[63]*GCH*, p. 153.
[64]Charles Taylor traces the origins of this inner self back to Augustine, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge,

aphorism/oracle has the upper hand in terms of authority and it is an authority that remains unquestioned. Indeed, it is an authority that might even be momentarily enhanced if the reader feels convinced that it is the aphorism which is responsible for the quite powerful (even memorable) revelation of an aspect of that reader's self of which that reader had hitherto been unaware or had long tried to deny or repress.

If one has thin lips but definitely does not think one is inclined to lechery or lying, then there are other possible responses. On the one hand, the reader can conclude that the sign is simply wrong. In that sense, the reader asserts his or her authority over and against the aphorism. At this point, the reader might question the overall validity of physiognomy as a science. On the other hand, one might comfort oneself with the Socratic conclusion that, despite the natural meaning and significance of one's physical appearance, one has overcome the vices to which this unquestionable physiognomical truth suggests one is naturally disposed. On the third hand, the reader might feel that this sign is either wrong or is not applicable in his or her case and so move on to the next aphorism.

At this point, it has to be borne in mind that the above evocation of a reaction from the reader in the encounter with a physiognomical aphorism was assumed to have been determined by the physical feature - in this case, thin lips. However, the evocation of a reaction from a reader during an encounter with a physiognomical aphorism could just as likely have been determined by the signified, or psychological/metaphysical trait.[65] As such it would represent the first step into one form of the characterological vein of physiognomical thinking.[66]

Thus, one might not have thin lips, but one might, for some reason, be stirred into reaction by the suggestion or accusation that one is susceptible to the vices of lechery and lying. In this case, there are again a number of potential responses. One such response is to reject the verity of the entire discourse, yet still contemplate the verity of the suggestion that one is inclined to lechery and lying. Or, one might simply reject this particular sign and eventually locate the vice in another physical feature. Such might be

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1989), p. 129.

[65]That is if one accepts the element of textual determinism on which this model is based in the first place.

[66]See *Phys*, 807a 35. It might, at any point, participate in the zoological, ethnological and astrological physiognomical mode of physiognomating. In so doing, it might follow some of the paths of 'resemblance' or 'representation' outlined by Foucault, *Things*, pp. 17-44 & 78-124.

the reaction of a 'hawked-nose' reader who then encountered the following aphorism later in the same text:

> A hawked nose that boweth to the upper lips signifieth malice, deceit, untruth, and lechery.[67]

Of course, one might not possess such a nose, but still recognise a tendency to lechery and lying in oneself. In that case, one might return to one's lips and, in this re-examination, begin to see them as thin. After all, how thin are thin lips?

The efficacy of signs with contradictory meanings can also be explained. Take for example:

> Long ears signifieth folly, but it is a sign of good memory.[68]

Has there ever been a person who, for all the perfection of their memory, could not be accused of 'folly'? Furthermore, at moments of intimate confession, even the most arrogant and stubborn of people might be prepared to admit a streak of folly. Having it embodied in a feature they possessed, might help them more easily remember their folly in order that they might eventually succeed in overcoming it. Similarly, a large enough dose of folly might easily succeed in persuading an amnesiac of his or her excellent memory.

Mention was made earlier of how one often found contradictory physiognomicks in the same treatise or contradictory meanings within the same physiognomick.[69] Another much more sophisticated and difficult way of reading these contradictions was to attempt to resolve or reconcile them. This was the form of physiogomical grammar elaborated at some length in the fourth-century *AL*.[70] One did this by altering the meaning given to a particular feature in relation to a different, perhaps even contradictory meaning given to the same feature. In this way, as mentioned earlier, one begins to meditate upon the genealogy of the meanings attached to the feature in order to reach some form of conclusion. Similarly one might attempt the same synthesis between the contradictory meanings provided by different features. Thus eye-lashes of loquacity, the forehead of a thinker and eyes of raging madness might eventually be

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[67]*GCH*, p. 153.
[68]*GCH*, p. 153.
[69]See Chapter Three.
[70]See Chapter One.

resolved into a loquacity which is less rude and a character which is impetuous rather than mad.[71]

With regard to acquiring knowledge of the present, the past and the future through the art of physiognomating, little needs to be said about its ability to discern the present. Indeed, its ability to discern the actual present condition of a person was less questioned than its claim to be able to discern their more constant and fundamental natural disposition. Given that man is conceived of as a part of nature, then despite the seemingly inflated rhetoric, even at this more mundane level the art of physiognomating could claim to be providing knowledge of the hidden 'secrets of nature'.

With regard to the physiognomation of the future, there is a very fine, permeable line between discerning a person's character by their physique and discerning their future, if only in the sense of predicting how such a person will act in such a situation or the sort of life such a person is likely to lead. Parents do it all the time with their children.[72]

Similarly it is not at all unusual for people, often older 'more experienced' people, to suggest that the life a person has led in the past can be read in their face, even if it comes down, in most cases, to what appear to many to be rather banal generalisations such as 'they have suffered', 'they have had a hard life', 'that person has had it easy' or 'that person has had a happy childhood'. Whilst this is a skill which to many might seem relatively mundane, in the early modern period, it was likely to have been seen as a form of temporal divination.[73]

Moreover, the inner intuition of the truth of either part or the whole of a single physiognomical aphorism could be joined to scholastic notions of synderesis. Finnis has suggested that a misreading of Aquinas was 'fostered by the main currents of post-Renaissance scholasticism' which treated 'the deliverances of synderesis (i.e. the first principles of practical reasonableness) as already crystallised moral principles (in the

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[71] *AL*, pp. 58-60. This is strikingly similar to some postmodern allegories, so central to postmodern art, in which one has 'a constant movement from one item to another in which each term, as it confronts one of the other three, finds its value and its meaning subtly or not so subtly modified', Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), p. 168.

[72] See below, p. 221, for suggestions of early modern parents physiognomating their children.

[73] See Chapter One for the temporal divination involved in the art of memory.

form of e.g. the last six of the Ten Commandments)'.[74] The fact that these physiognomical works appear to have been memorised by people when they were children could only enhance their seemingly natural truth-status. In that sense, exploring oneself or others physiognomically was not an exploration of the truth of physiognomy; it was already an exploration in truth, only with the physiognomical text as an aid in the dialogue, as disembodied interlocutor.

The rhetorical force of experiencing physiognomical doctrine by reading the entire exposition alone and in private does not have the power and impact of exposing oneself to the skills of a physiognomical rhetorician. After all, using a text, one has to flip through a number of pages in order to find a number of aphorisms which cover one's entire face. As such, it is much slower than being examined by a professional physiognomist who, depending upon the degree of expertise and rhetorical skill, with a single, no doubt often hypnotic glance, can take in and describe one's face in terms of the physiognomicks long since committed to memory and adaptable at will. Nonetheless, in terms of this self-searching aspect of the encounter with a printed physiognomical aphorism, this self-projection and self-reflection could still have been an illuminating (if often depressing), even uncanny experience.

Finally, in the early modern period, when reading one of these texts, how was one to know whether or not one had a particular physical feature mentioned? If one was reading the physiognomy in the vicinity of other people, one could rely upon them to tell you whether or not you had that particular physical feature. Such a process could be seen to be encapsulated in the early modern proverb 'there is no mirror like an old friend'.[75] If one was reading alone and in private, one would have either to carry in the mind's eye a memory of either being told one had a particular physical trait, or the visual memory of having seen oneself in some form of reflection. One other possibility would be to turn to a looking-glass to confirm for oneself whether or not one had such and such a physical feature. In that sense, a printed exposition of physiognomical doctrine must be one of the few early modern printed forms which implicitly required it to be read with the aid of a looking-glass.

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[74]Finnis, *Natural Law*, p. 51.
[75]Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. 243.

3

THE GENRES OF PHYSIOGNOMATING:

THE *INSPECTIO SAPIENS/INSPECTIO PRUDENS*

M. A. Manzalaoui has shown how the *Secretum secretorum* grew, by a process of accretion, from 'a Mirror for Princes' into 'an encyclopedic manual'. One of these 'additions' along the way was an exposition of physiognomical doctrine.[76] The state of being an 'addition' was often a feature of physiognomical doctrine in most of the early modern texts. In the case of Thomas Hill's 1571 physiognomical treatise, it was the other material that was 'added' to the physiognomy.

These accretive processes can be explained in numerous ways, from an indirect, fortuitous conjunction to a more or less conscious act on the part of a particular person. In some cases, the latter may have been caused by that person's particular understanding or conception of physiognomy (or the other material) which somehow made it fundamentally related or relatable to this other material (or vice versa) - with this relation conceived of as one of harmony or a deliberate disharmony.[77] At that point one can begin to examine the extent to which such accretions might reflect something of the wider social, economic and cultural climate in which they first occurred.

Of course, as with the leader or the sports pages of a newspaper, the physiognomy in these texts could be, and no doubt often was, read in isolation from the rest of the material with which it was bound or printed. Notwithstanding, one cannot automatically assume that there is no implicit conceptual relationship between the physiognomical section and this accompanying material. If it can be shown to exist, it is one that was either understood by the original compiler to a greater or lesser extent, or one made immanent through the random act of merely placing formerly heterogeneous material together. If it can be shown to exist, it is possible that it coloured the reader's interaction with the physiognomy.

None of the hypotheses raised in sections one and two of this Chapter have been temporally delineated due to the fact that they could have occurred at any time.

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[76]MAM, pp. x-xi.

[77]The same accretive process no doubt explains the variety of material with which physiognomy is bound in medieval manuscripts. For a misunderstanding of this process see R. Derolez, *Les Catalogues des*

However, this final section will take the mode of physiognomating outlined above and attempt to colour it with the variety of prominent characteristics and ideas found in the rest of the material of the texts into which the physiognomy was incorporated throughout the period, in order to produce a range of different implicit genres of physiognomating. The aim is to prepare the way for suggesting that these different genres and forms might be related to some wider more significant social and cultural changes that will be examined in the final Chapter.

The first of the texts under consideration, the 1503 *Kalendar*, is a handbook of devotion which is fundamentally structured around the concepts of being and time. From the very start it places the ageing reader on the axis of the finite time of this life, with its metamorphoses of mind and body through the twelve ages of man paralleled by and bound to the flow of the changing seasons, and the infinite time of the immortal after-life.[78] The various bodies of knowledge which constitute the rest of the text are arranged and related to this and each other by three dominant concepts which can be found to a greater or lesser extent in treatises at the beginning and the end of the period - salvation, *nosce teipsum* and prudence.

The overriding importance of the issue of salvation is emphasised at the very beginning of the *Kalendar*:

> the thing that we desire most in this world is to live long, and the thing that we most fear is to die soon....he should live long that the end of this present life should be in the life eternal, that is to say, the life everlasting in heaven.[79]

This concept of salvation incorporates both physical and spiritual salvation. The physical salvation is the attainment and preservation of the good health of one's temperament. Spiritual salvation is the attainment of the moral state necessary to enter heaven after death and so achieve immortality. Generically speaking this is a reverberation of both the *regimen sanitatis* (advice on how to look after one's temperament)[80] and the book of hours or the catechism (advice on how to look after one's soul through the saying of the Lord's prayer, the articles of faith and the study of

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Bibliothèques (Turnhout, 1979), p. 21, especially fn. 18.

[78]*GCH*, p. 4.

[79]*GCH*, p. 2.

[80]See L. Garcia-Ballester, 'Changes in the *Regimina sanitatis*. The Role of the Jewish Physicians', in S. Campbell, B. Hall and D. Klausner (eds.), *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture* (1992), pp. 119-131; MAM, p. 275.

the vices and virtues). It is this combination of medicine and religion which allows one to attempt both to make oneself worthy of entry into the garden of virtues after death, and to fend off any illness which might bring death before one is adequately prepared.

All of this in turn is articulated through the notion of *nosce teipsum*, the necessity of self-knowledge as well as, ultimately, the knowledge of God:

> knowledge of God and of himself is sovereign science and virtue.[81]

The function and purpose of both this self-knowledge and the knowledge and worship of God are conceptualised in terms of the receipt of grace and the achievement of salvation:

> who that knoweth himself knoweth God and shall not be damned and who that knoweth him not knoweth not God, and shall not be saved.[82]

Thus, of the seven things that it was essential for anyone to know, by far the most important, according to the *Kalendar*, was whether one was:

> in the grace of our Lord or not....for who that receiveth in this grace receiveth salvation and who that receiveth otherwise receiveth damnation.[83]

In this sense, the *Kalendar* contains strong Augustinian resonances of the notion of seeing oneself in, and knowing oneself through, scripture. It also carries overtones of the Petrarchan notion of the act of reading; a process characterised by the contemplation of one's beginning and end, and a deepening of the knowledge of and improvement in oneself in body and soul.[84]

Furthermore, these notions of salvation and *nosce teipsum* are, in turn, incorporated within a notion of 'prudence'. Prudence was one of the four cardinal virtues enumerated in Plato's *Republic*, and remained one of the seven Christian cardinal virtues.[85] In trying to teach prudence, the *Kalendar* also aims to teach faith. Whilst prudence could be seen as a secular 'this-worldly' virtue, it is united in this text with faith and the attainment of

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[81] *GCH*, p. 80.
[82] *GCH*, p. 79.
[83] *GCH*, p. 80.
[84] *GCH*, p. 66; B. Stock, 'Readers, Writers, and the Self: Petrarch and his Forerunners', *New Literary History*, 26 (1995), pp. 717-730.
[85] M. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (1952), p. 66.

salvation in the next world. Thus it is a much more religious, Christian prudence which is suggested as the most fundamental quality necessary in the quest for salvation.

The *Kalendar* defines prudence as:

> diligent keeping of himself with discreet providence to know and discern which is good and which is bad.[86]

This is exactly the aim of the whole work. It provides information which allows the reader to keep him or her self diligently (in terms of both body and soul). It teaches how to discern between the bad and the good in oneself and in others, in both the physical and spiritual sense. Only through a prudent negotiation of these virtues and vices in oneself and others will one attain salvation in the everlasting life. If the physical aspect of this is evident in the medical material, the more self-reflexive and spiritual aspect is evident in the huge amount of space devoted to the detailed listing of the various branches of the deadly sins alongside the imperative 'stodye on your synne'.[87]

The history of confessional practice is a huge and complicated one. Nonetheless, one prominent confessional tradition was the listing of vices. One either listened to them or read them and asked oneself questions around them. One inquired of oneself whether one was susceptible to a particular vice, or whether one had committed a particular act or sin. The words themselves had an effect on the reader or listener. A careful reading or listening to these lists of sins is sensitive to the invisible but almost instinctual inner responses of one's psyche. It is these inner movements that either reveal the guilt one knew was there, the guilt one had somehow repressed and did not consciously realise was there, or the fact that one has a clean conscience with respect to a particular sin. The parallels with the rhetoric of the exposition of physiognomcial doctrine are quite obvious.

Of course, one did not need physiognomy to do this. One could partake in this form of moral self-reflection or confession by simply reading the lists of vices in the *Kalendar* whilst trying to see whether one thought one was characterised in any way by any of those listed. An encounter with the definition of a vice might bring one to the realisation that one is accustomed to articulate or practise that particular vice, or that one

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[86]*GCH*, p.52. For the classic scholastic discussion of *prudentia*, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I-II, qq. 57, aa. 4-6; q. 65, a. 1; II-III, q. 47 and Supp., 9. 98, a. 1.
[87]*GCH*, p. 60.

is that sort of person. Realisation or confession in this way is the first step towards doing something about it, and the realisation does not necessarily need to be physiognomical.

Thus the *Kalendar* aims to provide the readers with a Christian prudence in the guise of a mystical form of medico-moral examination and policing of oneself. Its purpose was to help people in their quest for the prudential knowledge of themselves, other people and thus God. Its objective was to help them cultivate their innate virtues, destroy their innate vices and thus prepare themselves to ensure their salvation before their present life runs its course. Therefore, what was the role of the physiognomy in all of this?

The aforementioned self-reflexive physiognomating seems to fit neatly with the concerns which characterise the above reading of the *Kalendar*, particularly the idea of self examination and self-knowledge. Whilst it is always possible that the physiognomical section represents nothing more than an anomalous and accidental accretion, the fact that it can be incorporated so neatly into the aim of the text as a whole renders such an explanation less likely. Therefore, if the model of physiognomical self-reflexion implicit in the exposition of physiognomical doctrine is understood in terms of ideas found elsewhere in the *Kalendar*, particularly *nosce teipsum*, *prudentia* and salvation, it takes on the form of a genre of medico-religious self- examination.

Moreover, as Chapter Three demonstrated, physiognomy is mainly (though not entirely) a list of vices. Although the physiognomical signifieds do not perfectly match the lists of virtues and vices presented earlier in the text, it is easy to see how they could have been used in terms of each other. Take, for example, the following two signs with which the *Kalendar's* physiognomical section opens:

> They that have red hair be commonly ireful, and lack wit, and be of little truth.
>
> A man that hath black hair and a red beard signifieth to be lecherous, disloyal, and a vaunter, and one ought not to trust in him.[88]

No specific mention is made of 'untrustworthiness', a 'lack of wit' or 'disloyalty' in the section devoted to the trees of vices earlier in the *Kalendar*. Nonetheless, one could interpret 'lacking wit' as a form of 'sloth'. The ninth branch of sloth is listed as 'ignorance', which itself is broken down into three elements (1) 'indiscretion' (2) 'that

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[88]*GCH*, p. 152.

they ought not to understand' and (3) 'not willing to know'. Similarly, the 'vaunter' might be incorporated within the vice of 'pride', disloyalty could conceivably be linked to 'covetousness' (through adultery), and a physiognomical sign 'of little truth' could conceivably be incorporated either into 'pride' (under 'false goodness') or 'covetise' (under false witness).

In this way the exploration of the relationship between the signifieds of the physiognomy and the metaphysical qualities hanging from the trees of virtues and vices could become quite a sophisticated and subtle exploration of the nuances of slightly different metaphysical/psychological phenomena. Given what has been said about the in-built flexibility of the signifieds of the physiognomy and the way in which the grammar of physiognomating allowed one to reconcile contradictions and resolve tensions between them, and given today's penchant for the pursuit of endless difference, then any person participating in this form of physiognomating, this exegesis of the body, may have undergone a process as unique to them as a single branch of an actual tree.[89]

Conceived of in this way, the physiognomical section echoes the function implicit in the earlier section on vices. The essential difference is that now the 'vices' (or signifieds) are embodied in particular physical signs (or signifiers). Approaching the contemplation of these vices through the physical manifestation of them was simply another entry point into what was, essentially, the same self-reflexive confessional practice - only one that could be described as more empirical.

Given that the *Kalendar* is a work of pre-Reformation private devotional literature, then it would appear that it encouraged a devotional practice in which the examination of one's own spiritual (and physical) condition was in part carried out through the inspection, possibly with the aid of a mirror, of one's own actual physiognomy. If understood in terms of *prudentia* and salvation, this process of physiognomating oneself with or without the looking-glass might (for the moment) be described as an *inspectio prudens* - a form of more or less private confession, its motivation and aim being the quest for salvation.

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[89]Indeed, the postmodern form might avoid the sense of resolution searched for in the grammar of the classical art of physiognomating, preferring instead to go 'in the direction of microphysics searching for infinitesimal lines of escape', G. Deleuze & F. Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, 1982), pp. 280-1. For the political dimensions of such pluralisms, or what Lyotard calls 'the politics of micrologies, see Chantal Mouffe (ed.), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy* (1992), p. 13.

If this implicit practice actually occurred, then considering the relative marginality of this devotional text (notwithstanding its popularity), it may have been one which exemplified the way in which alleged 'true religion' and 'parasitic superstition' were mixed up with each other in the late medieval Church; or it may in some way have designated one of the practices which fed in to the pre-Reformation discontent with the Roman Catholic Church.[90] To offer a contemporary, if less controversial analogy, this use of the *Kalendar* appears to be the early modern equivalent of the contemporary practice of checking one's breasts or testicles for cancerous lumps.

A much less self-reflexive, more secular and politically pragmatic version of this *inspectio prudens* is clearly discernible in both editions of the *Secretum*. Like the *Kalendar*, both editions of the *Secretum* contain a *regimina sanitatis* - indeed, Copland calls his *Secretum* a 'myrour of helth'.[91] However, unlike the *Kalendar*, neither contains any devotional or religious material. There is no discussion of the desire to live a long life, or the need to know God, nor the desire to obtain grace for the purpose of salvation and immortality. Although both of them also offer advice on the cultivation of virtues and the governing of vices,[92] both editions of the *Secretum* are embedded more in Aristotelian ethics than in the Christian cardinal virtues and vices.[93] Their pragmatic concerns are with political science, the physical and metaphysical virtues necessary for ensuring the successful rule of a king in this life, rather than the successful entry of a Christian into the garden of virtues.

This 'political science' is still embedded within the concept of prudence. Lydgate offers advice on how the King:

> must prudently afore conceyve in his providence;[94]

the King must be:

> prudent and wys/ and of discrecyoun.[95]

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[90]Thomas, *Magic*, p. 57.
[91]MAM, p. 275.
[92]MAM, p. 252.
[93]MAM, p. x.
[94]Steele, *Secrees*, p. 32, l. 1029a.
[95]Steele, *Secrees*, p.3, l.60.

Placed alongside wisdom, the prudence of the *Secretum* involves knowing how to present oneself and govern oneself in a kingly manner and so avoid all impolitic excesses such as largess and avarice. This prudence helps the King discover how to treat his subjects wisely, how to choose the right counsellors and ministers to help him govern. It is a prudence aimed at political success in the here and now. As Lydgate implores God:

> God Almyghty save/ and conferme our kyng
> In al vertu/ to his encrees of glorye.[96]

If the work as a whole is offered as a container of all the ingredients necessary to develop what both Lydgate and Burgh call 'polityk prudence', what is the role of physiognomy in all of this?[97] Since these texts emphasise more the self-presentation rather than the self-knowledge of the ruler, and since the physiognomy is put forward as a way of choosing one's counsellors and discerning one's friends from one's enemies, then this form of the physiognomical *inspectio prudens* is one which, as articulated in the text at least, appears to be turned out at other people more than it is turned in on one's self. At the very end of the treatise, Copland emphasises the importance of this:

> Amonge all other thynges of this worlde I wyll that thou knowe a noble and meruaylous science that is called physonomy by the which thou shalt knowe the nature and condycyon of people.[98]

Taken together, the *Kalendar* and the *Secretum* emphasise two different sides of the same visual coin - the one in which the inspection is aimed more at the self, whilst the other is aimed more at other people. However, that is not to say that they are mutually exclusive. Just as easily as a reader could turn the physiognomating *inspectio* acquired from a reading of the *Kalendar* onto other people, so could a reader turn the physiognomating *inspectio* acquired from the *Secretum* onto her or his own self. Similarly, the political/social science aspect was not solely the preserve of the *Secretum*.

The advice given by the *Secretum*:

> Yf thou se a man with salowe coloure flee his company for he is inclyned to the synne of lechery and to many euylles.....Beware of hym as thy enmy that is tokened in his face and of hym also that is mysshapen

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[96]Steele, *Secrees*, p. 1, ll. 1-2; MAM, p. 253.
[97]Steele, *Secrees*, pp.1, 1. 3 & 12, l. 373; MAM, p. 275.
[98]MAM, p. 377.

was also found in the *Kalendar*.[99]

Nonetheless, in order to accommodate but still differentiate this difference of emphasis in the direction of this physiognomating gaze, and in order to recognise the close relation between wisdom and prudence widely accepted in the early modern period, the term *inspectio prudens* will on the whole be used when referring to the more outward-focused of these two closely related ways of looking, whilst the more self-reflexive form of physiognomating will henceforth be referred to as the *inspectio sapiens*.[100]

Before moving on to deal with the genres of physiognomating implicit in the rest of the texts in the series, a word must be said about the latent mysticism and natural magic implicit in both of these conceptions of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. At one point the *Kalendar* presents the constituent parts of prudence, one of which, 'providence', it defines as that:

> by the which a man gathereth in him the advent of things to come, by prudent subtility and regard of the things passed.[101]

It is easy to see how this could be incorporated into the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. In the self-reflexive case, one discovers things about one's own past self as well as certain inclinations which give one an intimation of what is to come in the sense of how one will react in a given situation given one's nature or inclination. Furthermore, as mentioned above, to a late-twentieth-century mind there does not seem to be anything outrageously mystical in the suggestion that one can tell something about another person's past or about the same person's future by looking at that person's face and body, particularly if it is something as seemingly banal as 'that person has suffered much' or 'that person will have a life full of strife'. Thus, if one decides that a person is simple, perhaps even foolish, but kind and generous, it is not so difficult to speculate on (or what would now be described as 'hazard a guess at') the problems that person might face in future life based on one's own past experiences and observations.

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[99]*GCH*, p. 152.

[100]Sometimes both forms will be used together. Interestingly, Huizinga wrote of the 'coexistence in one person of devotion and worldliness', *Waning*, p. 163. For a discussion of the prudential conception of the self-reflexive nature of reading and its practical and political significance in early humanism see V. Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca, 1985).

[101]*GCH*, p. 98.

However, in the astrological sections of the *Kalendar*, when discussing the properties of each of the planets, the future tense of the verb 'to be' is used. In the *Secretum* Copland writes:

> It is a noble thyng to knowe thynges whiche be to come.[102]

When placed alongside this conception of prudence and above all the enigmatic, even mystical origins which these texts claim for their content, there is a distinct tension in both the *Kalendar* and the *Secretum* which threatens to turn these genres of physiognomating, be it the private confession or the political science, into a form of natural magic and divination by which one can also discern the past and the future.[103]

This connection between physiognomating and prudence was one that can be found in a number of the more sophisticated texts under consideration, with the emphasis in the majority of cases on the *inspectio prudens* or physiognomating as a political science. In Hill's 1556 version one can discern overtones of Aquinas's conception of natural law and *prudentia*:

> The use and effectes of natural reason whose trueth and pleasantnes logicke and rhetoricke dooe playnly set furth, teache us how we differ from other creatures, for what end we were created, and how we maye behaue us to come to that ende.[104]

Like the *Kalendar*, Hill is aware of the claim:

> that the chef point in knowledge is to know God, the second to know one self, the third (which is also the first part of prudence) to know al other men.[105]

But the particular pragmatics of physiognomy makes no mention of salvation. Like the *Secretum*, Hill's *inspectio prudens* has its gaze fixed firmly in this life. For it:

> teacheth the thyrde part of wysdom, and first part of prudence, that is: how to discerne the disposicions of al men by their fourme and shape, whereby we maye knowe whom to make oure frendes and familiers, whom to preserve from beyng our foes, & whom to auoyde as daungerous to haue to doe with all.

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[102]*HOS*, p. 144; MAM, p. 331.
[103]It is even discernible in some of the physiognomicks: 'A person that goeth a good pace signifieth well to prosper in all things', *GCH*, p. 154. In others the past tense is used 'Moche heere on the brest and on the bely betokeneth very yll or very good complexyon naturally and is very amerous and kepeth in his herte the iniuryes [th]at hath ben done to hym', MAM, p. 379.
[104]Hill (1556), Preface.
[105]Hill (1556), Preface.

Not only this, for all its inherent self-reflexive potential, Hill's physiognomical *inspectio prudens* is presented as a less mystical and more social science version of that presented in the *Secretum* - something that no man 'should think incredible'. It is offered as an 'infallible' baseline of natural truth for assessing the natural 'state and condicions' of the people with whom one comes into contact and with whom one has to negotiate along life's path.

Similarly in Robert Fludd's writing all the elements of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* are there - the prudence, salvation and *nosce teipsum*. He actually wrote an entire piece on the subject of *nosce teipsum*.[106] In the work under discussion Fludd, citing Ficino, wrote that when man knows himself he becomes like God.[107] Indeed, given that the microcosm, which is man, is the hidden part, the invisible and immortal aspect of man, formed from, corresponding to and harmonising with the invisible parts of the world of the macrocosm, then the contemplation of man's self is in itself divine contemplation.[108] Fludd's 'Theosophy', of which physiognomy was just one small part, clearly contained the notion of salvation implicit in the *Kalendar*. Indeed, one scholar has even suggested that it was a salvation in itself.[109]

However, although all of the elements of this *inspectio sapiens* are there, and although the frontispiece of the physiognomical section reflects this participation in the divine vision of God, there is no explicit sense of the self-reflexive physiognomical inspection. Once again it is a genre of physiognomating aimed firmly at other people:

> And truly, if this art is considered by a person of discretion and wisdom it will bring him great fruit and utility; certainly it will teach him with whom to deposit things, whom to trust, to enter marriage, to teach young boys, to mingle with honest men, to avoid filthy and obscene men, not to rashly form alliances and acquaintances, to avoid the improbity of wicked people

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[106]See Fludd's *A nosce teipsum* in his *Clavis philosophia*: 'Return (I say) unto thyself, subject thy body unto thy reasonable soul by diving into thy inward treasure, and there prostrate and submit...thy mental and spiritual part unto thy God', cited in W. H. Huffman (ed.), *Robert Fludd. Essential Reading* (1992), p. 109.

[107]F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), p. 404. Fludd, *UCH*, vol. I, pp. 11-12.

[108]'Chiamiamo microcosmo interiore la parte occulta, invisible e immortale dell'uomo, formata dalle parti invisibili dei mondi invisibili del macrocosmo, per le quali non solo attende alle sue funzioni naturali, ma suole anche rivolgersi alle divine contemplazione', Anon., *La magia naturale nel Rinascimento* (Strenna Utet, 1989), p.121.

[109]Hutin, *Robert Fludd*, 'est une connaissance salvatrice, car elle est en elle-même salut...une *illumination* divine qui transcende la raison', p. 83.

> without harm and danger; and thereafter, this Science makes those people who are skilled in it and cultivate it, **prudent** and fortunate. For, as we first observe the man, through this we can judge the disposition of his soul to good or evil.[110]

Thirty four years later, in the midst of the classic period of Puritan anxieties about salvation and searches for evidence of that salvation, this *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* is once again discernible, even in a work as untidy as Saunders' 1653 *Physiognomie*.[111] Its concern with *prudentia* is evident from the very opening of the section on chiromancy with which the entire work begins:

> [Chiromancy is the prudent knowing of good or evil which from the inspection of the hand forsees the well-being of a man.] This last definition by the word Prudence constitutes its genius for the causes of its divination[112]

Elsewhere, Saunders's sense of the utility of physiognomating also has overtones of prudence:

> that so they may know the humours one of another & consequently be more confident or diffident one of another.[113]

In that sense the *inspectio prudens* is aimed at the other people in the external world. But here, for the first time, physiognomating is explicitly conceived of in terms of the market place:

> The mind is as apertly conversant in the Eyes as in a Market.[114]

Furthermore, this contemplation of other people's bodies is still seen as contemplation of God:

> That great Creator of all things having drawn lines and marks on our bodies, that we may (in considering and discovering of them) with greater admiration, contemplate his Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Infinite mercy, in stamping such his mysterious Characters on us, and forming us after his own Image.[115]

As for:

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[110]'Et sane, si a viro discreto ac sagaci haec ars bene consideretur, magnum ei utilitatis fructum afferet; quippe quae docebit illum tuto huic credere depositum, illi fidere, conjugium inire, pueros disciplinis tradere, cum honestis conversari, turpes & obscoenos fugere, non temere societates & amicitias diligere, scelestorum improbitatem absque ullu detrimento & periculo devitare; & denique haec Scientia prudentes facit & fortunatos eos qui ipsam callent & colluntʼ, Fludd, *UCH*, vol. II, p. 118.
[111]L. L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), chapter four.
[112]'Chiromantia est prudentia boni vel mali quippium ex manuum inspectione ad hominis salutem praesagiendi', Saunders (1671), sig. a.
[113]Saunders (1671), p. 162.
[114]Saunders (1671), p. 193.
[115]Saunders (1671), sig,A2(v).

> that antient adage *Nosce teipsum*, of which Plato affirms, *Difficillima res est, seipsum cognoscere*. For most men are a *terra incognita* to themselves,[116]

Saunders hopes that

> all persons may perspicuously in their own mother tongue, read and understand their own proper peculiar destinies, and (if possible) avert (at least wise mitigate) the evil threatened them; or with comfort attend, and (by humane prudence) cherish and augment the good portended, whereby they may greatly be enabled to give God thanks for his infinite mercies and goodness in setting before their eyes these visible natural warnings.[117]

Thus in Saunders both the *inspectio sapiens* and the *inspectio prudens*, to the extent that they are articulated at all, appear to be present in equal measure. However, here lies one very important distinction between this *inspectio prudens* and the genre of physiognomating suggested by the *Kalendar*. Instead of using the term salvation, Saunders employs 'peculiar destinies', just as earlier he had translated *salutem* as 'well-being'. Furthermore, although the work is sometimes presented as a form of natural magic and mystical wisdom, as was suggested in Chapter Two, there are the first intimations of this form of physiognomy being understood as some form of antiquated curiosity.

In La Chambre's 1665 *The Art How To Know Men* the emphasis is placed firmly on the conceptual framework behind the process of being able to know, or physiognomate men. This framework of the *inspectio prudens* is shown even more clearly there and has its scholastic roots more explicitly articulated than in any previous texts. In addressing the translator, James Howell suggested that the chiefest of all knowledge is for man:

> To know his Creator; The second, to know Himself; The third, to know his Fellow-Creatures, especially, for Man to know Man.[118]

Unlike any former presentations of this idea in the context of physiognomy, Howell emphasises the distinct limitations of all three aspects. Thus not only is it impossible to know the essence of God, with regard to knowing oneself and others:

> every Man commonly looks upon himself through a Magnifying-glass, so that he cannot behold his true proportion. Little is known on his fellow creatures despite the years of effort, and he is at pains to point out the limits of the art of physiognomy.[119]

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[116]Saunders (1671), sig. b2(v).
[117]Saunders (1671), sig. b3.
[118]La Chambre (1665), sig. A5v.
[119]La Chambre (1665), sig. A5v.

La Chambre himself is much less sceptical:

> the Art, we teach, is able to bring a man to the knowledge of himself..[and] by all these discoveries of Knowledge, it elevates the spirit of Man, to the Sovereign Creator of the Universe. For, acquainting it with the infinite miracles remarkable in Man, it insensibly inclines him to glorify the Author of so many wonders, and, by that means, directs him to the end, whereto he is design'd.[120]

Once again, physiognomating is embedded deeply the now traditional notions of wisdom and prudence:

> The Art How To Know Men is an Art whereby every man is taught to know himself, which consists the highest point of wisdom; and withall to know others, which is the Master-piece of Prudence.[121]

Wisdom occurs when:

> a man knows what he is himself, what he may do, and what he ought to do.

Prudence is

> knowing also what others are, what they may do, and what they are desirous to do.[122]

Furthermore,the very this-wordly form of physiognomating is still bound up with the theological notion of synderesis:

> Prudence and Synderesis.....are two habits of the Understanding, whereby Moral Actions are regulated....Synderesis prescribes to all the vertues the end which they ought to have; and Prudence treats only of the means whereof they ought to make use, in order to their arrival thereto.[123]

Thus this physiognomating prudence is still understood to be a part of wisdom, but the emphasis here is more on prudence as a technique.[124] One can even discern elements of the macrocosm/microcosm analogy, and at one point La Chambre begins to claim its power to see the future.[125]

However, La Chambre introduces something new into this genre of looking. Firstly, in an obvious refusal of the Cartesian solipsistic *cogito*, La Chambre adds to this

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[120]La Chambre (1665), sig. B3(r)
[121]La Chambre (1665), sig. B2.
[122]La Chambre (1665), sig. B2. Discussion of the subject formed a major theme in the writings of the French moralists who were La Chambre's contemporaries. See for example Père Rapin, on the 'Sublime dans la prudence' in 'les grands politiques', *Du grand ou du sublime dans les moeurs* (Paris, 1686), p. 11.
[123]La Chambre (1665), p. 167.
[124]L. Van Delft, *Les moralistes classiques* (Paris, 1982), p. 228.

traditional more self-reflexive notion of physiognomating the suggestion that one cannot attain self-knowledge by oneself alone:

> it is most certain, that we cannot by our selves come to a perfect knowledge of our selves: and our Souls may, in that respect, be compar'd to our Faces, inasmuch as the former, as well as the latter, can only view themselves in Mirrours. If she attempts the beholding of herself, the trouble she is at in that self-reflection distracts and wearies her, and self-love corrupts and poysons, all the judgments she makes of her-self.[126]

Thus unlike the *Kalendar* and the *Secretum*, it is not simply a case of the *inspectio sapiens* or the *inspectio prudens* being emphasised. In this text they are conceptualised as inextricably entwined. In this case it would appear that a notion of the social has been incorporated into the conception of the self and into the process of self-knowledge and the self-reflexive aspect of this genre of physiognomating.

Secondly, La Chambre emphasises that it is because 'Religion and Prudence' require that 'Moderation of Spirit' be exercised in the practice of this physiognomical art, so as not to be 'partial or praecipitate' in one's judgments, which keeps this art 'of being necessary and serviceable to Society'. This is a long way from the advice cited earlier which was given in the *Kalendar* or Indagine's warning that:

> we must abstain from the company of such as be markt & lame in any member.[127]

Here, the *inspectio prudens* appear to be conceptualised as a cementing element in a notion of a civil, or at least 'serviceable' society. One might even argue that the devotional element in the *Kalendar* carried on through the self towards God is still there in the sense of its being aimed at God. However, it is a devotional practice that has now been turned on to the social and works through the social to reach God.[128]

This classical framework is absent from Vulson's text. There the physiognomy is presented, in parts, in an almost playful manner. For example, the reader is informed that the section on dreams was not invented:

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[125]La Chambre (1665), p. 226.
[126]La Chambre (1665), sigs. B2(r)-B3.
[127]Indagine (1558), sig. Hv(v).
[128]For a discussion of role of prudence in the civil ethics of a Renaissance republic see M. Santoro, *Fortuna, Ragione e Prudenza nella Civilità Letteraria del Cinquecento* (Napoli, 1966). For a discussion of Hobbes' and Harrington's conflicting notions of 'ancient prudence' as linked to their political theories, see N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994), pp. 165-169. Bacon saw physiognomical knowledge as conducive to 'Civil Prudence', *Works*, vol. III, 369.

> to unhinge the Brain, or torture the Phancie; but rather to Divert, and Exercise in your Ladyships that pleasant Ague of the Diaphragm, Laughter.[129]

This is sandwiched between a game of chance based around a table of questions typical of those asked of astrologers, and contrasts with the more serious tone of the physiognomy. Overall, the translator presents the material as a form of theatrical entertainment:

> But lest I be accus'd of too much Rudeness for detaining you so long in the Porch of this Palace, I will now open the Portal, and give you free admittance into this Court of Curiosity; where, that the Entertainment may in some measure Answer your Expectation, it is the earnest desire of your Ladyships most obedient Servant....[130]

Whilst in a text as late as *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*, there is no sense of physiognomating being an act of private confession, the text as a whole still carries overtones of this religious self-reflexive framework. As will be seen in the final Chapter, although it is a text devoted predominantly to the question of generation and reproduction, this generation is articulated through a religious framework. Moreover, the first two parts of the work, prior to the physiognomy, are also conceived of in terms of self-reflection:

> Now since philosophy informs us, that *nosce te ipsum* is one of the first lessons a man ought to learn, it cannot surely be accounted a useless piece of knowledge for a man to be acquainted with the cause of his own being.[131]

and like the *Kalendar* and *Secretum* it offers itself as a tool for this self-reflection. After anatomising the male and female genitals, it too suggests the reader might use the work as a mirror:

> As in this mirror they may plainly see.[132]

However, like Vulson, *Wit's Cabinet*, and even to a degree Saunders, the physiognomy and palmistry are treated as something of a curiosity:

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[129]Vulson (1669), sig. A3(v).
[130]Vulson (1669), sig. A4-A4(v).
[131]*ACM* (1764), p. 9.
[132]*ACM* (1764), p. 27.

> this treatise of *physiognomy and palmistry*....for the benefit and advantage of those who are curious enquirers into the *secrets of nature.*[133]

Moreover, the physiognomical section turns the gaze out at other people:

> Physiognomy is an ingenious science, or knowledge of nature, by which the inclinations and dispositions of every creature are understood.[134]

Indeed, the explicit utility of this genre of physiognomating is for choosing partners. One can see this clearly in the fact that Michael Scot's physiognomical content is interspersed with short quite light-hearted verses such as:

> *Thus those who chiefly mind the brutal part,*
> *May learn to chuse a husband by this art.*
>
> *And he that will of a good wife make choice,*
> *May chuse her by observing her voice.*[135]

Placed alongside the emphasis on generation, then this genre of physiognomating is characterised by and aimed at the right choosing of partners, not with the aim of salvation, and certainly not with the aim of a general worldly success as seen in the *Secretum*, but with the purpose and aim of having children.

Not all of the texts which carried this physiognomical virus did so within these relatively distinct frameworks. As early as the 1530s, the *Compost of Ptholomeus*, has no hint of *nosce teipsum* or prudence. There are overtones of salvation and everlasting life:

> a man oughte to parforme his lyfe in this Worlde corporally/ that they may lyve spiritually without ende.[136]

Yet unlike the worldly success advocated by the *Secretum*, the aim for the *Compost* is to 'lyve soberly with these small temporal goodes that Jhesu hath lende me' and avoid the search for worldly worship and riches. Overall, the editor of the *Compost* has obviously attempted to delineate a body of knowledge which is the preserve of astrology, astrologers and astrological physicians, as distinguished from the more pastoral content of its parent text the *Kalendar*. As will become apparent, even though

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[133] *ACM* (1764), p. 96.
[134] *ACM* (1710), p. 104.
[135] *ACM* (1764), pp. 100 & 106.
[136] *CP* [1530], [BL, 717 a. 5], sig. bii.

the physiognomical doctrine itself carries very little trace of any of the astrological influence, by locating physiognomy much more firmly amongst the fortune- and destiny-telling practices of astrology it was to set an important precedent, the creation of a genre of seemingly astrological physiognomating - even more so when one of the editions incorporated palmistry into the overall structure.

Interestingly, the astrological text which follows it showed little sign of the framework outlined above, though at one point in the Indagine text the notion of *nosce teipsum* raises its head when Indagine suggests that the text contains material by which:

> a man in himselfe may foresee and knowe his proper and fatall accidentes.[137]

However, this is not elaborated upon.[138] All in all, the *Indagine* and the *Arcandam* manuals do not teach the reader how to be or how to act; they only teach the reader how to observe things, predominantly other people astrologically. Once again it is evident how much of the astrology has simply been draped over the physiognomy.

By the time of *The True Fortune Teller* (1685), a text heavily based on Saunders, this prudential generic framework has disappeared. It presents its physiognomating art in the following way:

> And further to give you an insight into secret sciences, I shall proceed to open a greater Cabinet of Misteries.[139]

God is still implicit in this genre of physiognomating:

> it is certain that the great Creator of the Glorious Universe has so ordered it that he has Ingraven as it were Misterious Characters upon every Creature.[140]

Furthermore, one still finds an element of the mystical, the natural magic required to help one decipher or understand these signs, for the writer speaks of 'those whose understandings are assisted by Divine Knowledge'. But there is no notion of coming to know oneself through them, nor other people, nor God. The knowledge is no longer explicitly aimed at determining whether one is saved, nor is it aimed at achieving the

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[137]Indagine (1558), sigs. A3r-A4.
[138]The original proem has 'Aequa prudentia est, stultum imperite loquentem redarguere, & despicere frivole cavillantem: ne sapere sibi videatur', Indagine, *Introductiones* (1522), sig Gvi.
[139]*TFT* (1685), p. 60.
[140]*TFT* (1685), sig. B.

prudence needed to survive in the world.[141] This genre of physiognomating is simply aimed at ways in which one may, generally speaking 'unfold future things'.[142] Thus, once again, a genre of physiognomating is put forward, always within a religious framework, in this case still within the framework of prudence and self-knowledge as well as political science, but without any explicit notion of salvation.

Like Saunders's work, *Wits Cabinet, or a Companion for Young Men and Ladies* was also something of a curious mishmash of the usual divinatory sciences. In this case, alongside the physiognomy, palmistry, moles and interpretation of dreams were added material on cosmetics, popular songs and advice on courtship:

> the whole art of Wooing and making Love, with the best Complemental Letters, Elegant Epistles, Amorous Addresses, and Answers in a most pleasant and ingenious strain, with the Newest Songs, sung at Court and both Theatres,[143]

as well as 'the Art of Drinking' and 'Pleasant Riddles for Merry Company'. Thus this genre of physiognomating was a form of social grace which one could acquire. It may have been a conversation piece, a body of knowledge one dropped into one's conversation at times in order to amuse the people one was with. In others words, it was an aspect of 'Education and Accomplishment',[144] but, like *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*, one which also had the aim of finding a partner.

Most subsequent works fall into the same categories as *Wit's Cabinet* and the *True Fortune Teller*. One such is *Aristotle's [Last] Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets*, the earliest extant edition of which dates from about the early 1690s onwards.[145] Others are the *Academy of Compliments* or the penny chapbooks which began to appear at least as early as the mid-eighteenth century. The originality which these works introduced into the genres of physiognomating was two-fold. First, they often suggested that its utility lay in the finding and choosing of partners. For example:

> *How every one may know their Partner's Disposition and Temper, by the hair, eyes, and nose, &c.*[146]

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[141]It does mention a physiognomical sign of prudence, *TFT* (1685), p. 50.
[142]*TFT* (1685), sig. B.
[143] *WC* (1686), title-page.
[144]What elsewhere was referred to as 'sensibility'. See below, p. pp. 224-225.
[145]The latest copy I have seen is dated 1711. See BL, 8630 aa. 18. This may be derivative in some way from William Jewel's *The Golden Cabinet of Treasure* (1612).

Secondly, and more originally, although the actual physiognomy is much the same as in any other text (despite the fact that there is less of it), these texts introduced a new element into the genre of physiognomating - the elements of the game and of bawdy humour.

As early as 1690, physiognomating had been incorporated into small games in the forms of wheels of fortune. In *Aristotle's Legacy*, just prior to the physiognomical exposition, there was one such Wheel of Fortune. One threw dice, the numbers of which corresponded to a particular set of verses entitled:

> How to know Good or Bad Fortune to Men, in Love Matters and Business, by Changes on the Dice, in the Wheel of Fortune.

Many of the answers were distinctly physiognomical:

> She will be brown, and of a middle Age;
> A brisk and lively Wench, I will engage.
>
> O me, a Red-Hair'd Man will be your lot;
> But he to please You, has a good thing got;
> You Children will have many, and much pleasure,
> Then be content without a World of treasure.[147]

The same can be found at the end of the eighteenth century, for example, in *A New Academy of Compliments*. Once again one finds the now traditional future-telling and partner-seeking art of physiognomating:

> The most Exact and Approved Fortune-Teller: As to what relates to Good or Bad Fortune in either Sex, especially to maids, Widows, Widowers, and Batchelors...
>
> Signs to chuse Husbands and good Wives, [148]

as well as the same types of games:

> Several Queries resolved in Matters of Love and Business, by throwing a Die, or pricking at a Figure.

The number thrown or letter pricked corresponded to a particular question and a particular answer to to such questions as: 'As to what Kind of a Husband a Widow or maid shall have', and once again there were numerous physiognomical answers.[149]

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[146]*NSL* (1786), p. 2.
[147]*ALg* [1690?][BL, Cup.403h.37], pp. 3 & 5.
[148]*NAC* (1772). [Bodl., Harding E 329], pp. 56-57. See also *NPWP* [c.1820?] [Bodl., Douce adds 274 (17)], p. 5.

Finally, there was one more element which by the middle of the eighteenth century could be seen to have influenced this art of physiognomating in such a way as to offer a slightly different genre to all of the rest: bawdy humour. Thus, the above mentioned *New School of Love* has advice on how to woo and how to physiognomically find a partner, but also plenty of quite smutty verse:

> Let not the Bridegroom be afraid/Though he encounter with a Maid/ She'll squeak, she'll cry/She'l faint she'll die.[150]

All in all, the genres of physiognomating offered by these texts changed throughout the period. In the earlier part of the period they were presented either as a mystical form of private, self-reflexive, salvation-seeking confession or a more cold-blooded prudential political science aimed at successfully negotiating one's way through one's social encounters. By the late seventeenth century they had become a form of fortune-telling concerned mainly with the art of courtship and partner seeking, sometimes linked to notions of business, often driven by notions of reproduction, and often presented in the form of a bawdy parlour game.

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[149]*NAC* (1772), pp. 61-62.
[150]*NSL* (1786), p. 11. See also *The Art of Courtship; or, the School of Love* [c. 1775][Bodl., Douce pp. 179 (7)]; and *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny* [c.1775][Bodl., Douce pp. 179 (9)].

CONCLUSION

The rhetorical power of the physiognomy in these treatises has to be understood first of all in terms of a culture inherited from the Middle Ages drenched in such memorable gnomic and sententious genres such as axioms, maxims, rules, medical aphorisms, adages, proverbs, even commandments - as popular and prominent throughout the early modern period as advertising slogans try to be today. Their iconic quality made them even more memorable and even magical and uncanny. The list-like structure in which they were always presented, from the most elaborate compendia to the most distilled presentations of the ideas, was very conducive both to teaching children to read and write, and for helping the reader to memorise them or to use them as a quick reference work. It was also conducive to a much more involved form of reading in which the reader searched the text for attributes of him or her self or people (present or absent) known to the reader. Throughout the entire period, this mode of physiognomating was characterised by what was called for the sake of brevity an *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. At the beginning of the period this *inspectio sapiens* took the form of a private bout of introspection, somewhat akin to a private confession, ultimately seeking salvation. When turned more on others the *inspectio prudens* was simply a way of politically and prudentially negotiating one's way through the dangers of other people as one made one's way in the world. Nearer the end of the period, one can still perceive the theological overtones of the conceptual structures, but instead of a prudence based on politics, *nosce teipsum* and salvation, one finds a curiosity and wit aimed at explicitly at 'love-making' and 'courtship', often presented in the form of a bawdy parlour game but one whose ultimate concern was with marriage and procreation.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ART OF PHYSIOGNOMATING c. 1500 - c. 1780

III

THE ACTUAL ART OF PHYSIOGNOMATING:

LIVING GRAFFITI

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will deal with the questions of who actually owned and/or read these physiognomical texts and the ways in which these texts were actually read in the early modern period. The Chapter will be presented in four parts. Section 1 will reconfirm the hypothesis put forward in Chapter Two that people of different ages, social groups and levels of literacy read these texts. From the late seventeenth century onwards, the extant evidence suggests the predominance among readers of children, youth and women. Sections 2 to 4 will examine the graffiti made by early-modern readers on these texts in order to test the hypothesis put forward in Chapter Four about the genres of physiognomating, with or without a looking glass.

1

THE IDENTITY OF POTENTIAL PHYSIOGNOMATORS:

POETS & PHILOSOPHERS, PRIESTS & PHYSICIANS, PARENTS & PLAYMATES - PHYSIOGNOMATORS ALL

Robert Copland suggested his book of secrets would be useful in helping children learn to read.[1] One hundred and thirty years later, a prefatory verse in Saunders's 1653 text addressed the 'Ladies of the Strand and Covent Garden'.[2] Similarly, Vulson opened his text with an address 'To the Ladies of our British Isle'.[3] Elsewhere Saunders claimed that physiognomy was 'a Science very necessary for Ministers and Physitians'.[4] The translator of La Chambre's treatise thought it a knowledge particularly suited to:

> persons entrusted with the management of Embassies, and the most important Transactions of Crowns and Scepters, and consequently, obligd to treat with People of different Tempers and Climates.[5]

To all of the above Vulson added:

> Doctors of Divinity....the Natural Philosopher...the Moral Philosopher...the devout Preacher....Orators....Ambassadors, Lawyers, Magistrates, and Captains, and all others, that would perswade a multitude...Gentlemen and prudent Politicians [who wished to be master of] a most complaisant deportment and presence,

and finally the traveller, who:

> When he travels into forrain parts, he may discover to what passion the people are most inclinable....It is a matter of great moment in society, to understand the inclination of the company you associate with; and that conversation cannot but be agreeable, where the passions of the parties are moderated. I will say nothing of Magistrates, who may by Physiognomy understand the disposition and inclination of their Inferiors and Subjects.[6]

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[1]MAM, p. 388.
[2]Saunders (1671), sig. c.
[3]Vulson (1669), sig. A3.
[4]Saunders (1671), sig. a2 & b2v. Many Books of Hours were owned by women, including the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, C. Brotherton-Ratcliffe, 'Illustrations of the Four Last Things in English Pre-Reformation Books of Devotion' (unpublished D. Phil. Dissertation, University of London, 1994), p. 256ff.
[5]La Chambre (1665), sig A4(v).
[6]Vulson (1669), pp. 110-113.

There is much evidence to suggest that these texts reached all of this desired audience. An examination of a random sample of 120 inventories in the records of the Chancellor's Court of Oxford University revealed only one, Thomas Simons (Merton College, 1563), who possessed a physiognomical treatise - an edition of Johannes de Indagine.[7] However, when compared with the large number of physiognomical texts found in a sample of early modern Cambridge inventories, the low number of physiognomical treatises in the Oxford inventories appears to be a distortion of the random sample. For example, John Bateman (1559) of Gonville and Caius, Henry Hawes (1559/60) of Trinity and Thomas Lorkin (1528-1591), the Regius Professor of Physic and Rector of Little Waltham in Essex (1572-1585), all possessed a copy of Indagine; Edmund Rudd of Clare College (d. 1576/7) and Richard Mote, Vicar of Thriplow (d. 1592) both owned a copy of Arcandam; Andrew Perne (1519-1589), Master of Peterhouse, owned a copy of Adamantius and Taisnier; Robert Smith (1571) of St. John's owned a copy of Scot's 'Phizionomia'; John Perman (1545), the surgeon, John Beaumont (1565), the Canon of Westminster and Master of Trinity, Thomas Layton (1565) of Peterhouse and William Anderson (1586) of St. Catharine's all possessed a copy of the renowned Cocles compendium (1546).[8]

Other evidence shows that John Dee owned numerous physiognomical treatises which, on his death, passed through the hands of such figures as Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Kenelm Digby, John Selden, and Archbishop Ussher.[9] Similarly, many of Richard Saunders' writings and library were bought by Elias Ashmole. Samuel Hartlib noted that 'Mr. Smith of Christ's College' commended 'Finella's Physiognomia Planetaria' whilst Rozencreutzen commended another entitled 'Anatomia et Physiognom[i]a simplicum'.[10]

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[7]The random sample was based (for the most part) on Walter Mitchell's transcripts, Bodl., OUA, HYP/B/18 R-F. For Simons see EEC,F,GG. Nicholas Alyne (Balliol, 1561) had an *Opus Mathematicum*. This may have been the work of Jean Tasnier. See S. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (1983); R. J. Fehrenbach & E. S. Leedham-Green (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, 2 vols. (1992), vol. II, 2.28.

[8]E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1982). Not all inventories contain such works. See, for example, C. Coppens, *Reading in Exile. The Libraries of John Ramnidge (d. 1568), Thomas Harding (d. 1572) & Henry Joliffe (d. 1573), Recusants in Louvain* (Cambridge, 1993).

[9]J. Roberts & A. G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (1994). Archbishop Ussher received manuscript 137, 'Ciromancia est ars cognoscendi inclinationes'. See Chapter Two, section Two.

[10]*The Hartlib Papers* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 28/1/80a & 31/22/29a.

The presence of physiognomical treatises in such collections may have been greater than indicated in the inventories given that many of the cheaper versions may have been subsumed uner such headings as 'paper bookes'. Sometimes the numbers of such books were substantial. James Raynoldes (Exeter, 1577) had 'Englyshe bokes warth by estimacion 13s 4d'. Other books can be found in these inventories, written by the authors of physiognomical treatises such as Thomas Hill,[11] or works by Agrippa and Cardano which at least mention physiognomy or provide a brief idea of what physiognomy is,[12] and still other texts whose content was similar to physiognomy.[13] All of which contributes to the formation of an impression of an intellectual atmosphere familiar with, and closely related to physiognomy.

Still more evidence for the broad nature of the audience for physiognomical treatises is available in the form of the names of owners inscribed on the extant copies of the physiognomical texts themselves.[14] The frontispiece of one copy of the 1522 Latin folio edition of *Indagine* bears the names of three very different elite owners. [15] They read 'Thomas Morgan' (1543-1606?), the Welsh Catholic conspirator, 'Caroli Bernard', most probably Charles Bernard (1650-1711), the Tory and high churchman (and friend of Swift), and Master of the Barber Surgeons Company, and 'John Shipton' (1680-1748), the Steward of Anatomy at the Barber Surgeons Company in 1704, and the Brooke Street practitioner who was called in to deal with Caroline (the wife of George II) when she was mortally ill of a strangulated hernia. Thomas Knyvett owned a 1522 Latin folio of the *Indagine* treatise.[16] Thomas Newton (1542-1607), the poet, physician, Rector of Little Ilford in Essex and author of *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576), owned an edition of Hill's 1571 physiognomical work.[17] A marginal note on one first

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[11]To take two examples, Alan Scotte (Queen's College, c. 1578) owned a copy of the *Castle of Health*; so did John Glover (St. John's, c. 1578), along with a copy of Hill's *Interpretation of Dreams*.
[12]Thomas Bolt (1578) owned a copy of Agrippa's *De vanitate*, Cardano's *De subtilitate*, and perhaps the *Geomantia* of Bartholemeus Cocles. See Leedham-Green, *Inventories*.
[13]John Glover (St. John's) had Galen's De *Temperamentis* and *De Natura Hominum*; Robert Dowe (All Souls, c. 1588) had a copy of Albertus Magnus's *De Secretis*; Nicholas Clifton (c. 1578) owned a *Livre de Secretes* and *Godfrides Knowledge*. See Leedham-Green, *Inventories*.
[14]As with a literary text, the interpretation of graffiti involves questions about genre, form and content, intention, identity and self-presentation of the author as well as attitudes taken towards material things. Indeed they might provide evidence of the self-conceptions and the thoughts of people whose voices and identities have hitherto been unheard and overlooked in the study of history.
[15]BL, 1606/313.
[16]CUL, Sel. 3.246.
[17]FSLW, 13487.

edition of the *Indagine* treatise claims it was 'Stolen from Parson [t??]ripes 1620'.[18] Thomas Butler, vicar of Holy Trinity, Wenlock (1534-5), was given a copy of the *Secretum* by Walter Westbury, formerly master of the abbey school of St. Peter and St. Paul in Shrewsbury.[19] The British Library has an English version of the *Indagine* treatise which claims to have been owned by 'Captain Blyth of the Bounty'.[20] The bookplate of Thomas Hollis (F.R.S.) can be found in a 1683 edition of the Indagine treatise.[21] A copy of the 1676 edition of Saunders' *Palmistry* was owned by the 7th Duke of Gordon, Cosmo George (1643-1716).[22] Similarly a copy of Saunders' 1671 *Physiognomie*, formerly owned by the unknown 'John Venables', ended up in the possession of James Harris, 1st Earl of Malmesbury (1746-1820).[23]

Although many signatures are often undatable other than by a precarious generalizing statement based on the style of the hand, the names of otherwise unknown owners suggest a familiarity with physiognomy further down the age, social and educational spectra. Although the Bodleian Library's copy of the 1635 edition of *Arcandam*, for example, carries the signature of the unknown 'Thomas Howye' in a hand that is difficult to date, there is an extant 1526 edition of the *Kalendar* which bears the initials 'WHJ' and the name 'Jon' in what appears to be a late-sixteenth/early-seventeenth century hand.[24] Other inscriptions are datable with more certainty. A 1663 edition of Saunders' *Palmistry* has been inscribed:[25]

> Hen. Allen
> eius liber
> August 16
> 1669.[26]

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[18] BL, 1608/1142.
[19]E. Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465-1526', *English Historical Review*, (1979), pp. 268-290: pp. 274-5. See BL, IA 49240 (E 2a). This copy is full of graffitti and would benefit from in-depth study.
[20]BL,
[21]HgL, Phil. 6045.22.21.
[22]WACML, BF 911 S25 1676.
[23]FSL, S.755.
[24]BL, C.7C.G.2 (sig.Iii) & BL, C.71.f.2 title page and sig Evi.
[25]FSL, S751.
[26]Given the early modern concern with horary questions and lucky days, the omission of a specific time from this inscription might be a reflection of a non-astrological way of thinking.

Allen's Latin is evidence of his being classically educated. By the eighteenth century, such inscriptions are often versified. One late sixteenth-century edition of the *Arcandam* treatise contains the following inscription:

> Henry James Is my name
> England is my nation
> Winsham is my dwelling place
> and Christ is my salvation.[27]

Women and girls also owned these texts. On the 5th October 1669, a certain 'Mistress fortwal' was presented with a 1613 edition of Hill's *Physiognomie*.[28] Part II of James Boevey's manuscript *Of the Art of Discerning of Men* appears to have been bought by Bishop Moore (1646-1714) and given to his daughter Rose.[29]

Some owners were contemporary with the texts they owned. At ten years of age, Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732), later annalist and bibliographer, was the owner of a 1665 edition of the *Indagine* treatise.[30] In 1685 one 'John Key' owned a 1666 edition of *Indagine*.[31] In 1706 Edmund Poley of Badley in Suffolk was the owner of a 1671 edition of Saunders's *Physiognomie and Chiromancie*.[32] In 1717, a child named Thomas Brookes owned a copy of a 1698 edition of the *True Fortune Teller*.[33]

However, there is often a significant time-lapse between the year of the publication of the text and the date of these signatures. To take just one example, on July 24th, 1775, the antiquarian William Meek was the owner of a, by then, century-old edition of the *Indagine* treatise.[34] This suggests a more antiquarian interest in and interaction with an old printed book rather than any particular interest in physiognomy.

Having said that, some copies of sixteenth-century editions eventually fell into the hands of children two or even three hundred years later, and, as will become apparent,

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[27]WACML, BF 1681 A 66 1598, back page. Winsham is in Somerset. The owner of a 1794 American edition of *Erra Pater* simply replaces Winsham with Blearnfield, HL, 182446.
[28]FSL, 13483. See below for evidence of the ways in which women and children used or read these books.
[29]CUL, MS Dd. 15.28. Many others owned manuscript versions. In 1634, Archbishop Laud owned a manuscript of Lydgate & Burgh's *Secretum* (Bodl., MS Laud Misc. 673). 'T. Wall alias Wyndesor' purchased his (?) copy of this *Secretum* (Bodl., MS Arundel 59) from 'Henry at the taverne within buschops gate at London' in 1525. For more owners of these manuscripts see T. Prosiegel, *Die Handschriften zu Lydgate's Book of the Gouernaunce of Kynges and of Prynces* (Munich, 1903), pp. 4-16.
[30]FSL, I 147.
[31]HL, 70336.
[32]WACML, *f BF 911 S25 1671.
[33]WACML, BF 851 T86 1698.

those children appear to have used these texts in the same way as their early-modern counterparts. The British Library has a 1503 edition of the *Kalendar* which bears the name of one 'John Polotkley' scribbled on the page over two centuries later in 1711. A 1678 edition of the *Arcandam* treatise appears to have been owned by a child named William Bremridge on 27th January 1792.[35]

From the early seventeenth century, one begins to see more evidence of child owners as well as a gap between the date of the text and the date of the owner. However, it would be rash to see this as a consequence of the intellectual demise of physiognomy. Children had been reading such works for a long time. Copland advertised his 1528 'book of secrets' as useful for teaching children to read. Furthermore, these texts could also have been used by adults who were learning to read. Indeed, there is one copy of the *Erra Pater* whose frontispiece carries at the top the inscription:

> Edward Collins fifteen years of age, January the 23 in 1734.

Underneath the same owner has signed his name thirty two years later in 1766, thus suggesting that in later life he came back to a book of his youth - unless of course the second signature was that of his son.[36]

2

THE GRAFFITI OF ACTUAL PHYSIOGNOMATORS:

WHO'S PHYSIOGNOMATING WHOM?

Whilst Chapter Four offered evidence of the ways of reading implicit in the structure of the physiognomical treatises themselves, and the marks of provenance provide evidence of the sort of people who actually owned or encountered physiognomical treatises, in what ways did these people actually read (or misread) these treatises? Substantial evidence for the interaction of a specific reader and a specific text is rare.[37] However, the graffiti found in the extant copies of the texts under discussion represent traces of such

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[34]WACML, *BF 910 I38 1677, front page.
[35]FSL, R2050.2
[36]CUL, 5180.e.72.1.
[37]D. F. MacKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1985).

interactions. When examined in detail and this examination refracted through the modes and genres of physiognomating outlined in the previous chapter, they provide very suggestive and sometimes quite specific evidence of the nature of actual interactions between readers and physiognomical treatises.

Marginalia or graffiti are subjects that are increasingly becoming the focus of scholarship.[38] Much marginalia can be seen as the inheritance of the medieval practice of glossing the text. Alston has pointed out that books prior to 1501 were likely to be annotated and were therefore provided with copious margins. The subsequent use of printed marginalia replaced certain traditional forms of textual glossing. Yet opinions are divided as to the nature and meaning of such manuscript notes that readers continued to make on numerous different texts. Lipking sees them as the antithesis of printed marginalia. He suggests that hand-written marginalia 'spring up spontaneously' and are 'wayward in their very nature'. Yet for Mary Shelley in *Maria* the marginalia are 'a reliable mirror of the soul'. Slights's attempt to categorise marginalia lies between these two extremes.[39]

Using marginalia as evidence of how the text was read is certainly often hazardously speculative. It raises numerous, often unanswerable questions. Even when it can be decided which different hands are responsible for which marks, and assuming that the marks of these hands can be dated, that still leaves the problem of the narrative of any interaction between pen and page. Were the underlinings made in one sitting, or were they made over a period of time through consecutive readings? Were they made in the order in which they appear? Is it possible to identify the age or sex of the reader from these marks? Why did the reader underline certain passages and not others? Is there any pattern to their arrangement? More significantly for present purposes, is there a form of graffiti particular to a physiognomical text?

To begin with, many of the graffiti found in these texts suggest, once again, provides strong evidence of their having been read or used (as opposed to simply owned) by early modern children, or at least by a person who was learning to read and

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[38]V. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford, 1979).
[39]R. C. Alston, *Books with Manuscript: A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Ms Notes in the British Library* (1994), p. xiii; L. Lipking, 'The Marginal Gloss', *Critical Inquiry*, 3 (1977), pp. 609-655: p. 612; H. J. Jackson, 'Writing in Books and Other Marginal Activities', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 23 (1992/3), pp. 217-231: p. 220; W. E. Slights, 'The Edifying Margins of Renaissance English Books', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, 4 (1989), pp. 682-716.

write. This is suggested, for example, by the names written over and over again at various points throughout the text, or the calligraphic exercises imitating a phrase in the text or repeating letters from the alphabet. Others are exercises of a more mathematical nature.[40] Many such entries were written vertically, horizontally, diagonally, the right way up or upside down on the page.[41] Some are simply chaotic squiggles, others are more geometrical,[42] whilst there are still others of a more deliberate nature, such as one attempt to draw a human figure,[43] or the irreverent smoking-pipe drawn sticking out of the Virgin Mary's mouth in one of the woodcuts of a late sixteenth-century edition of the *Kalendar.*[44]

Children's graffiti reveal some interesting practices in themselves. At one point in the unique extant copy of Copland's *Secret of Secrets* (1528), owned in 1630 by Robert Doe of Enfield 'in the County of P p p p P', one also finds the names of 'Anthony Doe', 'Joyne Doe', 'Edward Doe and 'William Doe 1636', in a single list, one above the other. Later one finds:

> Robert Doe was the right onor to this book but now I give it to my well beloued [?][45]

evidence of a ritual of hand-me-downs.

Other copies of physiognomical texts show a similar practice amongst girls and between brothers and sisters. One 1700 edition of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* carries the names of 'Ruth Tomlinson', 'Sarah Webster', 'Hanah Marpets', and most prominently 'Ruth Swindell 1745'. In this last case her brothers 'Jon' and 'James' appear to have signed it as well - the latter, significantly perhaps, entering his name under the chapter devoted to 'The Anatomy of the Organ of Generation in Man'.[46] One early-sixteenth-century copy of the *Compost* appears to have had a sixteenth-

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[40]See below.
[41]CUL, Syn.8.56.94, *Arcandam* (1634), sig. ii(v), has a row of seven letter "f"s in the left-hand margin.
[42]CUL, SSS. 46.21, *Indagine* (1558), sig. Hv.
[43]Bodl., Douce Fragm. d.6, *Kalendar of Shepherds*,[1550?], bottom of the page carrying the calendar for the month of May [sig. Bvii].
[44]S. K. Heninger Jr.(ed.), *Kalendar of Shepherds*, facs. [c. 1585] (New York, 1979), sig. Ev. This is one example where Michael Camille's argument about the Bahktinian nature of margins - the place of the profane and the carnival - might be seen as justified, *The Margins of Medieval Art*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), p. 11. However, it is not possible to date this profane act.
[45]CUL, Sel. 5. 60., sigs. Ciii(v), Giv(v), Aii, Bii, Biv, Cii(v), Iiv, & Dii(v).
[46]BL, 1506.676, pp. 125, 129, 166 & 172.

century child owner named 'Joannes Hodgson'. Written vertically across the back page one finds:

> To his beste friend
> Thomas H[odgson?]
> H H Hodyggon

suggesting that there may also have been a ritual transference of books between friends. [47]

In one very densely graffitoed sixteenth-century copy of the *Kalendar*, the child responsible for the majority of the marginalia appears to be one 'Thomas Betteley', who, on 'august ye 27, 1696' performed these calligraphic acts on a text that was by that stage between 120 and 190 years old. His marginalia had been carried out in imitation of the actions of an earlier reader. After Betteley, the book seems then to have passed into the hands of one 'Joseph Cartwright', who, in 1700, also imitated the doodlings of previous readers.[48] One might call this phenomenon early modern inter-generational annotationality.[49]

Other examples of marginalia only make sense in terms of an attempt by the reader to construct an index in the margin to be used as either an easy reference guide or a mnemonic device.[50] This could be seen as an example of what Slights refers to as 'simplification'.[51] However, none of the graffiti examined thus far provides evidence of a form of reading particular to these texts. The aforementioned indices, for example, could be made in any number of non-physiognomical works - until, as was mentioned above, the publishers decided to print such marginal indices.

However, there are forms of marginalia more closely related to the nature of the content of these texts themselves. One extant copy of a 1528 edition of the *Kalendar* was used by a mid-sixteenth-century family named Tully. The calendar section of this text is replete with manuscript entries, all seemingly in the same hand, marking the

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[47]HgL, STC 29481.2, sig. Cviii(v). The hand is sixteenth-century. The marginalia which can be identified as Joannes's carries the usual hallmarks of a child's graffito. The back page suggests that the child may have known Latin.
[48]Bodl., Auct. QQ. Supra II 30 [1514? or 1570?], sigs. Bi, Bvi(v), Bvii, Cii, sig. Avii(v), Cviii, Ev(v), & Eviii.
[49]A phenomenon still discernable in the recent spread of a particular form of graffiti from the trains of the New York subway to the walls of housing estates throughout Europe.
[50]For example, *CP* [BL, 717.a.5,] sig. Kiii; *Kalendar* [1570?], [BL, C.27.k.6,] sig. Jviii.
[51]See above.

birth dates of different members of the family.[52]Whether or not these entries were made in one sitting or over a period of time by one of the parents or grandparents is not possible to say. Moreover, there are no other markings in the book. None the less, it does suggest that the family were considered to be *in* the book, and that the entries were related to the attempts to construct horoscopes for each member of the family.[53]

To what extent do the graffiti allow one to discern the ways in which the physiognomical section was read? By way of arguing for the order and significance that can at times be discerned in the graffiti found in the physiognomical section, it is perhaps best to begin with an example of chaos. Such is the following:

> A persone that hath a very longe thycke necke sygnyfyeth glotonye force & great lechery. A manly woman that is great and rudely membred is by nature melancolyous varyaunte & lecherous. A persone that hath a great longe bely sygnyfyeth small wyt pryde and lechery. A lytell bely & large fete sygnyfyeth good understandynge good counceyle and true.[54]

Whilst the markings appear to have been made by the same ink, the same pen and the same hand, there is no other sense of pattern. Sometimes the signifier is underlined, sometimes the signified is underlined. In line two of this example, the signified of one sign has been underlined. The underlining continues on line three and then spills over into the next semantic unit but only as far as its first three words, 'A person that', followed by the first three words of the next signifier and only the adjective of its signified. In the margin besides this underlined passage, in what appears to be the same ink, the same pen and again perhaps the same hand, is written 'manly woman'. Taken in conjunction with the underlining of the same phrase in the main text (line one), this suggests a particular concern on the part of the reader with the phenomenon of the 'manly woman'. Yet beyond that, marginalia such as these appear so random and any interpretation so speculative as to be inexplicable other than in terms of the process of underlining having taken on a mindless life of its own.

Yet there are other examples which show a remarkable degree of consistency and thus conscious reflection on the part of the reader. The underlinings in the Bodleian's copy of Hill's 1571 edition appear to have been made by at least two different hands,

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[52]Bodl., Douce K.97, sigs. Cv(v), vi(v), vii(r), viii, Di, Dii.
[53]This theme of 'inserting oneself' or 'finding oneself' in these texts will be returned to below.
[54]*CP* [BL, 717.a.5], sig. r ii(v). For another example of seemingly chaotic graffiti see BL, 1141 b.8.

and both reveal distinct patterns.[55] The first of these readers has underlined the variety of signs referring to the different aspects of the sexual act such as 'the earnest desire to the veneriall acte', 'a fornicator' or any mention of the genitalia themselves. For example, on folio 179(v) the meaning of the short backbone, 'hastie in the venereall action', has been underlined.[56] The same reader has underlined 'when the pappes begin to arise' - which meaning is given as 'that (such shortly after) to be prouoked unto the veneriall acte'.[57] This text gives large bellies as a sign of abnormal sexual appetite. It is also underlined.[58] 'Long feete' has been underlined, presumably because it is given as a sign of those who are 'aptest, and doe lightly conceyue with childe'.[59] On folio 192, although it is the signified rather than the signifier (hairy belly) which has been underlined, the signified is 'very leacherous' and thus also refers to the sexual act. The same pattern is also found in the epitome and in the section on moles. There, only two underlinings have nothing to do with the theme of sexuality and one of these is the underlining of a repeated sign which was given earlier in the text as meaning 'bigge genitale'.[60]

Indeed, in the chapter which deals with the 'yard and the testicles', these words and their cognates are printed in a simple code - backwards (though not in the sense that one would need a mirror to decode it), with each vowel replaced by a number 1-5. Notwithstanding, the same reader has cracked each of these coded words and written the solution in the margin. Just how 'educated' this reader may have been is demonstrated by the fact that the term 'testicles' has been decoded, yet a sense of decorum preserved by its being written in the margin in Greek.[61]

Are these the marks of a person physiognomating him or her self or a person known to them or a person for whom they are searching? Or do different underlinings reflect each of these three different processes? The fact that the theme of the signifiers is so unified reduces these possibilities. Notwithstanding, underlining a single theme,

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[55]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1.
[56]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1, fol. 179(v).
[57]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1, fol. 184(v).
[58]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1, fol. 191.
[59]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1, fol. 203.
[60]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1. The first is a sign referring to a long upright stature (fol.[2]13(v)), the second to a 'person of short bodie' (fol. [2]13(v)). [Foliation is erratic.]
[61]Bodl., Antiq. f.E.1571/1, fol. 193(v).

even if it is to do with the sexual act, is a form of interaction which could be undertaken with a number of non-physiognomical texts.

There are other passages in the physiognomical section of the aforementioned *Compost of Ptholomeus* which appear to have been underlined by the same hand. Yet it is impossible to identify and difficult to date. It appears to be late sixteenth-century. Furthermore, unlike some of the more chaotic examples, the marginalia in the section on hair contains distinct traces of order and consistency. The order lies in the fact that, with one exception, no physical signifiers are underlined, only the signifieds. Even the exception does not represent the underlining of a complete sign:

> hangynge heer sygnyfyeth wyt
> with malice.[62]

Moreover, in this section, the signifieds for hard hair, black hair and red beard, and black crispy and yellow crispy hair are all underlined. The case for a deliberately more conscious consistency in these marginalia is strengthened by the fact that a similar pattern is found in the section dealing with the eyes. Once again, no signifiers have been underlined, and some signs, such as that for 'great wide iyes', 'ardaunt & sperkelynge' and 'whytyshe and flesshely' have not been underlined at all.[63] Questions of conscious order aside, should these signs be interpreted as evidence of a reader attempting to memorise these particular passages? Or was (were) the reader(s) underlining aphorisms which he or she (or they) recognised in him or her self (or themselves) or in other people?

If the reader was attempting to learn the text, why was this particular selection of signs underlined? One could always argue that those which were not underlined were already familiar to the reader. However, the fact that the underlined sign for 'black hair and red beard' had attained proverbial status and as such was probably much more widely known than the sign for 'great and wide eyes' makes this interpretation unlikely.

Do these underlinings therefore represent the act of a reader physiognomating him or herself? Such an explanation does not seem entirely logical either. The fact that more than one type of hair and shape of eyes has been underlined suggests that

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[62]BL, 717.a.5, sig. qiv(v).
[63]BL, 717.a.5, sigs. qiv(v) & ri.

the reader could not have been thinking only of him or herself whilst doing the underlining. No-one can have black hair, red hair, yellow hair, crisp hair and hanging hair.

Do these underlinings, in part or as a whole, represent physiognomical features (either physical, psychological or both) which the reader recognised about him or her self and/or other people known to the reader? Once this admittedly still speculative possibility is established, one is then faced with the question of whether the reader was interacting with this text in private (in one or more sessions), or with another person or a group of other people who where sitting around the reader at the same time? The reader may have been alone, and, on coming across a particular aphorism, was reminded of either him or her self, a friend, or a person the reader had once seen. It is even conceivable that these markings were made by a local cunning man or wizard. The ambiguities of this evidence mean that the possibilities are still numerous.

There is stronger evidence in other texts for seeing the underlinings as representing the traces of a single reader who had either read the text in search of, or simply stumbled across signs that represented attributes of his or her own real or ideal self. In the margins of the physiognomical section in one copy of the 1618 edition of the *Kalendar*, the same hand in the same ink has drawn the same pointing finger four times next to four different aphorisms: the 'little short visage and a small necke, a litle slender nose', 'long ears', 'great long bellie' and 'clear and shining nailes of good colour'.[64] Unlike the previous example, all of these could conceivably be found in a single person. The fact that three of these aphorisms carry the complimentary meanings of 'good memory', 'good understanding', 'wit' and 'increase of honour', and that the criticism ('follie') implied in the fourth is not devastating, suggests that this marginalia shows signs of wishful thinking on the part of the reader.[65]

The hypothesis about the rhetoric of these texts being conducive to the search for attributes of oneself certainly allows one to make sense of some otherwise impenetrable marginalia. For example, one late-seventeenth/early-eighteenth century reader of Saunders's *Physiognomie* (1653) does not appear to have liked what he or she found under the 'signs of a bold impudent person' and those of a 'wrathful and

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[64]One finds the same in manuscripts. See for example Bodl., MS Digby 11, fol. 93(r-v).
[65]Bodl., Douce C. subt. 214, sigs. Pii-Pii(v).

cruel person'. Both have been scratched through with a huge 'X' in a (wrathful and impudent?) gesture of disagreement, even obliteration.[66]

Yet there are other even more powerful examples. The underlinings made by the second hand in the above mentioned 1571 edition of Hill's treatise and reproduced below, will instinctively suggest to most readers that the late-seventeenth/early-eighteenth-century hand of an unknown woman, possibly named 'Arabella Bray',[67] carefully underlined specific physiognomical aphorisms because they were suggestive of people she knew:

> The stature which bendeth naturally forward, and not of age caused: doth denote a warie person to himselfe, a niggarde, laborious, a grosse feeder, long angrie, not lightly creediting, secrete, and yet of a dull witte and severe or cruell.[68] — D.C.

> The head long in fashion to the Hammer, to be prudent and warie, And in the forepart of the heade, a hollownesse: to be wylie & yrefull.[69] — R.W.

> Such which have the heares of the eye broowes shed over the nose, and spred upwarde unto the temples: are denoted foolish persons: applyed for the forme to the Hogge.[70] — J.S.

> Such which be verie naked of heare on the breast, or at (the least) have verie little or fewe heares to be seene: are invirecundious[sic], persons applyed unto women.[71] — H.M.

It is Arabella's hand which appears to have underlined the passage and written a set of initials in the margin beside it.[72] Given that the initials are all different, they perhaps refer to friends rather than family.

A strong pattern such as this then raises questions about the nature of the other underlinings. One point of consistency is the relative care with which the reader

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[66]Saunders (1653), p. 248 & p. 249, HgL 29742.
[67]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, sig. qi(v). The use of an ultra-violet light is required.
[68]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, fol. [2]14.
[69]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, fol. [2]18.
[70]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, fol. 208.
[71]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, fol. 207(v)-208(r).
[72]The ink (and possibly the hand) used for her name appears to be the same as that used for the marginalia.

(Arabella) always takes to underline the whole of the sign (signifier and signified). The absence of underlining in certain places might be explained by the inefficiency of the pen or the nerves of the reader's hand as it moved across the page. However, when these other aphorisms are underlined but carry no corresponding initials in the margin, does this mean they refer to particular attributes of the reader's own self? This would be an obvious assumption. However, it is not verifiable given that there are a number of these underlined signs which no one person could carry in their physical person. Arabella may have had a 'nose round...blunt at the ende', 'nosethrils large', a 'face of a small cause sweating', 'armes very long', 'pale [in body colour]' and 'nayles narrow and long' (and thus she may even have been 'stowt', 'yrefull', 'craftie, leacherous, and a great feeder', 'strong, bolde, honest, and gentle', 'vicious, & wicked' or 'cruell, and fierce'). However she has also underlined all of the following:

> The woman bearded, to be leacherous. The woman hauing no bearde at all, to be honest conditioned.
>
> The bearde unseemely fashioned, to be of an euill nature, of the contrarie cause.[73]

These are less obviously fitted in to the above analysis.

Despite the elements which do not fit the suggested scheme, what these last two examples at least raise, if not prove, is the possibility that implicit in the structure of these physiognomical texts are two related but different ways of physiognomating: one very private - in which one searches for attributes of oneself or other people known to oneself, the other more public - in which one is surrounded by people who may even be participating in this interaction with the text. Although the examples used have been impossible to date with any precision other than to describe them as sixteenth- or early- eighteenth-century, nonetheless, it is interesting to see that from this perspective, this basic form of interaction can be found at different times throughout the period. Indeed, at the very end of the period, just as English readers began to peruse Lavater, one reader's marginalia on a copy of Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man* suggest that this form of interaction with the physiognomical treatise still occurred. In fact, by that stage, Lavater's text explicitly encouraged the practice. Lavater's very last aphorism read:

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[73]Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1, fol. [2]20(v).

> If you mean to know yourself, interline such of these aphorisms as affect you agreeably in the reading, and set a mark to such as left a sense of uneasiness with you; and then show your copy to whom you please.

The reader had not only followed the suggestion, but also underlined the suggestion itself. That reader was William Blake.[74]

3

THE TEMPORAL CYCLE OF THE ART OF PHYSIOGNOMATING: FROM PRIVATE CONFESSION TO PUBLIC PARLOUR GAME?

If one accepts the above interpretation of the graffiti found in this series of texts as providing universal, undifferentiated evidence of an essentially unchanging structure of reader/text interaction - i. e. searching the text for attributes of oneself or other people - to what extent can the graffiti in these texts be used as evidence to suggest that this general mode of physiognomating was characterised in terms of the genres of physiognomating suggested in Chapter Four? The graffiti in some texts are more copious than others, but never complete enough to allow for the testing of this hypothesis in any single text. The following can only attempt to make do with what is there.

Some of the graffiti in copies of the *Kalendar of Shepherds* strongly support the hypothesis that this text was sometimes read in terms of its most prominent ideas, prudence, *nosce teipsum* and salvation. For example, in a 1526 edition of the *Kalendar*, a reader has written the numbers 1-6 in the left-hand margin beside the section dealing with:

> The coniectoures wherby we may knowe if we be in grace of god ben such.[75]

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[74] 'Annotations to Lavater's Aphorisms On Man' [c. 1788], in G. Keynes (ed.), *The Complete Writings of William Blake* (1966), p. 65.
[75] BL, C.71.f.2, sig. Gii(v).

This seems quite clear evidence of a concern on the part of the reader with being in the 'grace of God' - a concern which, as the text explains elsewhere, is a concern with both oneself as well as one's salvation.

This self-searching can be seen to come to the fore in the copiously-illustrated section devoted to the trees of vices and virtues. In the same copy of the 1526 edition, the reader has underlined only one section - the section devoted to sloth, once again suggesting the verity of the hypothesis that this was probably done out of a sense of and concern with his or her own inclination.[76] Another copy has the following underlined:

> vanyte engendereth veyne thoughtes and destroyeth devocion in man. What nede it you to stodye on a thynge that is nought: stodye on your synne what grace by god in you wrought is.[77]

Here again the emphasis is on the devotional nature of the work, the contemplation of one's sins and the search for grace: all the necessary prerequisites for salvation.

In a 1518 edition of the *Kalendar* the section entitled:

> Six benefits given to us by god

has been highlighted in the margin by a pointing hand. On the very next page one finds the same pointing hand, this time highlighting the section dealing with the six ways:

> how [the Shepherd] knew himself.[78]

Another extant copy of the *Kalendar* owned by a 'Roger Miloud' in 166[1 or 7?]0 contains, amongst numerous others, the following underlining:

> The seventh, and the last thing that each man ought to know, is to know himself.[79]

Indeed, there is more to it than this. As was mentioned above, one reader underlined the *Kalendar*'s imperative 'stodye on your synne'.[80] The underlinings in

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[76]BL, C.71.f.2, sigs. Dvi(v), Dvii & Dvii(v).
[77]Bodl., Auct. QQ. Supra II 30, sig Aii.
[78]CUL, SSS.35.13, sigs. Giii & Giv.
[79]Bodl., Vet. A3c. 238, sig. P4(v) & sig. I3. The first thing, 'to know God', has also been underlined by the reader, sig. I2.
[80]Bodl., Auct. QQ Supra II 30.

another copy in the section on the trees of virtues and vices suggest that another reader did precisely this, and in doing so can be said to have been participating in a form of private confession.[81]

If all of these graffiti are understood as reflecting the main concerns of these readers as they read these texts, this then coincides with what the previous Chapter argued were the most fundamental themes of the work - *nosce teipsum,* prudence and salvation. Whilst none of the above readers appear to have left any marks in the physiognomical section, it would be a harsh and rash form of empirical temperament which would reject the possibility of a single reader coming to the physiognomical section with the above concerns in mind and thus physiognomating him or her self (or another person) in this way, in other words, in the form of a private act of confession in the guise of a medico-moral self-examination.

As for the rest of the texts in this series, there are simply not enough marginalia on the copies which have survived to enable one to provide an equivalent analysis. In order to deal with this issue it is best to return to the above mentioned copy of Hill's 1571 treatise in which the initials of different people were placed beside particular physiognomical aphorisms.[82] If these markings are early eighteenth century, then in terms of what conceptual framework is one to read them? Those of the text itself? Those of other texts in the series? Or those contemporaneous with the time in which the marks were made?

One might of course argue that these markings were made sometime in the eighteenth century by some type of physiognomical witch-hunter charged with rounding up for physiognomical examination the population of a particular village; the signs underlined denoting the physiognomical features either condemned by the state or the private physiognomical rules of the witch-hunter. In such a scenario, the initials might represent the initials of those villagers who bore the underlined features and who were to be executed. However, no firm evidence of such a practice has yet come to light.[83] All that can be said is that there are certainly no hints of such a form of physiognomating in any of the texts themselves, other than Vulson's suggestion that 'Magistrates' may 'by

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[81]Bodl., Auct. QQ Supra II 30.
[82]See above.
[83]See below.

Physiognomy understand the disposition and inclination of the Inferiors and Subjects'.[84]

The final chapter of this thesis will attempt to open up a number of quite specific social contexts in which physiognomation occurred and in the light of which such graffiti might be interpreted. For the moment, given the more or less universal and unchanging nature of the basic mode of physiognomating which these markings exemplify, the interpretation of the markings in this text has to be limited to the variety of known genres of physiognomating as provided by the examination of the other texts in the series and outlined in Chapter Four. Therefore, since by the late-seventeenth century the notion of curiosity had entered some conceptions of the act of physiognomating, then these markings might represent the reading of a late sixteenth-century treatise of natural/moral philosophy by an early eighteenth-century female reader out of a sense of light-hearted antiquarian curiosity. The antiquarian aspect appears more prominent given the fact that by 1784 this copy of Hill's work had been bought as a form of antique by the famous antiquarian Charles Chadwick of Healey Hall.[85] Similarly, one might understand the graffitti in terms of the framework found in the small books of fortune-telling games and riddles which also contained physiognomy. In that case, these same marks might just as easily represent the remnants of a group of people, children or adults, or both, who, early in the eighteenth century gathered around a late-sixteenth century physiognomical treatise in order to play what was basically a form of fortune-telling bawdy parlour game.

This is not to say that it was any less serious an interaction with physiognomy than that found in the *Kalendar*. Fortune-telling was less intellectually respectable than philosophising or theologising or even simply praying. Nonetheless, the concerns and anxieties reflected (if not necessarily expressed) in it could be just as serious and profound. Indeed, a mixture of the playful and the godly is made evident if these same marks are interpreted in terms of the sentiment and spirit of the following verses found in one of the eighteenth-century physiognomical chapbooks:

> Let no Distractions now abound,
> Nor Whig nor Tory longer grumble;
> But let the Glass go chearful round.
> Yet for their Sins let all be humble.

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[84]Vulson (1669), p. 113.
[85]Hill (1571) [Bodl., Antiq.f.E.1571/1], sig. [qq v](v).

4

PHYSIOGNOMATING WITH A LOOKING-GLASS:

AN UNPRESENTABLE EMPIRICAL SUBSTITUTE?

Is it possible to prove that the art of physiognomating was sometimes performed with the aid of a looking-glass? Although the aforementioned verses encourages the chearful circulation of some form of 'glass', there is nothing in any of these early modern physiognomical texts which explicitly states that they are to be read with the accompaniment of a mirror. Nor has any actual report of a specific early-modern person having read one of the physiognomical treatises analysed in this thesis with the aid of a looking-glass yet come to light. However one cannot automatically assume that it did not take place. Early modern diarists, for example, rarely mention their breathing patterns[86] - unless they are extremely ill - but this cannot automatically be taken to mean that for the most part of their time they refrained from the activity. Moreover, in this case the absence of direct empirical evidence can be circumvented by some very suggestive circumstantial evidence, both 'external' and 'internal' to the text.

Books in one form or another are as old as civilisation itself. As **Plate V** suggests, so are mirrors. Moreover, the connection and interaction between the two has a long and distinguished tradition. The term *speculum*, for example, is the most frequently used non-generic term found in the titles of manuscripts stretching back to the beginning of the medieval period. Deriving from the Augustinian idea of using scripture as a mirror, one such text, entitled the *Speculum Regis*, was actually a version of the *Secretum secretorum* complete with exposition of physiognomical doctrine.[87] Jean Delumeau has argued that Canon 21 of the Lateran Council of 1215 led to the creation of an extremely popular and influential genre of confessional manuals which such titles as *Specchio della vera penitenza*, *Specchio della confessione* and *Miroir de l'ame*.[88] Marchant, the first publisher of the *Kalendar* may have seen the *Kalendar* as

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[86]Physiognomical treatises often include a section devoted to the significance of breathing.
[87]J. Th. Welter (ed.), *Le Speculum Laicorum* (Paris, 1914), p. iii.
[88]J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear* (New York, 1990), pp. 198-201.

emanating from this tradition, for he also published one of these texts which he entitled *Le Miroir salutaire*.[89]

Although Gutenberg himself made mirrors, the sixteenth century cannot be described as the period of the coming of the mirror.[90] Fragments of scholarship devoted to the subject suggest that, by the mid-thirteenth-century, small gunmetal hand-mirrors had become generally available in England.[91] In Western manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards one sees the number of marginal figures looking into such mirrors increase significantly.[92](For one example see **Plate VI**). Some scholars see this as a reflection of the wider use of mirrors in society. Nonetheless, the English industry was given a boost in the late sixteenth century with the arrival of Continental glass-workers. In 1570, Queen Elizabeth imported Venetian craftsmen such as Giacomo Verzelini, to set up a factory to produce more mirrors and glass.[93] By 1576, George Gascoigne was lamenting the passing of the age of the steel looking-glass which showed things as they were - 'with foyles of lovely brown' - and the coming of the 'christal glas' which 'showes the thing much better than it is'.[94]

By 1650 the industry employed nearly 800 men, thousands of others depended upon it, and Oliver Cromwell began taxing it.[95] In 1664, the Worshipful Company of Glass-Sellers and Looking-Glass Makers was incorporated. The Bear Garden Glass-House in London gradually became famous for its looking-glass plates, and by the late 1690s, England was exporting crystal glass and looking-glasses to Flanders, Venice and France.[96] Overall, the number of looking glasses doubled between 1675 and 1725.[97] One possible indication of the influence of this increase of looking-glasses in England during this period is provided by the fact that the largest increase in the number of

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[89]Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, p. 70.
[90]C. Clair, *A History of European Printing* (1976), p. 8. For work on earlier mirrors see W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (Berlin, 1942); G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel* (Kallmünz, OpF., 1975); R. Adams, *Recherches sur les mirroirs prénestins* (Paris, 1980); I. M. B. Wiman, *Malstria - Maena. Metals and Motifs in Etruscan Mirror Craft* (Gotenberg, 1990).
[91]J. Bayley, P. Drury & B. Spencer, 'A Medieval Mirror from Heybridge, Essex', *Antiquarian Journal*, 42 (1984), pp. 399-402: p. 401.
[92]C. M. Randall, *Images in Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966).
[93]One's reflection depended on the mirror one used. After 1615 wood-fuel was banned for glass making in England. The necessity of using coal often disfigured the mirror with spots.
[94]This might be seen in terms of the humanistic abandonment of the dark glass of Pauline philosophy.
[95]G. Wills, *English Looking-Glasses* (1965), p. 43; F. Buckley, *The Taxation of English Glass in the 17th Century* (1914), p. 6.
[96]Buckley, *English Glass*, pp. 12, 15, fn. k & 9.
[97]L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1766* (1988), p. 30.

printed English books in the Bodleian Library whose titles contained either 'mirror', 'looking-glass', or 'glass' occurs between 1600 and 1670, especially after 1642.[98]

Despite this longstanding connection and interaction between book and mirror, there is no evidence of an early modern printed text having ever been published containing a mirror.[99] Still, one must not overlook the close relation between mirror and book in the numerous decorations on bindings, be they brass hinges and glass jewels in which, when brand new, or when highly polished, one might have been able to see one's reflection.[100] Indeed, given the binding practices of the time, some newly bound texts had their covers polished with heated irons until the leather was sufficiently polished that it may have had reflective qualities at the end of the process.[101] Moreover, there are reports that Anne, the consort of Maximillian II, had a mirror concealed in a book, as did Henry III of France.[102]

One iconic tradition which articulates the relationship between the book and the mirror can be seen in **Plates VII, VIII & IX.**[103] In these cases the relationship they mean to articulate is one of antagonism; in other words, a plea praising the time spent reading books and attacking the time spent preening oneself in the mirror. If the significance of these images is to be grasped historically, it would have to be understood in terms, not only of male views of female vanity, but also of the religious divisions at the time of their production which were sometimes articulated around the opposition of the image/fleshly body (woman) contemplated in the mirror and the word/spirit (man) contemplated in the text.[104] This is most explicit in the quotation from 2 Corinthians, 7, 1 which accompanies **Plate VIII**:

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[98]One of the earliest, *The Myrrour or Glasse of Helthe Needful for Every Person to Loke in That Wil Kepe Their Bodye from the Sycknesse of the Pestilence and It Sheweth How the Planettes do Raygne* (c. 1539) was also published by Robert Wyer, publisher of the *CP*.

[99]I have found only one text, a contemporary children's book, which was published with a form of mirror enclosed, N. Butterworth, *Baby Faces* (1993).

[100]*The History of Bookbinding 525-1950 A.D* [n. p., n. d.], Nos. 412, 444, 674; O. Mazal, *Europaïsche Einbandkunst aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1970), Abbs. 52a & 136. Abb. 52b is in the form of a bi-tych shaped like a mirror only with text were one would find the glass. F. Sleerboch, *Der Kirchliche Prachteinband im Frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1965), Abbs. 1, 2, 3, 9, 31, 50, 83, 122, 135, 167 and especially 142.

[101]B. C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique* (1963), p. 188.

[102]B. Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man* (Virginia, 1985), pp. 143-145.

[103]The meaning and historical significance of any of these images will not be examined here in any detail.

[104]C. Walker-Bynum, 'Why All of This Fuss About the Body?', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1996), pp.1 -33: p. 17.

> having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

In that sense, they conjure up other famous iconographical themes such as *Vanitas*, *Superbia* and *Folly* which had long since represented the ambiguous process of looking at oneself in a mirror as a source of dangerous seduction and ruin.[105]

Another iconographical tradition that not only celebrated and encouraged the practice of reading books and looking into mirrors, but did so through one of the central conceptual features of many of these physiognomical works, was the iconography of *Prudence*. The briefest glance at the iconography of *Prudence* reveals one consistent attribute - *Prudence* is always personified as gazing into, or at least holding a mirror. The Latin inscription in **Plate X**:

> Prudence is the knowledge of things good and evil,

could be taken from any number of early modern treatises on physiognomy.

Furthermore, *Prudence* is often represented holding a closed book, whilst she presently contemplates herself in a looking-glass. (See **Plate XI**) Others show the book open on a lectern, whilst the present gaze of *Prudence* is once again focused on the mirror.(See **Plate XII**)

Likewise, early modern texts concerned with the issue of *Nosce teipsum* are also numerous, and often emphasise a metaphorical relationship between the book and the mirror, once again often with a preference for the necessity of using the text rather than the mirror.[106] Visual representations of *Nosce teipsum* are also relatively common. **Plate XIII** is taken from a series of engravings by the De Bry brothers, the same firm who created the engravings for Fludd's physiognomical tract. The inscription reads:

> So as you will be able to be known by yourself, inspect this foreseeing mirror.

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[105]This ambiguity was a prominent motif in the influential medieval text *Roman de la Rose*, see P. Ariès & G. Duby (eds.), *A History of Private Life*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1989), vol. II, p. 392.

[106]'There is nothyng more meete, especially for yong Maidens then a Mirrhor, there in to see and beholde how to order their dooyng, I mene not a Christall Mirrhor, made by handie Arte', Edward White, *A Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie* (1578), sig. Avi.

Whilst all of the evidence introduced so far has been European, there is also an abundance of such visual evidence produced in England. **Plate XIV** is a late-seventeenth-century English engraving of Prudence. **Plate XV** is just one of numerous early modern tombs which feature the figure of Prudence, the looking glass and the book.

Yet so far, this evidence offers only a metaphorical connection between mirrors and printed books in general, rather than any actual connection between looking-glasses and physiognomical treatises. No claim is being made that any of the above evidence represents a physiognomical examination. Moreover, familiarity with this classical conceptual and iconic framework may have been restricted to minds from the more classically educated layers of society.[107] Yet it is possible to establish a more material connection between the looking-glass and the book in the early modern period.

Few small hand-held early modern mirrors have survived intact. Nonetheless, if the images of street vendors are anything to go by, they were readily available and relatively cheap. **Plates XVI - XVIII** show French and Italian hawkers with mirrors and spectacles and scissors for sale. **Plate XIX** represents a collection of similar but more luxurious commodities. **Plate XX** is taken from Margaret Spufford's work and shows a chapman holding a looking-glass. Notwithstanding the fact that this is not an English hawker, there is also the problem of the extent to which such representations can be said to reflect reality. After all, the hawker may have used a mirror to reflect the sunshine in order to gain the attention of potential customers from afar; or to allow his customers to see what they looked like as they tried on the jewelry he had for sale;. or, in the case of an eighteenth century chapman (**Plate XXI**), to allow the customers to see whether or not they bore any resemblance to the images of the various people on the posters he had come to sell them.

However, there are numerous surviving inventories of such chapmen which show that some of them often had more than one looking-glass amongst their stock making it more likely that they were for sale.[108] Whilst there is no direct evidence for the mirrors having been sold to accompany a printed text or manuscript, it is not ridiculously speculative to suggest that these chapmen may have attempted to sell mirrors and other

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[107]Having said that, familiarity with the phenomenon of knowing oneself and of looking into mirrors was not determined by education alone.

objects using a technique known today as sale by inherent association. In other words, a person who bought a comb might then have been persuaded by the hawker of the necessity of buying a mirror. The possibility that a chapman had both a looking-glass and a 'treatise on physiognomy' amongst his wares brings the empirical connection between these two items closer and increases the possibility of the two being sold together. Indeed, amongst the late-seventeenth-century booksellers who sold physiognomical treatises to chapmen, T. Norris's London Bridge shop was actually called 'the Looking-glass' and may even have sold looking-glasses.[109] It was still there in 1735 when it was owned by J. Hodges.[110]

This close relationship between the looking-glass and the physiognomical treatise can also be seen in the only surviving fragment of a manuscript by Hill: the title-page of Thomas Hill's 1571 physiognomical text *A Contemplation of Mankind* - a work which one of the aforementioned chapmen may have had amongst his wares. The title given this work in its manuscript form was *The Myrrour of Knowledge.*[111]

Furthermore, looking-glasses and books are often found in the same inventories of Oxford fellows examined earlier. Out of about 120 inventories in the records of the Chancellor's Court examined, 21 mention looking-glasses of different types and sizes.[112] The most immediately relevant of all is the inventory of John English (St. John's, 1613). He owned a looking-glass, '2 brushes, a combe, a standysh and a pen-knife' (valued at 2s) alongside such physiognomical works as *The Triall of a Man's Owne Soule, The Vanities of the Eie,* Remundus Sebunius's *De Natura Hominis* and Walkington's *An Optick Glasse of Humours.*[113]

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[108]M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 121-122.
[109]*Erra Pater* (1725) [HL, *AG104 E72 (1)]: the physiognomy begins on p. 53.
[110] *Erra Pater* (1735) [HL, *AG104 E72 (2)].
[111]Michel Savonarola's influential treatise (which was never printed) was entitled *Speculum physiognomicae.* It was a title that was imitated in the early modern period. See, for example, Ancelme Petit Douxciel's *Speculum physionomicum* (Langres, 1648). De La Belliere's *La Fisionomia con ragionamenti* (Paris, 1644) had a subtitle: *o lo specchio per vedere le passioni di Coascheduno.* There are a number of early modern Continental authors of physiognomical treatises whose work also involved them in the construction of mirrors. See A. Clarke, 'Metoposcopy: An Art to Find the Mind's Construction in the Face', in P. Curry (ed.), *Science, Astrology and Society* (Suffolk, 1987), pp. 171-195.
[112]Half of the examples date from between 1569 and 1587. However this is more likely to be a consequence of the random sample than the reflection of a vogue.
[113]Cardano had recommended that every student constantly use a clock and a mirror. See N. Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror* (Princeton, 1997), p. 1.

The English Renaissance would have been familiar with Caelius Rhodiginus' assignation of a moral reason for the invention of mirrors and with Apuleius's claim that Socrates:

> made use of a mirror for moral instruction. For he urged his pupils, we are told, to look at themselves frequently in the glass, that he might beg any of them who should be gratified at his own beauty not to spoil the dignity of the body by dishonourable state of mind

- a tradition which was also represented in the early modern period iconographically (See **Plate XXII**). Whilst on the one hand Edward Bourne suggested:

> a natural man, who, having neglected God's word, beholds his face in a glass, and straitway forgets what manner of man he is,[114]

on the other Seneca claimed that 'the mirror was invented that man might recognise himself', and that no man ought to neglect always carrying one around with him.[115] Indeed, the practice of looking in mirrors had long been considered important enough to be the subject of a form of moral and religious regulation:

> A lady must look in a mirror for two reasons: to see her face and to see her conscience.[116]

Detailed accounts of mirror-gazing are rare. In the year before the publication of his famous and influential *Reflexions ou Sentences et maximes Morales*, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld published a portrait of himself. Beginning with a detailed description of his physical appearance, he then moved on to discuss his character, his humour and his spirit. At one point he writes:

> I've been told before now that my chin was too small: I have just come from looking at it in the mirror to see what it is like; and I do not really know how to judge it.[117]

However, whilst this might be seen as physiognomical, it is not, strictly speaking, physiognomy, for at no point does he connect a specific physical feature with a specific mental trait.

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[114]Edward Bourne, *A Looking-Glass Discovering to all People what Image they Bear* (1671), p. 11.
[115]M. A. Wallace Dunlop, *Glass in the Old World* (n.d.), p. 216-217.
[116]Ariès & Duby, *Private Life*, vol. II, p. 391.
[117]Duc de la Rochefoucauld, *Portrait* (Paris, 1658). Full-length mirrors were still rare enough in 1650 for Celia Fiennes to describe how she had encountered one in Chippenham in Wiltshire, and seen herself reflected 'from top to toe', G. Child, *World Mirrors, 1650-1900* (1990), p. 24.

Using these texts in conjunction with a looking-glass may have been subliminally suggested by the textual content. La Chambre, in his physiognomical treatise, is certainly aware of the necessity of having to look in the mirror:

> For it is most certain, that we cannot by our selves come to a perfect knowledge of our selves: and our Souls may, in that respect, be compar'd to our Faces, inasmuch as the former, as well as the latter, can only view themselves in Mirrours.[118]

Moreover, the *Kalendar* contains a woodcut in the section dealing with astrological physiognomy in which the figure of Venus is looking at herself in the mirror (**Plate XXIII**).[119] In the text , the image is surrounded by physiognomical description. Furthermore, in a similar vein to the moralising self-reflection called for by the *Kalendar*, Copland at one point tells the reader:

> Of this said booke make oft a loking glas.

Elsewhere he describes the book as a

myrour of helth.[120]

This is a clear restatement of the Augustinian idea found in his rule:

> That you may see yourself in this little book as in a mirror and may not neglect anything through forgetfulness, let it be read to you once a week,

And repeated by many other subsequent writers.[121]

None of this offers conclusive proof. The final piece of evidence is equally as speculative. **Plate XXIV** is an obscure engraving by the Master of the Die about which virtually nothing is known. How are we to read this image? Does it not appear to be an early modern representation of a physiognomical examination carried out with the aid of a mirror? The image quite clearly shows a relatively well-to-do young woman looking into a small hand-held mirror, whilst a distinctly swarthy, gypsy-like figure watches on over her shoulder as though supervising the process. There is no

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[118]La Chambre (1665), sig. B2(v).
[119]One 1518 edition contains one reader's unfortunately illegible comment in the margin beside this woodcut, BL, C.71.f.2, sig. Gii(v). See also Bodl., Douce K. 97 sig. Liii(r).
[120]MAM, p.252 & p. 275. There are numerous (apparently seductive) myths which correlate the use of the mirror and the discovery of the self, for example L. Mumford, *Techniques & Civilization* (1934), pp. 128-129.
[121]Sister R. M. Bradley, 'Backgrounds of the Title *Speculum* in Medieval Literature', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), pp. 100-115: p. 104.

printed treatise in the image, but that is just the point. As will be seen in the final Chapter, physiognomy, alongside palmistry, were practices for which the gypsies were notorious throughout early modern Europe. Being well-to-do, is it possible she is using her own mirror to check and in that sense 'appropriate' the Gypsy's reading of her face?

CONCLUSION

Physiognomical treatises were actually owned and used by men and women, adults and children, from a wide cross-section of the educational and social spectra. The marginalia suggest that by the end of the period they may have been more popular with women, youths and children. Finally, these texts were read in a number of ways, very often with the aim of searching for attributes of oneself or other people. Whether read in private or public, it is possible that these texts were sometimes read with the aid of a looking-glass or mirror. In the early part of the period it was argued that this physiognomical reflection, at least as far as a work such as the *Kalendar* was concerned, was something akin to an act of private confession, in the form of an exercise in a mystical form of medico-moral reflection, reminiscent of the reading out of lists of sins in an anxious search for assurance of salvation. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, reading physiognomy appears to have been for some at least, a form of parlour game, but one which, even in its bawdiest forms, was not less serious or religious in its underlying concerns about the future, particularly in terms of finding a partner and establishing a family.

CHAPTER SIX

PHYSIOGNOMY IN ENGLAND c. 1500 - c. 1780:

BETWEEN THE LAWS OF NATURE AND THE CHARACTERS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

I greatly fear that nature is itself nothing but a first culture, just as culture is a second nature.
(Pascal)[1]

INTRODUCTION

By focusing exclusively on the physiognomical treatises themselves, the previous Chapters have provided an implicit narrative of what happened to the Scholastic and Renaissance arts of physiognomating in the process of their transmission and translation through early modern England. From this perspective, it was a narrative characterised by the gradual reconfiguration of a way of looking and listening inherited from Renaissance humanism - the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* - a transformation which, in its turn, articulated the dissolution of a form of physiognomical praying in the proliferation of a type of physiognomical playing.

To delineate with more care the physiognomy of this apparent transformation across time; to confirm, contradict and explain both the persistence and metamorphosis of this curious physiognomical enigma, and to understand more fully its historical significance, necessitates an examination of the art of physiognomating by reference to evidence far beyond the relatively small body of physiognomical treatises examined in this thesis. However, the study of physiognomy from such wider intellectual, social, political, economic, religious and cultural perspectives has been overlooked to such a degree by historians that it renders the task unmanageable within the confines of a D. Phil thesis. I have already tried to allude to some of these wider implications in the previous Chapters. The following will simply attempt to place these wider historical aspects of physiognomating more firmly on the map and suggest some more avenues of study which future scholars might pursue.

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[1] 'J'ai grand peur que cette nature ne soit elle-même qu'une premiere coutume, comme la coutume est une seconde nature', Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. P. Selliers (Paris, 1976), p. 86.

Large claims have often been made for the subject known as 'physiognomy'. So ubiquitous was it for Jacques Pernetti that in 1769 he insisted 'all knowledge whatever, was merely physiognomy'.[2] The following will aim to show the extent to which physiognomy was a genuine and ubiquitous early modern phenomenon by concentrating upon the more strictly anthropocentric sphere of early modern physiognomical concerns. Section 1 will deal with physiognomical 'knowing' from a variety of philosophical perspectives. Section 2 will deal with physiognomical 'divining', 'guessing', 'praying', 'diagnosing', 'judging', 'teaching' and 'choosing' from various perspectives of social practice. Section 3 will deal with the cultural and everyday perspectives of physiognomical 'looking' and 'describing'.

[2]Thomas Cooper, 'Observations Respecting the History of Physiognomy', *MMLPS*, 3 (1790), pp. 408-467: p. 412.

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PHYSIOGNOMY AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY:

POETRY DISTILLED INTO SCIENCE AND OPINION

Generally speaking, the absence of any extensive writings on the part of the major philosophers of the period suggests that, within the more academic and intellectual spheres of early modern society, physiognomy does not appear to have been of consciously primary importance to them. The first major English intellectual of the period to provide any clear evidence of his attitude towards physiognomy was John Dee.[3] For Dee, in imitation of Roger Bacon, there were 'two ways of knowing'. The first - 'by argument and persuasion' - was implicitly reconcilable with one form of physiognomical knowing. Polemon clearly showed how physiognomical (epideictic) rhetoric could be used to persuade either oneself or an audience of the truth of one's assessment of the character of a person.[4]

Dee's second way - by 'experience', i.e. '*scientia experimentalis*' - and the 'three prerogatives' which Dee claimed experimental science had over all other sciences, fits neatly into the notion of the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* outlined in Chapter Four. The first prerogative, which 'investigates by experience (*per experimentam*) the conclusions that other sciences reach by reasoning', is an exact description of the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. By physiognomating oneself or another person in the way described in Chapter Four, one tested the truths of physiognomical aphorisms ('conclusions' of natural philosophy, reached, it is assumed, by former acts of 'reasoning') through the 'experience' of the collision of these conclusions and one's own sense of the natural laws of one's conscience.[5]

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[3]The following is based on N. H. Clulee, 'At the Crossroads of Magic and Science: John Dee's Archemasterie', in B. Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 57-71.

[4]See Chapter One, section 1.

[5]Roger Bacon's definition of 'phisnomia' alluded to the law of nature of human complexions: 'Phisnomia est lex nature in complexione humani corporis et ejus composicione, quia Grece, 'nomos' est 'lex', 'phisis' est 'natura', et hic est magna pulchritudo sciencie et sapiencie et utilitas pro cavendo malos et associando bonos, quia homines libenter secuntur in moribus complexiones suas et composiciones corporum suorum, licet non cogantur', R. Steele (ed.), *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. V. Secretum secretorum* (1920), p. 165, n. 3.

The second prerogative, 'the method for reaching those truths in the other sciences that they cannot arrive at by their own methods' is replicated in the art of physiognomating if it is taken to be referring to the new truth (i.e. a new physiognomical conclusion) that one might arrive at through the act of physiognomating oneself or other people.

The third, which 'has the power that no other science has to investigate the secrets of nature; namely, the ability to acquire knowledge of the future, the past, and the present through wonderful works, by which it forms judgments better than ordinary judicial astrology', can be reconciled with the same *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*, in both its mundane and its more mystical conception.[6] Since the more mundane aspect of temporal divination has been discussed in Chapter Four, the following will concentrate upon the more mystical conception of this form of insight.

According to Clulee, Dee adhered to what he understood to be the magical notion of *alnirangiat* which Avicenna defined in his *On the Division of the Sciences* as:

> the knowledge of the magic[al] art [whose intention is to...collect] together the virtues [which are in the substance of the terrestrial world] and join them to that virtue by which strange and [or miraculous] actions are produced.[7]

What is at stake here is the extent to which Dee's understanding of this *artis magicae* may have informed and been informed by his understanding of the physiognomating *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*.

As was argued in Chapter Four, the early modern art of physiognomating was in part characterised by the search for the hidden virtues and fundamental disposition of oneself or other people, and ultimately knowledge of God.[8] In its self-reflective form, the rhetoric of the exposition, in conjunction with the reader's own state of mind, as well as possibly the looking-glass, sent the reader on a form of internal contemplative travel, led by the light of his or her own mind's eye (and, if one's own face was

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[6]Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 59. Lavater had a very similar understanding to physiognomy as this: 'As the present character of a man, so his past, so his future. Who knows intuitively the history of the past, knows his destiny to come'. William Blake underlined this passage. See 'Annotations to Lavater's Aphorisms On Man' [c. 1788], in G. Keynes (ed.), *The Complete Writings of William Blake* (1966), p. 67.

[7]'idest scientia artis magicae. & intentio in ea est permiscere virtutes, quae sunt in substantiam mundi terreni, vt adueniat in eo virtus a quo proueniat actio extranea vel mirabilis', Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 61. fn. 27. The phrases in brackets are my suggested alterations to Clulee's translation.

[8]The search for vices is being assumed. For the relation of this to Festugiere's conception of pessimist or optimist gnosis see F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), p. 22.

examined in a looking-glass during the process, the actual physical eye), across the terrains of the reader's own internal galaxy (itself an interface with God)[9] which was constellated by virtues and vices.

The term 'constellated' is used on account of the fact that, from an astrological perspective, the art of physiognomating claimed to be able to discern a person's fundamental *inclination*. This inclination was not only thought of as an ontological fact (as profound and deeply rooted in the human psyche as Freud's unconscious),[10] it was also conceived of, by those who adhered to an astrological view of the human condition, as the product of celestial influences. Thus, the fundamental vices and virtues that constellated this inclination were also conceived of as products of these celestial influences, and ultimately the creations of the prime mover, God.[11]

More importantly, in Dee's astrological conception and experience of himself, both the nose which he would have seen in the looking-glass and the virtues which constellated the space of his inner world were more than emanations of the celestial bodies, they were actual celestial radiations. Thus, this form of contemplation, this physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*, (driven in part by the light of one's own conscience and reason in contact with the natural law) produced an encounter with these celestial emanations which themselves were reflections of an ultimately divine celestial radiation. As Dee himself wrote in the *Praeface*:

> The Whole Frame of Gods Creatures, (which is the whole world,) is to us, a bright glasse: from which, by reflexion, reboundeth to our knowledge and perceiverance, Beames, and Radiations: representing the Image of his Infinite goodness, Omnipotency, and wisdome.[12]

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[9]This was certainly the case for Jacob Boehme. See below. Contemporary cosmologists (again curiously echoing postmodern philosophy) who subscribe to 'string theory' (the multiple universes which were involved in the big bang) would presumably speak of internal 'galaxies' and 'interfaces' in the plural. For Paracelsus's view on man's inner firmament see Foucault, *Things*, pp. 20-21.

[10]In a footnote added in 1914 to *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud used planetary analogies in his attempts to prove the existence of the unconscious: 'dreams...show that the concept of the mind is a wider one than that of consciousness in the same kind of way in which the gravitational force of a heavenly body extends beyond its range of luminosity', cited in Daniel Pick, 'Stories of the Eye' in R. Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self* (1997), pp. 186-199: p. 189.

[11]Yates, *Hermetic Tradition* p. 22, citing the Corpus Hermeticum: 'The laws of nature within which the religious gnostic lives are the astrological laws, and they are the setting of his religious experience'. Most early modern astrological treatises revealed what physical and mental characteristics (virtues and vices) were the properties of which planet and which constellation of stars. Contemporary cosmologists such as George Efstathiou claim that human beings are 'made of the stuff of stars', 'The Future of the Universe', paper delivered at University of Oxford, 20th January 1997. Similarly, their notion of the 'singularity' (i.e. black hole, which itself highlights the irreconcilability of Einstein's theory of general relativity and quantum mechanics) is on collision course with postmodern philosophy.

[12]Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 64. The issue of the substantial nature of these radiations cannot detain us

One of the aims of this more astrological physiognomating *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* was the same as its non-astrological counterpart - the cultivation of virtue and the conquering of vice, or, in other words, self-control. This fitted the Christian scheme of things which accepted that the stars inclined but did not determine. It thus left open the possibility of free will, the possibility of being able to control and manipulate one's natural inclination, or, in the case of the wise Socrates, to actually change one's natural inclination. If one could control the inner celestial radiations of oneself then it followed that one was somehow reflecting and refracting and thus controlling the rays from celestial bodies.[13]

This had profound implications for the external world. As Clulee has written, Dee saw 'magical implications in this theory of astrology in the possibility of manipulating celestial influences by means of optical devices'. These optical devices represented the technology of the chief optical science of Dee's *Archemastrie* which, Clulee has suggested, was 'captoptromancy, or divination by mirrors or other reflecting surfaces'.[14]

The parallels with physiognomical introspection, particularly when done with the aid of a mirror, are so striking they at least raise the possibility that Dee's *Archemastrie* was simply the *Anthropographia* on a macrocosmic scale.[15] This is not to say that it was physiognomy which was at the base of Dee's entire world view and which alone gave him the structure of his project; only that it must have played a part in Dee's humanist thinking - a projection onto the macrocosm of one's experience of the microcosm.[16] To bring home the extent of the parallel, in the following passage from Clulee, the term *Archemastrie* has been replaced by 'physiognomy':

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here. It was an issue as complex as the debate on the material or immaterial nature of the soul.

[13]'In the Picatrix, the whole art of magic....consists in capturing and guiding the influx of *spiritus* into *materia*', Yates, *Hermetic Tradition*, p. 52.

[14]Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 64.

[15]For Dee's interest in mirrors see John Dee, *Autobiographical Tracts*, ed. J. Crossley, *Chetham Miscellanies* (Manchester, 1851), pp. 17-18 & 40.

[16]Given the anxiety and disorientation caused by the Copernican heliocentric theory of the universe, the next step for anyone who wanted to regain or reassert a new version of man's centrality/ascendancy and so relieve any anxiety felt would be to find, or if necessary place, the sun inside the centre of themselves. This metaphor could be reconciled literally (the inner celestial radiation of the light of the sun) with Dee's and metaphorically (the light of natural reason) with Bacon's grand schemes. For a discussion of just this fundamental difference between these two world views see B. Vickers, 'Analogy Versus Identity: The rejection of occult symbolism, 1580-1680', in B. Vickers (ed.), *Occult and*

> [Physiognomy] was to [Dee] a master science for investigating nature because it confirmed through experience the conclusions of natural philosophy and other sciences, and alone offered a knowledge of the innermost secrets of creation through its ability to understand and manipulate the virtues and radiated influences that, Dee believed, are the ultimate mechanism of natural causation and medium of divine revelation.

Clulee has also written that Roger Bacon, and thus by implication John Dee, 'included among the experiences pertaining to *scientia experimentalis* interior divine illumination, which he considered more certain than external sense experience.'[17] Roger Bacon was certainly familiar with the art of physiognomating, via the text that he thought one of the most important of all, the *Secretum secretorum*. The physiognomical *inspectio sapiens*, with or without the looking-glass, it has been argued here, was simply a starting point, the first initial boost, on this journey toward this interior divine illumination and contemplation, one driven, in some cases, by what Bonaventura called *synderesis*.[18] The problem of course, as far as the new natural philosophy was concerned, was the scientific validity of projecting this interior divine illumination out onto the external world. Dee's *Archemastrie* appears to have been just such an attempt. However, as Clulee has written, it pointed 'in the direction of a spiritual knowledge....opposed to natural science as later understood'.[19]

Is there any other evidence to support these claims for Dee's perception of the art of physiognomating? Dee himself once claimed that from an early age God 'insinuated' into his heart a desire to know the truth:

> by the true philosophicall method and harmony: proceeding and ascending (as it were), *gradatim*, from things visible, to consider of thinges invisible: from thinges bodily, to conceive of thinges spirituall: from things transitorie and momentarie, to meditate of things permanent.[20]

Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 95-163. That which Vickers describes as an 'analogical' way of experiencing the world is part of what Foucault describes as the 'raw [living] being' of language which he claims disappeared from the episteme of knowledge in the seventeenth century, and which he claims is recalled today only in literature, Foucault, *Things*, p. 42. Cf. Wallace Stevens, 'The Planet on the Table': "His self and the sun were one/And his poems, although makings of his self/ Were no less makings of the sun", in W. Stevens, *The Palm at the End of the Mind. Selected Poems and a Play* ed. H. Stevens (New York, 1972), p. 386.

[17]Clulee, 'Crossroads', pp. 63-64.

[18]It is an initial boost which, like the body itself, one can leave behind once one enters deeper levels of this divine contemplation and illumination. On the Church's dread of those extreme mystics for whom such deeper forms of contemplation meant the pursuit of 'the annihilation of personality' see J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), p. 179. See H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* (Paris, 1959-1964) for a discussion of the increasingly complex levels of medieval exegesis.

[19]Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 65.

[20]*Chetham Miscellanies* (1885), p. 69.

The art of physiognomating allows for this. Elsewhere, on the title-page of one of his many physiognomical/chiromantical treatises, Dee wrote out in Greek a passage from Job 37.7 which in the Authorized Version runs:

> He sealeth up the hand of every man that he may know his fate.[21]

Here Dee points to a scriptural authority for these physiognomical arts, and implies a physiognomical or chiromantical reading of this passage.

This was not unusual. Agrippa also rejected just such a reading:

> the Divine Author doth not there Treat of vain *Chiromancy*, but of the Liberty of the will.[22]

Yet in 1677, Joseph Caryl, preacher to Lincoln's Inn, still thought it necessary to reject what he claimed was a strict, chiromantical reading of the Hebrew for this passage:

> From which strict reading, some have made a very impious interpretation of this Text, thereupon grounding that (as most use it) most unwarrantable Art of *Chiromancy*, as if God did put certain Lines, Prints, or Seals upon the hand of every man, from whence it may be collected and concluded, what (as some call it) his Fortune or Destiny will be in the world. Which, as it is an opinion wicked in it self, so altogether heterogeneal to this place, the tendency whereof is not to shew how things shall work with men hereafter, but how they are often hindered or stopt in, or from their present work.[23]

Hutcheson offered a more usual and less literal interpretation:

> That men, at such a time, should be exercised in piety, contemplating God and his works for which they, ordinarily, take little leisure, when they are busie about their Calling.[24]

Yet Caryl can be read as rejecting only the crudest chiromantical interpretation of this passage. The parentheses in this passage suggest that he thinks there is something in chiromancy if carried out correctly. Furthermore, Hutcheson's and Caryl's preferred

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[21]BS R. XVI. 108. Dee's physiognomical concerns are evident in other examples of his graffiti. Apart from his habit of drawing 'face brackets' (see below), next to a passage in his copy of Niger's *Geographia* which described the physiognomy of East Asian peoples John Dee drew a face with the features described. Elsewhere, a loose leaf dated 1551 and bound into his copy of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* relates a number of theories about the relations of a body's disposition and a person's nativity to fortune, W. H. Sherman, *John Dee. The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass., 1995), pp. 88 & 97.

[22]H. C. Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*. I have used the 1684 edition, p. 101.

[23]Joseph Caryl, *An Exposition with Practical Observations upon the Book of Job* (1664), p. 478.

[24]George Hutcheson, *An Exposition Of the Book of Job* (1669), sig. Aaaa2.

interpretation could itself be read as a general description of the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens*. Was physiognomating not, in some forms, an exercise 'in piety' during which one ultimately contemplated 'God and his works' through oneself or other people? Is this possibly what Dee meant by scribbling the reference to Job 37.7 on the frontispiece of the Achillini/Cocles *Anastasis*?

Francis Bacon's understanding of physiognomy detached it from all of these magical and astrological connections. For Bacon, physiognomy was still a 'portion of natural philosophy in the continent of nature' which dealt with an aspect of *Nosce teipsum*, with the actual cusp or 'league' of mind and body, with:

> the *adjuncts of his common and undivided nature*; but chiefly in regard of the knowledge concerning the *sympathies and concordances between the mind and body*, which, being mixed, cannot be properly assigned to the sciences of either.[25]

But like Hill in 1556, Bacon was keen to purge physiognomy (and its sister the interpretation of dreams) of superstition and show how it had a 'solid ground in nature':

> although they have of later time been used to be coupled with superstitious and fantastical arts, yet being purged and restored to their true state, they have both of them a solid ground in nature, and a profitable use in life.

For Bacon, the nature in which it had its solid ground was neither magical nor astrological.[26]

Moreover, Bacon was not convinced that physical features alone could offer one much certainty. Whilst:

> the Lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general....the Motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do further disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will.[27]

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[25]*The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath, 7 vols. (1857-1859), vol. III, p. 366ff.

[26]Bacon, *Works*, vol. III, p. 368. To the extent that physiognomy was allied with natural magic and astrology, Bacon would have seen it as a science having 'better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man than with his reason'....'of which sciences nevertheless the ends or pretences are noble', *Works*, vol. III, p. 289.

[27]Bacon, *Works*, vol. III, p. 368. Bacon used the Latin term 'temperamentum'. This Baconian suggestion appears to have entered the M.A. examinations at Oxford. One 1623 examination question was: 'Whether from the culture of the gestures of the body one can make observations about the manners?' ['An e cultu gestuorum corporis fiat de moribus observatio? Aff.'], OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg O.

In his *De Augmentis Scientiarum* Bacon wrote:

> Knowledge of men may be derived and obtained in six ways; by their countenances and expressions, their words, their actions, their dispositions, their ends, and lastly, by the reports of others. With regard to the countenance, be not influenced by the old adage, "Trust not to a man's face";[28] for though this may not be wrongly said of the general outward carriage of the face and action, yet there are some more subtle motions and labours of the eyes, mouth, countenance, and gesture, by which (as Q. Cicero elegantly expresses it), the "door of the mind", is unlocked and opened.[29]

There is no mention of astrology and certainly no mention of divine illumination and the mystical aspect of the physiognomical gaze so prevalent in Dee. Indeed, Bacon is antithetical to what he would have seen as the subjective element in Dee's conception of science:

> the human understanding is like a false mirror, which, receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolors the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it.[30]

Similarly 'the mind of man' was

> like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced.[31]

Amongst these superstitions he counted the macrocosm/microcosm system of thought:

> There were some that...held that if the spirit of man (whom they call the microcosm) do give a fit touch to the spirit of the world by strong imaginations and beliefs, it might command nature,

which for Bacon were simply 'vast and bottomless follies'.[32]

Given this difference in conception, can it be said that physiognomy had a role to play in the emergence of what is often referred to as modern science? If it did, it was as either a reformulated byproduct or, in its more mystical form, as an example of what the new philosophy was trying to define itself against and distance itself from. It

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[28]Juvenal, ii. 8: 'Fronti nulla fides'.
[29]Bacon, *Works*, vol. V, p. 60.
[30]Bacon, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 54.
[31]Bacon, *Works*, vol. III, p. 395. The root of these superstitions, what he called the 'Idols of the Tribe', particularly in astrology and dreams was the quality in '*the nature of the mind of all men*' that made it '*consonant for the affirmative or active to affect more than the negative or privative*: so that a few times hitting or presence, countervails oft-times failing or absence' (p. 395).
[32]Bacon, *Works*, vol. II, p. 641. This exemplifies Huizinga's claim that 'the symbolic mentality was an obstacle to the development of causal thought', *Waning*, p. 194. Foucault appears to agree with Huizinga, but provides a distorted idea of what Bacon means by the '*idols of the tribe*', *Things*, pp. 51-

is generally accepted that the scientific revolution did not consist solely of a victory of 'true and rational scientific ideas over the scholastic and magical modes of thought circulating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'[33] Similarly, physiognomy survived and continued to be taken seriously by some people at the forefront of the new natural philosophy - though what sort of physiognomy it was is difficult to say. William Harvey appears to have thought there something in it:

> For since a skilful artificer accomplishes his works by the ingenious use of one instrument to one end, the same to the same and the like to the like, so that from the substance and form of the instruments a man may easily judge of their use and action, no less certainly than Aristotle has taught us to know their natures from the bodies of animals and the shape of their parts; and as the art of physiognomy from the lineaments of the face and its parts (such as the eyes, nose, forehead), pronounces on men's abilities and character, what shall prevent us from making our conjecture that from the same structure of the parts we should expect their office to be the same.[34]

Robert Boyle was more revealing:

> And I have sometimes fancy'd there may be a kind of Physiognomy of many, if not most, other natural Bodies as well as of humane faces, whereby an attentive and experienc'd considerer may himself discern in them many instructive things, that he cannot so declare to another man, as to make him discern them too.[35]

For Boyle, it would appear that physiognomy represented the very antithesis of the objective of the new natural philosophy, despite its empirical outer garments. One could see something in a physiognomy but could not demonstrate it to another person in the same way one could demonstrate a vacuum.[36]

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[33]M. Feingold, 'The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A reassessment', in Vickers, *Mentalities*, pp. 73-94: p. 73.

[34]William Harvey, *Disputations Touching the Generation of Animals*, trans. G. Whitteridge (Oxford, 1981), p. 446. Harvey's Latin original has: 'ingeniis ac moribus hariolatur' (p. 296-297). 'Hariolatur' suggests prophesy and divination rather than simply looking and staring, whilst 'ingeniis ac moribus' would be better translated as intelligence and manners.

[35]Robert Boyle, *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters* (1684), pp. 46-7.

[36]Boyle's comment is reminiscent of Huizinga's description of medieval symbolism as 'a defective translation into images of secret connections dimly felt such as music reveals to us. *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate*. The human mind felt that it was face to face with an enigma, but none the less it kept on trying to discern the figures in the glass, explaining images by yet other images. Symbolism was like a second mirror held up to that of the phenomenal world itself', *Waning*, p. 194. This inability to 'declare' (present?) physiognomical insight to which Boyle is alluding here might benefit from being studied from the point of view of the Hebraic 'unspeakable', particularly given early modern (and postmodern) interest in Hebrew. Ralph Cudworth claimed that Moses was the physiologist from whom the mechanical philosophy derived, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3 vols. 1845), vol. II, p. 548-9. Boyle's comment might also be seen to exemplify what Foucault claims is an earlier form of the experience of language and 'the knowledge of things and nature', in which 'the

Was physiognomy ever tested according to these new empirical standards? It is well known that Aubrey's *Brief Lives* are full of physiognomical description. However, there seems to have been more to it than simply curious anecdotal detail. Indeed, at one stage it appears as though Aubrey was attempting to assemble physiognomical tables. He writes of Francis Bacon:

> He had a delicate, livley hazel eie. Dr. Harvey told me it was like the eie of a viper.[37]

Over the term 'delicate', Aubrey had written 'T. Hobbes'. This might simply be a reference to Hobbes as the source and authority for the statement. However, in his description of Hobbes, Aubrey describes his eyes as also being 'hazell' and 'ful of life'. Thus it is possibly evidence of an attempt, or at least a desire to create tables of physiognomical characteristics, in other words, physiognomical genealogies of genius. One sees the same thing in his passage on John Dee. Aubrey suggests Dee:

> had a very faire cleare rosie complexion: so had the earl of Rochester, exceeding.[38]

The problem with such an investigation is that it did not say very much in new scientific terms. In one sense all Aubrey was doing was repeating what could be found in the preface of Hill's 1571 treatise when he speaks of Dares Phrygius' 'long Catalogue of noble Piers, where he cunningly applyed their condicions with their formes and lineamentes'.[39]

However, the fundamental difference is that by the time Aubrey was compiling his *Lives*, the study of physiognomy was really a subordinate tool to the study of physiology. The art of 'Discovery' was simply a handmaiden to what was seen in Baconian terms as the more important art of 'Impression' which, by then, as far as the human body was concerned, was dominated by notions of physiological determinism.[40] As Evelyn wrote:

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commentary resembles endlessly that which it is commenting upon and which it can never express', *Things*, p. 41. On this point Foucault and Huizinga appear to agree.

[37]A. Clark (ed.) *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), vol. I, p. 72.

[38]*Brief Lives*, vol. I, pp. 210-211. The MS contains another comparison with 'Sir J. Denham'. In describing James Boevey , Aubrey substitutes 'a dark hazell eie' for 'a very black eye' (p. 113). He may have been thinking of the hazel eyes of Hobbes and Bacon. Aubrey's work would benefit greatly from being examined more closely with this hypothesis in mind alongside the extant images of the persons described. For a beginning see R. Wendorf, *The Elements of Life* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 121-123.

[39]Hill (1571), Preface.

[40]These concerns appear to be reflected in Oxford M.A. questions. For example, in 1653, 'Whether the

> as to Passions and natural Inclinations, there is no doubt but much may be coniectured, and that upon a Physical account.

The Royal Society would have accepted Evelyn's conclusion:

> the Art of Divination from the Countenance, is a Science of as large, and wide Extent, as the Face of the Earth, which we inhabit, and is not to be confin'd to one Part, Province, or People of the World, but to All in general;....its *Canons* and *Conclusions*....[are to be established].. upon more than Fancy, or mere Conjectures only; namely.....upon the Conjugation and Concurrence of divers serious Causes.

Amongst these other causes:

> much we confess is to be attributed to Age, Infirmities, cruciating Pains, macerating Studies and Elucubrations; hard and bodily Labour; to outward Losses and Afflictions; inward Remorse, religious Severities; to Want, Poverty; much to Diet, and other Usages: All of them Abatements in these Conjectures, and without prejudice to the Virtue, and worthy Inclinations of many Persons, whose Looks may seem to bear the Characters of vitious and immoral Men; when all this while, they spring only from Impressions caused by unavoidable Accidents; besides such adscititious Habits, as may possibly be contracted by Institution, Discipline and Custom: One is therefore first to inquire into the Conversation, Education, Condition, and other Circumstances of their Lives; before we give hasty Sentence of their Natures and Dispositions.[41]

One other final way in which physiognomical concerns were a byproduct of the new science, and one which illustrates the differences between Dee's and Bacon's respective conceptions of physiognomy, was in the application of measurement to the human body. Clulee has argued that Dee's conception of experimental science was nothing to do with Cusanus' use of the term *experimentalis scientia* ...in which he argues the importance of the comparison of empirical quantitative measurements for the investigation of nature.[42] However, as far as physiognomy was concerned, Bacon appears to have followed Cusanus in this. Chapter 41 of Bacon's *Catalogus Historiarum Particularium* is entitled:

> The History of the Figure and external Members of Man, of the Stature, Structure, Face and Lineaments; of their variety according to the Peoples and Climates or other lesser differences.

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natural disposition is dependent upon the humours of the body' ['Ingenium pendeat ab humoribus corporis?'] - Aff. Resp Phil. Henry Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Qa, fol. 151v; See also 1669, Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Qa, fol. 178; 1681, OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Be, fol. 202r and 1683 (fol. 205r). By the 1680s, they appear to have been in competition with a similar question about whether the manners of the soul could be discerned from a person's conversation, Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra Reg Be, fol. 202r (1681) & fol. 205v (1684).

[41]John Evelyn, *Numismata* (1697), p. 324 & p. 305.

[42]Clulee, 'Crossroads', p. 59.

Chapter 42 was to be:

> The Physiognomical History of the above,

and is then followed by Anatomy.[43] The proliferation of English natural histories from the late seventeenth century onwards represents the attempt to fulfil this part of Bacon's vision. Robert Boyle's model for writing a natural history of a county or region suggested first taking into account the climate, followed by the Hippocratic triptych of airs, waters and places. Then:

> the inhabitants themselves are to be consider'd, both Natives and Strangers, that have been long settled there; particularly their Stature, Shape, Features, Strength, Ingenuity, Dyet, Inclination, that seem not due to Education. As to their Women, their Fruitfulness or Barreneness, their easie or hard Labour, with their Exercises and Dyet; the Diseases both Men and Women are subject to, peculiar to themselves, compared with their Dyet, Air, &c. that do influence them.[44]

How one was to differentiate between those aspects of their personae 'that seem not due to Education' Boyle did not state. Physiognomically speaking, whilst these histories do not appear to have ever confined one particular form of the eyebrow with one particular moral characteristic and one particular region, nonetheless, these allegedly scientific investigations were repeating at the level of natural history the sort of physiognomical connection found in astrology or humoral theory and their respective connections between a handful of physical features and a handful of vaguely related metaphysical features. Many followed his advice.[45]

The hegemonical establishment of the Royal Society publicly promoted the new concerns with 'impression' inherent in the new mechanistic philosophy. Its redefinition of what it was to know something helped push physiognomical 'discovery', intellectually and philosophically speaking, into the realms of what Locke would have seen as a form of 'Belief, Assent, or opinion':

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[43]'Historia Figurae et Memborum externorum Hominis, Staturae, Compagis, Vultus, et Lineamentorum; eorumque varietatis secundum Gentes et Climata, aut alias minores differentias'; 'Historia Physiognomica super ipsa', Bacon, *Works*, vol. I, p. 407. For the connection between physiognomy and anatomy see below.

[44]Robert Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country, Great or Small; Drawn out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators* (1692), p. 9.

[45]Cockers discusses the inbred qualities found in the local blood in *A Survey of Dorsetshire* (1732), p. 5; In his chapter 'Of Men and Women', Robert Plot noted only unusual accidents due to 'there being no new *species* of Men to be produced, or not sufficiently noted already,' Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire, Being an Essay toward the Natural History of England* (Oxford, 1676), p. 192; John Aubrey's 'An Introduction to the Survey and Natural History of the North Division of the County of Wiltshire' in his *Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects* (1714), curiously contains no physiognomy.

> the admitting or receiving any Proposition for true, upon Arguments or Proofs that are found to perswade us to receive it as true, without any certain Knowledge that it is so.[46]

Indeed, the relationship between the soul and the body was not something which detained Locke. As Jonathan Bennett has written:

> while using facts about bodily behaviour as evidence for conclusions about states of mind, Locke never asks why they are evidence....nor does he ever suggest that any cognitive concept might be analyzable in terms of behavioural dispositions or that sensations or feelings or "ideas" might be physiological states.[47]

Like Bacon, Hume did not feel uncomfortable with the inability to explain the nature of the relationship between the body and the soul:

> are we not equally ignorant of the manner or force by which a mind, even the supreme mind, operates on itself or on body?

It was something he thought 'beyond our comprehension'.[48]

In fact, in terms of this relationship between body and soul, the next philosophical step was one which turned away from the original philosophical underpinning of ancient physiognomy towards what philosophers often refer to as the 'other minds' problem. Whilst John Stuart Mill is often put forward as providing the first clear articulation of the modern philosophical problem of other minds/external world, Mill was in turn reacting to Thomas Reid's reading of Berkeley. Reid objected to Berkeley's idealism, which was caused by the Cartesian revolution:

> I can find no principle in Berkeley's system which affords me even probable grounds to conclude that there are other intelligent beings like myself.[49]

Like many others, Diderot and Buffon accepted the more instinctual and dynamic senses of physiognomy:

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[46]S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago, 1996); John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. P. Nidditch (1975), IV.xv.3: 655.
[47]V. Chappell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Locke* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 89.
[48]David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge & P. H. Nidditch (repr. of 1777 edition, revised 3rd edition, Oxford, 1975), p. 72.
[49]Cited in Miles Burnyeat, 'Other Minds, Other Bodies', paper delivered to the conference 'The Self and Its Place in the World', Kings College, London, Saturday 15th May, 1993. However, Berkeley still accepted that 'the operation of the mind so far depends on the right tone and good condition of its instrument', A. A. Luce & T. E. Jessop (eds.), *The Works of George Berkeley*, 8 vols. (1953), vol. V, p. 31. See also vol. II, pp. 241 & cp. 282.

> It is possible to judge in some ways of what happens in the interior of men by their actions, and to know by the inspection of the changes of face, the actual situation of the soul.

However, their Cartesian conception of the soul prevented them from accepting the systematic scientific form of physiognomy:

> as the soul has no form which can be relative to any material form, one cannot judge it by the figure of the body, or by the form of the face. A deformed body can enclose a very beautiful soul, and one should not to judge of the natural good or bad of a person by the features of his face; because these features have no relationship with the nature of the soul, they have no analogy on which one can base reasonable conjectures.... the form of the nose, of the mouth and of the other features, does not make more the form of the soul, natural to the person, than the length or breadth of the members.[50]

The effect was basically the same. Intellectually speaking, there was very little life left in physiognomy. There was no one who could make a genuine science of this art of discovery. That is not to say that scientists and philosophers thought it impossible to tell something about a person by that person's face. In Locke's writings on education one can see the influence of the dominance of the art of impression in the sphere of physiognomy. Locke suggested that sheer wilfulness and obstinacy in a child was to be met with whipping and admonition:

> till the Impression of it on the Mind were found legible in the Face, Voice and Submission of the Child.[51]

Yet the philosophies of mechanisation and materialism had by the mid-eighteenth century already gone too far for many tastes. Just as the rationalism and materialism of the Enlightenment took hold, the reactions against it had begun to gather. Bound up with mid-eighteenth-century religious currents, illuminism, theosophy and pietism, interest in physiognomy began to be reformulated in terms of some of the ideas found

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[50]"Il est permis de juger à quelques égards de ce qui se passe dans l'intérieur des hommes pars leurs actions, & connoitre à l'inspection des changemens du visage, la situation actuelle de l'ame [sic]; mais come l'ame [sic] n'a point de forme qui puisse être relative à n'aucune forme matérielle, on ne peut pas la juger par la figure du corps, ou par la forme du visage. Un corps mal fait peut renfermer une fort belle ame [sic], & l'on ne doit pas juger du bon ou du mauvais naturel d'une personne par les traits de son visage; car ces traits n'ont aucun rapport avec la nature de l'ame [sic], ils n'ont aucune analogie sur laquelle on puisse seulement fonder des conjectures raisonnables....mais la forme du nez, de la bouche & des autres traits, ne fait pas plus à la forme de l'ame [sic], au nature de la personne, que la grandeur ou la grosseur des membres fait à la pensée", Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonnée des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, 28 vols. (Neufchâtel, 1755), vol. XII.

[51]W. A. Vincent, *The Grammar Schools: Their continuing tradition, 1660-1714* (1969), p. 64. Even Hegel accepted the 'unconscious judging of everyday physiognomy', G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 192.

in the physiognomy of Saunders, Fludd and Dee. Two people prominent in this were Jacques Pernetti (who founded an hermetic sect in Avignon) and the quietist Minister J. C. Lavater.

In turn, Hegel, like Lichtenberg,[52] was severely critical of these new physiognomists as well as their more materialistic phrenological counterparts.[53] For Hegel, it was only action which could be expressive of character. With regard to physiognomical signs, they were:

> just the reflection of Spirit out of its sensuous existence back into itself, and a particular [physical] existence is for Spirit something indifferent and contingent.[54]

Hegel dismissed physiognomical knowledge in a Lockean way, describing it as 'merely an opinion of one's own'[55]- but from the perspective of the 'reality' of what he termed 'Spirit':

> The forming of opinions prima facie about the presumed [outward] presence of Spirit is natural or everyday physiognomy, the over-hasty judgement formed at first sight about the inner nature and character of its outer shape. But just this sensuous immediate presence is the *reality* of Spirit only for mere opinion.[56]

2

PHYSIOGNOMY AND SOCIETY

2.1 *Physiognomy and Vagabondage: The 'seers' who wander amongst the poor*

Despite the relative of neglect of physiognomy by natural philosophers, the more conscious systematic use of the art of physiognomating can still be seen to have played a role throughout the period in a variety of early modern social practices. The

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[52]Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Über Physiognomik* (Göttingen, 1778).
[53]For a discussion of the transition from physiognomy to phrenology see M. Staum, 'Physiognomy and Phrenology at the Paris Athenee', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995), pp. 443-462; A. MacIntyre, 'Hegel on Faces and Skulls', in A. MacIntyre (ed.), *Hegel: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York, 1972), pp. 211-236: p. 226.
[54]Hegel, *Spirit*, p. 193.
[55]Hegel, *Spirit*, p. 193.
[56]Hegel, *Spirit*, p. 192. In reply to Boyle's above-mentioned comment about the inability to 'declare' physiognomical insight, Hegel would say that physiognomy 'can never succeed in saying what it means because it merely "means" and its content is something merely "meant"' (p. 192). Some postmodernists would celebrate this allusive characteristic of physiognomating.

most obvious place to look are the consultations between the 'professional' physiognomers and their clients.[57] However, the problem in distinguishing 'professional' physiognomers in this period is that they tend to blend into other more recognisable social groups, such as the astrologers, physicians, empirics, wizards, cunning men and women. As will become evident, one even finds them amongst the clerics and royal counsellors. However physiognomical skill appears to have been considered particularly a preserve of the wanderers, the gypsies and the poor - and one with which the early modern authorities never felt comfortable.

In England, the physiognomer seems to have been a distinct and familiar enough figure to merit an entry in Horman's 1519 schoolbook. Warning children away from numerous impieties, Horman has the children recite and translate into Latin:

> I beleve nat the reders of dremes and fisnomiers,

and later:

> They that make them selfe wyse and connuyng to a rede destynes by lokynge in the strakes of ones hande or forhead and circles....make men foolis: that beleue them.[58]

The group of people most often alleged to have included physiognomers amongst their ranks or physiognomating amongst their professed arts were 'the gypsies'.[59] It is extremely difficult to separate myth from reality in the history of the gypsies. Their origins, the date and place of their first arrival in the different countries of Europe, their number, appearance, religion, ways of making money and their alleged practice of palm-reading have all been the subject of conflicting opinions, many of which stem from the early modern period.[60] Many descriptions are simply repetitions of earlier, often highly

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[57]In his translation of Erasmus' *Apophthegmes* (1564), Nicolas Udall referred to physiognomists as 'The...Physiognomiers', describing Zopyrus as: 'a feloe hauyng sight in Phisiognomie (who professed and openly toke upon him, by the complexion and pleight of the bodie, and by the proporcion and settyng, or compace of the face or visage, to be able unfallible and without missing, to find out and iudge the naturall dispocicion of any man)', fol. 24.

[58]William Horman, *Vulgaria* (1519), fols. 19(r) & 21(v).

[59]Emile Mâle writes of the evidence in medieval art for the gypsies as practising physiognomers, particularly in folklore about the Holy Family dating from the Middle Ages. There is a Gypsy Folk-Tale in which a gypsy holds up a lantern to Christ's face in the betrayal scene in the garden. Cited in R. Partington, 'The Gypsy and the Holy Family', in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series, XXXV (1956), pp. 1-11: p. 10. One twentieth-century commentator on gypsy magic has suggested that in an encounter with a first class gypsy 'seer': 'you may well be astounded by the unveiling of the past, by an uncanny glimpse into the future and by a devastating penetration into your character that would put many a psycho-analyst to shame', B. I. Rákōczi, 'Gypsy Magic', ibid, pp. 39-46: p. 39.

[60]For numerous early modern references see John Hoyland, *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, &*

polemical attacks. Moreover, like the term 'papist', 'gypsy' was thrown around as a general term of abuse, often used to attack other nomadic, marginalised groups, such as 'the poor', 'vagabonds', 'wanderers', 'errant scholars', 'mendicant friars' and 'pilgrims'.[61]

By 1492 in Spain, an edict had been passed banishing the gypsies. Hoyland has suggested that they arrived in England around 1512.[62] True or not, their presence was perceived to have been disturbing enough by 1530 for the Reformation Parliament to pass an 'An Acte concernyng Egypsyans'.[63] It charged them with the practice of palmistry but made no mention of physiognomy. However, the same Parliament also passed 'An Acte conc[er]nyng punysshement of Beggers & Vacabund[es]'. Amongst the wandering beggars at which it was aimed it mentioned 'Scolers of the Universities of Oxford & Cambridge', 'Shypmen', 'all Proctors & Pardoners' and:

> al other ydell p[er]sonnes goyng aboute in any contreys or abydyng in any Cytie Boroughe or Towne, some of them usyng dyvers & subtyle craftye & unlawfull games & playes & some of them feyning themselfes to have knowledge in Physyke, Physnamye, Palmestrye, or other craftye scyence wherby they beare the people in hande, that they can tell theire destenyes deceases & fortunes & such other lyke fantasticall ymagenacions.[64]

The reasons for both of these statutes are unclear. However, the fact that in 1528 an edition of the *Book of Vagabonds* was published in Nuremberg for which Martin Luther had written a Preface cannot be overlooked.[65] The second of these two 1530 acts was repeated in 1572 under 14 Elizabeth, c. 5,[66] in 1597 under 39 Elizabeth, c. 4,[67] under

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Present State of the Gypsies (York, 1816).

[61]In this period, the earliest European sightings of physiognomers characterise them as wandering, heretical diviners who combine physiognomy and chiromancy. See for example, the first sightings of Faust (1507 and 1513), W. C. Coupland, *The Spirit of Goethe's Faust* (1885), I, pp. 9-11. Conrad Mundt, a canon of Gotha claimed that 'the vulgar are lost in admiration [for Faust]. Let the theologians rise against him' (p. 11). For a possible link between physiognomy and one evangelical mid-fourteenth-century Franciscan see below. For the fifteenth-century contempt levelled at the mendicant orders see Huizinga, *Waning*, pp. 161ff. The famous Italian physiognomer/chiromancer Bartholomew Cocles was similarly known as a wanderer (see Chapter Two). Physiognomy and chiromancy can be found bound together in numerous medieval manuscripts long before Indagine combined them in his influential printed treatise.

[62]Hoyland, 'Historical Survey', pp. 62 & 78.

[63]22nd Hen.VIII, c. 10, *The Statutes of the Realm*, 9 vols. (1817), vol. III, p. 327.

[64]*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. III, p. 330.

[65]*Liber Vagatorum* (Wittenberg [but actually Nuremberg], 1528). Although Luther linked the gypsies with the Jews, the text itself makes no mention of any variety of vagabond practising physiognomy. See also *Liber Vagatorum* (Paris, [c. 1510]) [Bodl. Douce 89].

[66]The only difference being that 'Physyke' was dropped, 'Physnamye' was spelt 'Phisnomye', and 'other craftye scyence' became 'other abused Scyences'.

[67]Physiognomy was still referred to alongside palmistry only now it was spelt with the educated 'g' -

Queen Anne in 1713 (12 Anne 2, c. 23), and under George II under 17 George 2, c. 5. Indeed, it was not until the vagrancy act of 1874 that all reference to physiognomy was dropped. Even then it still referred to palmistry.

Whether the gypsies actually did practise physiognomy, they were certainly perceived as doing so. By the late 1530s Robert Copland's poem *Hyeway to the Spittle hous*, described the gypsy technique:

> Than wyll he feyne merueylous grauyte
> And so chaunceth his hostes or his hoost
> To demaund, out of what stange land or coost
> Cometh this gentylman? forsothe hostesse
> Sayth his seruaunt and is a connyng man
> For all the seuen scyences surely he can
> And is sure in Physyk and Palmestry
> In augry, sothsayeng, and vysenamy
> So that he can ryght soone espy
> If ony be dyspossed to malady
> And therfore can gyue such a medycyne
> That maketh all accesses to declyne.[68]

By 1586, one contemporary writer has suggested, there were around 10,000 of these vagabonds. Amongst their ranks one could find numerous 'practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes'.[69] They were ruthlessly pursued by the authorities throughout the entire early modern period.[70] Allegations of their physiognomical practices also continued. In 1671, John Ogilby's translation of Montanus's writing on China projected this same image onto the gypsies in China:

> Some (after our manner) pick Pockets by calculating Nativities, and from thence tell the Fortune that shall attend a Man in his whole Life; Other wheedle them out of their Money, by Phisiognomy and Palmestry, and such Gipsie-like tricks; others by Dreams; some from certain words which they observe in speaking; divers from the shape of the Body, or sitting of a Person, and an innumerable many actions more.[71]

'Phisiognomye'.

[68]Robert Copland, *Poems*, ed. M. Carpenter Erler (Toronto, 1993), pp. 187-245: p. 202, ll. 359-371. This poem might be based on the 1530 statute, to which it bears a striking resemblance, rather than on any observation. By the nineteenth century, the French forensic scientist Lacassagne turned physiognomy on the gypsies in his study of racial characteristics and mistaken identity, *Independent Magazine*, 2 June, 1990, p. 39.

[69]John Awdeley, *The Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, eds. E. Viles & F. J. Furnivall, EETS, extra series, IX (1869), pp. xii-xiii.

[70]Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer*, 4 vols. (12th edn., 1772), vol. 4, pp. 300ff. A marginal comment on the Acts of the Apostles (xvii, 6) in the Geneva Bible suggested the gypsies were subversive and linked them with the Jews. See Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972), p. 32.

[71]John Ogilby, *Atlas Chinensis*, 2 vols. (1671), vol. II, p. 586.

One finds the same attacks in the physiognomical treatises themselves. In 1653, Saunders presented himself as a serious 'student of physick' whilst castigating the chiromantical practices of 'those miserable Vagabonds which we call Gypsies'.[72] The frontispiece to the 1665 English translation of La Chambre's *The Art How to Know Men* is another version of this attack. (See **Plate XXIV**) The mathematically precise scientist La Chambre is portrayed at work in the safety of his private laboratory in stark contrast to the thieving, palm-reading gypsies portrayed in the act of bamboozling the *gentilhomme bourgeois* in the more hazardous realm of the public highway.[73]

This representation of the gypsies appears typical of the period.[74] The two motifs which dominate the random sample of representations examined are the outstretched palm of the client and the pick-pocketing hand of the gypsy. However, there appears to be another motif which is also frequently included in the depiction but which has hitherto been neglected - the act of physiognomating.[75] **Plates XXV-XXXIII** represent a random sample of images of gypsies dating from throughout the period, in which the act of physiognomating might be said to be portrayed. Whilst the outstretched hand might seem to dominate the scene due to the unusual symbolic nature of the ritual, in all of these plates the gypsy is actually examining the face of the client.[76]

Physiognomers were not only to be found amongst the ranks of the gypsies. Indeed, in his *Institutions of A Christian Man*, written around 1538, Henry VIII attacked numerous superstitions of the 'superstitious folk'. This included those people:

> which by lots, astrology, divination, chattering of birds, physiognomy, and looking of men's hands, or other unlawful and superstitious crafts, take upon them certainly to tell, determine and judge beforehand of men's acts and fortunes, which be to come afterward.[77]

Cranmer's annotations to this work provide evidence of just how concerned the authorities were with the physiognomical skill of the common folk:

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[72]Saunders (1671), sig. a2.
[73]The figure of the male gypsy on the right-hand side of the doorway scene compares closely with the male gypsy figure in **Plate XXIV**.
[74]Of course, many of them should be read as being either imitations of previous representations or based on traditional, perhaps inaccurate, anti-gypsy rhetoric, rather than any observation of reality.
[75]A. Fraser has suggested that it was often the women who were the chiromancers, *The Gypsies* (Oxford, 1992), p. 47. However, there are numerous representations of male gypsies palm-reading.
[76]The palm-reading technique of Gypsy Lee of St. Giles' Fair in Oxford (September, 1993) appeared to the present writer to involve just as much face-reading as hand-reading.
[77]Rev. John E. Cox (ed.), *The Miscellaneous Writings of Thomas Cranmer*, Parker Society, 2 vols. (1846), vol. II, p. 100.

> Whereas the same is stricken out, it seemeth more necessary to remain, forsomuch as the common people do in nothing more superstitiously. Likewise of astrology, and specially physiognomy.[78]

Although people like Pernetti in the late eighteenth century argued that real physiognomical genius was innate and could not be learned, as Lavater pointed out, it was something everyone could do. Cranmer's comment is much earlier evidence of this 'democratic' (and thus dangerous) nature of the evidently popular art of physiognomating. Whilst it was a skill and practice which went far beyond the 'gypsies', connecting it with the gypsies was possibly one way of restraining its 'democratic' impulse.

Despite this ubiquitous skill, throughout the period one finds marginal evidence for individual physiognomers. In 1556 there appeared in Maidstone one Robert Harris whose method of divination was to stare at peoples' faces. Four years later, a Valentine Staplehurst arrived claiming that, despite his illiteracy, he used physiognomy to tell both the past and the future.[79] Both of these people were outsiders, perhaps nomadic, perhaps even vagabonds. Moreover, a century later Sir Thomas Browne was still crediting beggars with a certain skill in physiognomy:

> I have observed that those professed Eleemosynaries, though in a croud or multitude, doe yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons.
>
> There is surely a Physiognomy, which those experienced and Master Mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a mercifull aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and marks of pity: for there are mystically in our faces certaine characters which carry in them the motto of our Soules, wherein he that can read A. B. C. may read our natures.[80]

Browne's professionalisation of the beggars was a common view of the poor. This alleged skill may even have contributed to the realisation on the part of those same

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[78]Cox, *Cranmer*, vol. I, p. 133.

[79]Thomas, *Magic*, p. 285; J. Halle, *An Historicall Expostulation*, ed. T. J. Pettigrew, Percy Society (1844), pp. 6 & 11.

[80]Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1672), p. 141. He continued: 'I behold moreover that there is a Phistognomy [sic], or Physiognomy, not onely of men, but of Plants, and Vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signes or bushes of their inward formes. The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his workes, not graphicall or composed of Letters, but of their severall formes, constitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joyned together, make one word that doth expresse their natures. By those Letters God cals the Starres by their names, and by this Alphabet Adam assigned to every nature, a name peculiar to its nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our faces, certaine mysticall figures in our hands, which I dare not call meere dash strokes, a Lavole, or at randome, etc. I carry that in mine owne hand, which I could never read of, nor discover in another' (p. 142). The implications of this for the seventeenth-century interest in the construction of a universal language would benefit from further study.

prudent beggars of how they could, amongst other things, expand their trade and increase their income by offering a physiognomical service to people such as Browne who thought them naturally, even mystically literate in such arts.[81]

To what extent were these mobile and more marginal physiognomers using the physiognomical theory found in the treatises? One early modern representation of what appears to be a young gypsy certainly reveals the hazardous nature of assuming an automatic correlation between vagabondage and illiteracy. (See **Plate XXXIV**). Their art may have been based on some form of private physiognomical table, or more cunningly improvised on the spot. Only an examination of the presence of physiognomical knowledge in early modern culture, particularly in the form of literature and physiognomical proverbs and private notebooks alongside the consistency of some of the signs in the treatises would allow for the possibility that they reached some of the same physiognomical conclusions found in the treatises.[82]

2. 2 *Physiognomy and Astrologers: The hidden physiognomical 'figure'*

Another group by whom the physiognomers are both obscured and absorbed are the astrologers. The popularity and fortunes of astrology in early modern England have been well charted and need not be rehearsed here.[83] What does need to be emphasised is the extent to which such studies have overlooked how, in astrological practice, every fortune-telling road can either start from, run through or lead back to physiognomy.[84] Saunders' treatise, for example, contains numerous anecdotes of 'Judiciary Astrologers' telling a person's fortune by looking only at the face.[85] Lilly's *Christian Astrology* shows how amorphous was the role of physiognomy in astrological practice, suggesting the working out of aspects of the questioner's nativity by the questioner's physiognomy:

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[81]Browne's 'observation' may have been influenced by an aspect of his faith which either required or allowed him to represent these dispossessed uneducated people as the street-wise, mystical physiognomators of truth.
[82]See below, pp. 231-232.
[83]Thomas, *Magic*, pp. 341-2.
[84]Three recent monographs on astrology which make no mention of physiognomy are E. Grant, *Planets, Stars, & Orbs. The Medieval Cosmos 1200-1687* (Cambridge, 1994); A. Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind* (Manchester, 1995); D. Biri, *Astrologia. Arte e culture in età rinascimentale* (Modena, 1997).
[85]Saunders (1671), pp. 164-165 & 173.

> The querent was moderately tall, of round visage, sanguine complexion, of a cheerfull, modest countenance, gray-eyed, her haire a light browne, occasioned, as I conceive, by [The Sun] Lord of the ascendant, in the Termes of [Mars], she was well spoken, and sufficiently comely,

as well as working out the physiognomy of 'the quesited party':

> I judged the corporature of the quesited party to be but meane, and not tall, or very handsome, his visage long and incomposed, a wan, pale or meagre complexion, dark haire, or of a sad, chesnut colour, curling and crisp, his eyes fixt, ever downward, musing, stooping forward with his head, some impediment in his going, as treading awry, &c. [this was confessed].....I judged the Gentleman to be sad, angry, much discontented, and scorning his former slights (as ever all Saturnine people doe;) I judged him much incensed by a Kinsman or Gentleman of quality.[86]

Moreover, many of the questions any astrologer was normally asked could have involved the use of the physiognomy.[87] Yet the most prominent astrologers of the period are equated more with horoscopes and nativities than the art of physiognomating.

One possible explanation is a division which arose amongst the ranks of the astrologers based around the use and status of mathematics. By 1580, Gabriel Harvey, a former astrological sceptic, had been impressed by 'the teachings of the more learned and conscientious astrologers, like Luca Gaurico'.[88] At the same time he was critical of others he termed 'Cunning men' and their reading habits:

> I have heard sum of them name Jon de indagine. Theise be theire great masters: & this in a manner theire whole librarie.....Erra Pater, their Hornebooke. The Shepherd's Kalendar, their primer. The Compost of Ptolomeus, their Bible. Arcandam, their newe Testament. The rest, with Albertus secrets, & Aristotles problems Inglished, their great Doctours, & wonderfull Secreta secretorum.[89]

Nearly all of the texts mentioned make-up the majority of the works examined in this thesis. As Thomas has pointed out, the bulk of astrological writing was still locked up in the obscurity of a learned language. Yet physiognomical astrology appears to have been much more widely available. Indeed, given the later proliferation of astrological texts, the history of astrology could be conceived of in terms of the rise of a more mathematical astrology and the marginalisation of physiognomy, chiromancy and dream interpretation in the astrologer's practice. With the emergence of a native English mathematical school in the 1550s, there arose a distinction amongst those astrologers who were able to place more emphasis on the mathematical figure as opposed to human

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[86]William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1647), p. 386.
[87]Thomas, *Magic*, p. 335.
[88]V. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, his Mind, his Marginalia* (Oxford, 1979), p. 168. In 1504, Luca's twin brother Pomponio published his *De sculptura*. This contained a chapter devoted to physiognomy.
[89]Stern, *Harvey*, p. 168. Harvey's own library had more sophisticated astrological works (pp. 244ff).

figures in the process of the astrological inspection.[90] Unlike physiognomy, calculating a nativity was not something everyone could easily claim to be able to do. The necessity of mathematical literacy as well as a pen and paper in the construction of a nativity only enhanced its status.[91] Furthermore, the rise of the postal service introduced a further distinction - the luxurious stigma of having an astrological investigation carried out *in absentia*.[92]

Physiognomy had long had a bad reputation from which many astrologers would have wanted to distance themselves, partly because the subject was outlawed, partly because it had long been labelled as superstitious, partly because it was made even more disreputable through its connection with the gypsies, and partly because this aspect of the astrologer's practice was one that anyone could easily learn and claim expertise in.[93] Having said that, just as the astrologer could play the role of priest and physician, the astrologer could and did incorporate some physiognomy in his or her analysis if

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[90]On the rise of this mathematical school see D. C. Allen, *Star-Crossed Renaissance* (Durham, N. Carolina, 1941), p. 102; A. M. MacLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (1972), chapter 6. E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1967). This interest in mathematics and its relation to physiognomy might in part explain why the Bodleian Library's copy of the 1504/5 edition of the Achillini/Cocles *Anastasis* is bound with a 1550 edition of Euclid's geometry. This volume, which also incorporates a 1509 edition of Bonifacius Symoneta's *Opuscula varia* (which includes a significant amount of material on physiognomy - see, for example, fol. Liii for physiognomical divination & fol. Cliii for astrological physiognomy) was given to the library in 1600 by William Gent. The first printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library (1605) records it as having been shelved under Theology, shelfmark Th. S. 7. 5. That these three volumes were bound together in this order (Symoneta, Euclid, Achillini) sometime between 1550 and 1600 before Gent gave it to the library is suggested by both the date of the edition of Euclid and by Neil Ker's claim that the rolls used for its binding, Rolls XII & XVIII, date from 1551-1560. N. Ker, *Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* (Oxford, 1954), p. 212, fn. 4.

[91]See Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1651), 1.2.1.4 for a possible explanation of the sparseness of extant evidence for the use of physiognomy by astrologers.

[92]For medical examinations *in absentia* see below, p. 205, fn 953.

[93]Another common physiognomical phenomenon in which many who were unable to read words could have claimed an expertise, or for which the physiognomer may have been called upon to act as final arbitrator, was the determination of the identity of a foundling's father. This was certainly a practice in the Arab world, F. Toufic, *La divination arabe* (Leiden, 1966), chapter three. See also the discussion of *kiyafa* in Chapter One, section two of this thesis. In *King John*, a bastard, claiming that his father is also Falconbridge, asks the King to "Compare our faces and be judge for yourself". The Queen asks John 'Do you not read some tokens of my son/In the large composition of this man?' , *King John*, 1,1,79-89. However there is no hint of any professional physiognomical skills in this particular example. One recent investigation of a related phenomenon has argued that the process by which partners come to look like one another occurs mainly during the first part of marriage when there are no children to divert their attention from each other, and again during the latter part of their relationship once the children have left home, P. Kunz & R. Fernquist, 'Physiognomic Homogamy: A Study of Parents and Children', *Social Biology*, 37 (1990), pp. 266-9.

required, without being labelled a physiognomist.[94] Even Gabriel Harvey himself admitted:

> my (method of) physical prediction carefully corrected consists as much in stoicheology and especially in physiognomy as in planetology or horoscopy.[95]

That astrologers continued to be interested in physiognomy throughout the eighteenth century is suggested by the character of Foresight in William Congreve's famous and very successful play Love for Love. Congreve describes Foresight as:

> An illiterate Old Fellow, peevish and positive, superstitious, and pretending to understand Astrology, Palmistry, Physiognomy, Omens, Dreams &c.

Dr. Johnson remarked that 'the character of Foresight was then common'.[96]

2. 3 *Physiognomy and Religion: The physiognomy of God.*

Bacon claimed that the study of the effects of the humours and the body on the mind:

> hath been inquired and considered as a part and appendix of Medicine, but much more as a part of Religion or Superstition.[97]

Physiognomy played a significant role in religion during this period. The Bible offered numerous authorities which writers on physiognomy often used to validate the subject. Mention has already been made of Job 37,7. Thomas Hill's claim that:

> The faces of such wel borne and complexioned, are on such wise: that is, meane of composition in the cheekes, and temples, declining unto a fatnesse. Such a creature (after Phisiognomie) is iudged iust, louing, faythfull, and of a good understanding. Of which Ecclesiasticus. xiij. reporteth, that mans heart altereth the face, eyther to the good, or euill.[98]

was a reference to Ecclesiastes 8.1:

> a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine.

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[94]See John Wilson, *The Cheats* (1664), pp. 49-50 & 62.
[95]Stern, *Harvey*, p. 169.
[96]M. Summers (ed.), *The Complete Works of William Congreve*, 2 vols. (1923), vol. II, p. 98 & p. 96.
[97]Bacon, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 368.
[98]Hill (1571), fol. 84(v); For Indagine see (1558), sig. Hi. In the early nineteenth century, Johann Casper Spurzheim's also based his phrenology on numerous biblical passages, *Phrenology, in connexion with the study of Physiognomy* (1826), p.1.

Saunders claimed that 'you see the holy Scriptures full of Physiognomical expressions', and his Preface contains a discussion of many of them.[99] Apart from claiming that St. Jerome's translation was more physiognomical than any subsequent translations, he suggested that the Hebrew original was the most physiognomical of all. For example, in the Hebrew:

> God himself in Exodus for his Wisdome amonge the eleven Properties hath called himself, *Great Nose....Longus narium*: as if he should say, Wise, Merciful, and long-suffering.[100]

There were of course some passages of scripture which could interpreted as anti-physiognomical. Wycliff gave his translation of John 7, 24 a distinctly aphoristic twist:

> Nile ye deme aftir the face, but deme ye a rightful doom.[101]

However, there were many other passages in most translations which were much more physiognomically encouraging. Take for example the passage Isaiah 3, 9:

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[99]Saunders (1671), Preface.

[100]Saunders (1671), sig. a1(v) & p. 155. Saunders' translation raises one of the most fundamental issues surrounding physiognomy, the divisive question of anthropomorphism in religious thought, or, in other words, the physiognomy of God. The Hebrew cited by Saunders, *erekh apayim*, is normally translated as "slow to anger". A literal translation would indeed be long nose or long nostrils. See K. Brown, S. A. Driver & C. A Briggs (eds.), *A Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1955). However, it would appear to be the equivalent of a literal interpretation of the term 'bigmouth'.

Differences of opinion over the extent to which one could represent God as having all the physical attributes of man (a physiognomy) could be traced back to such scriptural passages as I Chronicles 16.11: 'Seek the Lord and his strength, seek his face continually'; Exodus 30.20: 'No man shall see my face and live'; Deuteronomy 4.12: 'And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice'; and Exodus 33, 11: 'the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend'. For discussions of this issue in the context of medieval Jewish mysticism see E. R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines. Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*, (New Jersey, 1994), pp. 11, 16, 121 & 217. This sense of anthropomorphism appeared in the work of the twentieth-century Jewish philosopher Franz Rosenzweig entitled *The Star of Redemption* (see the Introduction to this thesis). Wolfson claims that Rosenzweig's attempt to visualise the divine face through a human face resonates with classical theosophic Kabbalah, *Speculum*, p. 15-16. The Kabbalah certainly contained physiognomy. The extent to which the physiognomy of the divine, or Rosenzweig's idea of the relation between the human face and the divine face, was an early modern phenomenon would benefit from further study. It is certainly implicit in La Chambre (1665), p. 330. G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, 1983), argues that the study of Hebrew was much more willingly accepted in England than the Kabbalah. Notwithstanding, John Dee was certainly familiar with Kabbalah by 1548 (pp. 168-174). Casaubon described Dee as 'a Kabbalist up to his ears' (p. 120). It later resurfaced in the work of Fludd and Saunders as well as Henry More's *Conjecturas Cabbalistica* (1653). See Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico* for a discussion of a seemingly closely related phenomenon, the medieval process of 'figuration' in painting and its relation to the Incarnation (p. 59ff). For related late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century phenomena see Jacob Boehme's claim that 'Man is an Image and Likeness of God, and the other Creatures are as a Similitude according to the Figuration in the internal Generation in God's Wisdom', *The Complete Works of Jacob Behmen*, 4 vols. (1781), vol. IV, p. 30, as well as William Blake's 'visionary heads' (1819).

[101]The Authorised version runs: 'Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment'.

> The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not.

On the Continent, there were even books published dedicated entirely to the discussion of the meaning of such passages.[102]

Yet the inter-penetration of religion and physiognomy ran deeper than this. As was argued in Chapter Four, by the late-fifteenth-century there had developed a genre of physiognomating which was something akin to an act of prayer and devotion or confession, in the form of a medico-moral self-examination, possibly carried out with the aid of a looking-glass. Only a more detailed examination of medieval physiognomy than can be pursued here could hope to establish when, how and where this form of physiognomical prayer was incorporated into Christian devotional practices.[103]

Chapter One showed how physiognomical treatises were to be found in the libraries of most of the orders throughout medieval Europe. Given the extent to which physiognomy had long been associated with the occult and the mystical, a detailed examination of the devotional practices of medieval mystics from this physiognomical point of view might prove particularly fruitful. 1 Corinthians 28 certainly offered scriptural authority for self-examination. Moreover, the similarities of this physiognomical medico-moral self-inspection (including one which could have involved the use of a looking-glass) with the earliest stages of the self-reflection demanded in some forms of medieval mysticism is striking. Particularly relevant to this inquiry appears to be St. Bernard's notion of 'set[ting] [one] before [one's] own [face]' so 'that the soul may know itself'.[104] It is at this point that the self encounters the *lex naturalis* or *synderesis*, by which the person knows which is good and which is bad and what to do.[105]

At one point St. Bernard might be interpreted to be ruling out the more physiognomical version:

> But be most careful not to allow yourself to think that we perceive anything corporeal or by way of images in this union (mingling) of the word with the soul.

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[102]Franciscus Valles, *De iis quae scripta sunt physicae in libris sacris* (1588), p. 198, pp. 291-293 & p. 300; Paolo Vecchi, *Observationem omnigenae reuditionis in Divinam Scripturam* (Naples, 1641).
[103]See Chapter One.
[104]E. Vasta, *The Spiritual Basis of Piers Plowman* (The Hague, 1965), pp. 36-37.
[105]See G. Hort, *Piers Plowman and Contemporary Religious Thought* (1938), pp. 73-74.

In stating man's inability to see God face to face he writes:

> the soul slumbering in contemplation dreams God; for through a mirror and in an enigma, and not face to face, does it behold Him.[106]

However, there is evidence to suggest that one of St. Bernard's contemporaries and disciples, the Italian Observant Franciscan Nicholas of Osimo (fl. c. 1450), made a connection between devotional practice and a form of physiognomy.[107] In a meditative work written in 1454 entitled *Zardino de Oratione*, Nicholas introduced into the process a quite detailed description of the perfect temperament of Christ (one that had been in circulation since at least the ninth century).[108] The issue of the 'perfect temperament' had been a long-standing debate in medical circles. Nicholas makes no explicit link between physiognomy and the perfect temperament of Christ or the theological notion of the Incarnation. However, the physical appearance of Christ and the theological issue of the Incarnation may have played a role in this form of physiognomical prayer given that so much devotional practice was based upon a fundamental preoccupation with the *Imitatio Christi*.[109]

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[106]Dom. C. Butler, *English Mysticism* (n.d.), pp. 103, 109 & 120. The assumption that being face to face with someone (or something) is not an enigma is very interesting. A more detailed examination of this phenomenon would deepen the understanding of early modern perceptions of physiognomy. Furthermore, statements such as this by St. Bernard, as well as the above mentioned issue of the figurability of the divine, might provide the psychological background to many mid-seventeenth-century apocalyptic concerns and help explain such comments as that made by Hartlib in 1651, when he wrote of God manifesting himself 'till his People might with open Face behold him as in a Mirroir', *The Hartlib Papers* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 1/327a.

[107]L. Wadding, *Scriptores ordinis minorum* (Rome, 1806), p. 176.

[108]*Zardino de Oratione* (Venice, 1494), sig. Siv (r-v). It was reprinted in 1511 and 1521. For doubts concerning Nicholas's authorship of this work see Prince d'Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens* (n.d.), part I, vol. II, pp. 192-3 & 240. I was unable to see this. For descriptions of the physical appearance of other kings see below.

[109]The role of physiognomy in medieval religious practice would benefit from further study. It was possibly based on Aquinas's designation of contemplation as 'the act of seeing God in oneself' (*contemplatio nominat actum videndi Deum in se*), cited in Didi-Huberman, *Angelico*, p. 24. For the small circles of pietism dominated by the figure of Thomas à Kempis (probable author of the extremely infuential *Imitatio Christi*) and his *devotio moderna* see Huizinga, *Waning*, p. 160. As with the physiognomy of the divine mentioned earlier in the context of Judaism, there is a great deal of suggestive evidence for the connection between physiognomy and the Incarnation. One relevant scriptural passage is 2 Corinthians 5. 16: 'Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more'. For a description of the complexion of the Virgin Mary see Gabriel de Barletta, *Sermones celeberrimi* (Venice, 1571), p. 173. Christ's physical appearance was certainly debated in early modern England. See Edmund Gurney, *Toward the Vindication of the Second Commandment* (1639), pp. 128-129; J. Vicars, *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness, of Having or Making the Picture of Christ's Humanity* (1641), pp. 70-73. *BL* Ms Egerton 843, is a Latin physiognomical treatise which also contains the above mentioned physical description of Christ used by Osimo (fol. 37v-38r). Thanks to Dr. Zeigler

Two centuries later, in 1653, Richard Baxter wrote:

> Meditation hath a large field to walk in, and hath as many objets to work upon, as there are matters, and lines, and words in the Scripture, as there are known Creatures in the whole Creation.[110]

If these aforementioned physiognomical devotional practices ever did actually occur, they were most likely even more marginal than the contemporary practice of checking one's breasts and testicles for cancerous lumps. Indeed, to understand the marginal nature of the groups of clerics who may have performed this physiognomical *inspectio sapiens* with the aid of a looking-glass,[111] as well as to have an insight into the strength of the aversion to it which many early modern contemporaries no doubt felt, it might best be compared with the practice encouraged by some contemporary feminist groups of examining one's own vagina with the aid of a vaginal speculum. (See **Plates XXXV-XXXVI**).

One can discern other possible links between such physiognomical prayers and other religious writings and practices. The earliest stages of St. Bonaventura's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, for example, were metaphorically similar to the inner journey one performed using the most sophisticated and self-reflective form of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. Indeed, it is this text which might provide the explanation for the existence of a physiognomical manuscript amongst a collection of voyages to the Holy Land entitled *Liber Itinerarium* owned by Simon of Bouzon, the late thirteenth-century Abbot of Norwich.[112] Some argue that *Piers Plowman* is similar in conception to Bonaventura's *Itinerarium*. It too contains similar metaphorical parallels with the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens*. Indeed, at one point when Piers

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for bringing my attention to this manuscript. Once again this idea looks forward to Jacob Boehme's notion of the way to Christ through meditation on the four complexions. In the eighteenth-century edition of his complete works, Boehme's discussion of Man's 'Signature' - i.e. the way in which '[Man's] inward Form is noted in the *Form of his Face' - 'wherein Man....may not only learn to know himself, but therein also he may learn to know the Essence of all Essences', has been glossed with the words '*His Look, or Physiognomy'. See *Works*, vol. IV, '*Signatura Rerum*', p. 11. See also vol. II, 'The Treatise of the Incarnation' & vol. IV, 'Of the Four Complexions'. For John Evelyn's less explicitly religious notion of the perfect temperament, *Numismata*, pp. 326ff.

[110]Cited in L. L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), p. 153.

[111]Looking at oneself in an actual mirror in a medieval monastery or convent is a practice which one can only assume was not encouraged. There is nothing in any of the Rules so far examined which expressly forbade this practice. For a late-fifteenth-century German example of a stained-glass window placed above a wash-basin showing an image of Christ' crucifixion and urging the nuns to look upon the small circles of glass as 'mirrors of conscience' see J. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (forthcoming, New York, 1998).

asks 'to know the false', Lady Church directs his attention to his body 'where he may see the interior man, out of love of self'.[113] Moreover, this sense of a spiritual perambulation is also evident in the *Kalendar of Shepherds*[114] - a text which was being printed on the same presses as numerous works from within St. Bonaventura's tradition in the printing houses of Pynson and de Worde.[115]

The number of physiognomical manuscripts which appear to have been a relatively common feature of the libraries of numerous orders at least create the possibility for the occurrence of such physiognomical practices.[116] Hildegard von Hurnheim's transcription of the *Secretum* actually addresses readers and listeners. If one assumes from this that it may have been read out aloud in the refectory, then given what has been said about the rhetoric of these seemingly inane lists of physiognomicks, this brings us closer to a physiognomical practice performed by a group - for they may have been looking at the physiognomies of their fellow inmates in order to experience the art of physiognomating in its entirety.

Lagorio has written:

> In considering the preservation and transmission of medieval mystical texts in England before the Reformation and on the Continent after that event, one cannot overemphasize the importance of the Carthusians, the Bridgettines of Syon Abbey, and the Benedictines.

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[112]See p. 45.

[113]Vastas, *Spiritual Basis*, p. 74.

[114]*HOS* (1506), sig. Mi (v). Early modern travel literature often includes loose physiognomical descriptions of the inhabitants. See for example William Dampier, *Dampier's Voyage Around the World* (1893), p. 8 (Mosquito Indians); William Hacke, *A Collection of Original Voyages* (1699), pp. 19 & 35; Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour*, 4 vols. (1749), vol. I, p. 33 (Dutch); vol. II, p. 92 (Germans); vol. III, p. 42 (Italians); Samuel Sharp, *Letters From Italy* (1767), p. 173. It would not be surprising to find an exposition of physiognomical doctrine in a work addressed to a person about to undertake such a tour. James Howell wrote of the 'preheminence of the Eye' and how 'one's own Ocular view, and personall conversation will still finde out something new and unpointed at by any other, either in the carriage, behaviour or Genius of the people', *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell* (1650), pp. 3-4. Evelyn recommended physiognomy be taught to children the year before commencing the Grand Tour, see below, p. 214. National stereotypes are increasingly found in physiognomical treatises as one moves through the period. See, for example,Vulson (1669). It is possible that their creation was a phenomenon of the breakdown of the unity of Christendom. For the reactions of the Mexican Indians to their first sight of European physiognomies see S. Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest. The Mexican Indians and the European Renaissance* (Paris, 1992), p. 8.

[115]F. A. Gasquet, 'The Bibliography of some Devotional Books Printed by the Earliest English Printers', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII (1904), pp. 23-37. In 1548 Bishop Hooper expressed concern about the practice of physiognomy, Rev. Samuel Carr (ed.), *The Early Writings of John Hooper*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843), p. 329.

[116]See Chapter One.

Whilst direct evidence for the actual occurrence of such physiognomical devotions has yet to be found, as was pointed out in Chapter One, section Four, there were certainly two Bridgettine nuns from Syon abbey who privately possessed a physiognomical manuscript.[117]

Knowles has argued for the decline of the view of monastic life as the only secure way to salvation and the rise of a more personal approach to perfection with the breakdown of the theological synthesis.[118] It is possible that these private, more intensely physical, physiognomical self- or group-inspections/devotional practices arose in the midst of these changes. Indeed, they would appear to encapsulate the shift which Knowles argues took place. They may even have been a corrollary of the physiognomical examinations which those who wanted to be ordained had to undergo.[119] Given what is often described as the pre-Reformational discontent with the state of the Roman Church, it is possible that further inquiry might reveal this physiognomical practice to have been part of what the Reformers were attacking.[120]

The self-scrutiny encouraged by a text such as the *Kalendar* would appear to fulfil the warning of Ecclesiastes 7:

> Take heed to thy selfe, lest thou dye before thy time.

It also supports Martz's argument that 'intense concentration on the "motions" of the self is not a peculiar tendency of Puritanism'. However, at the same time, it questions his claim that both Catholic and Puritan methods of 'the art of self-knowledge' had:

> developed a subtlety of self-awareness that went far beyond the popular achievements of the Middle Ages.[121]

Having said that, the publication of Saunders' *Physiognomie* in 1653 and, three years later, the first printing of the *Kalendar of Shepherds* since 1631 (and possibly the last of the early modern period), may have been aimed at a market opened up by some Puritan desires to have evidence of their election. In 1671, Edward Bourne wrote:

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[117]See V. Lagorio, 'Problems in Middle English Mystical Prose', in A. S. G. Edwards & D. Pearsall (eds.), *Middle English Prose* (New York, 1981), pp. 129-148: p. 142.
[118]Vasta, *Spiritual Basis*, p. 21.
[119]Canon Law offered a form of physiognomical practice. See Chapter One, section IV.
[120]V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1991), p. 396. The *Kalendar of Shepherds* was certainly the subject of derision from Bishop Jewel in 1565, John Jewel, *A Replie unto Mr. Hardings Answer* (1565), XVI, vi, p. 552.

> what gives you knowledge of your sinfulness is the Grace of God which hath appeared unto you, by which, as in a Glass, you may see your selves.[122]

The problem for many was how they were to know whether or not they had this grace of God in the first place. Only a closer examination of Puritan literature and correspondence from this perspective would reveal the extent to which physiognomy, if at all, had a role to play in their quest for the certainty of salvation.[123]

There were people who claimed they could do this for others. John Falconer, for example, wrote of the Jacobean sectary, John Traske:

> Yea he is able, as I have heard, by Physiognomy, to make certaine ghesses whether particular persons shal be damned or saved.[124]

Sir George MacKenzie's attacks on some of the more extreme sort of religious sects which were forming after the Civil War were carried out in humoral terms which, at that time, was the fashionable physiologically determinate way of describing people. Thus the first type of sect were choleric, the second type melancholic. However, even more significant were the third, whose 'enthusiastick or inspired Theology' could not only predict the future outcome of events:

> These could likewise cast the horoscope of our salvation; and invented a species of Physiognomy, whereby they could tell if the marks of Grace dwelt upon a face, and if one had the traicts of an elect Childe of God. After this fashion did they prophesie their own fancies, and call that Providence only which made for them.[125]

Henry More had suggested this idea nearly a decade earlier:

> it is very well known that this [Melancholy] Complexion is the most religious complexion that is....We have I think by a sufficient Induction discovered the condition and causes of this mysterious mockery of Enthusiastical love in the highest workings of it, and shown how it is but in effect a natural complexion, as very often Religious zeal in general is discovered to be.[126]

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[121]Martz, *Meditation*, p. 121.
[122]Edward Bourne, *A Looking-Glass Discovering to all People what Image they Bear* (1671). One reader has written besides this in the margin 'glas glas', see *Bodl.* Vet. A3 e. 1801, p.4.
[123]Max Weber thought that Lutheranism contrasted strongly with Calvinism 'even in the facial expressions of people', *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), pp. 126-7.
[124]Thomas, *Magic*, p. 283; [J. Falconer] *A Briefe Refutation of John Traskes Iudiacal and Novel Fancyes* (1618), p. 7. For discussions of the image of God in man's soul see Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, 1a. 93.6; 1a 93.8.
[125]Sir George Mackenzie, *Religio Stoici* (Edinburgh, 1665), p. 41.
[126]Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656), pp. 14 & 23. John Evelyn thought his mother 'well timber'd, of a browne complexion; her eyes and haire a lovely black; of constitution more inclyn'd to a religious Melancholy', E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), vol. II, p. 3.

Even after the Reformation, there are intimations of an interest in physiognomy shown by the more mainstream churches. The Jesuits were apparently renowned throughout Europe for having embraced the physiognomical gaze.[127] It is this practice which Samuel Butler was satirising in *Hudibras*. Butler attacked the Synods, calling them the 'Whelps of th'Inquisition':

> Whose bus'ness is, by cunning sleight,
> To cast a figure for mens Light:
> To find in lines of beard, and face,
> The Physiognomy of Grace;
> And by the sound, and twang of Nose,
> If all be sound within disclose,
> Free from a crack, or flaw of sinning,
> As men try Pipkins by the ringing.[128]

Therefore, this link between physiognomy and natural theology was not forged by the eighteenth-century physiognomical writings of Lavater and Pernetti.[129] Even as one begins to find the more playful attitudes towards physiognomy outlined in Chapter Four, the religious element, although not so central, is still discernable. In *The True Fortune Teller* one finds traces of theosophy in its claim that it is "the great Creator" who has 'Ingraven...Misterious Characters upon every Creature; whereby those, whose understandings are assisted by Divine Knowledge, may unfold future things';[130] *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece* speaks of the divine spark in the soul and encapsulates its understanding and presentation of generation and conception within that provided by the book of Job as well as the Psalms.[131] Even when, in the nineteenth century, physiognomy was eclipsed by Gall and Spurzheim's phrenology, there were some adherents who managed to reconcile phrenology with God, and in doing so incorporated some physiognomy. As one proponent wrote:

> Prominency and perpendicularity of the forehead are the signs of God, the indication of knowledge and the capacity to acquire.[132]

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[127]See P. Redondi, *Galileo Heretic* (1989), p. 5; Francis Bacon 'Of Cunning', *Essays* (1972), p. 68.
[128]Samuel Butler, *Hudibras* (1663), p. 117.
[129]For an account of this connection in early-nineteenth-century concerns with physiognomy see L. Jordanova, 'The Art and Science of Seeing in Medicine: Physiognomy 1780-1820', in W. F. Bynum & R. Porter (eds.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 122-133.
[130]*TFT* (1686), sig. B.
[131]*ACM* (1764), p. vi.
[132]R. Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science. Phrenology and the Organisation of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 217. This proponent of phrenology (Elizabeth

Charles Bell's (1774-1842) antithetical stance towards the materialism and determinism underlying phrenology was in part based on a natural theology and a concept of human expression being a language created by God. Jordanova's suggestion that Bell's attitude of 'endowing the representation of the human body with devotional significance implies that art is a religiously-inspired endeavour, and can only be fully developed with the help of medicine', could just as easily be applied to the late-fourteenth-century mystical art of physiognomating.[133]

2. 4 *Physiognomy and Medicine: The physiognomy of the patient*

In the early modern period, religion and medicine were two sides of the same coin. Yet just as the interpentration of physiognomating and religion has hitherto been overlooked, so has the role of physiognomy in early modern medical practice. Recent studies of medicine in early modern Europe in general as well as the Universities of Wittenburg, Montpellier, Basel and Padua make no mention of physiognomy.[134] Yet, as was mentioned in the previous section, Bacon said that the physiognomical question of 'Impression', i.e.:

> how, and how far the humours and affects of the body do alter or work upon the mind.[135]

had been 'inquired and considered' as a branch of medicine.[136] In fact, it would appear that, despite the lack of explicit claims, most diagnostic and prognostic processes

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Sharples) even regarded it as a way of improving Owenism.

[133]L. Jordanova, 'The Representation of the Human Body: Art and Medicine in the work of Charles Bell', in B. Allen (ed.), *Towards a Modern Art World* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 79-94: p. 86.

[134]Series of papers delivered at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford, Trinity term, 1997. Recent scholarship on anatomy has overlooked its relationship to physiognomy, and this despite the fact that the two are often found side by side. Such is the case in Girolamo de Manfredi, *Liber de homine* (Bologna, 1474); Magnus Hundt, *Antropologium de hominis dignitate, natura et proprietatibus* (Leipzig, 1501); Clemens Timplerus, *Opticae systema*, (Hanover, 1617), Jean Riolan, *Opuscula Anatomica Nova* (Paris, 1649). They are part of an anatomical tradition stretching back at least as far as the Dominican scholastic Albertus Magnus, if not to Aristotle himself, and one which, if the story about Vesalius burning a physiognomical treatise is true, he may have consciously been trying to end. For the physiognomy of the male and female genitalia see Hundt, *Antropologium*, sigs. Kii-Kiv(v) and Siii-Tiii(v). An example of the way in which small physiognomical 'viruses' were lodged in English anatomical works is Thomas Vicary's *The English-Mans Treasure* (1633): 'And Aristotle sayth, that over-measurable Browes betokeneth an envious man. Also high browes and thicke, betokeneth hardinesse: and browes with little haire betokeneth cowardise: and meanly, signifieth gentleness of heart' (p. 20). Much the same could be said about Aristotle's widely read *Problemata*.

[135]Bacon, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 368. Bacon felt that if medicine was 'destituted and foresaken by natural

incorporated some form of physiognomating. Hippocrates was often put forward as the founder of the art of physiognomy. The corpus of works under his name as well as much later medical literature contains many references to its use in the prognosis of diseases.[137] As was shown in Chapter Three, the early modern English physiognomical treatises interwove complexion theory with medicine, astrology and physiognomy to such an extent that the working out of a person's complexion could be seen as physiognomy. Indeed, put like that, the scale of the subject takes on much larger proportions than the small corpus of treatises examined here; all the more so given that there were numerous texts which encouraged this form of physiognomical medical self-examination. James Manning recommended his *Complexions Castle* (Cambridge, 1604):

> as well in the time of pestilence, as other times, out of the which you my learne your complexion, disease...remedy.[138]

Some contained elements of the same conceptual framework of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*. The title-page of Lemnius's *Touchstone of Complexions* (1633) carried the phrase 'Nosce teipsum'. On page 9 he implored the reader:

> Let therefore every man take surveigh of himselfe, and search out what his nature most desireth, in what state his body standeth, what thing it is that he feeleth himself to be holpen, and what to be offended withall. And if he finde the plight and state of his body to be in equability and perfect temperateness, it shall be good to cherish and preserve it with his life.[139]

The title-page of Walkington's text was similar. Chapter one dealt with 'Self-knowledge', whilst Chapter Three discussed:

> Whether the internall faculty may be knowne by the externall physiognomie.[140]

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philosophy, it is not much better than an empirical practice', *Works*, vol. III, p. 367.

[136]Jacques Fontaine, a physician from Aix published *Phisiognomia Aristotelis* (Paris, 1611). However, it simply provides a physiological explanation for the aphorisms of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*. It was later plagiarised by Harmannus Follinus, *Speculum naturae humanae* (Cologne 1649).

[137]See G. Misener, Loxus, Physician and Physiognomist', *Classical Philology*, vol. XVIII (1923), pp. 1-22.

[138]See also John Fage, *Speculum Aegrotorum. The Sicke Mens Glasse* (1606), especially part 2.

[139]The reference to 'perfect temperateness' returns us once again to the above mentioned issue of the imitation of Christ and Christian kenosis.

[140]Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humours....* (1607). The extremely long title which this work bears raises the issue of the physiognomical element in early modern book-titles alluded to by Samuel Butler in the epigraph to the Introduction to this thesis.

Walkington offers a common conclusion:

> he may easily see by them what a man is at the first glaunce, his inward vertues by his outward gifts,

adding the proviso:

> That always to see is not to know.[141]

Therefore, the question has to be refined. To what extent in early modern England was the art of physiognomating used in the way described in Chapter Four to help the patient or the doctor decide upon the patient's fundamental disposition in order then to decide upon the appropriate form of treatment?[142]

There were of course numerous forms of medicine which were much more central and well-established and widely practised with which physiognomy in the sense understood here had to compete.[143] Apart from the mainstream humanist Galenic medicine, there was the onslaught from Paracelsianism which Charles Webster has suggested took hold from the 1550s onwards.[144] Yet Paracelsus sometimes used the term physiognomy in a very broad way:

> Physiognomy is the art that indicates the essential things that are hidden inside. And not only with human beings, but also the physiognomy of growing things. It is able to recognise the inner things judging from the outer ones.[145]

In this sense everything had a physiognomy, and such a use is indicative of the doctrine of signatures. When restricted to human beings, Paracelsus's emphasis is on distinguishing between the normal physiognomy and the physiognomy of the illness - in the sense of its colour and shape:

> There is nothing external which is not a sign of the internal. If black hair grows, this indicates a person with such a nature. If there is red hair then it indicates that....Now there is nothing among the hidden things in nature, in the Arcanis and in all properties, which does not have its own body. The man who likes to steal has his own body which is different from the body of the man who does not like to steal.....You all see that the diseases have their physiognomy, particular colours and a particular form with all species of illnesses....Every illness gives a new form or a

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[141]Walkington, *Optick*, p. 20.
[142]On the subject of the similarity of taking the pulse and reading the palm see I. Gaskell, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1982), pp. 266-267 (& plates 48-50).
[143]See M. MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 175, fn. 8.
[144]Charles Webster, 'Alchemical Medicine', p. 334.
[145]Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. K. Sudhoff, 7 vols. (Munich, 1923-31), vol. II, p. 293.

> different form to the body, apart from the form which is determined by the sperm....The form and colours evolve by themselves and not from the spermatic colours and bodies, but from those of the ill person; therefore it is appropriate to get to know it from its place. Because from the form you recognise the man and other things from the colour the black and the German and such things. With not less knowledge, you should understand all physiognomical points which the whole profession entails.[146]

Elsewhere he qualified this, suggesting that chiromancy dealt with the hands, feet, veins, lines and wrinkles, *habitus* with the shape of the whole body and physiognomy with the face and the head.[147] In his treatise on urines and pulses, Paracelsus added a short section entitled *De physionomia medica*. It consists of nothing more than a few signs of illnesses and death, particularly in the eyes and the face. [148] However, none of this is physiognomy in the sense meant here.[149] In 1651 Noah Biggs trumpeted the virtues of chemical medicine:

> For Physick, *to speak to be understood of them, who know not what they speak themselves*, or medicine, the *essence* of the thing, is not *externe* to be seen with *Physiognomisticall* corporall eyes, but *interne*, and to be sensibly perceiv'd by the eye of the *Intellect*.[150]

However, this is not a specific attack upon the use of physiognomy by physicians in the sense of the term which is of present concern.

Throughout the period, one can find a variety of different medical approaches which do not appear to have incorporated physiognomy. The work of post-Restoration quacks such as Thomas Saffold and John Case seems to have been no different to that of the eclectic Richard Napier who does not appear to have used physiognomy.[151] Uroscopy was the antithesis of physiognomy in that it encouraged 'diagnosis at a distance'.[152] This physiognomical aspect of diagnosis, if it were to be carried out well, would require time. As Porter has shown, patients did not receive such individual tailoring from a quack. Consultations were often perfunctory and many customers were not even seen at all,

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[146]Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Paracelsus Werke*, ed. W. E. Peuckert, 5 vols. (1965), vol. IV, pp. 230-231.

[147]Sudhoff, *Werke*, vol. V, p. 476.

[148]Paracelsus, *De urinarum ac pulsum iudiciis* (Cologne, 1568), pp. 44-46. The Bodleian copy was owned by Thomas Knyvett. *Bodl.* G. Pamph 2170 (1).

[149]And this despite the fact that Paracelsus's discussion of the mirror relationship between macrocosm/microcosm parallels that of John Dee discussed earlier, see Vickers, 'Analogy', p. 127.

[150]Noah Biggs, *Chymiatrophilos. Mataeotechnia Medicinae Praxeos. The Vanity of the Craft of Physick: or a New Dispensatory* (1651), c. 98, p. 58.

[151]However, Napier's opinion of one of his patients that 'pride and covetousness had made her frantic' is cast in the language of the *inspectio prudens* and thus may have been derived physiognomically, McDonald, *Bedlam*, p. 174.

[152]R. Porter, *Health for Sale. Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester, 1989), p. 129.

buying their cures through retailers. [153] To be more certain of one's physiognomical diagnosis, one would have to have known the patient a long time or to have observed the patient on a consistent and regular basis in order to be sure one had an idea of the patient's character as opposed to what might be a transitory mood or a sign of illness in the first place. The more sophisticated the analysis, the more time it would take and the more expensive it would be.

Thomas Wright's position on the attainment of this form of self-knowledge or the way in which a physician was to come to know the patient is ambiguous. He states that the physician:

> knowing by what Passion the maladie was caused, may well inferre what humour aboundeth, and consequently what ought to be purged, what remedy to be applied; and after, how it may be prevented.[154]

Does this mean physiognomy was used to discern the passion? Whilst Wright stated that 'thoughts and speech' were just as revealing of one's 'own Inclination, and to what Passions [one's] soule most bendeth', as were the admonishments of a friend or an enemy, or the 'words, gestures and actions' of other people:[155]

> it cannot bee doubted of, but that the passions of our minde worke divers effects in our faces.[156]

Although:

> he, that by externall phisiognomy and operations, will divine what lyeth hidden in the heart, may rather conceive an Image of that affection that doth raigne in the minde, then a perfite and resolute knowledge

of what lies 'hidden in the heart', they do provide an:

> Image of the affection that doth raigne in the minde.[157]

This was of some use, despite the fact that to view other passions one:

> must dwell in an other soile than the face....we should wade deeper into the soule.[158]

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[153]Porter, *Quackery*, p. 134.
[154]Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1620), p. 4.
[155]Wright, *Passions*, pp. 78-80.
[156]Wright, *Passions*, p. 26.
[157]Wright, *Passions*, p. 27.
[158]Wright, *Passions*, p. 30.

At this point he might be taken to be describing the shift from the physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* to a deeper more meditative, psychoanalytical kind which does not include the body in the process.[159] He certainly has a conception of a 'prudence' to be used in the observance of the 'passions' for self-knowledge and a 'prudence in....policy' for knowledge of others.[160] Indeed, when speaking of the use of the voice Wright states:

> Much more might be said of this subject, but for that it concerneth specially physiognomie, and the naturall constitution of the organs and humours of the bodie....I will omit it.[161]

Finally, he suggests:

> a good way to know the inclinations of the minde, is like the manner we come by the knowledge of the inclinations of our bodies, that is, by long experience.[162]

Whilst this is a claim often made by proponents of physiognomy, Wright does not give any firm idea of the systematic use of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* as described in Chapter Four.

There is evidence for its use in Continental medical practices. Francisco Valles (b. Covarrubia, 1524, d. Burgos 1592), was a Spanish humanist who studied medicine at Alçala and in 1572 was appointed physician to Phillip II. He wrote numerous medical works. One of them, his *Libros Hippocratis de Moribus popularibus* (Cologne, 1588) has a very clear discussion to the effect that one had to find out a person's temperament before deciding upon the nature of the illness and its treatment: *physiognomoniam utilem esse ad curationes*.[163]

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[159]Once again, this might be seen as heading towards Boehme's conception of the contemplation of the four complexions. See above.

[160]Wright, *Passions*, p. 89.

[161]Wright, *Passions*, p. 133. For all physiognomical aphorisms on the voice see appendix.

[162]Wright, *Passions*, pp. 80-81. Not all conceptions of *nosce teipsum* were so physiognomical. Joannes (Carthusian monk of Venice), *Opus nosce te* (Venice, 1481), see sigs. Aviii-Aviii(v); Sir John Davies, *Nosce teipsum* (1619); Daniel Dyke, *Nosce te ipsum* (1660); G. P. Pinamonte, *Knowledge of Ones Self* (1724); Jonathan Swift, *The Difficulty of Knowing Oneself* (1744).

[163]'That physiognomy is useful for cures', Francisco Vallesius, *Libros Hippocratis de morbis popularibus* (Cologne, 1588), p. 694. Physiognomy was certainly familiar in medieval Spain. The Zohar, the theosophic kabbalah which contained physiognomy, was composed in Castille in the latter part of the thirteenth century. See Wolfson, *Speculum*, p. 11. The *Secretum secretorum* had a wide audience in Spain from the early thirteenth century onwards. There is also prima facie evidence that physiognomy was used by French physicians. In 1578, Pierre Nodé, a minim friar, in a passage denouncing 'Les Empiriques Medecins, les Urinaires, ou Phisionomiastres, les Pronosticqueurs, & Almanatistes suspects en Sorcellerie' wrote that sorcery: 'has no small affinity with the disciplines of medicine and astrology, to such an extent that it makes one fear that there are those, even in these very

Thus far, despite the prominence of a humanistic Galenic medicine in England, at least up until the Baconian reforms began to take root, virtually no firm explicit evidence for the form of physiognomical practice suggested by Valles has been found for English physicians. There are however some tantalising intimations. For one unknown sixteenth-century writer, in words written in a physiognomical treatise and reminiscent of self-physiognomation, "phisik":

> es noght elles bot obstynens, and conquest of foule couetus lustes....Neuertheles, si then I beheld and knewe me schapli to these thunges filthy and reprouvable, I ordeyned my soule kyng above my body, and so withdrewe my body fro thise thynges and I ouercome it in wi[z?]holdyng of my foule luste.[164]

The interaction between physiognomy and medicine can be seen in a 1666 edition of Indagine owned by a "John Key" in 1685. On the inside of the front cover, in what might be an earlier hand, the remains of a remedy for an infliction of the eyes has been written:

> Occulius indo
> mixt with stor[???]
> & monke.

Such is the nature of the evidence that it would appear that physiognomy is being used but, due to its tarnished intellectual reputation, few physicians explicitly claimed it as a part of their arsenal of diagnosis. Richard Saunders, himself a practising physician, claimed physiognomy as:

> a Science very necessary for Ministers and Physitians, in their visitation of the sick, that by their face and hands they may discover their condition.[165]

Yet if his book *The Astrological Judgement of Physick* is anything to go by, he does not appear to have incorporated it into his own practice.

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times, imbued with this magic, which by only the inspection of urines, or of physiognomies, they judge, without listening to the patients', Pierre Nodé, *Declamation contre l'erreur execrable des maleficiers* (Paris, 1578), ch. 10 (pagination erratic). However, this may simply be polemic. Nonetheless, just as some physicians used the term 'physiognomicks' in England, so the *Encyclopédie* notes that 'phisionomique' was a term used by some physicians and naturalists 'pour exprimer les signes que l'on tire du maintien ou de la contenance, à fin de juger de l'état, de la disposition, &c. du corps & de l'esprit', vol. XII, pp. 538-539. Hartlib noted one claim by a German writer that 'Physiognomia Chiromantia hee counted in a manner the fac totum in Medicina. There are some admirably skilled in this Art. Besides that it is the main Ars Vitae wherby the distempers and humors of men may presently bee discovered', *Hartlib Papers*, 31/22/12a.

[164]BL, MS Sloane 213, f. 118v.

The famous eighteenth century mountebank and ophthalmologist Chevalier (John) Taylor is one of the few physicians to have proclaimed loudly a physiognomical expertise. He offered his services informally as a character reader:

> though it is difficult for us to conceive how that which is not matter affects that which is....it is agreed by all that the eye is the index of the heart, and that there are painted the passions of the soul. But to bring this knowledge into rule, so as to determine by the eye, the then present business of the mind, is a study that requires much knowledge of human life, and what I have taken more pains to bring to a certainty, than perhaps any who lived before me.....There is scarce a crowned head or sovereign prince in all Europe, but before whom I have occasionally, in their own palaces, held discourses on this subject.[166]

However, this is still a far cry from showing how he actually incorporated it into his medical practice.

Until the notebooks of physicians and astrologers have been checked more rigorously and systematically, the argument about the tacit use of physiognomy in many early modern medical practices must remain unresolved. However, the above suggests very strongly that it is an argument which has to be addressed. If it was a part of a physician's practice then that physician is likely to have been an advocate of humanistic Galenism, most probably one trained abroad in Spain, or perhaps Basel, Padua or Bologna. Similarly, it is just as likely to have been practised by one of the cunning men mentioned by Harvey as being dependent upon the texts in this series, or the wise women whom it is known were numbered amongst the empirics and irregulars operating at the village level, or, in the earlier part of the period, a mendicant friar.[167]

Finaly, all of the above assumes that medicine only happens when a physician meets a patient. As Roy Porter has stressed, in the Tudor and Stuart period, disease was seen as personal and internal, brought on by a faulty lifestyle, and health was ultimately 'a matter of personal responsibility'.[168] Thus it is still possible that the lengthy, more carefully weighed physiognomical analysis may have been carried out by the patients themselves who then subsequently consulted with and advised the doctor accordingly.[169]

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[165]Saunders (1671), sig. a2.
[166]Porter, *Quackery*, p. 78.
[167]R. Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860* (2nd edition, 1993), p. 14.
[168]Porter, *Disease*, p. 20.
[169]It remains possible that frequent physiognomical examination was prescribed as a part of the treatment. The practice of physicians examining and treating themselves is another area which would

2. 5 *Physiognomy and Law: The physiognomy of the accused*

Early modern legal training and education is another area in which the role of physiognomating has been hitherto neglected.[170] Notwithstanding, there is evidence to suggest that physiognomy had a role to play in early modern courts of Law.[171] One very important aspect of legal training was the development of oratorical skills, which included matching the right word and sound with the right facial expression and gesture. Early modern lawyers would have been familiar with Cicero's opinion on the subject:

> Every motion of the soul has its natural appearance, voice and gesture; and the entire body of a man, all his facial and vocal expressions, like the strings of a harp, sound just as the soul's motion strikes them.[172]

Apart from this concern with matching their own physiognomy to their speech, they could always bring their rhetorical skills to bear upon the physiognomy of the defendant in order to sway the jury. Epideictic rhetoric (of which physiognomical rhetoric is one part) was certainly taught at both the Universities and the Inn of Chancery and the Inn of Court.[173] It is not known whether any physiognomical treatises were used on such courses. However Cicero's *Pro Quinto Roscio* (7,20) offered students one precedent. In his attack on Fannius Chaerea, Cicero asks the court:

> Do not the head itself, and those clean shaven eyebrows seem to reek of malice and proclaim craftiness aloud ? If one can make a guess from the silent form of a man's body, does not Fannius seem to be composed entirely of fraud, trickery, and lies from the tips of his fingers to the top of his head ? He always has his head and eyebrows shaved, that he may not be accused of having a single hair of an honorable man on him. Roscius has constantly portrayed him brilliantly on the stage - and yet he is not adequately rewarded with gratitude in return for his kindness.[174]

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benefit from futher analysis.

[170]R. J. Schoeck, 'Rhetoric and Law in Sixteenth-Century England', *Studies in Philology*, 50 (1953), pp. 110-127: p. 110; L. A. Knafla, 'The Law Studies of an Elizabethan Student', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32 (1969), pp. 221-240: p. 222.

[171]For the instantly recognisable physiognomy of early modern lawyers see W. Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers* (Oxford, 1986), p. 68.

[172]*De oratore*, 3. 216.

[173]R. J. Schoeck, 'Lawyers and Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century England' in J. J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 274-291: p. 275.

[174]Cited in E. C. Evans, 'Physiognomy in the Ancient World', *TAPS* (1969), p. 43.

Similar physiognomical rhetorical appeals flash up in the more fictional courts of the literature of the period. In Richard Brome's *The Love-Sick Court* (1659), although Philocles commits suicide, Disanius rushes in claiming:

> I can read guilty lines /Palpably on this villans physnomy.[175]

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Leonato, having been informed of the death of his daughter rushes in and exclaims:

> Which is the villain? Let me see his eyes
> That when I note another man like him
> I may avoid him. Which of these is he?[176]

When Claudio attempts to condemn Beatrice it is her physical appearance that he attacks;[177] when Gloucester is on trial before the King, it is the physiognomies of Beaufort and Suffolk which he attacks.[178] It is possible that such passages are based on observation of actual practice.[179] Although no direct evidence for such physiognomical attacks being employed in actual courts has yet been found, it is significant that the lawyer and scholar William Lambarde (1536-1601) employed Cicero's attack on Fannius word for word in his berating of the Monks of Boxeley.[180]

Nor does the cutting of Canon Law ties with Rome and the anti-Aristotelianism that ensued in the Reformation, which encouraged a turn in legal training to Ramist logic, seem to have ended these physiognomical practices.[181] Abrahaum Fraunce's Ramist *Lawyers Logick* was published in 1588. Jardine has argued that with this work he aligned himself 'with the "any good argument is admissible" school' by which the

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[175]V,i.

[176]*Much Ado About Nothing*, 5,1,251-253. This is an example of the way in which a person could develop his or her own private physiognomical tables independent of the printed tradition. See below for Aubrey's suggestion that people should record such physiognomical observations in notebooks. Many physiognomical aphorisms/comments alongside representations of faces found in both early modern and medieval manuscripts can no doubt be explained in this way.

[177]*Much Ado*, 2,1,125.

[178]*Henry the Sixth Part Two*, 3,1,154-155; see also 3,1,98-100; *Measure for Measure* 2,1 141ff.

[179]A. Wigfall Green talks of the birth of a specific type of literature in this environment of the Inns, *The Inns of Court and Early Modern English Drama* (New Haven, 1931), p. 18.

[180]'You would not take them to be so white within, as their outward Robe pretended, but would rather note them, with *Hic niger est*, or take them to be wholy compounded, *ex fraude & fallaciis, ab imis unguibus ad verticem summum*: of fraude and deceipt, from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the heade...*Et ideo* (as Cicero said of Fannius) *semper esse capitibus rasis, ne pilum unum boni viri habere videantur*: and that therefore they did weare shaven crownes, that they might seeme not to have so much as one haire left of an honest man', William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent* , ed. R. Church (1970), p. 212.

[181]Schoeck, 'Lawyers', p. 275.

organon would be reoriented 'to include the kinds of ad-hoc and occasional arguments appropriate to oratory and the law courts'.[182] Interestingly, Fraunce makes specific reference to particular physiognomical aphorisms, citing the famous aphorism from Martial, which one often finds in treatises on physiognomy, and here I cite Richard Saunders's 1653 translation:

> Squint-ey'd, club foot, red hair, and swarthy face,
> A wonder Zoylus! if the least of grace.[183]

In Newcastle, in 1649, a Lt. Colonel Hobson claimed he 'knew women, whether they were witches or no by their looks'.[184] Up until the mid-twentieth century, the expert opinion of the physiognomer was used in Muslim courts as evidence of whether the witness was reliable or not.[185] However, no evidence for an official and consistent use of a physiognomer in early modern English courts has yet been found.[186]

Nonetheless, that physiognomy in a wider Baconian sense appears to have been part of the judicial process in early modern England is suggested by Pulton's comments on the issue of whether to allow the defendant to have the assistance of counsel in the presentation of his or her case (apart from when a point of law arose upon the evidence). Poulton gave a Baconian physiognomical reason for the party conducting his or her own defence:

> peradventure his conscience will prick him to utter the truth, or his countenance or gesture will show some tokens thereof.[187]

The same line of thought might explain why, when Sir Henry Wotton had his Papal audience, the Papal Secretaries not only wrote down every word he spoke, they also

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[182]L. Jardine in C. B. Schmitt & Q. Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), p.190.
[183]Abraham Fraunce, *The Lawyers Logicke* (1588), fol. 43v; Saunders (1671), p. 164.
[184]R. H. Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft & Demonology* (1959), p. 137.
[185]B. Messick, *The Calligraphic State* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 177. Cf. C. Herrup, *The Common Peace* (Cambridge, 1986).
[186]Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that metoposcopists were in danger of being seen as witches and thus actually put on trial. In a 1626 Virginia witchcraft trial, Rebecka Graye swore 'that good wief Wright did tell her this deponent That by one token which this deponent had in her forehed she should burye her Husbande', H. R. MacIlwaine (ed.), *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, VA, 1924), pp. 111-112.
[187]J. H. Baker, 'Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550-1800', in J. Cockburn (ed.), *Crime in England 1550-1800* (1977), pp. 15-42: p. 36.

recorded every gesture and countenance he made as he spoke.[188] It is this practice which may be the basis of the literary counterparts. When Hermione is put on trial by her husband Leontes, accused of having committed adultery with Polixenes King of Bohemia, she opens her defence:

> if powers divine
> Behold our human actions - as they do -
> I doubt not then but innocence shall make
> False accusation blush, and tyranny
> Tremble at patience.[189]

With a classical authority in Ovid[190] and a scriptural authority in Isaiah 3, 9 for such a practice,[191] it was not until 1695 that the rule to which Pulton was referring was relaxed.[192]Yet, the influence of the physical appearance of the participants upon the judge and jury, though both unquantifiable and informal, is still today considered to be very important.[193]

2. 6 *Physiognomy and Education: Towards a universal language*

Physiognomy also played a role in more general forms of education. The human body certainly played a direct role in the fostering of literacy in early modern society. Many early modern foreign language textbooks begin with the words for the human body.[194] Significantly, physiognomical texts were sometimes trumpeted as a way of learning the ABC of the body.[195] Many collection of adages contained physiognomical proverbs.[196] Although Horman's aforementioned popular schoolbook had long since

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[188]Wotton, *Reliquiae*, p. Ambassadorial correspondence is a rich source for physiognomical inquiry. See B St.G MS 1038 which recommends physiognomy for this purpose: 'L'on si trouvera employe comme les Ambassadours' (fol 2r); *CSP* October 27th, 1552; Guy Miège, *A Relation of the Three Embassies...in the years 1663 & 1664* (1669).

[189]*The Winter's Tale*, 3,2,27-30.

[190] 'How difficult it is not to produce the crime on the face' ['Heu quam difficile est, crimen non prodere vultu'], cited in Saunders, (1671), sig. a2.

[191]'The shew of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not'.

[192]J. H. Baker, 'Criminal Courts', p. 36.

[193]Apart from the obvious religious overtones, Lavater's physiognomy is basically an exercise in this form of physiognomical rhetoric, only with images put before the readers of the public sphere rather than the judges and jury of the early modern courtroom.

[194]The French Princess in Shakespeare's *Henry V* does exactly this, 3, 4, ll. 4ff, as did Jacques Cartier when recording the American Indian's language, H. P. Biggor (ed.), *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Ottawa, 1924), pp. 80-81, 241-246, 307-311.

[195]*AL*, p. 52.

[196]See for example, Danielis Arnoldi, *Sententiae proverbiales* (Cologne, 1675): 'Crispi capilli crispi

warned children against the impieties of physiognomers, many such schoolbooks often used proverbs in order to amuse the children whilst teaching them. Whilst only a detailed search of this literature could reveal the use of some of the physiognomical proverbs,[197] the graffiti found on the extant copies of many physiognomical treatises has already suggested children were encouraged to read and learn physiognomy off by heart. Whilst much have this may have taken place in the home, to what extent can it be said that physiognomy was on the syllabus in early modern schools?

This is a huge area which calls out for further investigation. Milton thought that as part of the course of natural philosophy:

> might be read to them....the institution of Physick; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity.[198]

Samuel Hartlib noted:

> that Boyes and Girles could soone be brought to understand the whole course of Physick by being taught the Planets their signatures comparing it with other sensual signatures of the Body - as likewise to know Physiognomie, Chiromancie etc.[199]

John Aubrey had plans to set up a school in post-Restoration England with a syllabus which would have included physiognomy. In his writings on education, under 'Ethics', Aubrey included 'Moral knowledge. The basis of religion, law and politics. The passions. Physiognomy. The humours':

> Let 'em make observations themselves of *mores hominum*. It may be said that that is as old as Homer, but the application of it to youths (for the making it become habitual to them so early) is as well now as useful. Wherefore, I would have 'em read mankind daily, as well as books, and to insert their observations *in adversariis* in a pocket note book.[200]

Citing approvingly the first Earl of Salisbury's dictum 'everyman you meet, believe him to be the greatest knave in nature, but do not tell him so, for then he will be angry with you', Aubrey added:

> But it is the greatest providence and goodness of God to give us caution of such bad people from their countenances and aspects.[201]

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sensus' (p. 6); 'Vultus amici index' (p. 25).
[197]N. Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (1989), chapter five.
[198]John Milton, *Treatise of Education* (1644), p. 36.
[199]*Hartlib Papers*, 31/22/20b-29a [quires wrongly numbered].
[200]J. E. Stephen (ed.), *Aubrey on Education* (1972), chapter 14.
[201]Stephen, *Education*, p. 118. Aubrey also thought that comedies were 'good to open youth's

Evidence of the actuality of the *inspectio prudens* is available in the final chapter of Evelyn's treatise in the form of what he entitled 'mundane prudence'. Here he specifically mentions physiognomy:

> The observation of physiognomy will be of great use to them, of which let every one keep a physiognomical notebook [*Penus Physiognomica*] by him. It is an infallible rule to discover you the indications of pride, treachery, passions etc.; and, having this, to avoid their conversation and obviate their wicked designs.[202]

Aubrey's unfinished suggestions for the school's library mention no physiognomical text. However, elsewhere he recommends Camillo Baldi's huge commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*, possibly the most sophisticated physiognomical text of all.[203] Furthermore, he suggests that in the 7th year, when the pupils are sixteen, they should be taught Aristotle's *Physiognomy* alongside his *Logic*, *Politics* and *Ethics*. The reason for urging this he states is due to the fact that it is:

> Here he learns to make friendships which oft times continue as long as they live. Here he has a true copy for studying the passions; as likewise for physiognomy which will not fail when they are men, though then, through their cunning, they disguise it. This observation I have made myself; for they that were cheats then, are so still, or were so long as they lived - good-natured, good; bad, bad.[204]

Whether or not these theories were ever implemented is difficult to say.[205] Aubrey's friend, James Boevey, included treatises on the art of building a man and on education alongside physiognomy in his system of 'Active Philosophy'. Furthermore, both of them were connected with a school in Cheam, Surrey. Indeed, the school was in Boevey's home village. Whether or not they managed to set it up and implement their respective syllabi is still open to speculation. However, it was a school which went on

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understandings as to *mores hominum*' (p. 118).

[202]Stephen, *Education*, p. 133. Aubrey cites the first paragraph of the 'Colloquies' of Erasmus to support his case.

[203]Bodl., MS Aubrey 10, fol 47v.

[204]Stephen, *Education*, pp. 65 & 60-61. To return to the above mentioned theme of travel, Aubrey recommended that physiognomy be taught in the year prior to the Grand Tour.

[205]R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800* (1982), p. 208. Whatever the case, both plans appear to be trying to reconcile a classical education with the Lockean taste for the utility of learning. The relationship of physiognomy to early modern concerns with the nature and construction of a universal language would benefit from further study. Aubrey thought that the above-mentioned 'college notes' should be 'put into the Real Character', *Education*, p. 118.

to establish a reputation for educational innovations under the auspices of William Gilpin (1724-1804) and the Pestalozzian-influenced Charles Mayo (1792-1846).[206]

Beyond this stage of education there is a significant amount of evidence to suggest that a knowledge of physiognomy was also required at University level. On the afternoon of the first Monday after 7th July 1639, pinned to the door of St. Mary's Church in Oxford, candidates for the *in Comitia* examination in natural philosophy would have read that one William Morgan was to be the respondent to the following question:

> Whether the body is a mirror of the soul?[207]

Twelve years later in 1651, Edmund Dickinson (1624-1707),[208]two years into his M.D., was the respondent for a similar question:

> Whether the face makes known the man?[209]

For both carefully worded questions an answer in the affirmative was required.[210]

Only a handful of the questions asked of candidates *in Vesperes* or *in Comitia* before 1600 have survived, few after 1703 and none after 1733.[211] If those that have survived are anything to go by, a knowledge of physiognomy was not at all unusual for students of natural philosophy at Oxford both before 1600 and after 1700.[212] Exam questions often treated the relationship of the soul/*mores*/mind to the body.[213] Natural philosophy candidates would have been aware of the overlap between such issues and the art of physiognomy (and vice versa). Its ability to articulate the most pressing of

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[206]Henri Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss educational reformer who held the chief end of education to be the development of the faculties in natural order. For his physiognomy see H. Holman, *Pestalozzi. An Account of his Life and Work* (1908), pp. 136-140 and the frontispiece.

[207]'An corpus sit Animi speculum?', Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Q, fol. 180v.

[208]After college Dickinson set up a physician's practice on High Street in Oxford, later becoming household physician to both Charles II (who constructed an alchemical laboratory for him under the royal bedchamber) and James II. *DNB*.

[209]'An vultus monstret hominem?', Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Qa, fol. 150v.

[210]The most frequent questions I have been asked on the subject are: 'Is there anything in it [i.e. physiognomy]?', 'Can you tell someone's character from their face?' and 'What can you tell about my face?'.

[211]None of the Austin disputations have survived, nor the *quodlibet* disputations, the Fourth term disputations, nor those given during Lent, A. Clarke (ed.), *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1888-9), vol. II, part 1, p. 74 & p. 21.

[212]M. Feingold, 'The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment', in Vickers, *Mentalities*, pp. 73-94.

[213]See for example 1607, 1609, 1610, 1613, 1616 in Clark, *Register*, vol. II, part 1, p. 176-178.

intellectual developments and innovations as well as the most classical perspectives explains why so many questions came within its ambit - and perhaps why 'treatises on physiognomy' are found amongst the personal possessions of numerous students and fellows.[214]

Although the above *in Comitia* questions may have provided light relief for the examiners,[215] there is evidence for a serious question directly on physiognomy, the earliest dating from the Vespers of 10th July 1615:

> Whether one can predict with certainty from physiognomical signs? - Neg.[216]

The requirement of a negative answer says little when considered alongside the inclusion of the term 'certi', and the fact that, 56 years later in 1661, a similar question required an answer in the affirmative.[217] Nor were such questions unique to Oxford. From as early as 1604, the Cambridge baccalaureate included such physiognomical 'verses' as 'The face indicates the man', 'The eye is the mirror of nature' and 'Physiognomonical Syllogism'.[218]

These few surviving questions do not allow one to chart the English university career of physiognomy. Records of lecture courses on physiognomy equivalent to those given by Professor Camillo Baldi (ca. 1547 - 1634) at the University of Bologna in the 1630s, or those extant manuscripts of courses given in Paris around the same time have yet to be found for the English universities.[219] However, if Lewis and McConica are correct, then the regular appearance of these questions in the strongest

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[214]See above, pp. 146-147.

[215]Clark, *Register*, vol. II, part 1, p. 84. A certain physiognomical inspection also seems to have been a feature of the examination procedure. In *supplication* and *in Circuitus* the candidate was required to go bareheaded: 'the object was that Members of Congregation might see him and decide whether there were any grounds why they should oppose his grace' (p. 29).

[216]'An phisiognomiae signa aliquid certi praedicat?', Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Sa, fol. 401r. Even the first question that year was not so far removed from the subject: 'Whether the faulties of the intellect are independent of those of the body?' ['An intellectus sit facultas independens a corpore?'.]

[217] 'Whether the mores of the soul can be discerned with certainty from the signs of the body'['Mores animi certe Corporis signis dignoscantur?' (Resp. John Eldred, St. John's)], Bodl., OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg/Qb, fol. 174r.

[218]'Vultus indicat virum', 'Oculus est naturae speculum', 'Syllogismus Physiognomonicus', Bodl., G. Pamph. 1688, No. 6 (March 30th 1609), Nos. 35, & 48 (July 5th 1608).

[219]A student published Baldi's lectures on such physiognomical topics as *De humanarum propensionum ex temperamento praenotionibus tractatus, ex privatis Camilli Baldi Bononiensis philosophi sermonibus olim ab Hyppolito Scaffigliono* (Bologna 1629); *De naturali ex unguium inspectione praesagio* (Bologna, 1629). Both were published again in 1661. Baldi's *De ratione cognoscendi mores et qualitates scribentis ex ipsius epistola sive divinatione epistolari* was published in Bologna in 1664. *HMES*, vol. VIII, p. 451 & p. 453. For French Mss see Bibliography.

branch of philosophy in the Oxford Arts faculty was not the result of any early modern innovation.[220]

2. 7 *Physiognomy and Social Ideals: From choosing partners to choosing hats.*

If physiognomical doctrine was absorbed and used in the ways suggested above and in previous chapters, to what extent can it be shown to have consciously or unconsciously influenced the attitudes of people towards one another? To what extent can the ideals implicit in physiognomical theory be seen to have operated in early modern society at large? Many of the following are occasions when the question of choice is a prominent aspect of the social interaction.

Anthony Wood writes of how William Laud, whilst still President of St. John's:

> had a very great affection for [James Shirley, the future playwright], but then having a broad or large mole upon his left cheek which some esteemed a deformity, that worthy doctor would often tell him that he was an unfit person to take the sacred function upon him, and should never have his consent to do so.[221]

Here Laud was simply invoking what had long been a part of Canon Law (based on Leviticus 21, 16-24) on the physical purity of the priesthood. Any sort of blemish or physical deformity prevented a person from taking up orders. Whether one can call this physiognomy is still debatable, despite the fact that so many physiognomical texts carry material on the interpretation of moles. Nonetheless, as was pointed out, the same aversion to any sort of deformity was trumpeted in many physiognomical texts, especially those of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, one can see the same sort of principle in many other areas of society. The use of physiognomy by physicians has already been discussed. Yet it must also be remembered that certain physiognomical assumptions appear to have been used by the patient to choose the doctor. Thomas Vicary, in his *Anatomie of the bodie of Man* wrote of how:

> a Chirurgion should be chosen by his complexion, and that his complexion be very temperate, and al his members wel proportioned. For *Rasis* sayth, Whose face is not seemly, it is unpossible

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[220]In T. H. Aston (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1984-1994), vol. III, J. McConica (ed.), *The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 187 & 214. The medical faculty also asked questions which overlapped with physiognomy, for example, in 1613 'Whether the innate complexion is capable of being transformed?' ['An complexio innata possit mutari?'] - Aff., Clark, *Register*, vol. II, part 1, p. 193.

[221]Unlike most representations of Oliver Cromwell, Shirley's mole does not appear in his portrait which now hangs in Bodley.

> for him to have good manners. And Aristotle, the great Philosopher, writeth in his Epistles to the noble king Alexander (as in those Epistles more planely doth appeare) howe hee should choose al suche persons as should serue him, by the forme and shape of the face, and al other members of the body. And furthermore they say, he that is of an euill complexion, there must needes folowe like conditions. Wherefore it agreeth that a Chirurgion must be both of a good and temperate complexion, as is afore rehearsed.[222]

Like Abbots and patients, Lord Lieutenants may have made similar physiognomical choices. The period 1560-1660 has long been the arena for a debate on Michael Roberts's notion of a 'military revolution' - part of which was a new concept of strategy based on war fought 'by incomparably larger armies'.[223] These debates have tended to concentrate on the technical, strategic and even financial imperatives and innovations as the main causal factors. Only Henry Webb has pointed to the role of the actual choice of soldiers.[224] English Lieutenants were ordered to choose 'all manner of persons able'.[225] To what extent were their choices informed by physiognomy?

The standard classical authority on which most early modern works on military strategy were based was the *Instituta Rei Militaris*, by Flavius Vegetius Renatus. In choosing the soldiers one had to consider the climate, their habitat, their social group, their age as well as their physique:

> He that wyll goe about to muster men, must be verye carefull that by the countenance, by the eyes, by the sure compacting and ioyning of the lymmes, he chose them whiche may be able to perfourme the parte and dutie of souldiers. For not only in men, but also in horses and in dogges, the chiefest power is signified by many tokens.

One of the 'physiognomical' issues was whether one should prefer tallness over strength. Vegetius opted for the latter, describing the ideal physiognomy of the soldier thus:

> Let the young man.....not looke drowsely, let hym be straighte necked, broade brested, let his shoulders be well fleshte, let him haue strong fyngers, long armes, a gaunte belly, slender legges, the calfe and feete not so full of fleshe, but knitte faste with harde and stronge synowes. Fynding these tokens in a souldiour, you nead not greatly complayne for want of tall stature. For more requisite it is that souldiers be stronge and valiant, then huge and great.[226]

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[222]Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man* (1577), eds. F. J. Furnivall & P. Furnivall, EETS, Extra series, LIII (1888), pp. 13-14.

[223]Especially 1530-50 and after 1570. See R. Bonney, *The European Dynastic States 1494-1660* (Oxford, 1991), p. 346; D. Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (1995), p.27 for Roberts's claim of an increase in size in the seventeenth century.

[224]H. J. Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Wisconsin, 1965), ch. 2.

[225]G. Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century* (1923), p. 157.

[226]Flauius Vegetius Renatus, *The Foure Bookes of Martiall Policye*, trans. J. Sadler (1572), fol. 3(v). Caxton has 'the eyen & spirites were open & moueable/ that had a streyght hede a large brest/ grete sholders & wel shapen armes long and bygge & wel shapen full of synewis & drye/ brode fete &

However, whilst Machiavelli admitted the importance of physique, how the 'lustinesse of bodie and mynde' [was] 'conjectured by the composicion of the members, and of the grace of the countenance', he suggested that:

> Regarde ought to bee had aboue all thynges, to his customes, and that in hym bee honestie, and shame: otherwise, there shall bee chosen an instrumente of mischief, and a beginnyng of corrupcion.[227]

Webb has suggested that in England this choice was marked by a swing from the moral to purely military prerequisites from the 1590s.[228] Matthew Sutcliffe was certainly one. He specified three points with regard to the levying of troops and the guarding of the prince's honour and country, their bodily strength, the virtuous mind and their trade, but placed especial emphasis on the second:

> that which specially commendeth souldiers, is the vigor of the mind, and good conditions, conjectured by the visage & outward behavior, but knowen only by their conversation.[229]

It is possible that other factors influenced choice, whether regional prejudices or astrological notions.

Explicit evidence of the use of physiognomy is hard to come by. The earliest printed treatise on army recruitment, *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyualrye* (1490), was a translation by William Caxton from the French version of Christine de Pisan, based once again on Vegetius. In this work, one finds the actual term 'physiognomy' has entered Vegetius' text:

> as thauctours sayen dyuers & propre maystres were/ that by the phizonhomye of [the] yong men & by the body they knowe whiche were moost able and more propre to the discypline and teching of armes.[230]

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streyght/ but as for the height of the body made noo force', Byles, p. 35.

[227]Machiavelli, *The Art of War* ed. H. Cust, trans. P. Whitehorne (1905), p. 50. The issue was a live one. In Cambridgeshire in the 1570s, Lord North complained that there were 'few choyce and picked men, bycause the countrye dothe neither breed tall men', in L. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 91. See p. 100 for a physiognomical interpretation of 'a very tall man'.

[228]Webb, *Military Science*, p. 55.

[229]Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of Armes* (1593), p. 66.

[230]*The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyualrye*, ed. A. T. P. Byles, EETS, 189 (1937), Book I, ch. X, p. 35. I have not examined the French original. Presumably Caxton found this term in the French version. See pp. xiv-xxxvi for names of numerous early modern owners of manuscripts and printed editions of this work.

Having said all that, once again it is a question of definition. Whilst the above issues are physiognomical, they are not necessarily physiognomy in the sense of the subject found in these treatises. If the latter form of physiognomy was used, it is unlikely to have been official policy, but rather the idiosyncrasy of a particular recruiting officer. One such appears to have been a certain Frenchman named 'A. Barroux', who in 1620 wrote a treatise on physiognomy which he dedicated to his native land as part of his contribution to the war effort, and in which he advocated the utility of the art of physiognomy in the choice of officers and soldiers.[231] The same for England has yet to be found, and the issue has yet to be fully explored. Nonetheless, it has importance for arguments with regard to what one scholar has called 'the government's attempt to create a bourgeois militia',[232] as well as implications for the development of administrative relationship between the crown and the counties throughout the early modern period.[233]

It is possible that English interest in physiognomy was encouraged by the realisation of its function in the Arab world. One recent scholar has shown how physiognomy was valued in the Ottoman empire as a way of recruiting the children who would then be raised at court to become the ministerial elite.[234] As such it was a ministerial elite based on talent (and physiognomy) rather than genealogy. By 1540, Robert Wakefield, the first Regius Professor of Hebrew, was extremely interested in Arabic. By the late sixteenth the East India, Muscovy and Levant companies had developed direct diplomatic relationships with the Ottoman Porte, and physiognomical theory and practice probably passed down this channel.[235] Amongst Laud's donation of manuscripts to the Bodleian in 1635-40 there is a copy of the *Secretum*.[236] By the 1630s the interest in Arabic language, particularly the Quran, was significant. Laud had created the first chair in Arabic for Edward Pococke (1604-1691), and the Laudian statutes

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[231]B St.G, MS 1038, fol. 1r.
[232]Boynton, *Militia*, p. 108. Re this aspect of the 'military revolution' as well as English attitudes towards choosing the worst men see Eltis, *Military*, pp. 104-7.
[233]For example, in 1597 Essex sent his own officials into the counties to pick 'choice men', L. W. Henry, 'The Earl of Essex as Strategist and Military Organiser (1596-7)', *English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), pp. 363-393: p. 375. By the eighteenth century, some militia rolls record specific physical deformities, but no specific physiognomical influence is discernible. See, for example, V. A. Hartley (ed.), *Northamptonshire's Militia Lists 1777*, Northamptonshire Record Society, xxv (1973) for 'Thomas Hillyard, labourer', who 'says he has one eie a mis has fits' (p. 12.)
[234]G. A. Russell, 'Physicians at the Ottoman Court', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), pp. 243-267.
[235]G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning. The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford, 1996), p. 69.
[236]Bodl., MS Laud Or. 210 fol. 82v-101v.

stipulated that all B.A.s attend weekly Arabic lectures.[237] It might have been his own interest in Arabic that led Thomas Smith to recommend Finella's *Physiognomia Planeteria* to Hartlib.[238] Hartlib, a promoter of Oriental learning,[239] himself noted in 1648:

> Nothing will conduce to a Traveller or stranger in Turkie as the profession of the knowledge of Chiromancy and Physiognomie and the practise of Physick. By these they may come to the greatest esteeme and riches amongst them.[240]

So far, precious little evidence has been found to support blatant physiognomical practices in early modern royal courts.[241] However, there are intimations of it in Bacon's claim that one of James I's favourite sayings was:

> That indeed the Tongue spake to Mens Ears, but it was the Gesture which spake to their Eyes. Etenim lineamenta corporis animi inclinationes.

Similarly Wotton described Charles I as being more a reader of men than of books. [242] John Evelyn also suggested that Philip Herbert:

> had not only a Collection of Rare and Excellent Pictures.....but great Judgment in Painting, likewise, had so wonderful a Sagacity in diving into, and discovering the Intentions of Men by their Countenances, that he could shrewdly guess at the very secret of their Negotiation; so as King James the first made no small use of that extraordinary Talent on the first arrival of Ambassadors at Court.[243]

Another area in which one might find the art of physiognomating is the process of the raising and education of children. Proverbs 22.6 urged:

> train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.

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[237]See G. A. Russell, *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth Century England* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 5, 7, 14 & 130. For other physiognomical manuscripts in Arabic see Bodl., MS Or. 182, fol. 6v-fol. 137 (*Secretum*) & Bodl., MS Marsh 376 (Rhazes).
[238]*Hartlib Papers*, 28/1/80a.
[239]Toomer, *Arabic*, p. 191. John Dee had one Arabic manuscript which, unlike James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, he could not read (pp. 53 & 78). Both were interested in physiognomy.
[240]*Hartlib Papers*, 31/22/35b. See also 31/22/12b for his enquiry 'after those of M. Unmussig['s] acquaintance who excell in the Arts of Physiognomia, Chiromancie etc..'
[241]On November 5th, 1660, Hartlib wrote of a '[Physiognomus?]' at the Swedish Court whom the Pope wanted to kill, an Italian physician named Burrhi, who, by 'looking [one person] in the face judged [him] to bee posessed with an evil Horse-Spirit'. Burrhi had a bail of hay brought before the man who then began to eat it, *Hartlib Papers*, 15/9/7a-b.
[242]Sir Henry Wotton, *Reliquae Wottonianae* (3rd edition, 1672), p. 156.
[243]John Evelyn, *Numismata*, (1697), p. 302.

It was this which drove Aubrey's recommendation of teaching children physiognomy mentioned earlier. It was also elaborated upon in much of the puritan literature on the subject. Whilst there is no specific mention of physiognomating the child, it is easy to see how readily it may have been turned to either consciously or unconsciously.[244] To take just one example, John Downame urged parents to fit their children:

> for some honest calling according to their owne ability, and the disposition & gifts of their children.[245]

One, perhaps light-hearted, early modern example is found in a letter to Madam de Villesavin, dated 2nd October 1631, in which M. de Balzac congratulated her on the educational progress her son was making. He stated that he was looking forward to seeing her son again soon when he would:

> see the successe of my ancient predictions, and of that I have long read in his very face; so that, you may well thinke, I shall take no distast at your contentment, as well for the reputation of my skill in Physnomie and Prognosticating.[246]

If Morgan is correct in stating that amidst the Puritans there was 'a stronger theory of vocation than had existed in the pre-Reformation world' then once again this may have involved more physiognomy.[247]

A school teacher had much the same duty as the parents, but the teacher was much less informed from the very beginning about the child's nature and thus may have had to resort to an art or science which would circumvent this lack of familiarity. Did physiognomy play any part in this process of early modern streamlining? When the free grammar school at Tiverton in Devon made allowance for ten householders of Tiverton to 'make choice of the Children of such Forreyners as are of honest reputation and feare God, without reading the riche above or more than the poore', did physiognomy play a role?[248]

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[244]For a nineteenth century French version see M. Blanchet, *L'avenir physique, intellectuel et moral de l'enfant, découvert, à son arrivvée au monde, au moyen d'un procéde très simple* (Cherbourg, 1841).
[245]John Downame, *A Guide to Godlynesse* (1622), p. 148. See also William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622), p. 534; *The Office of Christian Parents* (Cambridge, 1616), p. 75.
[246]Jean Louis Guez, Seigneur de Balzac, *New Epistles by Mounseur du Balzack*, trans. Sir Richard Baker, 3 vols. (1638), vol. III, p. 19.
[247]J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reasoning, Learning and Education 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 141. For the physiognomical interface between nature and civility see Erasmus, *De civilitate morum puerillium* , trans. Robert Whytinton (1540), sigs. A3-A4.
[248]Vincent, *Grammar Schools*, p. 44.

Like the puritan literature on godly parents, Boevey's *The art of building a man* implored the tutor to 'respect the inclination of his Pupills' for:

> Different Tempers must have different professions.....let him therefore observe the power of particular Inclinations.[249]

For this form of temperamental streamlining, prudence was needed:

> Dispositions must be ordered & directed by prudence, else they will run into many mistakes, there Love where there is more reason to hate.[250]

Knowledge of their dispositions could of course be learnt from the parents:

> Let him learne from the Parents to discover the temper and disposition of his Pupil that he may the better advise them upon what course of life they should designe and dedicate their child.[251]

But the Tutor himself was required to have:

> judgment to discern the difference of Tempers.[252]

Robert Burton's *Philophaster* provides one satirical example of this practice. Stephanio asks Polipragmaticus how many years it will take to educate his son and receives the following reply:

> Be of good courage. How many dost thou wish? I behold some indications that augur a sound native ability; following his physiognomy, it is clear in this youth that he hath a high forehead, a strong Mercurial line, which, taken together with the Metoposcopy, the color of the hair, & the eye itself, indicate a good mind and an excellent memory.[253]

That this may have had a basis in reality is suggested by the following passage from the Provost of Eton. In his *Survey of Education*, Henry Wotton described it as his whole business:

> to set down before-hand certain Signatures of Hopefulness, or Characters (as I will rather call them, because that word hath gotten already some entertainment among us) whereby may be timely descried what the child will prove in probability. These Characters must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person, like stamps of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his mind.[254]

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[249]James Boevey, *The Art of Building a Man*, ed. S. H. Atkins (1966), p. 37.
[250]Boevey, *Building*, p. 53.
[251]Boevey, *Building*, p. 53.
[252]Boevey, *Building*, p. 51. See also pp. 52, 61 & 66.
[253]Robert Burton, *Philophaster* ed. & trans. P. J. Smith (Stanford, 1931), Act I sc. VI (p. 55).
[254]Wotton, *Reliquae*, pp. 77-78.

For Wotton, these characters included 'the colour of the complexion', alongside the 'structure and conformation of the limbs', as well as the 'countenance' which he describes as 'a certain spiritous resultance' from these two aspects of the physique. He then goes on to describe his ideal physiognomy.[255]

Finally, it is possible that an in-depth examination of the sources relating to early modern notions of marriage would reveal the use of certain physiognomical assumptions. With regard to the above mentioned theme of travel, Gailhard wrote of the necessity of a Gentleman 'after his Travels' turning his attention to marriage, and in choosing a partner taking into consideration not only 'the Quality [and] Age', but also 'the personal worth and temper'.[256] In the literature on marriage aimed at men one can find material relating to the physique of the ideal wife articulated through an assumption one finds in many physiognomical treatises :

> that she be of a sober and milde aspect, courteous behaviour, decent carriage, of a fixed eye, constant looke, and unaffected gate, the contrary being often-times signes of ill portent and consequence; for as the common saying is, an honest woman dwels at the signe of an honest countenance, and wilde lookes (for the most part) accompany wilde conditions.[257]

Of course much of this literature, on the contrary, advised the male eye to:

> Look more at inward goodness then at outward goods or beauty: especially at suitableness in Religion.[258]

Physiognomy was something that allowed one to do both. Indeed, if it had been absorbed at such an early age as to have become second nature, then one could not avoid doing both at the same time. The chapbooks of the mid-to-late eighteenth century usually put it forward as something that could help with the choice of partner.[259] The advice given by Capulet's matchmaking wife to Juliet on how to read Paris suggests that this sort of physiognomical examination, involved in the choice of a potential partner, was not the product only of the eighteenth century, and, although written by a male pen was not only the emanation of a male gaze:

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[255]Wotton, *Reliquae*, pp. 77-80. Unlike Canon Law, Wotton did not reject those with physical deformities: 'ordinary Imperfections and Distortions of the Body in Figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable Compensation.....all kinds of Wits and Capacities may be found under all Tinctures and Integuments' (p. 79).
[256]J. Gailhard, *Two Discourses* (1682), p. 6.
[257]William Seymar, *Marriage Asserted* (1674), p. 9.
[258]Edward Reyner, *Considerations Concerning Marriage* (1657), p. 7.
[259]For evidence that physiognomy was still being used in this way in the twentieth century see English

> Read o'er the volume of young Paris' face,
> And find delight writ there with beauty'd pen.
> Examine every married lineament,
> And see how one another lends content;
> And what obscured in this fair volume lies
> Find written in the margin of his eyes. [260]

By the eighteenth century, not only did physiognomy come to be seen as just another form of fortune-telling, it is easy to form the impression that it may have been one in which women were particularly interested and one at which some contemporaries thought women particularly adept. In the mid-eighteenth century Pernetti claimed:

> Very far be it from me to intend to exclude Women from the Knowledge of Physiognomy; nay I am apt to think, that their Minds unembarassed with the Spinosities of scholastic Sciences, are made clear and vivid, more subtle and delicate, and consquently better adapted for physiognomical Researches.[261]

It is tempting to think that as physiognomy took on the intellectual status of a curiosity it was handed over to women. Mary Wollstonecraft was certainly alarmed enough at the number of women taken in by fortune-tellers to write:

> In this metropolis a number of lurking leeches infamously gain a subsistence by practising on the credulity of women, pretending to cast nativities, to use the technical phrase; and many females who, proud of their rank and fortune, look down on the vulgar with sovereign contempt, show by this credulity that the distinction is arbitrary, and that they have not sufficiently cultivated their minds to rise above such vulgar prejudices.[262]

Citing Rousseau, Wollstonecraft also gives the impression that it was thought particularly necessary for a woman to have some form of physiognomical expertise given her position in society in the late eighteenth century:

> ought to study the mind of man thoroughly, not the mind of man in general, abstractedly, but the dispositions of those men to whom she is subject either by the laws of her country or by the force of opinion. She should learn to penetrate into their real sentiments from their conversation, their actions, their looks, and gestures. She should also have the art, by her own conversation, actions, looks, and gestures, to communicates those sentiments which are agreeable to them, without seeming to intend it. Men will argue more philosophically about the human heart; but women will read the heart of men better than they. It belongs to women -

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proto-fascist and eugenicist A. M. Ludovici's *The Choice of a Mate* (1935), pp. 162, & 215-226.

[260] *Romeo & Juliet*, I.3.1, l1182ff. Another area which would benefit from further research is the choice of employees. 'The Old Man of the Hill' in Fielding's *Tom Jones* claims 'a good Countenance is a Letter of Recommendation', cited in R. Porter, 'Making Faces: Physiognomy and Fashion in Eighteenth Century England', *Etudes Anglaises*, 38 (1985), pp. 385-396: p. 386.

[261] Jacques Pernetti, *Philosophical Letters Upon Physiognomies* (1751), p. 53.

[262] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (1929) p. 198.

> if I may be allowed the expression - to form an experimental morality, and to reduce the study of man to a system. Women have most wit, men have most genius; women observe, men reason. From the concurrence of both we derive the clearest light and the most perfect knowledge which the human mind is of itself capable of attaining. In one word, from hence we acquire the most intimate acquaintance, both with ourselves and others, of which our nature is capable; and it is thus that art has a constant tendency to perfect those endowments which nature has bestowed. The world is the book of women.[263]

She herself claims that:

> women from necessity, because their minds are not cultivated, have recourse very often to what I familiarly term bodily wit.[264]

Indeed, from this perspective, physiognomy appears to have been a form of 'sensibility'. It is perhaps not insignificant that it was thought one way in which they might attain the 'worldly prudence' which the expectation of their chastity and modesty usually forbade them.[265]

However, it would be misleading to suggest that, by the end of the period under consideration, physiognomy, as a consequence of its declining intellectual status, had become a preserve of female 'sensibility'. In 1771, Henry MacKenzie published his influential novel *Man of Feeling*. At one point, the hero Harley encounters a Gentleman conversing with a beggar:

> there was something in [the beggar's] physiognomy which caught Harley's notice: indeed physiognomy was one of Harley's foibles, for which he had been often rebuked by his aunt in the country; who used to tell him, that when he was come to her years and experience, he would know that all's not gold that glisters.

Despite being rebuked by a woman in the form of his Aunt,, he persists in his physiognomical beliefs. When conversing with the said Gentleman on the subject of how 'charity to our common beggars is often displaced':

> Harley looked again in his face, and blessed himself for his skill in physiognomy.[266]

Thus it also appears to have been an element in male sensibility.

Indeed, a turning point in our hero's sentimental education comes later when Harley is ridiculed for having been fooled out of money by the beggar. Harley defends his view of the incident:

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[263]Wollstonecraft, *Rights*, p. 44.
[264]Wollstonecraft, *Rights*, p. 140. Cf. Hill's 'body skil' (1556), Preface.
[265]Wollstonecraft, *Rights*, p. 142.

> he had distress and hunger in his countenance: be his character what it may, his necessities at least plead for him.

In return he receives the following advice:

> as for faces - you may look into them to know whether a man's nose be a long or a short one.[267]

3

PHYSIOGNOMY AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE:

ARISTOTELIAN SELVES AND EVERYDAY CHARACTERS

To what extent was physiognomy a significant element in culture throughout the early modern period? In his Essay 'On Cunning' Francis Bacon wrote:

> for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel....It is a point of cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eyes....for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eyes sometimes...[268]

If one takes Bacon's earlier comments on physiognomy as an attempt to extend its parameters to include certain gestures, then one might wish to interpret this as a reference to the art of physiognomating. Put like this, the Baconian art of cunning also begins to resemble what was known colloquially throughout the early modern period as *physnomy* - a person's general ability, gained from the nature of their everyday experience, to tell something about a person's nature or character by that person's physique and movements.[269]

This latter, seemingly instinctual aspect of human interactions was often referred to in treatises on physiognomy as a way of validating their often maligned subject. It was something which even the detractors of scientific physiognomy accepted as a phenomenon, if only of the realm of opinion. Although Lavater's claim that:

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[266]Henry MacKenzie, *Man of Feeling* (1967), pp. 44-45.
[267]MacKenzie, *Feeling*, pp. 52-53. Addison was a form believer in the 'Theory of the Phiz'. See M. G. Ketcham, *Transparent Designs* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), pp. 30-31.
[268]Francis Bacon, 'Of Cunning', *Essays* (1972), p. 68.
[269]In France today, for example, they are known as physiognomists and they work in Casinos.

> Absolutely all men, estimate all things, whatever, by their physiognomy, their exteriour temporary superficies

might appear somewhat exaggerated, his description of 'physiognomical sensations' as:

> those feelings which are produced at beholding certain countenances, and the conjectures concerning the qualities of the mind, which are produced by the state of such countenances, or of their portraits drawn or painted,[270]

raises the question of some form of continuous, universal physiognomical phenomenon in the human psyche. Indeed, systematic physiognomy was, in a sense, an attempt to turn this faculty into a science.[271]

Having said that, at this point physiognomy becomes so pervasive as to be nothing in particular. Therefore, one has to find aspects of the culture which allow one to examine the different ways in which this ubiquitous faculty operates. For example, it has been argued that some of this allegedly instinctual *physnomy* was mediated through or based on the physiognomy as it is found in the treatises under consideration. Given that children often read them, then, in accordance with Aubrey's wishes, they were absorbed at an early age to such an extent that they were used by the same children once they became adults as a general baseline of natural truth against which they could rebound from time to time in their assessment (be it hasty or more considered) of another person. Dallington's description of Henry IV is perhaps just one example of a phenomenon which might have such an educational origin:

> This King then, of whom now by course I am to relate, is about 48 yeeres of age, his stature small, his hair almost all white, or rather grisled, his colour fresh and youthfull, his nature stirring and full of life, like a true French man. One of his own people describeth him thus: [lively, active, does not like to deliberate too long, sharp wit..] He sayth there farther, that though by his Phisiognomy, his fashion & maner of behaviour, ye would judge him leger and inconstant, yet is no man more firmly constant then he.[272]

In other words, this knowledge and understanding of human nature became a second nature in itself, which, in many cases was less self-reflective and more unconscious than this last example. In some cases, this everyday *physnomy* was in itself

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[270]J. C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 3 vols. (1789), vol. I, p. 56.
[271]Pernetti claimed that the faculty of 'physiognomizing' was not acquired but innate, *Letters*, p. 14-15. Lavater claimed that everyone was, to a certain extent, a physiognomer, *The New Encyclopedia*, 3 vols., (n.d.) [19th century], s.v. *physiognomy*.
[272]R. Dallington, *A Method for Travell* (1598), sig. Giv-Givb.

inextricably intertwined with the physiognomy learnt from these texts and, like the body-soul problem, the nature-culture distinction, or the current fact-fiction argument, it is ultimately impossible to separate the two in any satisfactory way. One might see this in Pascalian terms of how culture becomes a second nature, or in Foucaultian terms of 'the fundamental codes of a culture' and the region of 'the already encoded eye'.[273]

Early modern society is often characterised by the epithet 'face-to face'.[274] Yet as was mentioned earlier, from a religious point of view it was widely accepted that God could not be seen face to face. Furthermore, the epithet 'face-to-face' tends to underestimate the increasing presence of literature and literacy in early modern society, of which the present thesis is the study of just one very small part.[275] Furthermore, it was also a society in which people encountered themselves and each other through numerous representational forms. Traces of physiognomy are also evident along the cusp of the interaction of both the painter and the veiwer of such visual representations.

With regard to Italian painted portraits, Michael Baxandall has suggested that "we probably miss very little through not reading faces in a fifteenth-century way; their complex medical physiognomies were too academic to be a usable resource for the painter, and the commonplaces of popular physiognomies do not change that

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[273]Foucault, *Things*, pp. xx-xxi.

[274]It is an epithet which often implies both a contrast with the present-day 'faceless' society and an implicit narrative of 'the world we have lost'. See for example *Forum*, July, 1894, on government buildings with 'features that fail to make up a physiognomy' (p. 617), Walter Benjamin, *Reflections* (1978) on the quartiers of Paris which through Haussmanisation lost 'their individual physiognomies' (p. 160), and *Punch* (1934), 19th December, on how 'this streamlining bunkum is spreading from the sordid realms of mere mechanics to those of everyday life, even to human physiognomy', (p. 691/1). Memories of the Holocaust also contain this idea: 'And every morning the cart comes by, pulled by gray people in rags. They're grown-ups but *they don't have any definite shape*, you can't tell if they're men or women. They throw the dead women on the cart and move on again', B. Wilkomirski, *Fragments. Memories of a Childhood, 1939-1948* (1996), p. 89 (my emphasis).

[275]E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979). In fact, one has to consider the possibility that at the same time as the arrival of print and the gradual spread of literacy may have led to the wider dissemination of this form of physiognomical knowledge, this very same process not only eventually contributed to its own intellectual decline by allowing for a form of cross-checking, but in some cases also actually contributed to the gradual erosion and undermining of what might be termed a pre-literate physiognomical literacy. The obvious contemporary parallels for such an argument are the alleged changes in human sensibilities which ensue from the experience of the various forms of digital representations.

much."[276] Lorne Campbell is equally sceptical.[277] Yet such views ignore Vasari's claim that painters must have

> besides long practice in the art, a complete understanding of physiognomy.[278]

Equally, there is a significant amount of compeeling evidence of the role of physiognomy in one form or another in the viewer's experience of early moden visual representations. In Caxton's *Golden Legend*, one finds the following account of the imprint of Christ's face upon a linen cloth:

> Oure lord toke fro the payntour a lynnen clothe and set it upon his vysage and emprynted the very physonomye of his vysage therin.[279]

When dealing with the interface between physiognomy and civility, Erasmus betrays a physiognomical approach to old paintings:

> we lerne of pictures in olde tyme they were narowe and stryghte mouthes, a sygne of vertue.[280]

A century later, in a letter to Thomas Hobbes dated 11th July 1645, Samuel Sorbière told Hobbes he had asked de Martel:

> to send me portraits of you, the great Gassendi, and the excellent Mersenne...For I am moved and impelled to be virtuous not only by writings but also by the faces of great men; I feel, as it were, an emanation, a natural force which radiates from them to me.[281]

Nearer the end of the period, George Romney wrote of his repeated but failed attempts to enliven the dull features of one unresponsive sitter - that is until he mentioned the subject of hunting:

> at the sound of which a ray of animation immediately sparkled in the eye of his sitter, and imparted a certain degree of vivacity on his countenance.[282]

All of the above examples appear to refer to a similar physiognomical quality. It is precisely these above reactions to an image, this form of *physnomy*, which could

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[276]M. Baxandall, *Painting & Experience In Fifteenth-Century Italy* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1988), p. 58.
[277]L. Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits* (1990), pp. 25, 27, 121, pl. 144.
[278]Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. L. S. Maclehose (1907), vol. I, p. xxx.
[279]Jacobus de Voragine, *The Legende Named in Latyn Legenda aurea that is to saye in Englysshe the Goldene Legende*, trans. W. Caxton (1483), 3, 39/2.
[280]Erasmus, *De civilitate*, sig. A3v.
[281]N. Malcolm (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1994), vol. I, p. 123.

have been mediated by physiognomical knowledge.[283] Indeed, in 1671 Henry More wrote to Viscountess Conway of a picture of Descartes which Lilly had shown him:

> which a friend of his had, which is like the picture of Descartes in my chamber, but by them both, according to the signes of physiognomie, there should be a suddeness in Descartes' thoughts.[284]

Moreover, physiognomical writers were aware of this. In his 1663 treatises, Richard Saunders wrote:

> As in Pictures, the best temperament of colours have the greatest grace, and excel in the picture.[285]

Indagine wrote:

> Wherefore also no man can geue no certain coniecture or iudgement of any state or qualitie of the minde. How be it if any man be so curious, he may haue the colour & proporcion wherby to iudge, for as the uttermost coloure in a picture doth shew temperance therof, euen so in the face it doth argue good or euill.[286]

In fact, it was the attainability of this physiognomical quality which divided the theorists and artists of the day.[287]

Whether or not it was attainable, it had long been considered an important aspect of understanding historical actors by examining their images as well as reading their works. Such a practice might explain why Andrew Perne (d. 1589), the Master of Peterhouse, not only owned a physiognomical treatise amongst his collection of

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[282]Cited in K. Thomas, 'Triumph of Taste', *The Guardian*, May 22nd, 1997, G2T, p. 12.

[283]Huizinga's claim that in 'the great works of art of the fifteenth century.....the nature of the subject was far more important than the question of beauty' might be seen to emphasis the importance placed upon the physiognomical experience of the image as opposed to its purely aesthetic contemplation, *Waning*, p. 224.

[284]S. Hutton (ed.), *The Conway Letters*, (Revised edition, Oxford, 1992), p. 334 (April 28th 1671). For one of the earliest numismatists who recommended physiognomy see E. Zorzi, *Un Antiquario Padovano del sec. XVI. Alessandro Maggi de Bassano* (Padua, 1963). Physiognomy and numismatics is a huge and hitherto neglected area of the study of physiognomy, particularly from the perspective of the link between physiognomy and the economy.

[285]Saunders (1663), p. 201.

[286]Indagine (1558), sig. Hviii(v).

[287]For Alberti, the issue of the expression of the 'soul' in a painting is reduced to the arrangements of 'movements of the body'. However, he also writes of painting being particularly suited to express 'the face of God', *On Painting*, 2: 35, 41-43, 2: 25; R. Wendorf, '*Ut Pictura Biographia*. Biography and Portrait Painting as Sister Arts', in R. Wendorf (ed.), *Articulate Images* (Minnesota, 1983), pp. 98-130. This early modern physiognomical consciousness in both painters and viewers/readers would benefit from being examined in terms of the attitudes various Reformers took towards both external images as well as the 'idols of the mind'. See Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford, 1988), p. 458. Blake wrote 'in Eternity the Four Arts: Poetry, Painting, Music And Architecture which is Science, are the Four Faces of Man', Keynes, *Works*, p. 514.

books, but that his inventory also records him as having had 23 'pictures of phisnomies' in his bedchamber.[288] Soon after becoming Provost of Eton, Sir Henry Wotton:

> caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators,

which he then fixed to the wooden pillars in the schoolroom.[289] Mention has already been made of how Hartlib wished to incorporate this use of 'physiognomies' into his educational schemes and how, near the end of his life, John Evelyn was still promoting the same idea.[290] Indeed, at the trun of the nineteetnh cneutrys, William Blake wrote of how he was:

> absorbed by the poets Milton, Homer, Camoens, Ercilla, Ariosto, and Spenser, whose physiognomies have been my delightful study.[291]

There were also other physiognomical uses of painted portraits. Huizinga has suggested that portraits were often used 'to enable betrothed persons to make acquaintance'.[292] That this appears to have still been early modern practice is intimated by Kynaston's 1642 poem in which he laments how Princes cannot be as free as courting maids to choose their suitors:

> But we must wooe by picture, and beleive [sic],
> For all the inward beauties of the minde,
> Such lineaments the painters colours give:
> We ought be Phisiognomers, to finde
> Whether the soul be well or ill enclin'd:
> Besides, when kingdomes do ally as friends,
> They know no love, nor kindred, but for ends.[293]

Beyond portraiture, there are numerous other issues which have to be included in such a survey of the general cultural aspects of physiognomy. For example, one scholar has suggested that the rise of conspicuous consumption, particularly in the

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[288]E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), vol. II, p. 422.
[289]*DNB*.
[290]See the Introduction to this thesis.
[291]Keynes, *Blake*, p.
[292]Huizinga, *Waning*, p. 225. This is the early modern equivalent of the present day 'lonely hearts' plea: 'please send a photograph'.
[293]Sir Francis Kynaston (1587-1642), *Leoline & Sydanis. An Heroick Romance of the Amorous Adventures of Princes* (1642), p. 74, v. 298.

form of fashion and make-up, led to a decline in both the interest in and capabilities of physiognomy. How could it deal with hypocrisy, self-possession and masks? [294] Indeed, this problem was articulated in one of the most popular physiognomical treatises of the eighteenth century:

> Thus does wise nature make our very hair
> Shew all the passions that within us are..
> .....
> But since our perriwigs are come in fashion,
> No room is left for such an observation.[295]

However, the following advert appeared in a 1713 edition of the *Gay Guardian*:

> The milliner must be thoroughly versed in physiognomy; in the choice of ribbons she must have a particular regard to the complexion.[296]

This suggests that some people deeply involved in the fashion trade may have taken a keen interest in physiognomy and based either their designs or their advice to their customers on physiognomical knowledge learned from the texts under consideration. Therefore, if the eighteenth century is to be crudely characterised as representing in part a move away from the more natural world to a more constructed world, as exemplifying some form of paradigmatic shift from nature to culture, then the very emblems of this new universe of culture may have been based upon this long-standing physiognomical knowledge of nature thus forcing one to reconsider the nature of this alleged paradigmatic shift.

Whilst all of the above might have been influenced by the physiognomy in these treatises, was there a physiognomical tradition distinct from these treatises? Mention has already been made of how many of the treatises contain proverbs, particularly *Indagine*, and how many of the physiognomical aphorisms partake in the rhetorical nature of the proverb.[297] Beyond these treatises there appear to have been numerous proverbs which encapsulated the essence of the art of physiognomy.[298] The most well known are the eyes being the windows of the soul or the face being the mirror or index

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[294]Porter, 'Making Faces', pp. 385-396.
[295]*ACM* (1764), p. 100.
[296]*Gay Guardian* (1713), No. 149, p. 22.
[297]See Chapter Four, section 1.
[298]Most of the following can be found in B. J. Whiting & H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases From English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (1968).

of the soul. There were others which encapsulated one or other of both sides of the debate about the veracity of physiognomy, such as *fronte nulla fides* and *fronte multa fides*, 'fair face fair heart' or 'fair face foul heart'; 'he that hath good handes, must nedes have good customes'; 'Ane thrawart will, ane thrawin Phisnomy' or its Latin version *Distortum vultum sequitur distortio morum*. Furthermore, there were others which were essentially physiognomical aphorisms such as 'The Red is Witty, the Brown Trusty, The Pale Peevish, the Black Lusty', *Rare breves humiles vidi, rufosque fideles, /Albos audaces, miror magnos sapientes*, 'red hair, beware'.

Apart from the problems of dating them, it is difficult to say how many physiognomical proverbs there were. Only an in-depth study of the printed literature and private manuscripts of the day will reveal this and will be able to compare them with the consistencies found in the physiognomical treatises.[299] It is an important subject given that this was the sort of physiognomical knowledge to which everyone had access, including those who could not read. It may thus have influenced the way in which the non-literate interpreted the physical appearance of either themselves or other people.[300] Furthermore, one might be able to establish a chronological dynamic in attitudes towards proverbs which might reveal something about the dynamic of physiognomy. Charles Tilley's story of the changing attitudes towards proverbs suggests that they were very fashionable with Elizabethan writers. By the eighteenth century there appears to have been a reaction when they 'were first frowned upon and then banished from polite literature, and, finally, from polite conversation'.[301] John Evelyn certainly respected their wisdom and authority, and James Boevey, one of Evelyn's acquaintances, coined his own proverb for people with red hair.[302] Furthermore, just because physiognomical proverbs were not articulated in conversation does not mean they were not present in the minds of the interlocutors. The work of Peter and Iona Opie shows that in the 1950s some of these same physiognomical notions were still a part of children's folklore.[303]

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[299]Folk-tales are also a genre that may provide evidence of popular physiognomical assumptions. For the legend of a family with red hair of whom the beggars were frightened see K. M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of English Folk-Tales in the English Language*, 2 vols. (1971), vol. 2, p. 16.

[300]Physiognomical proverbs (often the same) are found throughout Europe. For France see F. Loux et P. Richard, *Sagesse du corps: la santé et la maladie dans les proverbes françaises* (Paris, 1978).

[301]Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. viii.

[302]Evelyn, *Numismata*, pp. 299-301. See above, p. 111.

[303]P. & I. Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (1973), p. 96. They seem to have dropped out of the language and folklore of contemporary children. The present writer recently asked a group of schoolchildren whether they knew of any sayings applicable to people with red hair. None was

Finally, at least one important change that physiognomy appears to have undergone both in itself and in attitudes taken towards it in early modern culture can be illustrated by examining the physical descriptions of the period. In an Aristotelian world, an educated description attempted to mediate between the universal and the particular, and emanated from a training in the arts of logic and rhetoric.[304] As an aspect of logic it was an 'imperfect definition'. The definition dealt with the essence of a thing, its universal constituting causes. The description did this by 'other arguments', often the 'accidents' which differentiated an individual from an accepted universal essence. As Spencer wrote:

> the more neere arguments be unto the essence, the more force they have to set out the thing described.[305]

For Wilson the description was 'an evident declaration, or plaine settyng forthe of a thyng' which required a special 'commelinesse' when applied to a person so that 'nothyng be spoken whiche may be thought not in them.'[306]

The earliest example so far brought to light of the term physiognomy being used in a description in 'the West' can be found in a 'legend' written in the thirteenth century about a canonised Polish king.

> Erat enim manu fortis, visu desiderabilis, et secundum physonomiam Leonis magnas habens extremitates: statura procerus, ceterisque hominibus ab humero supra praeeminens, ita, quod exuberantem in eo gratiae plenitudinem ipsa quoque corporis species imperio dignum declararet.[307]

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given. One response was 'Never judge a book by its cover'.

[304]Aubrey thought 'there is [no school exercise] deserves so much praise, as Description', Bodl., MS Aubrey 10, fol. 113r.

[305]Thomas Spencer, *The Art of Logick* (1628), p. 194.

[306]Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), fols. 94v-95v. It is followed by numerous descriptions of various kings.

[307]From the legend of St. Ladislaus (King of Hungary 1077-1095). See Karácsonyi János, *Szent László Meghódija a Régi Szlavóniát* (Budapest, 1916); Georgio Pray, *Dissertatio Historico-Critica de Sancto Ladislao* (Posonii, 1774), p. 13. See also Antonio Ganoczy, *Dissertatio Historico-Critica de S. Ladislao Hungariae Rege Fundatore Episcopatus Varadinensis* (Vienna, 1775). The physiognomy in hagiographies would benefit from a detailed examination. See Flint, *Magic*, pp. 398-9. For a description of Richard II see N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), p. 391. Descriptions of kings raise once again the issue of the Incarnation of divine truth and the physiognomy of Christ. See E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957) on the *corpus mysticum*, 'the head of which is Christ', and its transference by the jurists 'from the theological sphere to that of the state, the head of which is the king' (pp. 15ff). The question of whether one can speak of a 'physiognomy of the body politic' in the early modern period also deserves further study.

It is not so very far from one given recently by William Rees-Mogg in a description of a portrait of Diana, Princess of Wales, (which in turn appears to be imitative of Hamlet's description of his father's portrait) except for the zoological analogy.[308]

Thomas Dekker's description of a Jesuit is an extreme example of the zoological comparisons often incorporated during the sixteenth century but which are less in evidence at the end of the period:

> Mouth'd like an Ape
> ....Nekt like a Crane
> ....A Camels back
> Goate bellied....
> And the Garments that he weares
> Are the Turnd Skins of Wolves and Beares.[309]

Whilst many early modern descriptions might be termed loosely physiognomical in that there is a more or less rhetorical connection between the physical features and the mental characteristics, it would be unusual to find one which attempted to link them in a more strictly physiognomical way. Moreover, it is the language of Aristotelian and Christian ethics that dominates the physiognomical treatises which also dominates the descriptions.[310]

The funeral sermon which Dr. John Gauden (1605-1662), Chaplain to Charles II, gave at the funeral of Dr. Ralph Brownrig (1592-1659), the strict Calvinist and anti-Laudian Bishop of Exeter, is based almost entirely on physiognomy. Dr. Gauden's sermon ran:

> Of all whose inward *accomplishments* (and outward lustre) his very *bodily presence*, and *visible aspect* was a kind of pledge and earnest,....The whole frame of his person had something of grandeur, goodliness and loveliness in it; his *looks* were venerable (*in vultu omnium virtutum signa*) he had all the good omens and lineaments of great vertues in his countenance; and truly his *life* made good his *looks*: His body for stature and figure, was somewhat athletick, puissant (*paulo procerius*) somewhat taller and bigger than ordinary; yet very comely....The *majesty* of presence so allayed with *meekness*, candor and humility,....The veracity of this great and good *mans aspect*, or the harmony of his genius, life and manners, to his looks and presence, much verifies what I have oft observed, that *most men are as they look*, after once they are so fixed by

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[308]'What did one see? A nose expressive of a powerful will; commanding eyes set in strong sockets. Hers is a face expressive of power, almost as wilful as the nose, eyes, and high cheekbones one finds in portraits of the great Duke of Wellington, or the even greater Earl of Chatham. It is a face like Margaret Thatcher's, not of prettiness but of command,' cited in Miles Burnyeat, 'Other Minds, Other Bodies'. Cf. Hamlet, 3,4,57.

[309]*The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 2 vols. (New York, 1963), vol. I, p. 162.

[310]For example, Emery Tylney's description of his teacher, the Scottish Reformer George Wishart (1513?-1546) in the *DNB*.

their habituated desires and designes, that they are come to a conformity *with themselves*: *vultus animi index*, was of old, and still most true; That one may very much see, how the wheels of the soul, the mind and spirits, the passions and affections move, by the *Index or hand of the eyes and aspect*:....'Tis true, education, custom, company, religion and grace (as Socrates said of morality) will much sweeten and alter, as mens manners and minds, so their aspects; and bring them from that which in their *Physiognomy* is *canine*, *vulpine*, *caprine*, *porcine*, *lupine* or *leonine* (for so we read some men had lionly looks) to what is humane, *angelick* and *divine*, by an happy *metamorphosis*; yet still I find much is to be read, feared and hoped in mens very countenances, which I cannot but observe (as a venial digression I hope) from this venerable *person*; who (*quod vultu promisit optimum vita praestitit*) by his life performed what his looks promised; being as *Forma decentissimuss*, so *Ingenio florentissimus*, *proposito sanctissimus*, *& vita innocentissimus*.[311]

Yet despite the rejuvenation which physiognomy was experiencing in the 1650s, particularly in the form of a certain physiological determinism,[312] the emphasis in Gauden's description is still on the basic physiognomical principle rather than a detailed physiognomical analysis or description of the deceased's physique. Gauden only really mentioned his tall, powerful but comely athletic stature which is put forward rhetorically in this case, as representing the Christian virtues of 'grandeur, goodliness and loveliness' as well as 'meekness, candor and humility'.

That physiognomical norms were something which still had to be taken seriously even after the Restoration is evident in the Duke of Buckingham's description of Charles II:

> He was an illustrious exception to all the common rules of Physiognomy: for, with a most saturnine harsh sort of countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful disposition.[313]

Having said that, one could only get so much out of physical descriptions, hence the penchant for character-sketches - which, in the case of Evelyn's depiction of Mrs Godolphin he separated from the preceding narrative of her life and labelled it 'The Picture', and which, by his own admission, 'could barey reach "the Outstroaks, and,

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[311]Dr. Gauden, *A Sermon Preached In the Temple-Chappel, at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God Dr. Brounrig, late Lord Bishop of Exeter* (1660), p. 230-237 [pagination erratic].

[312]This can be seen in Henry More's description of David George, the German religious enthusiast: 'Now that Sanguine was the complexion of David George, the foregoing description of his person will probably intimate to any Physiognomer. For it is very hard to finde an healthy body very comely and beautiful, but the same proves more then ordinarily venereous and lustful', Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656), p. 35. See also Henry More, *Divine Dialogues. The First Three Dialogues*, (1668), where one critic feels the author has been 'judicious even to Physiognomonicall Curiosity' over the little stature of one of his Cartesian characters: 'for this qualification of Manners is most incident, according to the rules of Physiognomie, to men of little stature, their Heat and Spirits being something over-proportionated to the bigness of their Bodie', (sig. A4v-A5).

[313]*The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquess of Normandy and Duke of Buckingham*, 2 vols. (4th edition, 1757), vol. I, pp. 55-60.

when I shall have don my best, be but an Imperfect copy"'.[314] Indeed, Richardson provides an example of what had happened to physiognomical descriptions by the middle of the eighteenth century. When Lady Frampton demanded a description of Miss Harriet Byron from Mr. Grenville, to see if he really loved her, he wrote the following:

> But what still is her particular essence, and distinguishes her from all other English women .....is, the grace which that [the French] people call Physiognomy, and we may call Expression : Had not all her features and her complexion been so fine as they are, that grace alone, that Soul shining out in her lovely aspect, joined with the ease and gracefulness of her Motion, would have made her as many admirers as beholders.[315]

The physiognomy had become the expression, the expression something independent of her complexion, but still with its religious overtones, and in this case one which rejected the tendency Shaftesbury reintroduced of equating beauty with virtue.

The very end of the eighteenth century saw the publication of a ladies' diary which illustrates very clearly the changes which had overcome the language of physiognomical description. This diary contained the game illustrated by **Plate XXXVI**. The game itself is entitled, significantly enough, *Lover's Portraits or Ladies' Physiognomonical Mirror*. Despite the fact that it was published during the height of the Lavaterian phenomenon, it represents the continuity of a relatively long-standing pre-Lavaterian attitude towards physiognomy. The fortune-telling aspect is there, the element of game and play, even bawdy humour are all there, as is the choice of partner.

However, with regard to the physiognomical descriptions themselves, they have been detached both the allegedly natural psychological attributes articulated in Aristotelian and Christian ethical language which one finds in most earlier physiognomical treatises and other earlier forms of descriptions. These categories of description have been replaced by a new language, one seemingly drawn from the increasingly complex pressure of everyday life - the language of 'characters'. No particular physical feature is distinguished in any of the descriptions. The profile is taken as an entire whole and is read in terms of the "Poetic Character of the Faces". Within this language one finds the bawdiness of earlier chapbooks. For instance II, 9 reads:

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[314]Wendorf, *Elements*, p. 59.
[315]Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, 7 vols. (1754), vol. II, p. 8.

> One that can hand your toast, and fill your pot;
> But farther this deponent sayeth not.

as well as the language of the characters of late-eighteenth-century life - the manufacturer, the Presbyterian, the worn-out bachelor, the connoisseur, the bold haberdasher of Bond Street, the Butcher of Whitechapel, the brewer's drayman, the politician, the Barber's ''Prentice, 'drest for Bagnigge-Wells', the 'box-Gallant' and the 'fawning Democrat'.

Thus, the process of physiognomating human physical features was no longer underpinned by a classical understanding of the human condition, one which saw people as constellations of different Aristotelian and Christian vices and virtues, which in turn, were themselves the products of the laws of nature. By the late-eighteenth century it had been dissolved in another form of knowing people, one which understood them in terms of the more fluid and spontaneous language and characters of everyday life.

CONCLUSION

In John Dee one can see the medieval mystical form of the art of physiognomating, inherited, it would appear, from Roger Bacon and Nicolas of Cusa, and looking forward to Jacob Boehme. Francis Bacon and his followers appear to have rejected this view of the scientific powers of the art of physiognomating, accepting the impossibility of rendering it scientific other than in the Baconian sense of the various forms of 'impression' which were later to be explored in Baconian natural history. Philosophers simply concerned themselves with other problems. However, none of them ever rejected the everyday sense of physiognomical discovery – they simply relegated it to the realm of opinion.

There were numerous aspects of early modern culture and social practice in which such physiognomical opinion played a more or less systematic role, although it appears in most cases to have been one which, due to the occult status of physiognomy, as well as its democratic nature and the ways in which its capabilities were misunderstood and abused in practice, was never explicit. Physiognomical consultations were available from gypsies and other nomadic types, as well as the local wizards and the more high-brow astrologers. However, this very fact caused some astrologers to distance themselves from any obvious involvement with the practice of physiognomy, preferring the distinction and higher status available through associating themselves with the seemingly more sophisticated mathematical approach. Although rejected by the theologians, the religious implications of physiognomy can be seen in practices of ordination as well as the claims made by some that it enabled them to discern those people who were saved. Another religious aspect can be seen where religion joins medicine, particularly through the devotional practice of examining one's own temperament with an eye to the perfect temperament of Christ. With regard to medicine, despite the absence of explicit claims to be using physiognomy, most early modern diagnostic processes incorporated forms of physiognomation. That physiognomical knowledge played an often unconscious role in various aspects of early modern society and culture is suggested by the fact that the basic physiognomical precepts appear to have been taught to children. It was examined at University and it may even have formed a part of the rhetorical training

and oratorical techniques of lawyers. This formal physiognomy was reinforced by the large number of physiognomical proverbs available to members of a society in which such seemingly ancient and self-evident truths were still widely respected. There are intimations of this unconscious role of physiognomy in mediating people's interactions with one another in a range of more or less formalised everyday encounters, be it the raising of children, the choice of a soldier, a partner, a hat, the encounter with a painted portrait or an attempt to provide a physical description. Fundamental to all of this was the dissolution of the seemingly natural physiognomical language of Aristotelian and Christian ethics inherited from scholasticism in the more fluid language and characters of an increasingly complex everyday life.

AFTERWORD

A more complete and empirically detailed investigation of the fragmented sources of this phenomenon of the *longue durée* would take many years. Generally speaking, I have argued in this thesis that there was no sudden re-awakening of interest in the subject in England in 1500. Although by the end of the period Lavater became synonymous with, and stimulated a great deal of interest in the subject, physiognomy appears to have been a constant and familiar aspect of culture and social practice throughout the entire early modern period. Prior to Lavater, the actual demand for the printed physiognomical treatises examined in this thesis, although difficult to gauge with any certainty, was never huge. Until the late seventeenth century, the presence of physiognomical texts appears to have been sufficiently limited to safeguard an aura of mystery. Whilst the relative obscurity of this small corpus of extant texts renders it difficult to link the pattern of their production with any other significant developments, demand for physiognomical texts does appear to have increased during times of plague.

The variety of textual forms into which this doctrine was incorporated over nearly three centuries provides evidence of the intellectual changes physiognomy underwent throughout the period. These intellectual changes represent the reconfiguration of an entire way of looking and listening: the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* - a way of looking and listening whose main early modern facets were inherited from Renaissance humanism where they were first crystallised out of some elements of late medieval mysticism. As a reading practice, it may have been one of the few to have been carried out with the aid of a looking-glass. Furthermore, depending upon who was physiognomating whom, when and with what particular text, it was a reading practice which ranged from being experienced as a conscious part of the mystical contemplation of God, even understood as a participation in divine vision itself, to a process of the crudest form of fortune-telling. In the earlier part of the period it was a form of private confessional practice in the guise of a medico-moral self-examination whose main preoccupation was salvation. In the latter part of the period it was a bawdy and more communal form of parlour game part of whose aim was pure entertainment. For the most part of the period, to read a physiognomical text was to

participate in a more pragmatic form of political science; to provide one's external gaze - the one aimed at the predominantly undignified occupants of the public sphere - with information which would help one to quickly decode the physiognomies of others; in other words, a form of visual ideology for the more utilitarian this-worldly negotiations whose teleology of salvation came to be predominantly concerned with business or procreational success. However, from this more political perspective, there is evidence that some mid-seventeenth-century French moralists, in opposition to the solipsism inherent in the spreading dominance of the Cartesian *cogito*, introduced the English to a physiognomical *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens* which conceived of the social as a divine emanation of God.

There was of course far more to the art of physiognomating than reading these physiognomical texts. The contemporary concern with difference and particularities leads one to emphasise that physiognomy was different things to different people at different times throughout the period and much more work needs to be undertaken in order to articulate its multifarious and co-existent aspects more clearly. The ways in which it was understood and used at different times in the mind and life of, say, William Harvey may have been very different to the experience of Archbishop Cranmer, Samuel Hartlib, Edmund Burke or Mary Wollstonecraft. However, the extent to which such particularities can be respected and explored in the writing of history is dependent upon whether the nature of the sources would allow for such an intensive investigation of the role of physiognomical thinking in any one person. One possible candidate for such an in-depth study is one of John Aubrey's acquaintances, the merchant-lawyer James Boevey. Unlike any of the above-mentioned people, Boevey was the author of a physiognomical treatise. Moreover he incorporated this treatise into what was, in effect, an entire private philosophical system which he entitled his 'Active Philosophy'. Each element of this system he recorded in manuscript form. So far I have managed to locate around one dozen of these manuscripts, none of which appear ever to have been the subject of any scholarly investigation.

Yet beyond such particularities, the art of physiognomating can be explored at a more general and common level. Indeed, given that it was a way of looking and listening which, for the most part, tended to operate at levels of such intellectually

mundane generality - 'mundane prudence' John Aubrey called it - the real significance of the subject lies in considering as a single phenomenon all of the areas in which physiognomating can be seen to have played a role. The sources for each of these areas (highlighted in the final chapter of this thesis) would have to be painstakingly amassed and considered (initially at least) as a more or less self-contained corpus or genre. One could then delineate and compare the changes in the nature of physiognomating undergone in each of these spheres as well as comparing their different chronologies and their points of interaction. Changes in the understanding of physiognomy and physiognomating which can be discerned in the work of early modern natural philosophers have very different chronologies and narratives to those apparent in early modern religion, art and literature or in the numerous aspects of early modern everyday life - from the construction of national stereotypes in the wake of the disintegration of the unity of Christendom, to the proliferation of physiognomical board-games.

Everyone, including those natural philosophers who rejected the scientific status of physiognomy, appears to have accepted that physiognomy, in its most general sense (often colloquially known as *physnomy*), was just one way of gaining insight into the character of another person, of nature, even of God. It was often thought to be the product of an almost instinctual reaction to another person, often unconscious (and so empirically difficult to show historically) and refined through the accumulated experience of dealing with other people which age brings. However, first, given that children appear to have memorised quite rigorously the content of expositions of physiognomical doctrine; secondly, given the iconic nature of such memories; and thirdly, given the weight of ancient philosophical and proverbial authority which many physiognomicks carried - to the extent of being accepted as almost self-evident truths - one has to consider that most of the details of these natural instincts were the product of both this primary physiognomical learning and subsequent physiognomical experience, and ultimately, represent nothing more than a handful of physiognomical prejudices absorbed by this natural faculty. One central problem for understanding the significance of this way of looking involves estimating the extent to which early modern society and culture was soaked in these physiognomical prejudices. They were certainly absorbed, in one form or another, explicitly or implicitly, from

different transmission points of early modern culture beyond this small body of physiognomical treatises, such as oral culture or literature and various social practices. But deep familiarity with them, particularly the more classically formulated versions, was predominantly the preserve of the literate and educated. As was stated above, various occupations and social roles were seen to function 'well' because of their pragmatic and innately conservative ability to operate at such levels of widely accepted physiognomical generality and truism no matter what their intellectual limitations, inconsistencies or invalidity. Moreover, it is possible that the older some people became, the more they relied upon the truth value of the instinct formed from these long-standing and general physiognomical prejudices.

In alluding to the reconfiguration of the *inspectio sapiens/inspectio prudens*, I have tried to show how a person's physical appearance was just one of many other factors which people used, consciously or unconsciously, to assess the present, past and future conditions of a person, as well as that person's fundamental nature, mind, character, manners, civility or even sensibility. Other ways of doing this included the consideration of a person's actions; that person's astrological and regional origins; family background; social status; education; occupation; dress; tastes; gestures and conversation. Much more work is required before a narrative delineating the successive waves of different vogues for judging people in one of these ways more than another can be more clearly and confidently erected. However, whilst one has always to take into account the intense physiognomical idiosyncrasies of this or that particular person from this or that point in the period, there does seem to have been a mid-sixteenth-century vogue for judging people physiognomically. A subsequent mid-seventeenth-century vogue for judging by physical appearance was succeeded by a vogue for judging people by their conversation. The physical emphasis returned in the eighteenth century, long before the arrival of Lavater, and may even have provided the deeply rooted biological foundations of the English 'class' system.

It is still open to debate to what extent these other ways of looking at, listening to and judging people can be clearly differentiated from the art of physiognomating. One might feel they are best understood as periodical reconstellations of the parameters of physiognomating rather than the dissolution of the art of physiognomating per se. Having said that, one must avoid one danger to which physiognomers such as Pernetti

and Lavater sometimes succumbed: that of making all-inclusive claims for physiognomy to such an extent that it loses all specificity. If there is a fundamental distinction to be made between the more physiognomical forms amongst these different ways of looking and listening, it would appear to be one based upon the role of the four natural elements in those ways of looking and listening. In that sense it would be beneficial to examine, for example, the extent to which the writings of Blake or Shelley can be said to have incorporated a physiognomating gaze.

Thomas Hill's obscure sixteenth-century neologism, 'to physiognomate', certainly articulated something that is still widely prevalent today. Until the facets of this obscure verb are examined beyond the more strictly intellectual and textual approach undertaken here, particularly in terms of the interaction of the art of physiognomating with a variety of social, political, economic and cultural factors, then the metamorphoses outlined in this thesis will unavoidably appear to have been epiphenomena of changes that occur at the level of language itself - a genuine historical process involving change over time, but one which might best be described simply as a process of translation.

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PLATE XXXVII 'Lover's Portraits', from *The Ladies' Physiognomonical Mirror* (1799).

PLATE I

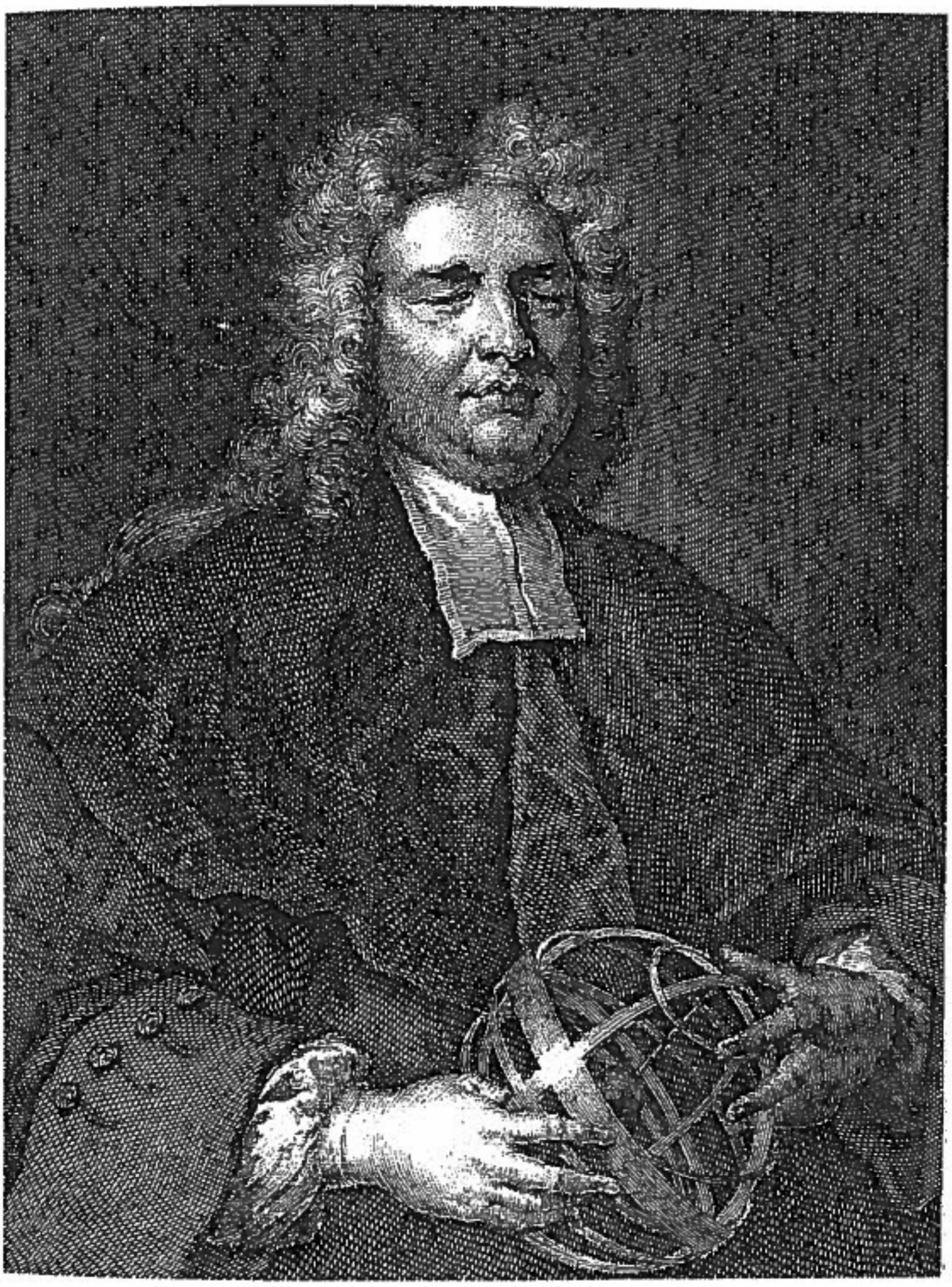


PLATE II



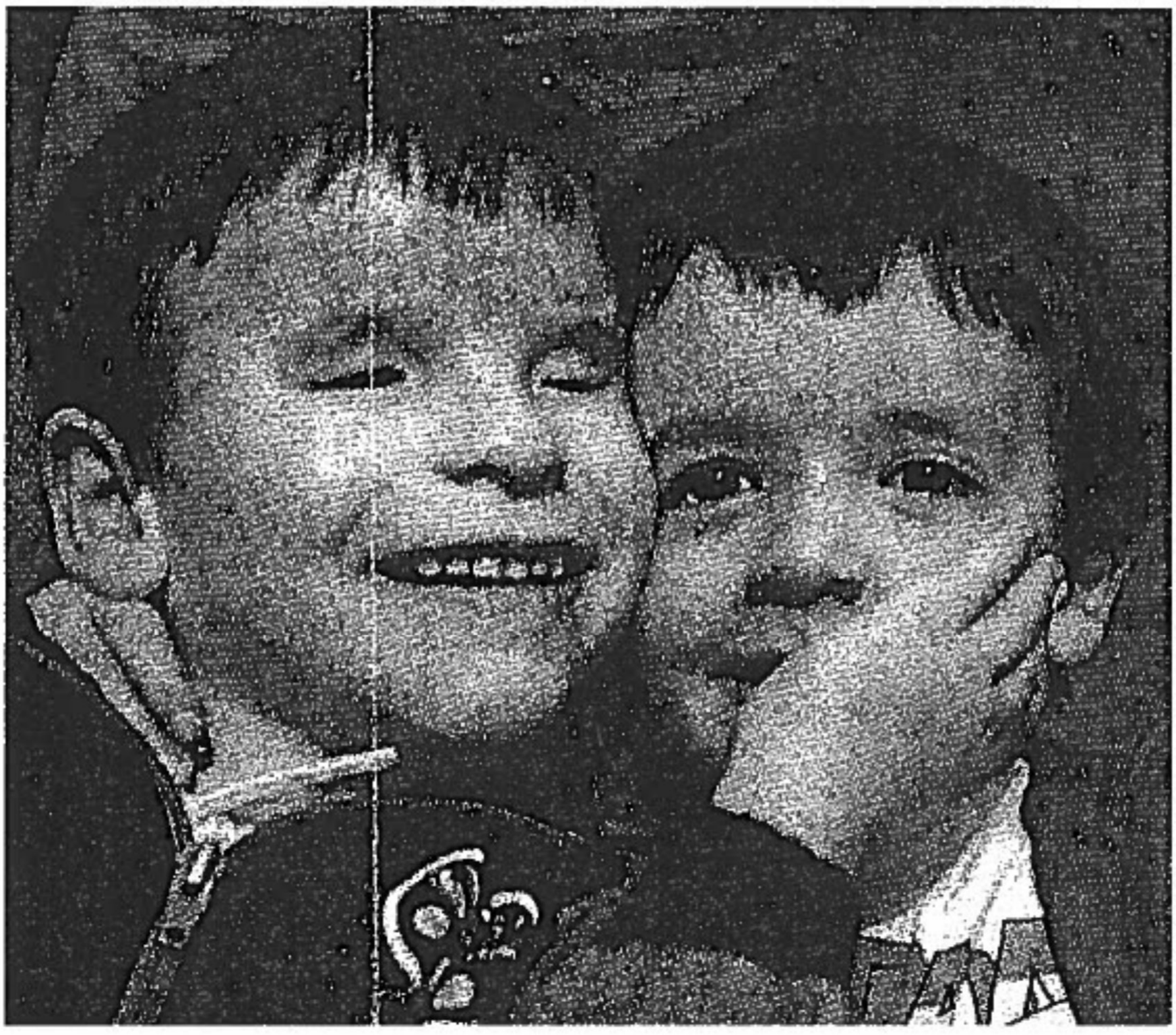


PLATE III



Come Sirs, and view this famous Library,
'Tis pity Learning should discouraged be:
Great Bookes (that is, if they were but well Sold)
Will maintain't are worth their weight in Gold

THE COMPLEAT AUCTIONER.

Then bid apace, and break me out of hand:
Ne'er cry you don't the Subject understand:
For this I'll say – howe'er the Case may hit,
Whoever buys of me, – I teach 'em Wit.

PLATE IV

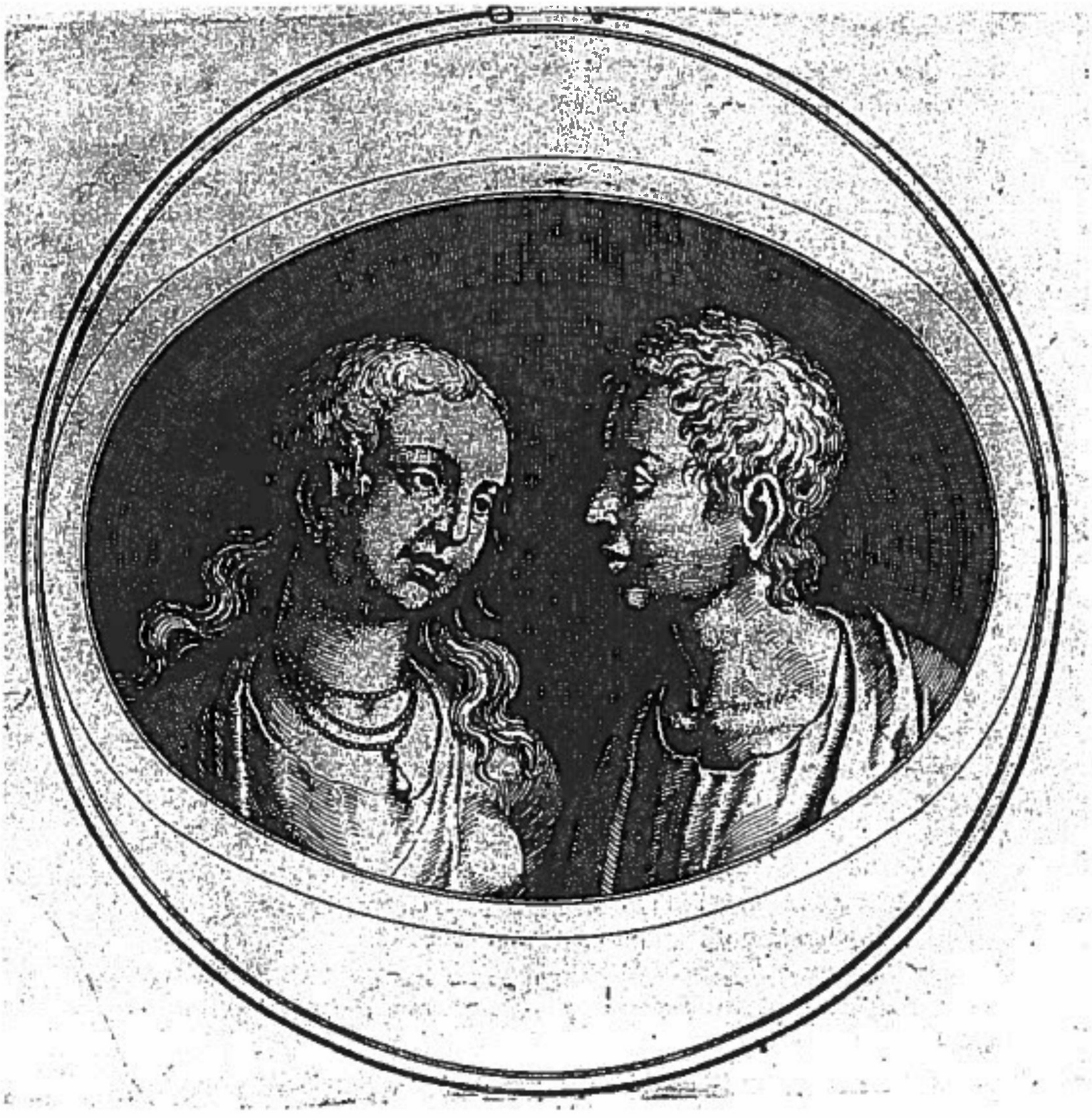


PLATE V



PLATE VI

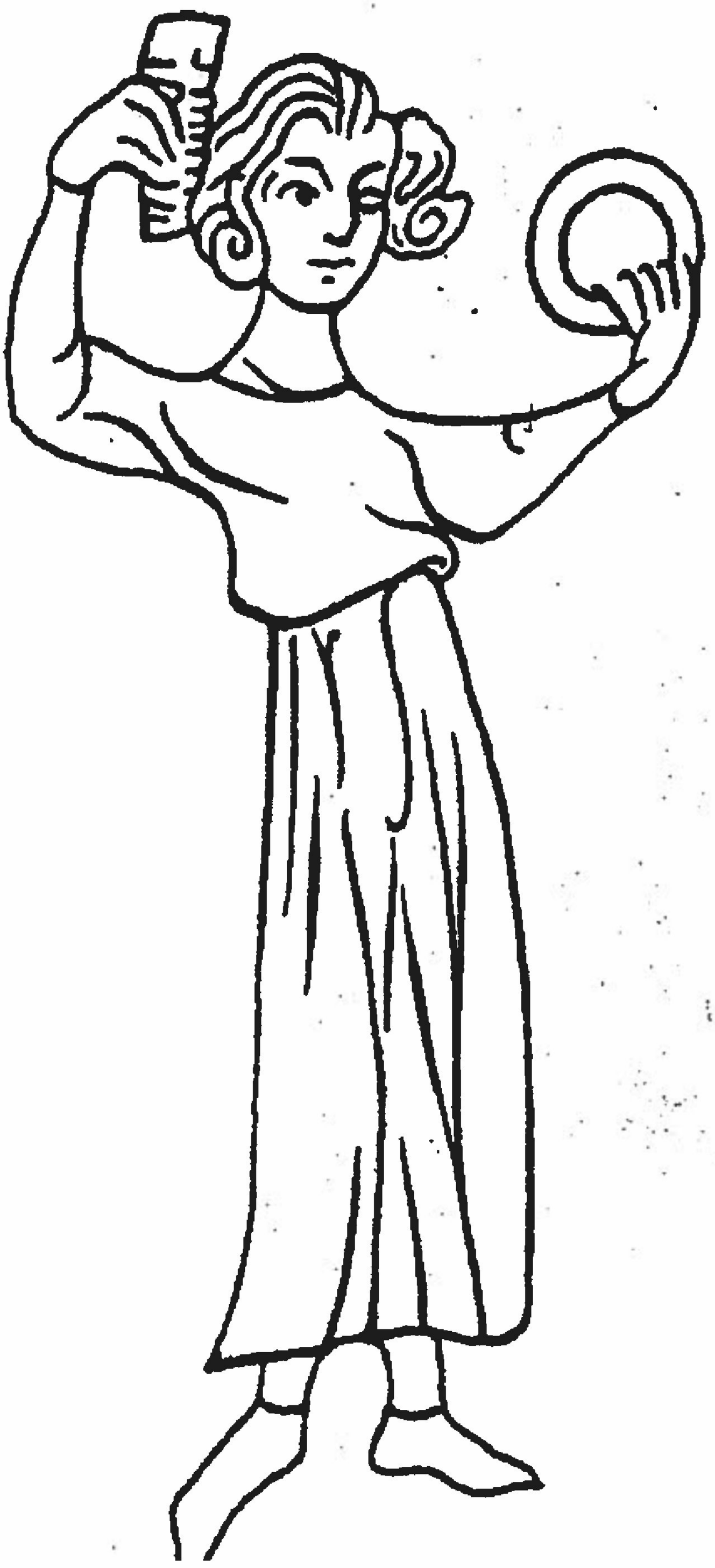


PLATE VII

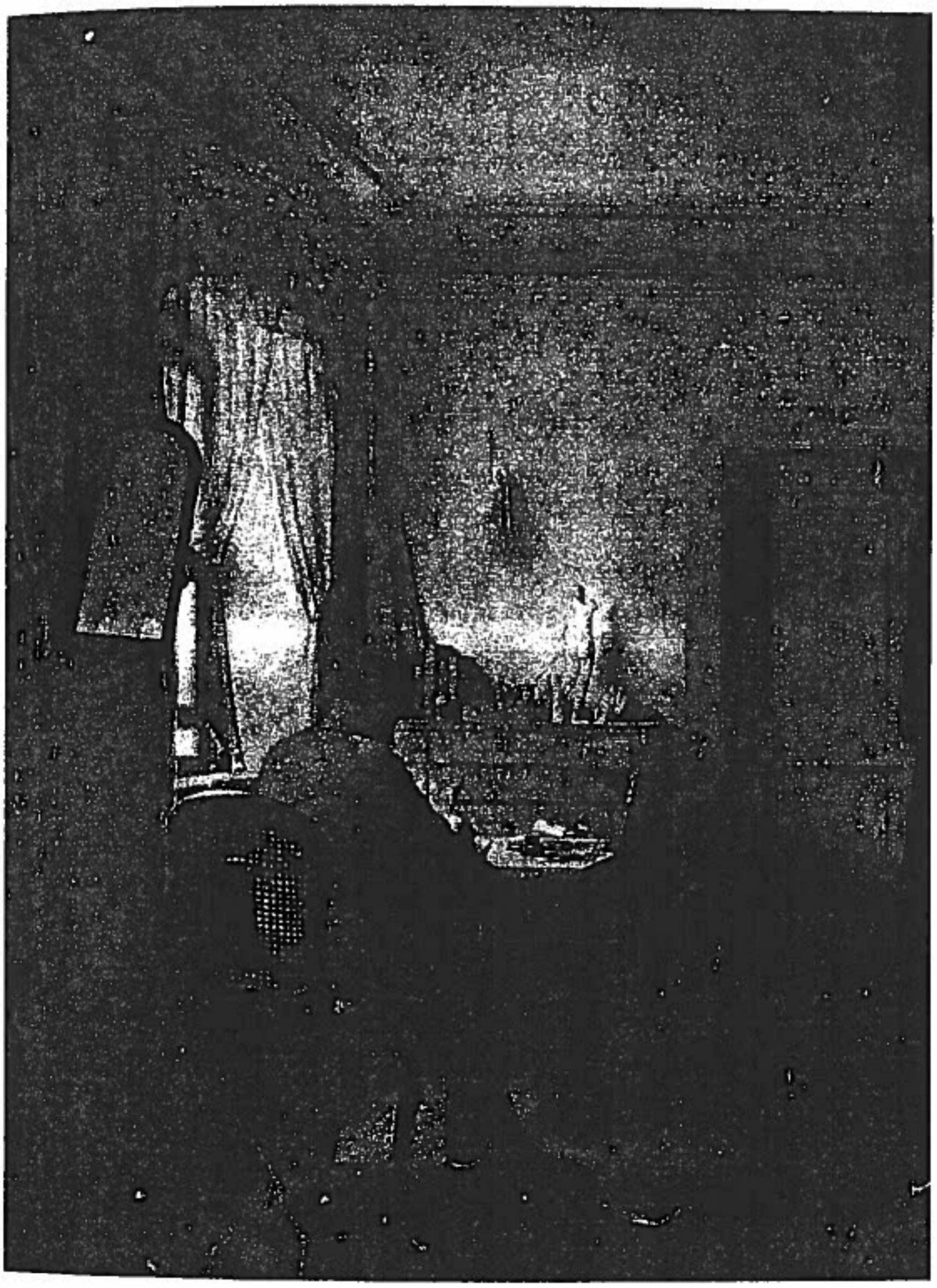
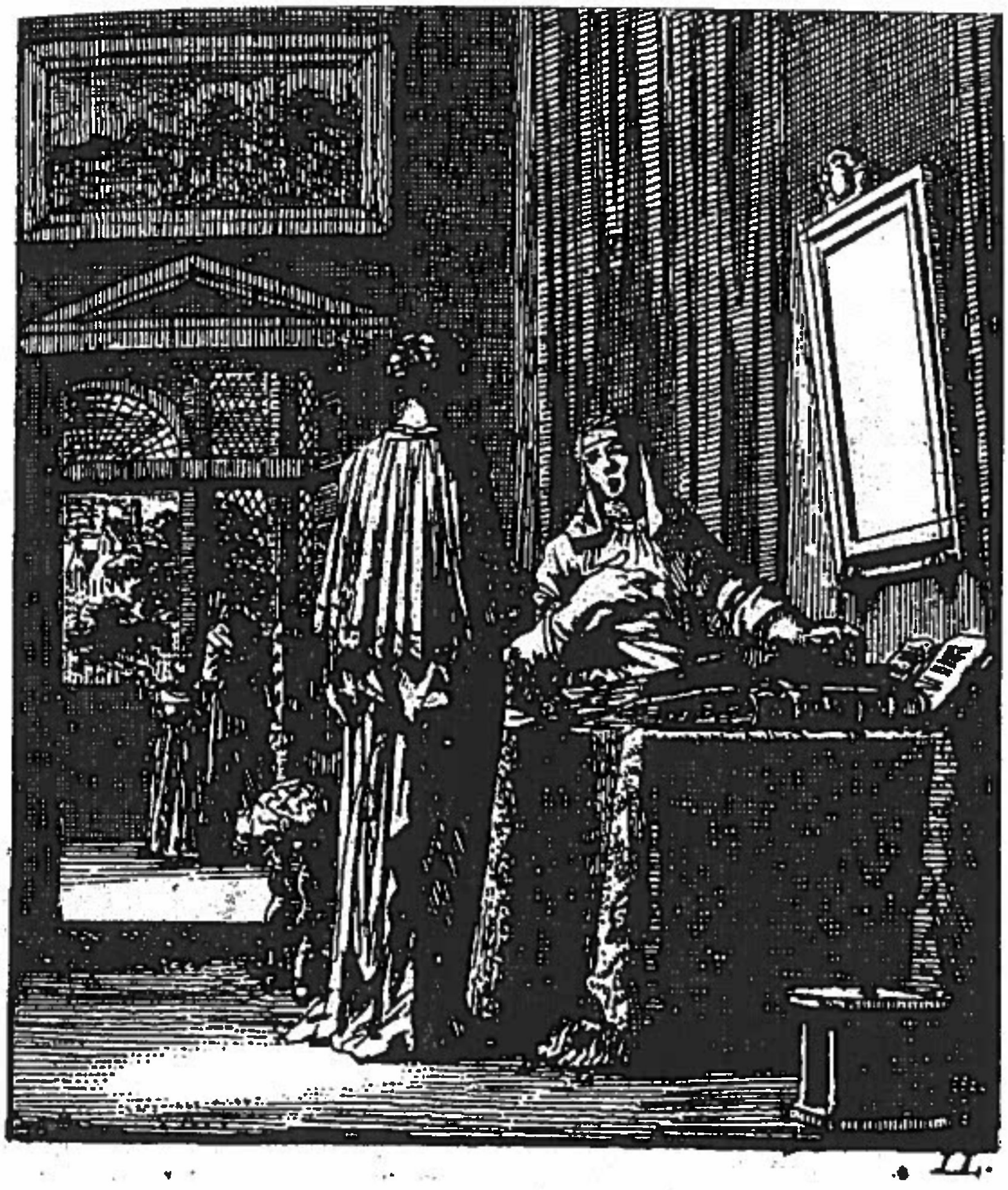


PLATE VIII



Dewyle wy dan deze beloften hebben, Geliefde, laat ons ons zelven reinigen van alle beſmettinge des vlees en des Geeſts, voleindigende de Heiligmaakinge in de vreeze Gods. 2 Korinthen VII: 1.

PLATE IX



PLATE X



PLATE XI





PLATE XII

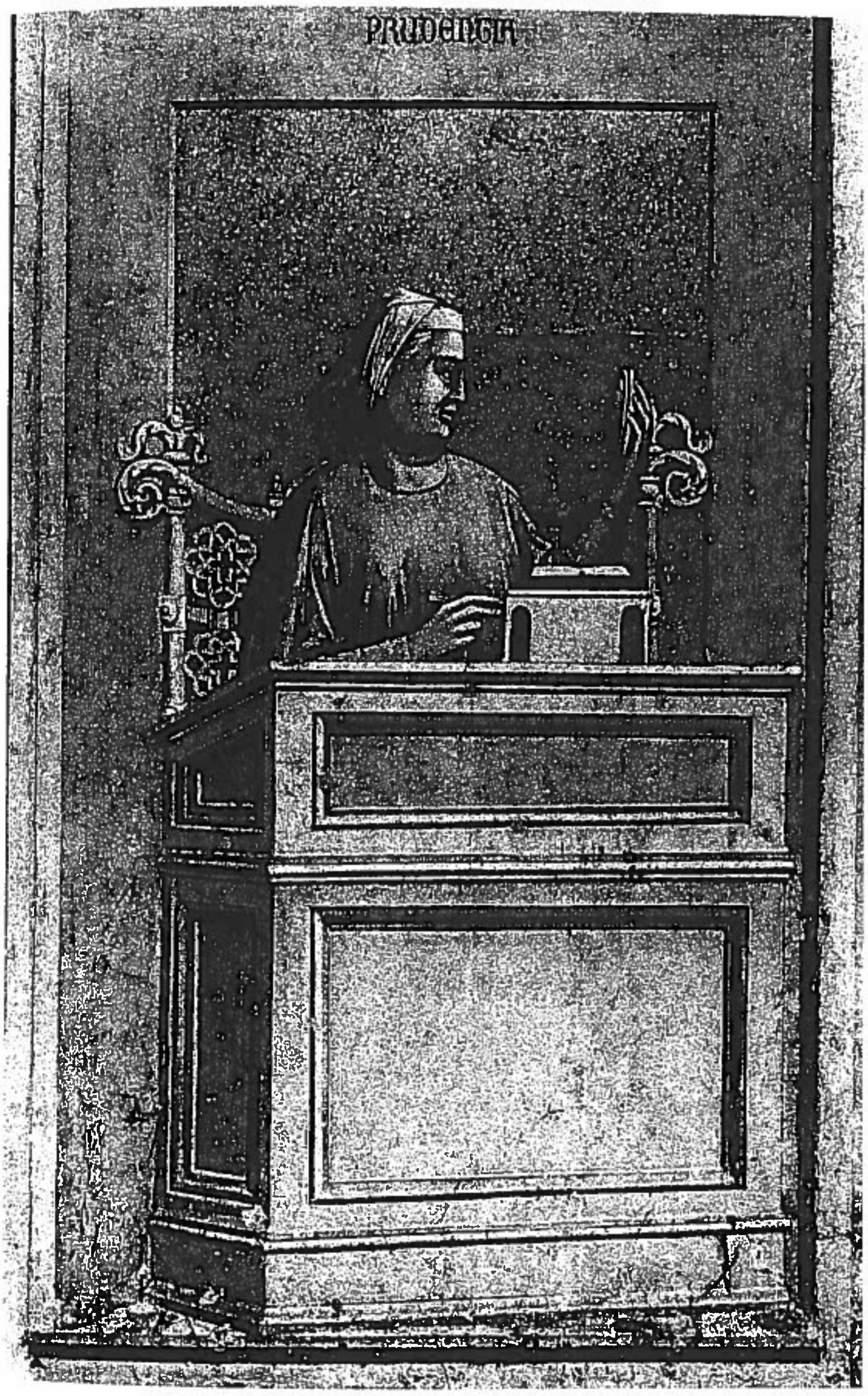


PLATE XIII



VT TE NOSSE QVEAS, HOC PROVIDVS INSPICE SPECLVM

PLATE XIV



Repres[en]t[e]d by a Woman standing in a graceful posture, holding in her R[t] hand a Looking-gla
s in her Left a Serpent; & over her an Angel putting an Helmet on her head: on her R[t] hand
a Cupid, holding an Olive branch in one hand, & a Palm in y[e] other: & on her left Side a Young
Man w[th] a Sword & Buckler: The Looking-glass in her Right, denotes that every prudent Person
ought to look into, & know themselves: y[e] Serpent is an Emblem of Cunning, & y[e] Angel putting the
Helmet on her head, expresseth Heavens aiding us in all our prudent undertaking: The Cupid w[th]
Branches, & [illegible]

PLATE XV

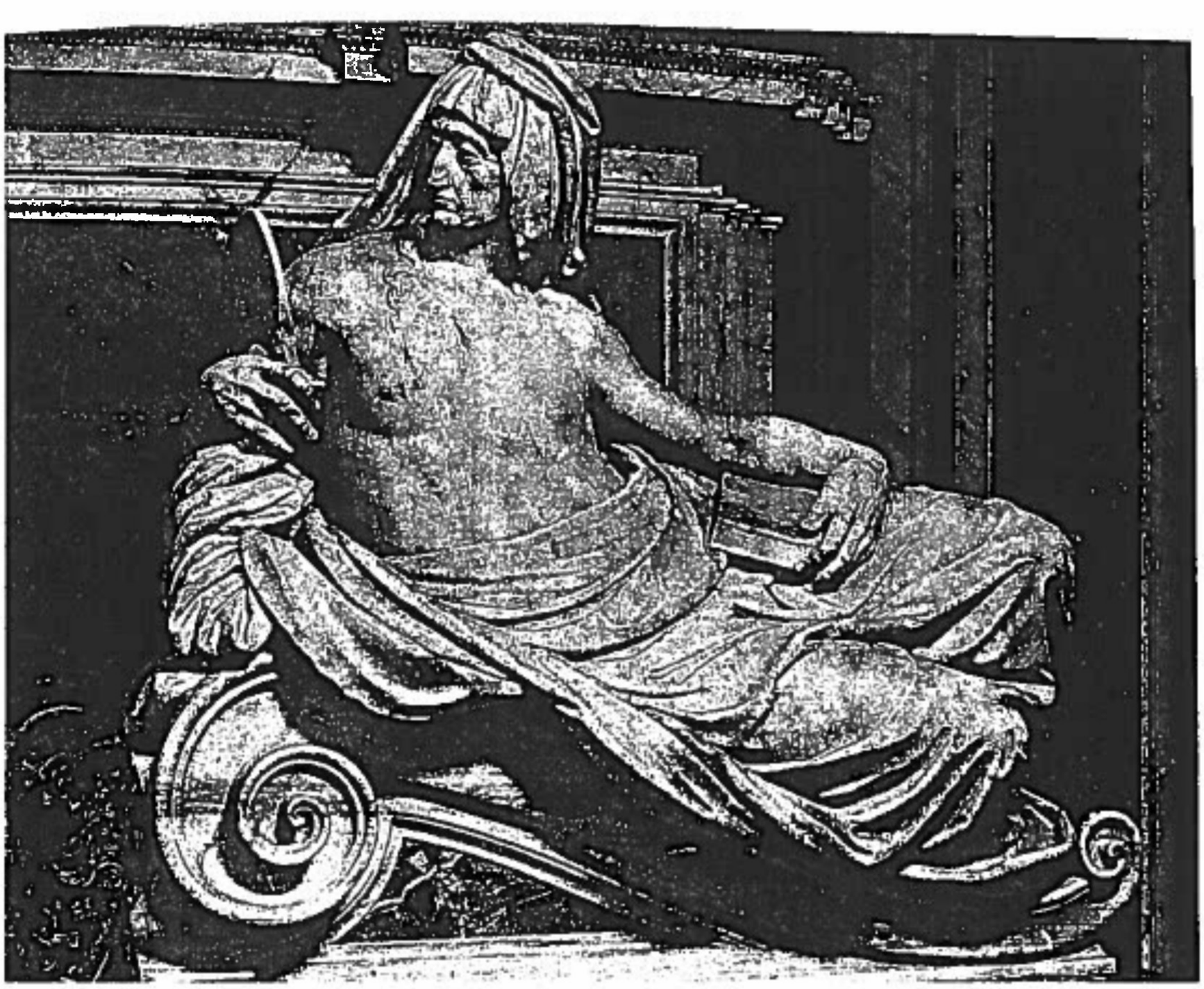
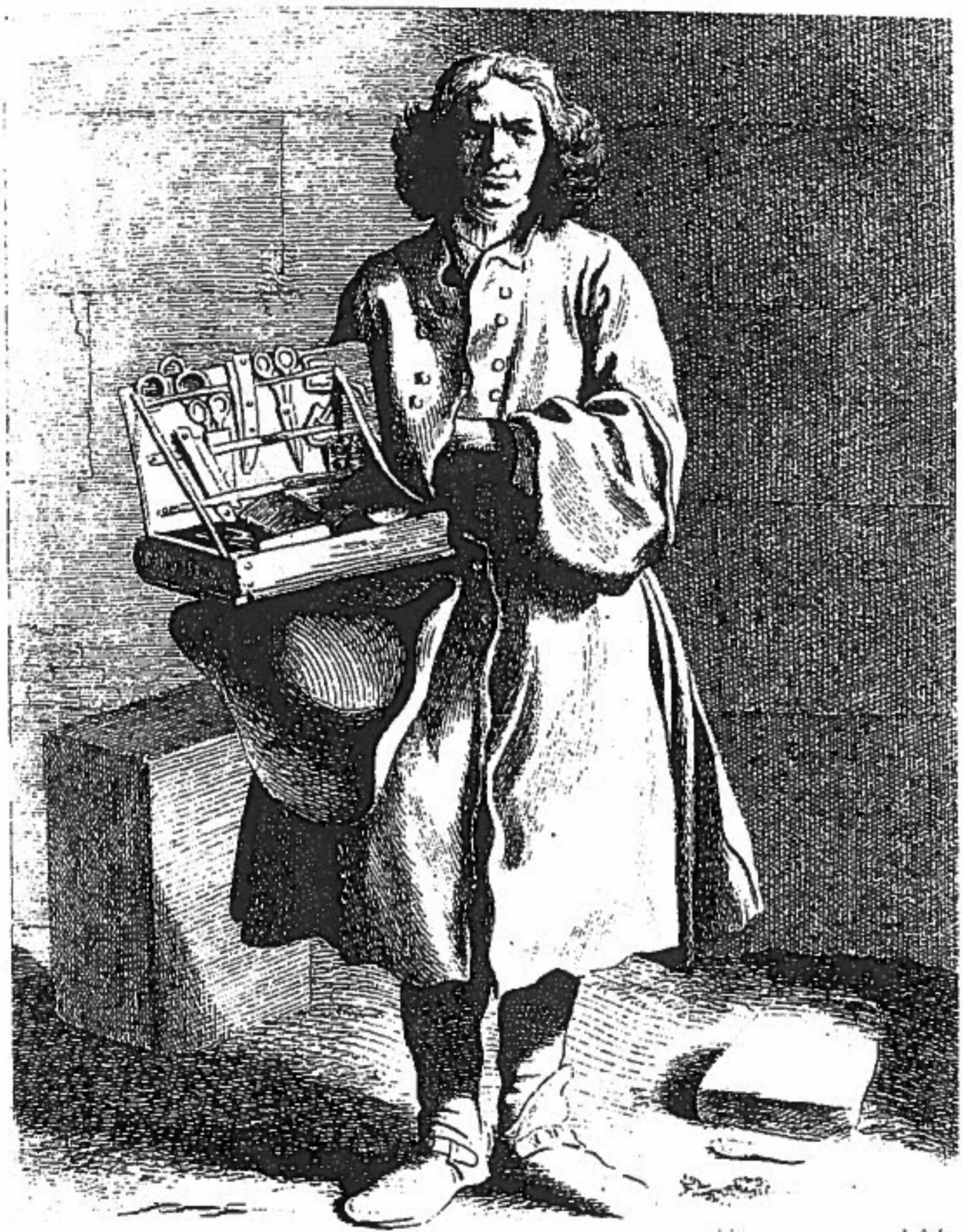


PLATE XVI



Il Accoramaglietti

PLATE XVII



Vaucanson inv.del. — Des Couteaux, des Ciseaux, des Peignes. — C. Sulp.

A Paris Chez Jombert.

PLATE XVIII

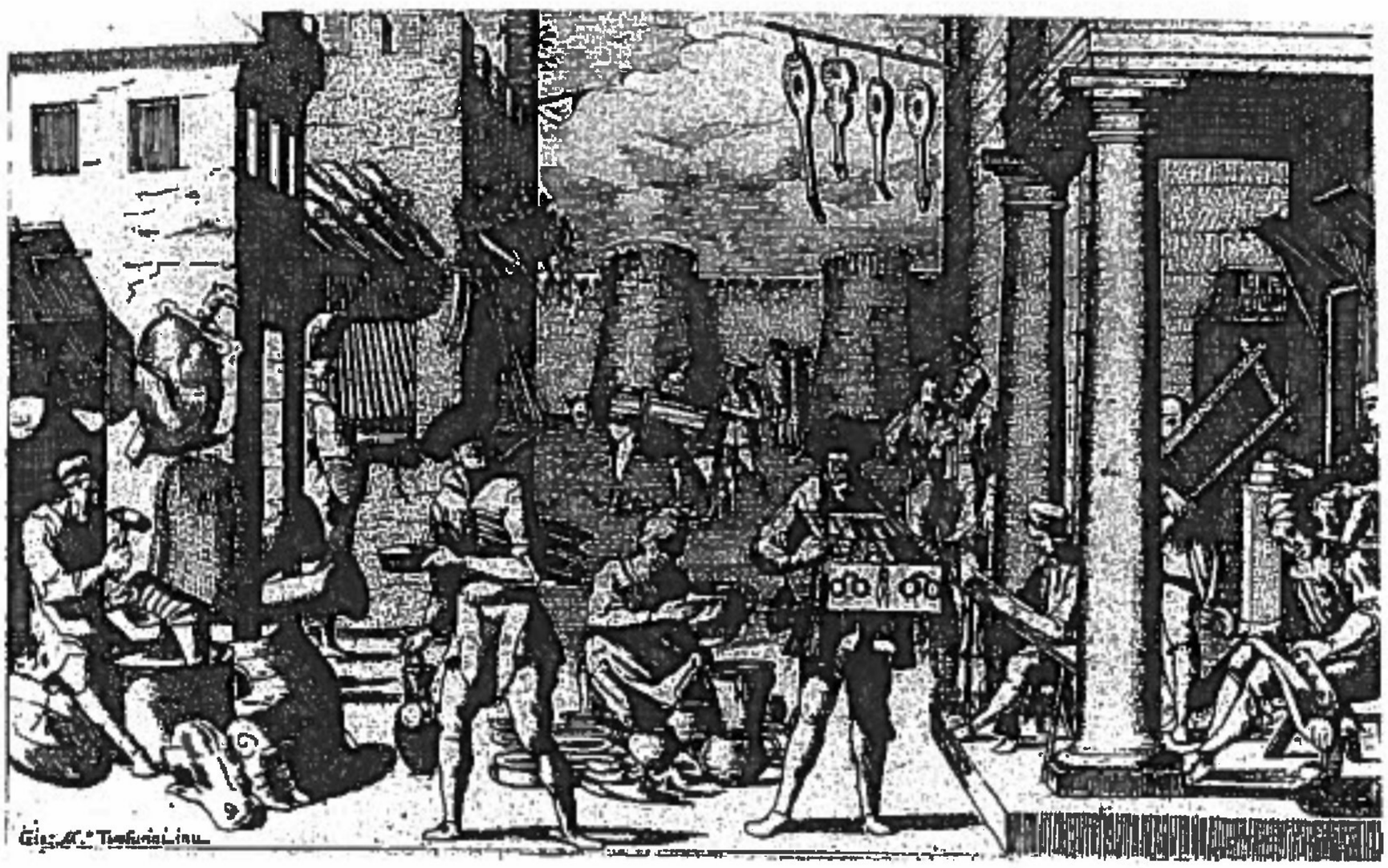


PLATE XIX

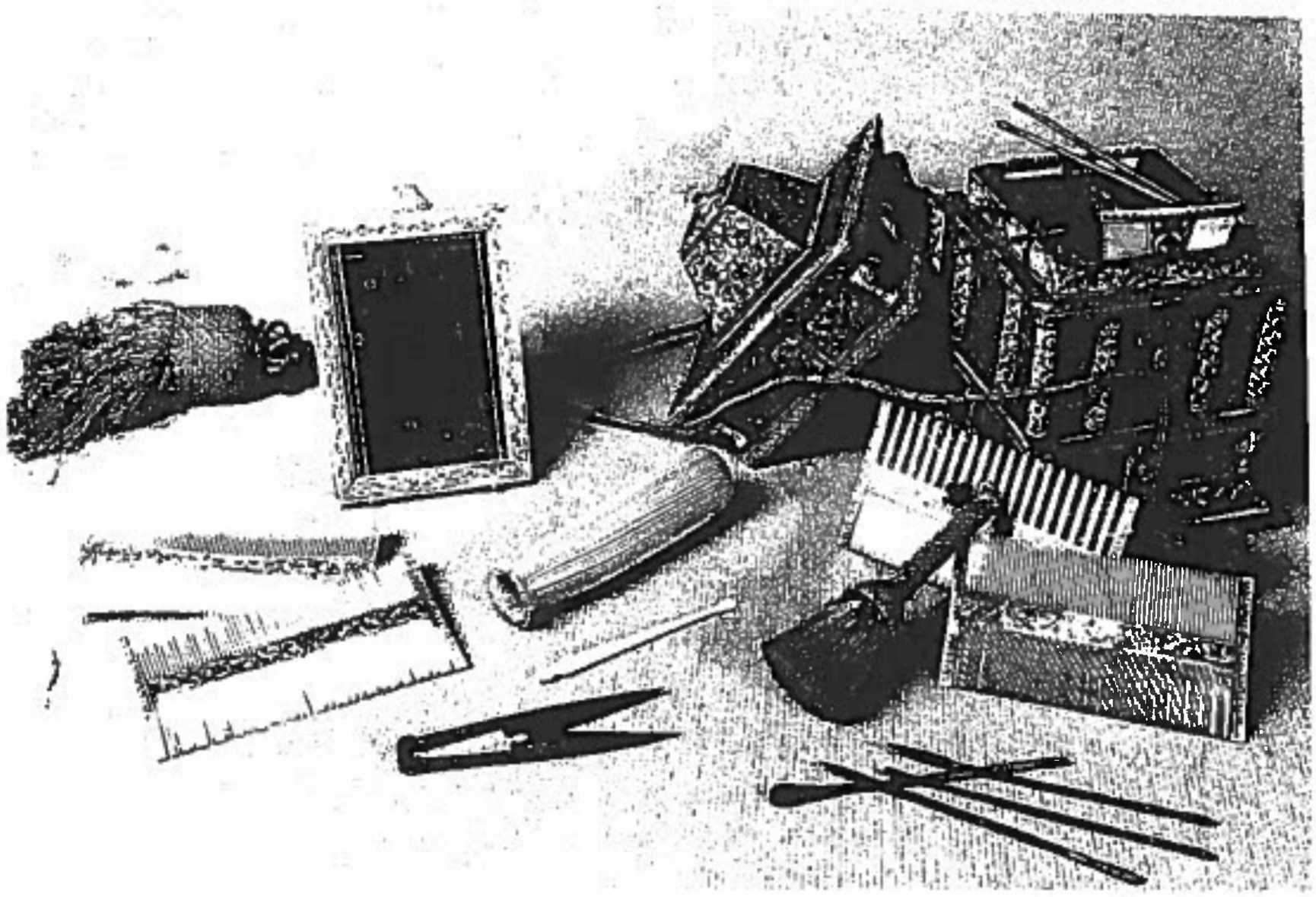


PLATE XX



PLATE XXI



Un Vendeur des Images etc. — Ein Bilderhändler.

1 Petite Apoticairerie. 2. eine Feld Apatheeke 2. un Perse. 2. ein Perser. 3. Portrait d'un General. 3. Portrait eines General. 4. un Calendrier. 4. ein Calender. 5. Carte geographique. 5. Landkarten. 6. un Miroir. 6 ein Spiegel. 7. Papier Peint. Tabb papier. 8. Tableaux avec des images de parchemin, des rames et des chapelets. 8 ein Korb mit Pergament bilder Räsnalen und Rosenkräntz. 9. Images de Parchemin et 9. Pergament bilder 10. D'autres taille Douce peints et noirs. 10. und noch allerley gemahlte u. ungemahlte Kupfferstich

Martin Engelbrecht excud. A. V.

Cum Priv. M.

PLATE XXII



Naturam nituat artis opus; SPECVLOQVE magistro,
Præcipit arcanas emaculare notas.

A. *Iris, in nubibus Solem refert:*
B. *Sed imperfecta est solis imaginatio.*
C. *Secretes suorum motus ad speculum formet.*
D. *Pythagoras iubet suos se ad Solem in speculo contemplari.*
E. *Quid inventi discendum ex speculo.*
F. *Quid sensi consilio speculi meditandum.*

PLATE XXIII



PLATE XXIV



PLATE XXV

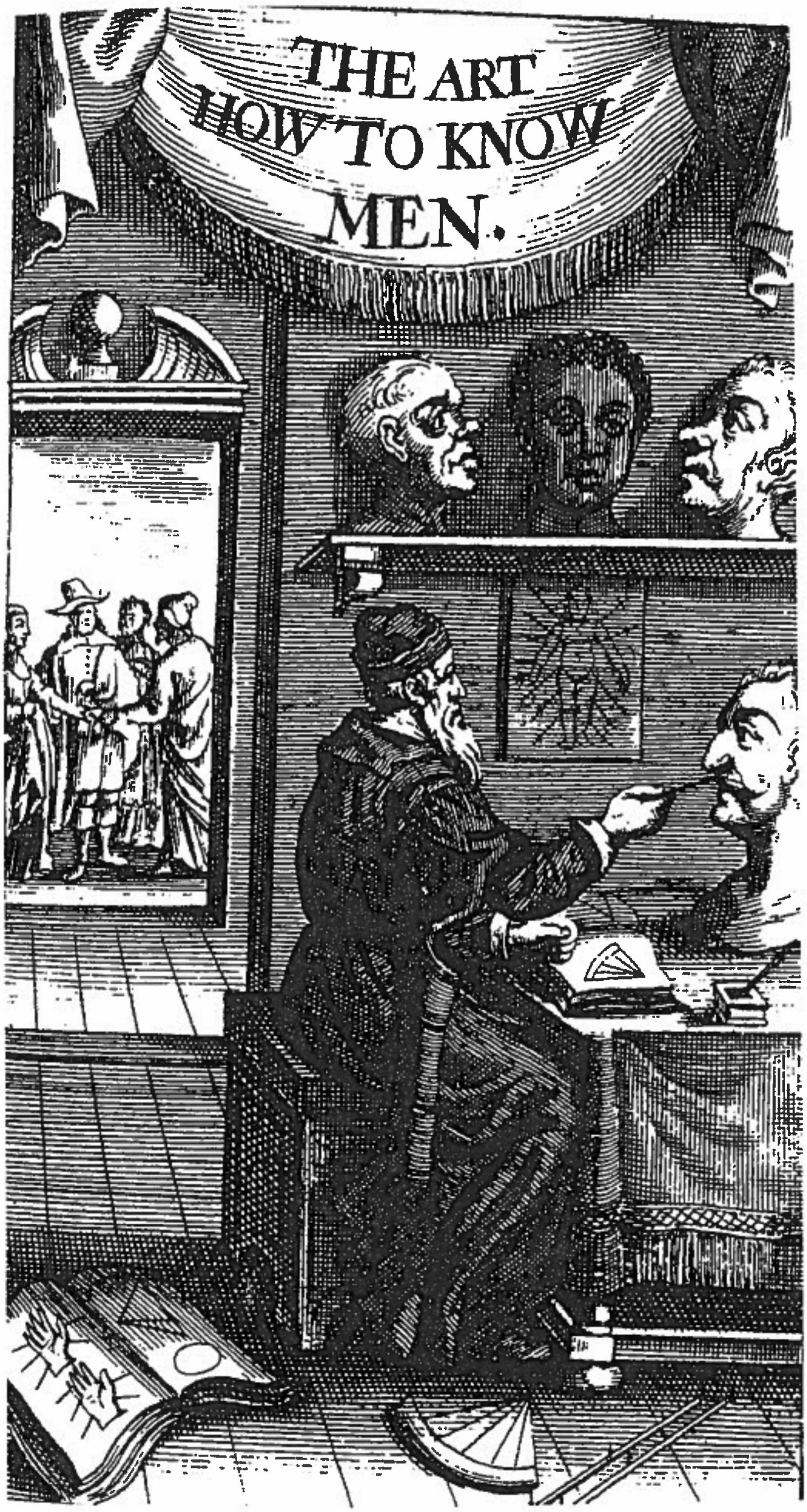


PLATE XXVI



(Detail)



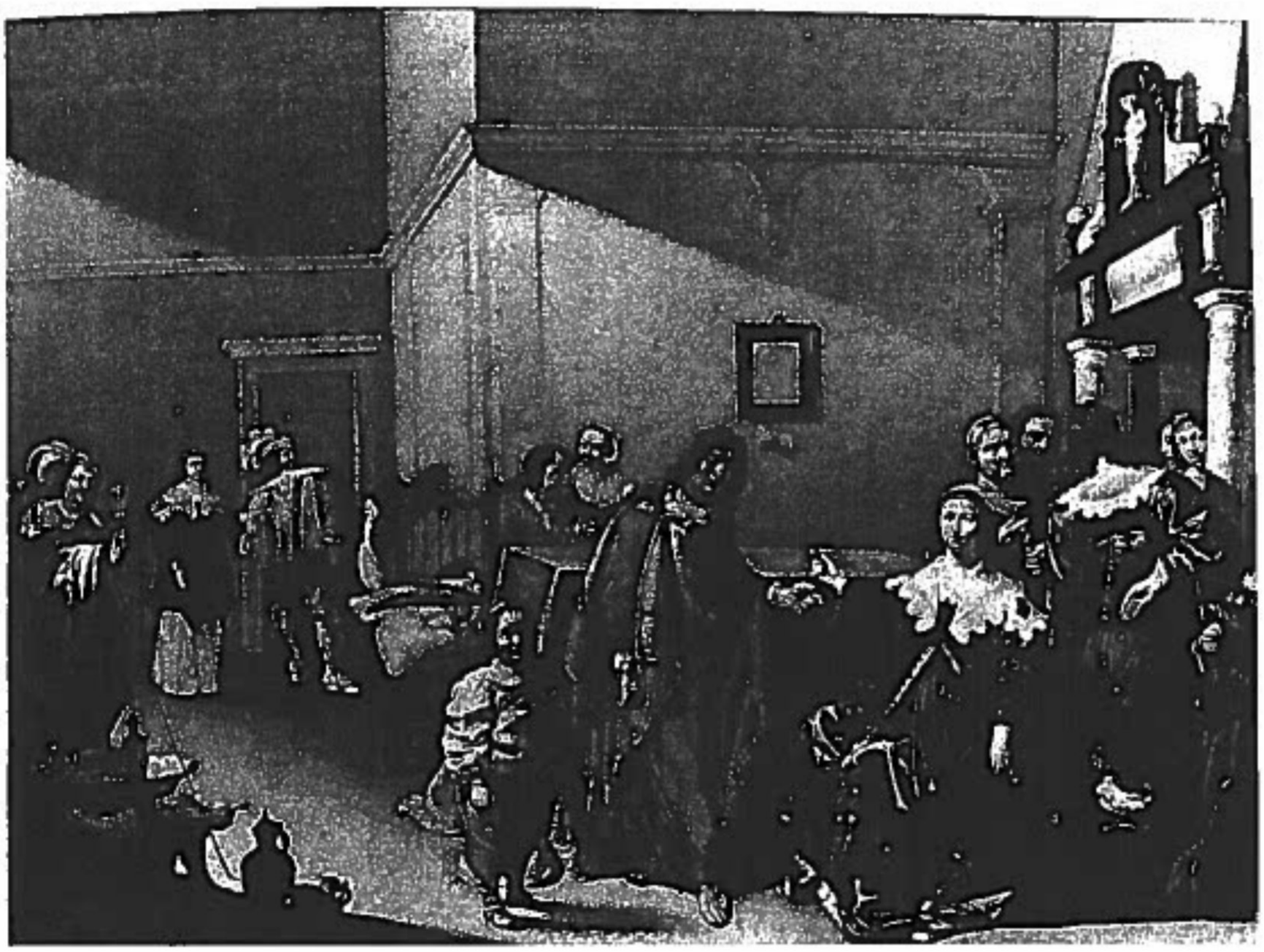
PLATE XXVII



(Detail)



PLATE XXVIII



(Detail)

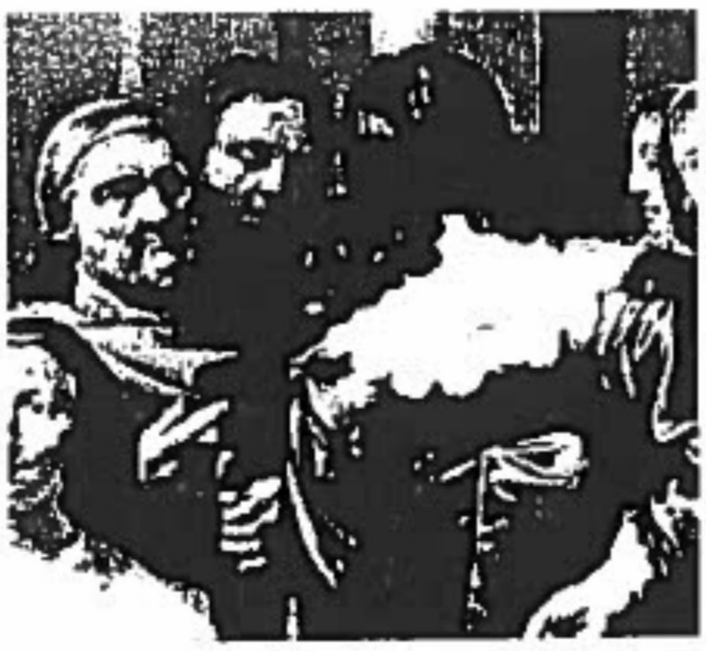
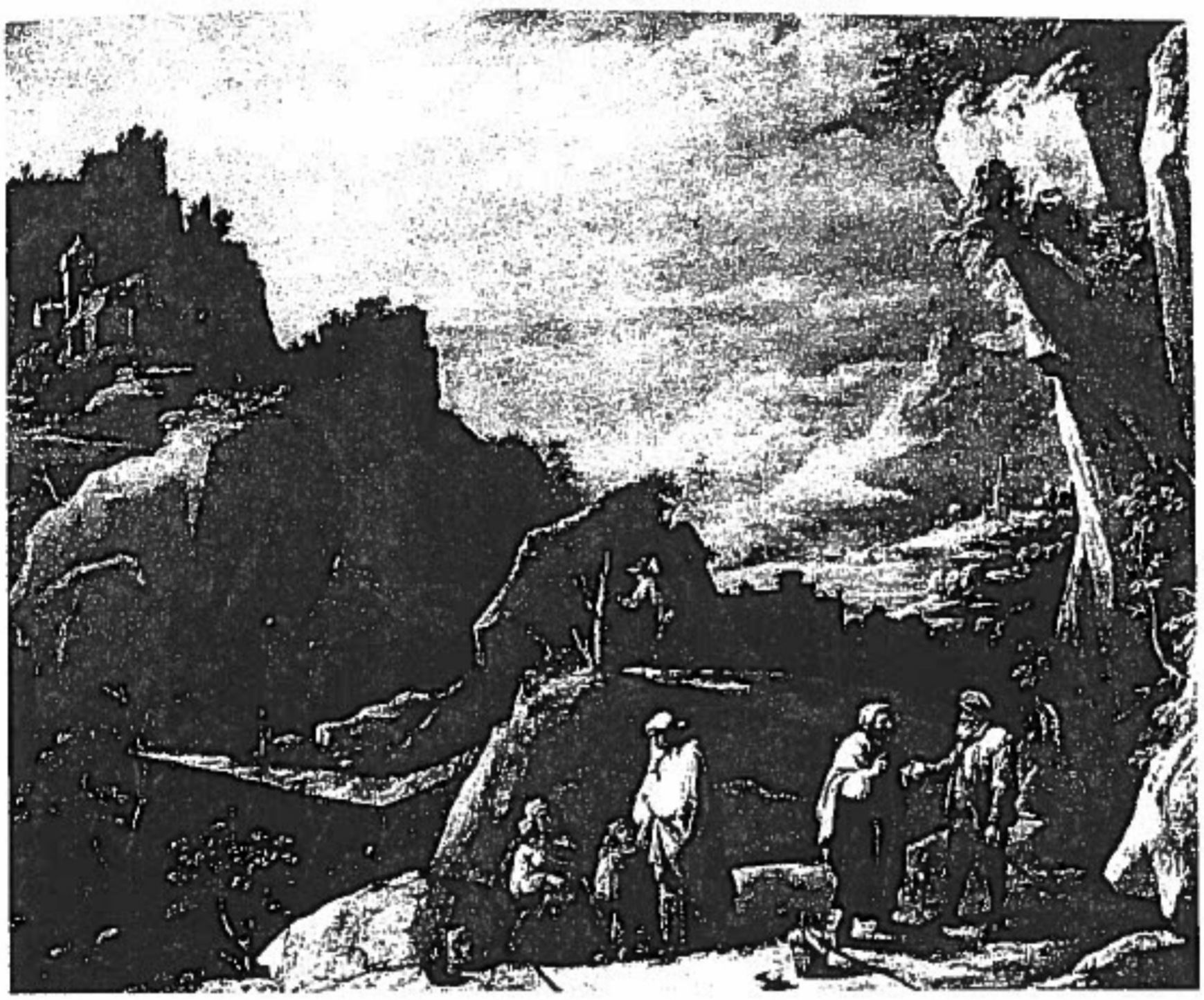


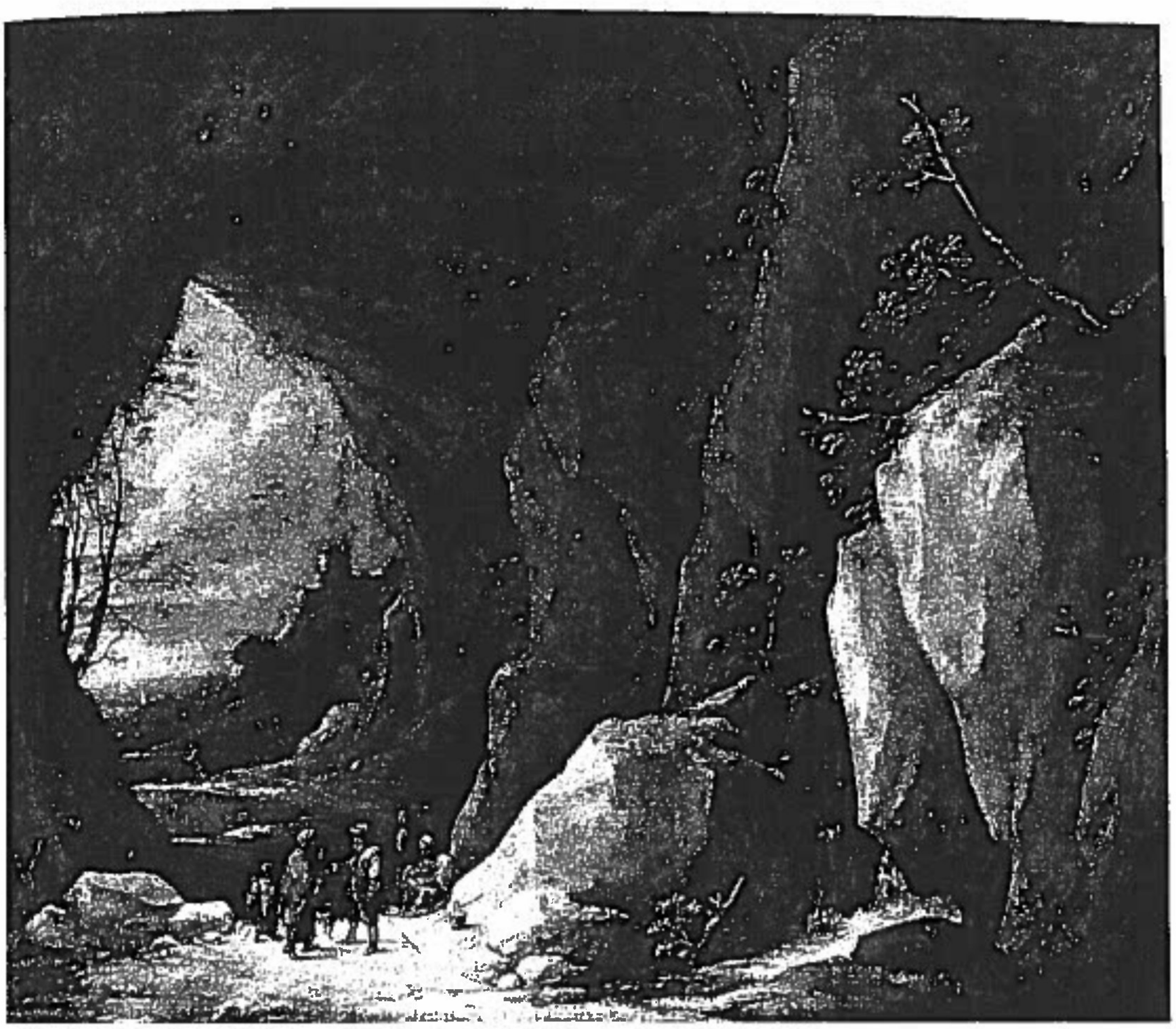
PLATE XXIX



(Detail)



PLATE XXX



(Detail)



PLATE XXXI



(Detail)

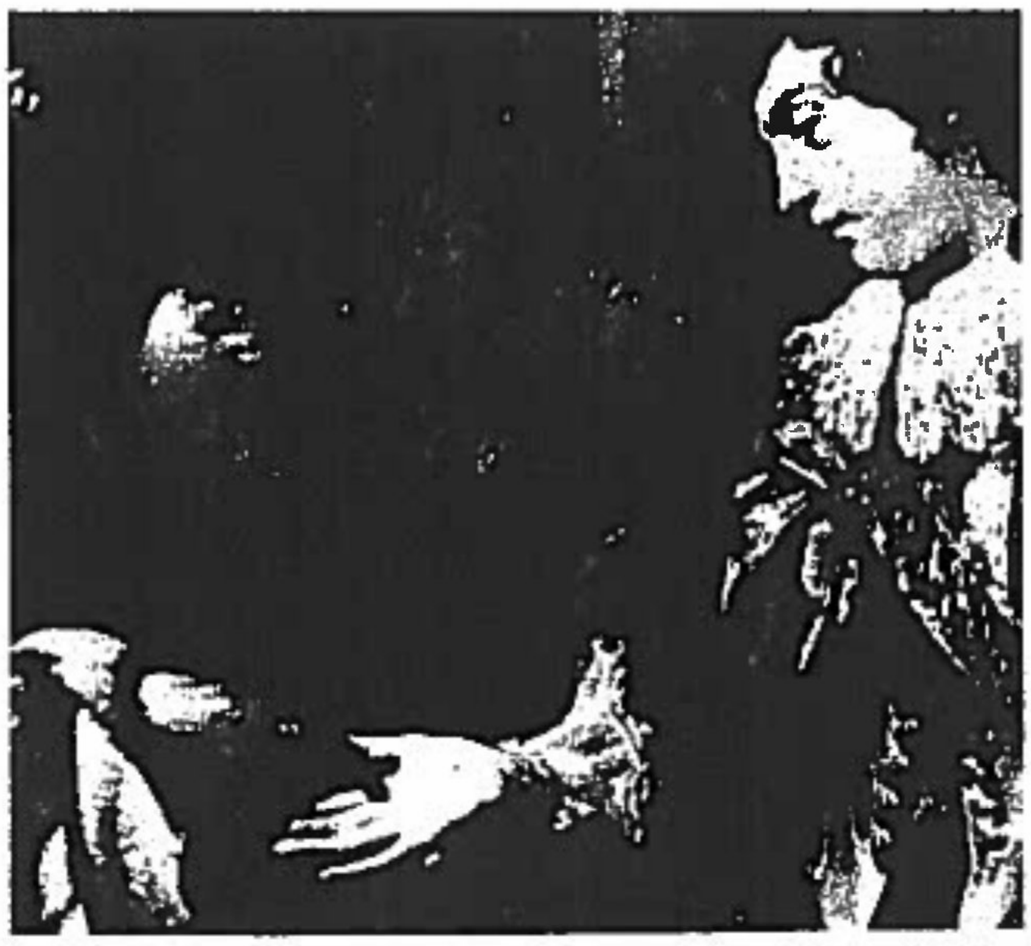
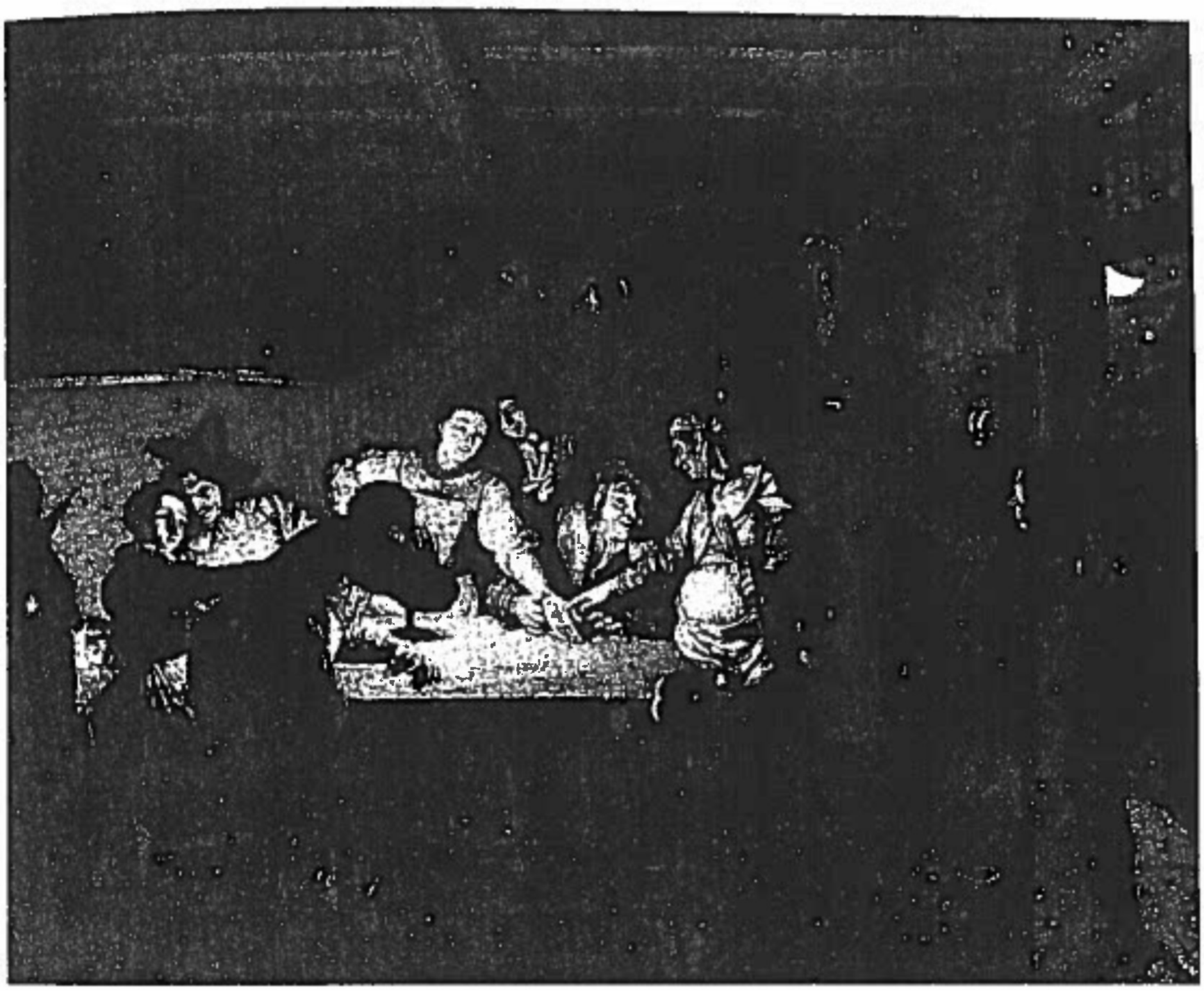


PLATE XXXII



(Detail)



PLATE XXXIII



PLATE XXXIV



PLATE XXXV

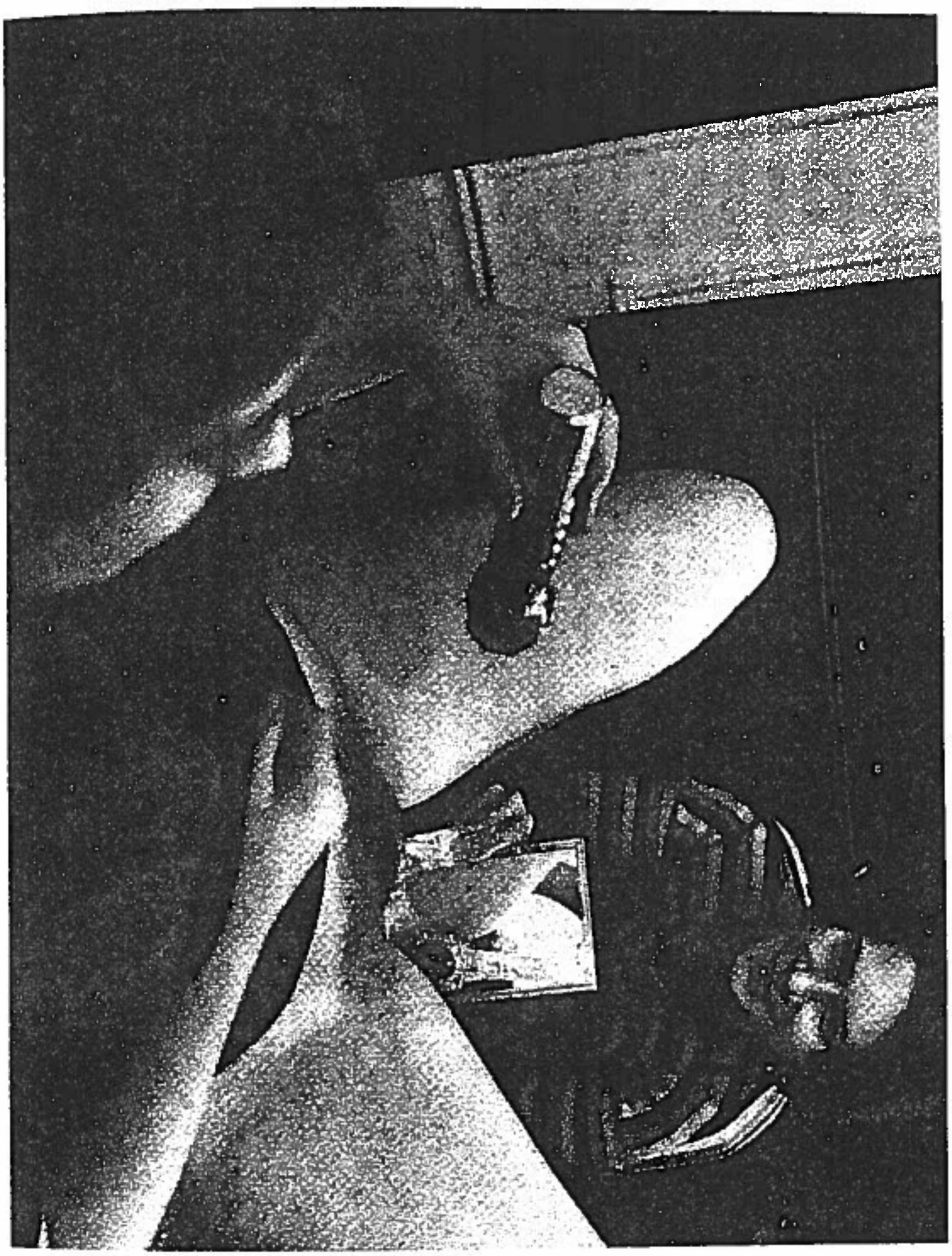
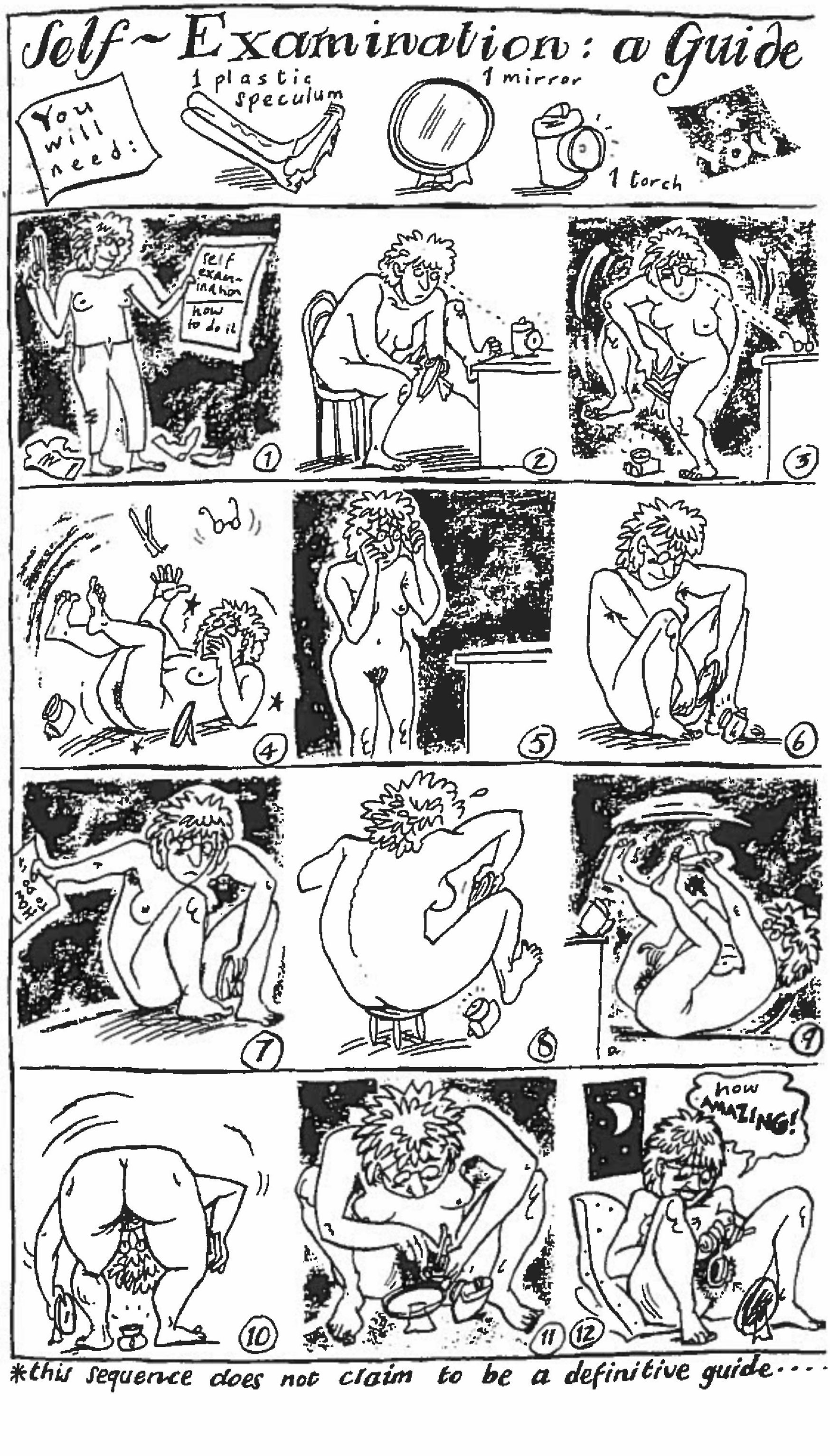


PLATE XXXVI



*this sequence does not claim to be a definitive guide....

PLATE XXXVII

APPENDIX

THE APHORISMS ON THE VOICES

THE APHORISMS ON THE VOICES

This appendix consists of a chronologically arranged list of all the physiognomical aphorisms relating to the *voice* which are to be found in all of the English physiognomical treatises discussed in this thesis as well as those in the main Classical, Arabic and Medieival authorities. The voice has been chosen to illustrate numerous points, not least the fact the art of physognomating was not a purely visual phenomenon.

Apart from the most ancient works, the dates on the left-hand side represent, for the most part, the first known printed utterance of the aphorism in the form given. For ancient texts, modern editions have been used where possible. Given that the latter have been constructed from a variety of slightly different manuscripts, they cannot exactly reflect the dating of any of their individual utterances. As such, and from a strictly historicised philological point of view, the back-projection of these works as the Uhr-textual form of the utterance tends to introduce an element of contemporary distortion into the form of the material. Indeed, given the ways in which successive transcriptions and translations of physiognomical manuscripts altered the details, a case could be made for the necessity of including the aphorisms of each extant version. Other distortions are to be found in the use of a late twentieth-century English translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*, and a late-nineteenth century Latin translation of an extant Arabic copy of Polemon's second century treatise made by a German speaker. Any examination of the textual changes and continuities in the physiognomical discourse has to take these factors into consideration. However, given that the present study is concerned with works for which both the dating and the surface form of the original material are much more certain, this problem does not loom as large in the early modern material, only in the attempt to relate this early modern material to these earlier works.

The list can be seen as a sequence of textual 'sound-bites'. It is unified by the fact that all of the contents are taken from deliberate and conscious expositions of physiognomical doctrine. Indeed most of them were produced in awareness of the prior physiognomical tradition. It is this constant which provides a justification for the presentation of the list as a sequence or a 'series' of textual events of a similar nature. From the strictest historicist point of view, none of the early modern expositions of physiognomical doctrine were ever presented in exactly this form. However, this reconfiguring of the evidence allows one to expose aspects of the content which might have been familiar to early modern minds but which would other wise be invisible to the modern eye. Moreover, Thomas Hill's 1571 treatise is similar in form to this appendix.

[For the abbreviations found in brackets after each aphorism the reader is refered to the list of abbreviations on pp. viii-x.]

MEDIUM

1506 the voyse mydway on the persone that is nat to great ne to smal betokeneth wytte puruyauns trouthe and ryghtuousnes [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 A mean voice that is not small nor too great signifieth wit, purveyance, truth, and rightwiseness [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1511 Meane in voyse nouther to hyghe nor base.
In moche speche whiche doth none offence.
Spekyth in tyme and dothe no trespase.
Unto the eerys of the audyence.
Conueyeth his mateer by reason and prudence.
In eche circumstaunce useth discrecion.
Suche a man is beste of complexion [*SS, JL&BB, p. 81.*]

1511 Meane in voyse nouther to grete nor small.
Sygne is of trouthe and ryght wysnesse [*SS, JL&BB, p. 85.*]

1528 He that hath a meane voyce neyther to bygge nor to lytell is folysshe and unreasonable [*RC, MM, p. 381.*]

1556 The voyce meane in subtilnes, and grosnes, declareth such a parsone to be sapiente, forseinge, true, and juste (Cocles) [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 A mean voice in sound and in greatnesse, declareth the man to be wise, circumspect, just and true [*ARC, 1664, Lvii(v).*]

1619 *Mediocris inter grossum & tenuem*, significat prudentes, paratos, fideles, & justos [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

GOOD SOUNDING

1235 Cuius vox est clara & bene expedita in sono significat hominem conuenienter prouidum veracem sagacem ingeniosum mendacem vana gloriosum & cito credentem [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1235 Cuius vox est solida in cantu significat hominem conuenienter fortem intellectuatum tenacem cupidum alieni & ingeniosum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1235 Cuius vox est mitis & plana & grata auditori significat hominem pacificum secretum timidum tenacem iracundum & valde sui sensus [*MS (c. 1485), p. 68.*]

1503 Parson that as oon good woys weel sowndant ys hardy sage and weel spekand [*KS, HOS, Kviii-Kviii(v).*]

1506 that hath a gode voyce wel sownynge is wyse and well spekynge [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 A person that hath a good voice well sounding is hardy, wise, and well spoken [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1710 A full, and yet mild voice, and pleasing to the hearer, shews a person to be of a quiet and peacable disposition (which is a great virtue, and rare to be found in a woman) and also very thrifty and secret, not prone to anger, but of a yielding temper [ACM (1764), p. 109.]

1710 A strong voice, when a man sings, denotes him to be of a strong constitution, and a good understanding, neither too penurious, nor too prodigal, also ingenious, and an admirer of the fair sex [ACM (1764), p. 109.]

THICK

925 Cuius vox est valde crassa et alta, audax est [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1230 cuius vox crassa est, indicat stultitiam, parvam intellgentiam, superbiam animae [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, S. 16.*]

1230 cuius vox crassa est, signum est stultitiae, parvae intelligentiae, superbiae animae [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, s. 17.*]

DEEP/FULL

300 B.C. when deep and full it is a sign of courage [*Phys, 806b 25.]*

125 Cum vocem cavam gravem sonoram audis, ei strenuitatem attribue magnam audaciam sinceritatem et veritatem [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

400 Qui vocem tamquam ex concauo depromunt grauem et inflexibilem, ingenio sunt uirili et magnanimi [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1260 Si autem vocem tamquam ex concavo pectoris emittunt, gravem quidem et inflexibilem, viriles in bellis sunt et magnanimi [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Exprimentes uocem tanquam ex concauo pectoris grauem inflexibilem, uiriles indociles & magnanimi denotantur leonibus relati [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1556 the voyce maye be heauye and dyscensed, or hyghe, that is greate, to a basse orgayne pype; and such a voyce (saieth he) declareth that manne to bee stronge. [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii.*]

1556 They that speake bigge inflexible, by the commotion of the breste: be manlye, unapte to bee taught or to lerne, and hardy, compared to the lyons [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

SONOROUS

1230 Qui habet vocem sonoram est animosus [*SS, SP, II, p. 208, S. 11.*]

1230 Et qui habet grossam vocem et sonoram, est bellicosus et eloquens [*SS, SP, II, p. 208. Ph. 11.*]

1230 Cuius vox grossa [vel sonora] est, animosus est [*SS, SP, II, p. 208. s. 11.*]

1295 Qui vocem habet crassam altam & sonoram, est audax eloquens & bellicosus [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1556 he which hath a great, hyghe, and sounding voyce, declareth to be bolde, eloquente, and a warrioure (Cocles) [*TH (1556), sig. Cv.*]

1564 They that have a grosse voice, and sounding well, are warlike and eloquent [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1619 *Exerta, & acuta* bellicosum & eloquentem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1710 A great and full voice in either sex shews them to be of a great spirit, confident, proud, and wilful [*ACM (1764), p. 108.*]

DEEP

400 Qui vocem grauem et quassam tamquam ex quassato uasculo promunt, stulti sunt et voraces [*AL, 78, p. 110.*]

925 qui vocem habet gravem, sui ventris serviens est [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1295 Et qui uocem grauem habuerit sui uentris seruus erit [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1556 And he also whych hathe a heauy voyce, is seruaunt to his proper belly: the reason is, because the voyce heauye, procedeth of the debylitie of the vertue, which can not breathe oute plentifulnes of aire to moue the muscles of the breaste, by which proceadith slouggyshnes, so that the wit cannot be applyed in study, nor laboure with the body, or use bodilie laboure [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

SLOW, DEEP

125 Si vocem gravem debilem audi, ei studii iacturam cogitationis defectum crimen malam in iracundia (*sic*) indolem et ventris libidinem adiudicato [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

125 Si vero eum sermone gravi utentem vides....., diuturnam sollicitudinem et tristitiam et vehementem curam indicat [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

400 Tarda vox inertem, praeceps imprudentem declarat [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

400 Qui tardum et grauem uocis edunt sonum, tranquilli sunt, iocundi, affabiles. Horum et iusti mores sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1295 Qui tardem & grauem uocis sonum habent tranquili sunt & iocundi, horum quidem iusti & affabiles mores existunt [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1260 Si vero aliqui tardum et gravem edunt vocis sonum, tranquilli esse significantur et iocundi et iustorum operum [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1260 Tarda vero vox inertem praecipitem declarat et impudentem [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Vox uero tarda inertem praecipitem impudentem declarat [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1556 They which haue a slowe and basse voice, be peasable, and joyous or merie: and certaine of these parsones, be juste and affable manered [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

1564 Grave and moderate, Strong, Dogges [*ARC, 1652, sig. I2(v)-I3.*]

1564 They that have a slow voice and grave, are quiet men, and easie to be spoken to, merry and well mannered [*ARC, 1664, L7.*]

1564 The voyce that is grave and drawne long, betokenteth strength, I meane the grosse voyce, and that soundeth like a trumpet; the force of the voyce followeth the wideness of the veines, and the multitude of spirits: all which things come of heat: the men that have a gross voice are very iniurious, and are compared to Asses; They [that] have a gross voyce by nature, without forcing it, are strong, and that is referred to Dogs [*ARC, 1664, L7-L7(v).*]

1619 *Gravis & ponderosa* ventri obedientem, segnem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1669 Those that have a slow and lisping speech, are of a good Behaviour [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

1694 A grave and slow Voice, shews a Man to be of a sedate and quiet temper, and one of great Strength [*EP, 1758, p. 65.*]

DEEP & LARGE

300B.C. A big deep voice indicates insolence, as in the ass [*Phys., 813a 30.*]

125 Ubi vox laxa gravis est, ei debilitatem teneritatem et se comendi amorem adiudica [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

1258 Qui magna vociferantur graviter, iniuriosi, referuntur ad asinos [*BM, SP, I, p. 85.*]

125 Gravitas vocis acceleratae stultitiam et imprudentiam designat [*POL, SP, I, p. 268.*]

1258 quicunque graviter vocant magnum non perplexum*, referuntur ad fortes canes et decentiam [*BM, SP, I, p. 85.*][*Forster marks a lacuna]

1230 si vox eius grossa est, iracundus est et morum malorum [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, S. 10.*]

1230 si vero vox sua fuerit grossa, erit iracundus et praecipitans, malae naturae [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, Ph. 11.*]

1230 si vox eius grossa est, iracundus est et morum malorum [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, s. 11.*]

1235 Vox grossa in sono significat hominem fortem audacem superbum luxuriosum conedonem ex facili bellicosum valde sui sensus mendacem fallacem secretum iracundum clamosum providum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1503 Oon gret woys in oon womenys oon ewyl syng [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1503 Gret woys betoknys hastynes and yre [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1506 a great voyce in a woman is an euyll syne [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 A great voice in a woman is an evil sign [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1508 Great voice signifieth hastiness and ire [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1511 Grete voyse sygne of hastynesse [*SS, JL&BB, p. 85.*]

1556 The Phylosopher, in an other distinctyon sayth also, that they which speake greate, bee Injurious, compared to the asse [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii*(v).]

1556 they whiche call in a bigge or basse voyce not parplexed, be compared to bandogges, and to the comlines therof [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1556 The voyce also greate, to be iracundious, and of an euyll nature [*TH, sig. Cv.*]

1556 Ageyne the voyce greate, to bee iracundious, perverce and of an euyll nature, and the reason is, for the untemperate caliditie [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 Strong Grave, injurious [*ARC, 1652, sig. I2(v)-I3.*]

1564 the men that have a gross voice are very injurious, and are compared to Asses [*ARC, 1664, sig. L7(v).*]

1564 They yt have a gross voyce by nature, without forcing it, are strong, and that is referred to Dogs [*ARC, 1664, L8(v).*]

1564 but if the voyce be great [and shrill?], the man will commonly be angry, and of a naughty nature [*ARC, 1664, sig. L7(v).*]

1619 *Vox grossa* animosum denotat & fortem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1619 *Grossa cum sermone veloci* iracundum & imperantem, ac malae conditionis [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1669 The Men that have a big Voice are injurious and strong [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

1669 if the Voice be loud, such a person is prone to anger, and ill-natur'd [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

1694 A great and hoarse Voice shews a Person to be injurious, and of a merciless temper [*EP (1758), p. 65.*]

1710 A loud, shrill, and unpleasant voice, signifies one bold and valiant, but quarrelsome and injurious, and altogether wedded to his own humours, and governed by his own counsels [*ACM (1764), p. 109.*]

STARTS LOW, ENDS HIGH

300B.C. a voice which, starting low, rises to a high pitch, indicates despondency and querulousness, the argument being partly from cattle and partly from congruity [*Phys., 813a 30.*]

400 Qui incipiunt a graui uoce et in acutam desinunt, faciles ad fletum ac lugubri animo sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1130 quicunque autem vocant a gravi incipientes et finiunt in acutum, iracundi, planctivi, referuntur ad boves et ad decentiam vocis [*BM, SP, I, p. 85.*]

1235 Cuius vox incipit [?] graui & finit in altum significat hominem iracundum imeptuosum audacem & tutum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 68.*]

1260 Qui vero a gravi voce incipientes in acutam desinunt, mollis sunt affectus et cito lugubris animi fiunt [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Qui clamantano incohoantes graui terminant que in acutum ut boues mollis sunt affectus et ad placandaum proni [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1511 Grete sownynge enuyous and angry [*SS, JL & BB, p. 85.*]

1556: in a basse maner, and ende smalle, bee iracundyous, and to be pleased,
compared to the Oxe, and to the confines of the voyce [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii(v).*]

1564 Grace, ending sharply Fearfull, eager, fierce Oxen [*ARC, 1652, sig. I2(v)-I3.*]

1564 The antivocatos yt is to say, they that speak great at the first, & small at the last, and have a sharp voice, are full of wrath, and yet they be soon appeased again, and are of a gentle affection [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1710 A voice beginning low (or in the base) and ending high in the treble, denotes a person to be violent, angry, bold, severe [ACM (1764), p. 109.]

NASAL

125 Si eum ronchantem vides, tamquam si eius infra nares exeat, ei mendacii studium multam invidiam et aviditatem sodalibus nocendi tribuas [*POL, SP, I, p. 266-268.*]

125 Quodsi his etiam debilitatem vocis addit, tuum de eo iudicium auge vehementi iracundia et rixae et altercationis amore [*POL, SP, I, p. 268.*]

400 Quorum uox incurrit in nares, ita ut resonent nares, mendaces, maliuoli, inuidi, gaudentes malis alienis sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1230 cuius vox per nares exit, invidus, versutus est [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, S.13.*]

1230 cuius vox per nares exit, invidus, versutus est [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, s.14.*]

1235 Cuius vox nimis resonat velim impedita catarris &c., significat hominem plus simplicem quam sapientem grossi nutrimenti vanum instabilem facile timidum mendacem & cito credentem

1260 Quorum autem vox incurrit in nares, ita ut nares consonent, mendaces, malivoli, invidentes et malis alienis sunt gaudentes [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Et quorum in natura res uox concurrit sic ut nares consonet menaces maliciosi inuidi & aliorum sunt mali congaudentes [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1556 And they which speake and sounde theyr wordes thorough the nosethrelles, be babblers, lyars, malycious, and enuious, and of them there be whyche joye in euyll, and suche follow the nature of the Ducke, as Cocles by experience founde trewe [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

1564 they that speak in the nose are lyars, evil willers, and envious [*ARC, 1664, sig. L8.*]

1669 they that speak through the nose, are Lyers, and given to Envy [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

ROUGH

925 cuius vox est aspera, invidus est et malum in corde tenet occultatum [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1235 Cuius vox est valde aspera siue in cantu siue in loquela significat hominem grossi ingenii intellectus & nutrimenti [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1295 Quorum quidem uocis sonus ingratus consistens ut ouium aut caprarum, sic uoci propinquus stulticiam denotat [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1295 vocis asperae, inuidus est & malum corde retinet occultatum [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1556 The voice asper, lyke the crane, to bee enuious, reteyning rancoure, and secrete hatred in the harte, and aboundinge in melancholike humores [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

1556 And they which sore call, be foolish [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii*(v).]

1564 They that have an unpleasant sound of their voyce, and disordering, is numbered among the fools [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1669 those that have a harsh Voice, are fools [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

1710 A rough and hoarse voice, whether in speaking or singing, declares one to be a dull and heavy person, of much guts and little brains [*ACM (1764), p. 109.*]

STRONG, QUAKING

400 Intenta uox uehemens cui tamquam sonus quassus permixtus est, uiolentum, iniustum, odia gerentem omnibus significat [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1235 Cuius vox est tremula significat hominem inuidum suspitiosum vanagloriosum pigrum debilem & timidum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1260 quod qui vocem quassatam et tamquam ex quassato promunt vasculo, stulti sunt et voraces per naturae inclinationem [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 qui uocem quassatam & grauem tamquam de uasculo conquassato promuntur inclinante, natura stulti sunt & uoraces [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1260 Adhuc autem vox vehemens, strepens tamquam permixtus sonus, violentum, iniustum odium in corde gerentem indicabit [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Amp[lius] uoc uehemens [st]repens uelut sonus indecenter permixtus uiolentum iniustum in corde odium gerentem denotat [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1295 fortiter ac uehementer uociferantes iracundi [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

SOFT

300B.C. A soft, languid voice means gentleness, as in sheep [*Phys., 813b 1.*]

400 Et quorum sonus ingratus est, siue sit solidus siue sit ouium voci proximus, stultitiam indicat [*AL, 78, pp. 110-111.*]

1150 quicunque molle sine tensione vocant, mansueti, referuntur ad oves [*BM, SP, I, p. 85.*]

1295 Qui[cun]q[ue] molliter et sine tensione uocant mansueti sunt ouibus relati [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1556 They that call saftlie without anie tension or reaching out, be gentle, compared to the shepe [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 Soft and slow Gentle Sheepe [*ARC, 1652, sig. I2(v)-I3.*]

1564 A soft voice, and not drawn or stretched out, betokeneth meeknesse, which is in sheep: for you must referre and compare the voice as well as all other things to yt likeness of beasts [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1669 the soft, scarce heard, denotes Meekness [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

HIGH

300B.C. when high-pitched and languid, of cowardice [*Phys., 806b 25.*]

125 Si vox acuta et debilis est, ei misericordiam et timiditatem et avaritiam (inopiam?) tribuito [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

1235 Cuius vox e[nim] dirupta alta & placabil[us] significat hominem timidum & ex facili vanum animosum cito credentem & luxuriosum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 68.*]

1669 the shrill Voice, signifies timorousness [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

SOFT, ACUTE

300B.C. Shrill, soft, broken tones mark the speech of the effeminate; for such a voice is found in women and is congruous [*Phys., 813b 1.*]

125 Si vocem acutam mollem audis, eam ne ab ambiguitate sexus remotam putes [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

400 Qui acutam et mollem habent vocem, effeminati sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1150 quicunque autem vocibus acutis et mollibus ruptis loquuntur, cinedi, referuntur ad mulieres et ad decentiam [*BM, SP, I, p. 85.*]

1235 Cuius vox in vocatione alteri[us] moll[us] significat hominem debilem mansuetum tenacem & sagacem [*MS (c. 1485), p. 68.*]

1260 Siquidem acutam et mollem habeant vocem, effeminate teste Platone probantur [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 Mollis uocibus citis atque destructus loquens timidus & effeminatus iudicatur [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1528 He that hath a femynyne voyce is soone angry and of yl nature [*RC, MM, p. 381.*]

1564: The voyce shrill, soft and broken, betokeneth a woman like fear and is attributed unto them yt be effeminate [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

SHRILL (HIGH AND THIN)

300B.C. a shrill, shrieking voice, lewdness, as in goats [*Phys., 81b1.*]

125 Quodsi quem os aperientem et voce quae arietis vociferationi similis est clamantem vides, ei studii absentiam et in rebus gerendis suimet contemptum attribuito [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

125 Ubi eum alta voce et acuta observas, scias ei fraudulentiam esse [*POL, SP, I, p. 268.*]

400 Qui acutam uocem cum siccitate promunt, uersipelles ac subdoli sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1235 Cuius vox in vocatione alterius est acuta & alta significat hominem tutum iracundum audacem sagacem malitiosum & sat[is] superbum [*MS (c. 1485), p. 68.*]

1295 Qui acutam cum siccitate uocem promunt uersipelles ac subdoli fere probantur [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1260 Quorum autem sonus vocis indelectabilis est sive solidus sive ovium aut caprarum voci similis existens, stultitiae habent indicium [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1260 Qui autem acutam vocem cum siccitate quadam proferunt, versipelles ac subdoli probantur [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1150 quicunque vocant acute et fortiter, iracundi, referuntur ad capras [*BM, SP, I, p. 87.*]

1235 Cuius vox est valde alta in tono significat hominem fortem audacem iniuriosum & sui sens[orum] [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1260 Inflata vero vox et tenuis et quasi lugubris tristem indicat et asperum et suspiciosum [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1556: They which call small and fearcilie, be Iracundious, compared to the gottes [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 Sharpe and strong, Angry, Goates [*ARC, 1652, sig. I2(v)-I3.*]

1564: The voice sharp and strong declareth a man to be ful of anger it is the property of goates [*ARC, 1664, Lvii(v).*]

1619 *aspera* invidum & in cujus corde malum absconditur [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1694 A shrill Voice denotes a person to be cholerick and hasty [*EP, 1758, p. 65.*]

1710 a loud and shrill voice, which sounds clearly, denotes a person provident, sagacious, true, and ingenious, but withal capricious, vain-glorious, and too credulous [*ACM (1764), p. 109.*]

SWEET/SOFT, FAWNING

925 bonitas vocis stultitiam [demonstrat] [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1230 et qui habet dulcem vocem, invidus est et suspiciosus [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, Ph. 16.*]

1230 pulcritudo etiam vocis indicat stoliditatem, insipientiam et magnanimitatem [*SS, SP, II, Ph., 20.*]

1295 Cuius vox dulcis fuerit inuidus & suspiciosus indicatur [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1295 Vocis pulchritudo stoliditatem & paucam denotat sapientiam ut genus quoddam [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1503 oon sweyt woys be toknys oon parson ful of enwy & susspycyon ful of lesynge [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1506 a swete voyce betokeneth a parson fulle of enuy and susspeccion and full of lesynges [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 A soft voice signifieth a person full of envy, of suspicion, and lying [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1528 A softe voyced man is often angry and enuyous [*RC, MM, p. 381-383.*]

1556 The voyce swete (or fawningly as I maye name it) is enuyous, & suspicious [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 They that have a soft and sweet voyce, are envious and full of suspition [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1619 *Suavis* invidum & suspicacem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

FAIR

1511 Fayre an hyghe of wylnesse and foly [*SS, JL & BB, p. 85.*]

1528 He that hath a fayre voyce is folysshe and of hyghe courage [*RC, MM, p. 383.*]

1556 The pleasantnes or bewtyfulnes of the voice, declareth folishnes, cockebraynes, and stoutnes [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1619 *Pulchra & adulans* plenitudinem & stupiditatem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1619 *Pulchra* stultitiam & exiguitatem scientiae [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

SMALL

925 paucam [vocis] demonstrat sapientiam [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1503 Also oon woys ower smal be toknys gret hart and foly [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1506 also a voyce to small betokeneth a proude harte and foly [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 An over small voice signifieth great heart and folly [*KS, GCH, p. 153*].

1528 He that hath a small voyce & speketh thycke loueth feyghtynge [*RC, MAM, p. 381.*]

1556 yf it maye bee small and lowe that is not greate, but softe, whiche declareth suche a parsone to be ferfull. And the causes of these sygnifycationes be taken by the complextion or qualitie of the harte, and lunges, in the hotnes and coldnes of them When these membres bee colde, they make those synewes or vayne pypes, small, and narrowe, and litle breathe, by whiche is caused a highe and shryll

voyce: as the lyke appereth in small organe pypes, whiche blowe, make a shryll sounde [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii.*]

1556 And they that speake small, safte, fayntlye or meryedlie, speake fearfullye, and compared to women, and to the decentnes of the voyce [*TH, 1556, sig. Ciiii(v)-Cv.*]

1564 A sharpe and shrill voice, signifie fearfulnesse. By this voice I mean a msall voice, and not a great [*ARC, 1664, Lvii(v).*]

1619 *Parva seu submissa, cum festinatione in sermonibus* importunum & mendacem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

HASTY

125 Si vox acuta est et eius possessor in sermone vociferatur ut vox avium, ei adiudicato scortationem cum debilitate et impotentia [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

400 Qui in modum auium uocem intendunt, proni in uenerem, inanes facilesque sunt [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

925 cuius loquela est velox, festinus est et parvi intellectus [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

925 cuius loquela cum quadam festinatione velox est, festinus est, irascibilis et malorum morum [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1230 cuius loquela celeris est, eo magis si eius vox tenuis est, impudens, ignarus, mendax est [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, S. 5.*]

1230 qui vero est velox in verbis et praecipue si habet gracilem vocem, est improbus, stolidus, importunus et mendax [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, Ph. 5.*]

1230 cuius loquela celeris est, eo magis si euius vox tenuis est, impudens, ignarus, mendax est [*SS, SP, II, p. 209, s. 6.*]

1260 Qui autem in modum avium vocem in quemdam cantium intendunt, proni sunt in venerem et de facili fiunt leves et inanes [*AM, DA, p. 90.*]

1295 qui ut aues uocem prorumpunt proni sunt in uenerem, faciles & manes [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1295 festinus in verbo preasertim, cum vocem ingracilem habuerit improbus stolidus importunus mendax atque irascibilis nuntiantur & omnino prauorum morum existit [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1295 Cum vox est crassa iracundus precipitans et male iudicatur naturae, festinus in uerbo praesertim [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1503 The parson that spekys hastely and that as oon smal woys ys of waleur [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1506 the persone that speketh hastely and small is great of valure [*KS, HOS, p. 147.*]

1508 A man that speaketh hastily is of value [*KS, GCH, p. 153*].

1528 And he that speketh to moche with a skalender voyce is not ouer honest and of smal care [*RC, MAM, p. 381.*]

1556 The swiftnes of talke, declareth a hote complextione, and the same affermeth, Albertus, Loxius, Palemon, Phylemon, and Conciliator, under those wordes [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1556 for the contrary cause, he which speaketh or talketh faste, especiallye hauyng a small or shryll voyce declareth suche a parsone to be obstinate or malaparte, a foole, importunate, and a lyare [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1556 He that speaketh hastely, hauing a shril voice, declareth to be frowarde, obstinate, or malaparte, a foole, importunate, a lyar, irefull, and alway euil condicioned [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv.*]

1564 They that be hasty in their speech (specially if they have a shrill voyce) are commonly wicked and great fools, importunate and lyars [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1619 *Velocem & subitaneum*, iracundum, bene moratum & praecipitem [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

1669 those that are nimble-tongud, if their Voice be slender, are Mischievous, Importunate, and Lying persons [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

1669 those that are often mov'd to speak, are unclean persons [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

MOVES WHEN SPEAKS

1230 Qui multum movetur et ludit corpore suo, est gloriosus et iactator, mendax [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, S. 4.*]

1230 Qui vero movetur frequenter et loquitur motu manuum, est invidus, eloquens et deceptor [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, Ph., 4.*]

1230 Qui multum movetur, gloriosus et iactator est et fraudulentus [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, s, 4.*]

1503 The parson that remoyffys hym qwen he spekys and changys woys ys in wyows nys dronkart & of ewyl condycyoon [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1508 A man that stirreth always when he speaketh and changeth voice, is envious, nice, drunkard, and evil conditioned [*KS, GCH, p. 153.*]

1511 Consydre alysaundre by dylygent labour.
Who in talkyng conceyue what I meane.
Handes doth meue is a disceyuour.
He stande stable from these is pure and clene [*SS, JL & BB, p. 85.*]

1528 He that speketh lyghtly lyeth often and is a deceyuer. [*RC, MM, p. 383.*]

1564 They that have much and often, and speak with moving of their hands, are unclanly, eloquent and deceivers: He that speketh lyghtly lyeth often and is a deceyuer. [*RC, MM, p. 383.*]

1619 *Qui saepe se & manus movet dum loquitur*, denotatur esse invidus & eloquens [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

STILL WHEN SPEAKS

1230 qui vero gravis quietus est, perfecti est intellectus, providus, sani consilii [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, S., 8.*]

1230 qui vero est abstinens a motu manuum, est perfectus intellectu, bene dispositus et sani consilii [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, Ph., 9.*]

1230 qui autem gravis [modestus] est in sedendo et cuius loquela est conexa, si loquitur, et qui manus suas movet loquens per intervalla, perfectus est intellectu et pulcher habitu [*SS, SP, II, p. 210, s., 8.*]

1503 The parson that spekys temporyt wyth owt that he moyf hym self ys of parfyt wnderstondyng & of good condycyon & of faythful conseyl [*KS, HOS, Kviii(v).*]

1508 A person that speaketh attemperately without moving is of perfect understanding, of good condition, and of good counsel [*KS, GCH, p. 153*].

1511 Consydre alysaundre by dylygent labour.
Who in talkyng conceyue what I meane.
Handes doth meue is a disceyuour.
He stande stable from these is pure and clene [*SS, JL & BB, p. 85.*]

1528 And he that speketh without moeuynge his handes is of grete wysdome and honeste [*RC, MM, p. 383.*]

1564 they that move not so their hand, have a perfect wit and understanding, and have also a good disposition, and good counsel [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v)-viii.*]

1619 *Cujus manus dum loquitur, quiescunt* ei utilitas & intellectus adscribitur: Talis n. est bene dispositus & boni consilii [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

WEAK

125 Cum vox infirma est et eius possessorem praeter debilitatem vocis ea tristi utentem vides more solliciti, ei lucri amorem et diuturnam tristiam attribuito [*POL, SP, I, p. 266.*]

400 Infracta uox et tenuis ac lugubris tristem, auarum ac suspicacem indicat [*AL, 78, p. 111.*]

1235 Cuius vox est subtilis & debilis paruo flatu significat hominem debilem timidum intellectus boni sagacem pauci cibi [*MS (c. 1485), p. 67.*]

1295 vox qu; inflata tenuis ac lugubris tristis, asperum atq; suspitiosum ostendit [*AB (1548), sig. Cii.*]

1564 A weak voice betokeneth narrow arteries and want of spirit, which thing come of cold [*ARC, 1664, sig. Lvii(v).*]

1694 A weak and low Voice shews a Man to be fearful and cowardly [*EP, 1758, p. 65.*]

1710 A faint and weak voice, attended with but little breath, shews a person to be of a good understanding, a nimble fancy, a little eater, but weak of body, and of a timorous disposition [*ACM (1764), p. 108.*]

1710 A weak and trembling voice shews the owner of it to be envious, suspicious, slow in business, feeble, and fearful [*ACM (1764), p. 109.*]

LONG BREATH

925 cuius anhelitus longus est, vilis est [*Rhazes, SP, II, p. 169.*]

1295 Cuius vox non hanhelitu longo perficitur uilis signum [*AB (1548), sig. Ci.*]

1619 *Cujus spiratio est longa*, in eo arguitur pessima natura & conditio [*RF (1619), p. 131.*]

SPEAKS CUTTEDLY

1556 He that speaketh hys wordes cuttedlye, not with a longe breathe: declareth a vilenes or infection of nature, through the coldnes of the harte, and perauenture wyth moystnes applicated [*TH, 1556, sig. Cv(v).*]

MISCELLANEOUS

1564 a sharp voyce [one of the signs of 'an impudent man'] [*ARC, 1652, sig. M3(v).*]

1669 those that speak lispingly and loosely, are very angry, but soon appeased [*MV (1669), p. 178.*]

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1

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Abbreviations:
Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford; CUL = University Library, Cambridge; OUA = Oxford University Archives; UN = University of Nottingham; WIHM = Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London; BA = Bibliothèque Arsenal, Paris; BN = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; BSt.G = Bibliothèque Saint Genévieve, Paris.

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Bodl., MS Douce 45, fos. 50r-51v,	'Of the different characters of men, as they may be inferred from the color or form of the eyes and nose'; ff. 58v-62v, 'Aristotelis libri de secretis secretorum ultimum capitulum de physiognomia'; fol. 63ff, '[Alberti] Rhasis de physiognomia tractatus' (15th century).
Bodl., MS Laud Misc. 673, fos. 73ff,	'This is the book of the gouernaunce of kynges and prynces' (15th century).
Bodl. MS Marsh 376,	Rhazes, 'Liber ad almansorem'.
Bodl., MS Or 182, fos. 6v-137r,	'Secretum secretorum'.
OUA, Hyp/B/18 R-F	Walter Mitchell's transcripts of Book-lists in Inventories in Records of the Chancellor's Court.
OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Be	Registers of Congregation 1680-1692.
OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg O	Registers of Congregation.
OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Q	Registers of Congregation.
OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Qa	Registers of Congregation.
OUA, NEP/Supra/Reg Qb	Registers of Congregation.
OUA, WP /[Gamma]/26/1 fol. 535 (1639).	
CCC, MS 144, fol. 30r,	'Galfridi de vino-salvo' (14th-15th century).
CCC, MS 123, fol. 138v,	'Liber alchemicus' (14th-15th century).

BL, MS Sloane 213, fol. 118v,	incipit: 'certayne rewles of phisnomy to knowe by onely thoght when men lokes on any man of what condicions he es' (15th century).
CUL, MS Dd 15. 28,	James Boevey, 'Off the Art of Discerning of Men', vol. II (1666).
UN, Middleton MS Mi LM 15,	Francis Willoughby, Notebook (1663).
WIHM, MS 699,	James Boevey, 'Off the Art of Discerning of Men', vol. I (1666).
BA, MS 873, fos. 197r-198r,	'Judicia virorum et mulierum assignata juxta eorum phisionomiae' (15th century).
BA, MS 2800, fol. 40v,	'Epitome ou abrégé de la physionomie' (18th century).
BN, MS 2057,	'Traité de phisionomie' (17th century).
BN, MS 2084,	'Traité de metoposcopie' (17th century).
BN, MS 2540, fos. 59ff,	'Phisionomie' (17th century).
BN, MS 19953,	Mr. De La Brosse, 'Traicté de la Phisionomie', (17th century).
BSt.G, MS 1038, fos. 1-27,	Jean Baptiste Bachelier, 'Traité de Fisiognomie ou art de congnoistre le naturel des hommes par les parties externes du corps' (1620).
BSt.G, MS 1058,	'Si la complection d'une persaine est bonne ou mauvayse' (1550).
BSt.G, MS 2234, fos. 102r-174r,	Robertus Frogerius, 'Tractatus physiognomiae, chiroscopiae, metoposcopiae et quirocriticae' (Paris, 1622).
BSt.G, MS 2327, fos. 14r-26r,	'Traité de physiognomonie' (17th century).
BSt.G, MS 2241, fos. 124r-188r,	Antoine Belot, 'Traité d'astrologie, de physiognomonie' (1653).
BSt.G, MS 3106,	R. P. de la Bourdonnaye, S. J., 'Tractatus de physionomia' (1659).

1. 2

*ENGLISH PRINTED 'TREATISES ON PHYSIOGNOMY' c. 1500 - c. 1800^*

^ The following bibliography goes up to c. 1800 due to the fact that most, if not all, of the publications published between c. 1780 and c. 1800 had originally been published before c. 1780 and are recorded in the ESTC.

**An asterix next to an entry indicates that the text has not been seen and therefore that it might not exist or that it might not contain an exposition of physiognomical doctrine.*

[ ] The abbreviations and numbers in square brackets following an entry refer to the numbers given in the reference works included in the list of abbreviations on p.iv.

ENGLAND, IRELAND & SCOTLAND

1503 KALENDAR, *The Kalendayr of the Shyppars* (Paris, 1503), fol. [RSTC 22407]

1506 KALENDAR, *Here Begynneth the Kalender of Shepeherdes* (1506), fol. [RSTC 22408]

1508 KALENDAR, *The Kalender of Shepeherdes*, (1508) [really 1516], 4o, partly in 8o. [RSTC 22409]

[c.1510] KALENDAR, *The Kalender of Shepeherdes* [c.1510], fol. [RSTC 22409.3]

1511 KALENDAR, *The Kalender of Shepherdes* (1511), 4o. [RSTC 22409.5]

1511 ARISTOTLE, *This Present Boke Called the Gouernaunce of Kynges*, trans. J. Lydgate & B. Burgh (1511), 4o. [RSTC 17017]

1516 KALENDAR, *The Kalender of Shepeherdes* [1516] [See RSTC 22409]

[1517?] KALENDAR, *Here Bgynneth the Kalender of Shepherdes* [1517?], fol. [RSTC 22409.7. Another edition of RSTC 22408]

[1518?] KALENDAR, *Here Begynneth the Kalender of Shepardes* [1518?], fol. [RSTC 2410]

1528 KALENDAR, *The Kale[n]der of Shepeherdes* (1528), 4o. [RSTC 22411]

1528 ARISTOTLE, *The Secrete of Secretes of Arystotle*, trans. Robert Copland (1528), 4o. [RSTC 770]

[1530?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *Here Begynneth the Compost of Ptholomeus* [1530?] [RSTC 20480]

[1540?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *The Compost of Ptholomeus* [1540?] [RSTC 20480a]

[1550?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *The Compost of Ptholomeus* [1550?], 8o. [RSTC 20481] [This is dated [1552?] on Eureka [ESTCS110521]]

[1552?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *The Compost of Ptholomeus* [1552?] [RSTC 20481.3]

1556 KALENDAR, *Here Begynneth the Kalender of Shepardes* (1556), fol. [RSTC 22412]

1556 HILL, Thomas, *A Brief and Most Pleasaunt Epitomye of the Whole Art of Phisiognomie* (1556), 8o. [RSTC 5468]

1558 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Briefe Introductions, Both Naturall, Pleasaunt, and also Delectable unto the Art of Chiromancy, or Manuel Divination, and Physiognomy*, trans. Fabian Withers (1558), 8o. [RSTC 14075]

1558 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Briefe Introductions, Both Naturall, Pleasaunt, and also Delectable Unto the Art of Chiromancy, or Manuel Divination, and Physiognomy*, trans. Fabian Withers (1558), 8o. [RSTC 14975.5]

1559 KALENDAR, *Here Begynneth the Kalender of Shepardes* (1559), fol. [RSTC 22413]

[1560?] ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant Book to Find the Fatal Desteny, Constellation, Complexion and Natural Inclination of Every Man and Child by his Birth. With an addition of Physiognomy very pleasant to read,* trans. William Warde [1562?], 8o. [RSTC 724]

[1562?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *The Compost of Ptholomeus* [1562?] [RSTC 20481.7]

[1570?] KALENDAR, *Here Beginneth the Kalender of Shepardes* [1570?], fol. [RSTC 22415]

1571 HILL, Thomas, *The Contemplation of Mankinde, Contayning a Singuler Discourse after the Art of Phisiognomie*, trans. T. Hill (1571), fol. [RSTC 13482]

1572 ARISTOTLE, *The Secret of Secretes* (1572), 8o. [RSTC 770.3]

1575 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Briefe Introductions....unto the Art of Chiromancy, or Manuel Divination, and Physiognomy; whereunto is annexed aswell the Artificiall, as Natural Astrology*, trans. F[abian] Withers (1575), 8o. [RSTC 14076]

1578 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant...*(1578), 8o. [RSTC 725]

1580 KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* [1580], fol. [RSTC 22416]

[c.1585] KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* [c.1585], fol. [RSTC 22416.5]

1592 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant...*(1592), 8o. [RSTC 726]

[1595?] KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender*[1595?], fol. [RSTC 22418]

1598: INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Briefe Introductions...*1598. 8o. [RSTC 14077]

1598 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasaunt....*(1598), 8o. [RSTC 726.3]

[1600?] KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* [1600?], fol. [RSTC 22419]

1604 KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* (1604), fol. [RSTC 22420]

[c.1605] ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant.*[c.1605], 8o. [RSTC 726.5]

[c.1610] ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Plesant....*[c.1610], 8o. [RSTC 726.7]

1611 KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* (1611), fol. [RSTC 22421]

1613 HILL, Thomas, *A Pleasant History, Declaring the whole Art of Phisiognomy* (1613), 8o. [RSTC 13483]

1615 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Briefe Introductions....*(1615), 8o. [RSTC 14077a]

1617 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant....*[1617], 8o. [RSTC 726.9]

1618 KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* (1618), fol. [RSTC 22422]

1619 FLUDD, Robert, *Utriusque cosmi majoris scilicet et minoris metaphysica atque technica historia in duo volumina secundum cosmi differentiam divisa,* 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1617-1626), fol., Tractatus II, 1619.

1626 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1626), 8o. [RSTC 727]

1630 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1630), 8o. [RSTC 728]

1631 KALENDAR, *The Shepardes Kalender* (1631), fol. [RSTC 22423]

1633 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *Brief Introductions*....(1633), 8o. [RSTC 14077b]

1634 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1634), 8o. [RSTC 729]

1637 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1637), 8o. [RSTC 730]

[1638?] PTOLEMY, Claudius, *The Compost of Ptholomeus* [1638?] [RSTC 20482]

1649 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1649), 8o. [WING A2049A]

1651 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry* (1651), 8o. [WING I141]

1651-88 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....[1651-88], 8o. [WING A2050aA]

1652 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1652), 8o. [WING A2050]

1653 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie, The Symmetrical Proportions and Signal Moles of the Body*.....(1653), fol. [WING S754]

1656 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry* (1656), fol. [WING I141A]

1656 KALENDAR, *The Kalender of Shepherds* (1656), 12o. [WING B713]

1663: SAUNDERS, Richard, *Palmistry, the Secrets thereof Disclosed...with some choice Observations of Physiognomy, and the Moles of the Body, fully and accurately handled; with their Natural-Predictive Significations. The Subject of Dreams....Whereunto is added the Art of Memorie (or, the Art of R. Lullius)* (1663), 12o. [WING S751]

1664 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Palmistry, the Secrets thereof Disclosed...with some Choice Observations of Physiognomy, and the Moles of the Body, fully and accurately handled; with their Natural-Predicitive Significations. The Subject of Dreams...Whereunto is added the Art of Memorie (or, the art of R. Lullius)* (2nd edition, 1664). [WING S752]

1664 ARCANDAM, *The Physiognomy of the Humane Body by William Warde, 1664.* [BL 1482.aa.1. This is the physiognomical section from the *Arcandam* treatise. It is not recorded in Wing. The BL catalogue gives [1660?]]

1664 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry* (5th edition, 1664), 8o. [WING I141B]

1665 LA CHAMBRE, Marin Cureau de, *The Art How to Know Men* (1665), 8o. [WING L128]

1666 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry and Physiognomy...also Canons or Rules upon Diseases or Sicknesses* (6th edition, 1666), 8o. [WING I142]

[1666?] PHYSIOGNOMIA, *The Prediction of the Maners and Natures of Men byCconsydering of their Face and other Partes of their Body* (1666?), 12o. [BL 1395.a.23.(2.). Part of a book beginning sig. Miii.]

*1669 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Palmestry, the Secrets thereof Disclosed; or a Familiar Easier, and New, Method Whereby to Judge of the most General Accidents of Man's Life from the Lines of the Hand: with all its Dimensions and Significations* [1669]. [TC I 15]

1669 VULSON, Marc de, sieur de la Colombiere, *The Court of Curiositie. Wherein, by the Algebra and Lot, The Most Intricate Questions are Resolved, and Nocturnal Dreams and Visions Explained, According to the Doctrine of the Antients. To which is also added, a Treatise of Physiognomy*, trans. J. G. (1669), 8o. [WING V751]

1670 LA CHAMBRE, Marin Cureau de, *The Art How to Know Men* (1670), 8o. [WING L128A]

1670 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....(1670), 8o. [WING R2050bA]

*1670 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Physiognomy, Chiromancy, Metoposcopy, and Symmetrical Proportion, and Signal Moles of the Body, explained: with the Interpretation of Dreams. To which is added, The Art of Memory* (1670), fol. [TC I 62]

1671 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Physiognomie* (2nd edition, 1671), fol. [WING S755] [TC I 69.]

*1672 VULSON, Marc de , sieur de la Colombiere, *The Court of Curiositie. Wherein, by the Algebra and Lot, The Most Intricate Questions are Resolved, and Nocturnal Dreams and Visions Explained, According to the Doctrine of the Atncients. To which is also added, a Treatise of Physiognomy* (1672), 12o. [TC I 113]

1676 SAUNDERS, Richard, *Palmistry*...(4th edition, 1676), 12o. [WING S753]

1676 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry and Physiognomy, containing Brief Introductions both Natural and Pleasant unto the Art of Chyromancy, or Manual Divination, and Pysiognomy: also Canon and Rules about Diseases; and the nature of the Planets*, trans. Fabian Wither (7th edition, 1676), 8o. [WING I143]

1678 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*.... (1678), 8o. [WING A2050cA]

*1681 VULSON, Marc de, sieur de la Colombiere, *The Court of Curiosities* (3rd edition, 1681), 8o. [WING V752] [TC I 454]

[1682?] ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....[1682?], 8o. [WING A2050dA]

1683 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmesty* ('7th edition', 1683), 8o. [WING I143A]

*1685 S., J., *The True Fortune-Teller, or Guide to Knowledge: Discovering the whole Art of Chyromancy, Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, and Astrology; containing, 1. A Description of the Planets, their Power and Influence over Human Bodies. 2. Of Several Lines, Mounts, Marks, Angles, and Characters, in the Hands; by what Planets they are Govern'd. 3. Of Physiognomy. 4. Observations on the Parts of the Face. 5. Of the Lines of the Face. 6. Of Moles. 7. Of Dreams. 8. Of Nativities. 9. Of that Rod by which hidden Treasure is Found. 10. Of Marriages. 11. Of Death. 12. Of Good and Bad days. 13. Of Resolving Doubtful Questions. 14. Of the Wheel of Fortune. 15. Of Health, To which is added, Aristotle's Observations on the Heavens, their Motion; Of Meteors, Thunder, Lightning, Eclipses, Comets, Earthquakes, and Whirl-winds* (1685), 12o. [TC II 148]

1686 ARCANDAM, *The Most Excellent, Profitable and Pleasant*....[1686]. [WING A2050A]

1686 S., J., *The True Fortune Teller, or, a Guide to Knowledge. Discovering the whole Art of Chyromancy, Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, and Astrology* (2nd edition, 1686), 8o. [WING S98]

[1690?] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Last Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets Opened* [1690?] [BL Cup.403.h.37.]

***1691** INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmistry and Physiognomy; being a Brief Introduction, Both Natural and Pleasant, Unto the Art of Chiromancy or Manual Divination, and Physiognomy, with Circumstances of the Faces; of the Signs; also Rules upon Diseases. Whereunto is Annexed, as well the Artificial as Natural, Astrology: with the Nature of the Planets* [1691], 8o. [TC II 372]

***[1694]** ANDREWS, William, *The Ladies Diversion; containing, 1. A Book of Fortune, by which one hundred of the most useful and pleasant Questions are variously resolved by a Figure, after a new and more easy manner than any hitherto found out. 2. The whole art of Physiognomy; whereby the Humours and Tempers of Men and Women are discovered by the Lineaments of their Faces. 3. The Doctrine of Moles; discovering their signification, both to Men and Women, as they appear in the several parts of the Body. 4. The interpretation of Dreams* [1694], 8o. [TC II 526]

***1694** ERRA PATER, *Erra Pater...* (1694). 8o.

1697 INDAGINE, Joannes ab, *The Book of Palmestry and Physiognomy* (9th edition, 1697). [WING I143B]

***1698** S. J., *The True Fortune Teller, or, A Guide to Knowledge* (4th edition, 1698), 12o. [TC III 68]

***1699** ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets; in Five Treatises. 1. The Wheel of Fortune. 2. The Art of Palmistry. 3. A Treatise of Moles. 4. Interpreter of Dreams. 5. Observations on Fortunate and Unfortunate Days. To which is added, A Compleat Book of Riddles* (1699). [TC III 130]

***1699** S., J., *The True Fortune-Teller, or Guide to Knowledge* (4th edition, 1699), 12o. [TC III 129]

[1700?] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Last Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets Opened* [1700?] [BL 8630 aa. 18.]

***1703** PHILLIPS, John, *The English Fortune-Tellers: containing Several Necessary Questions Resolved by the Ablest Antient Philosophers, and Modern Astrologers* (1703), 8o. [ESTCT224756][BL C.192.a.53]

1704 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge, Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients....*(1704). [ESTCN32378]

1710 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician.....*(10th edition, 1710). [ESTCN43369]

[1710?] ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge, Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients....*[1710?] [ESTCN15627]

[c.1710] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece to which is added a Treasure of Health, or the Family Physician....*(12th edition, [c.1710]). [BODL. Johnson f. 1906.]

1711 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Last Legacy, or his Golden Cabinet of Secrets Opened. To which is added a Canting Dictionary* (1711). [ESTCT117397]

1711 FORTUNE, *The English Fortune Teller* (1711). [BL 1077 b.60(bp)]

***1712** FORTUNE, *The True Fortune-Teller. Dicovering to Young Men, Maids, Widowers and Widows, their Good and Bad Fortunes. In Two Parts. The First Part for Men, and the Second for Women; in Twelve Several Love Questions, with Resolutions to Each Question....*(Edinburgh, 1712), 8o. [ESTC177091]

[1715?] WIT, *Wit's Cabinet, A Companion for Gentlemen andLladies; in which is contain'd I. The Interpretation of Dreams.. II. The Art of Physiognomy and Palmistry. III. The Right Preparation for Cosmeticks...To which is added, A Choice Collection of...Songs* [1715?], 12o. [WING W3216 where it is

dated [1700?] However, Norris, the publisher, was only at this address from 1711-1732]] [ESTCT117487] [BL 1078.b.1]

[1715?] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts:Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Mman:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(11th edition, [1715?]). [ESTCT83425]

[1720?] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Mman:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Pysician*.....(12th edition, [1720?]). [ESTCT210894]

[1720?] ERRA PATER, *The Book of Kowledge, Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....[1720?]. [ESTCN15629]

[1720?] ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge, Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....[1720?]. [ESTCN15363]

[1720] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Last Legacy: or, his Golden Cabinet of Secrets Opened, for Youth's Delightful Pastime.....To which is added, the Most Compleat Canting Dictionary* [1720?]. [ESTCT116547]

1725 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*.....(11th edition, 1725). [BL 1506/677]

1725 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man....To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(16th edition, 1725). [ESTCN29896]

[1725?] ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....[1725?]. [ESTCN15628]

1726[?] ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge, Shewing the Wisdom of the Ancients*....(Gosport, [1726?]) [ESTCT 167504]

1728 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*.....(17th edition, 1728). [BL 1578/3760]

1731 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....(1745). [ESTCN15366]

1733 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(18th edition, 1733). [ESTC16043]

1733 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*.....(19th edition, 1733). [ESTCT83420]

*1733 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Works compleated. In Four Parts. Containing I. The Compleat Master-Piece:...II. His Compleat and Experienced Midwife....III. His Book of Problems:....IV. His Last Legacy*...(1733). [ESTCN43370] [Ox. Pembroke M7e.]

1735 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*.....(1735). [ESTCN15364]

1738 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(21st edition, 1738). [ESTCN29897]

1739 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....(1739). [ESTCN15363]

1741 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*.....(22nd edition, 1741). [ESTCN16036]

*[1741?] ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Works compleated. In Four Parts. Containing I. The Compleat Master-Piece:...II. His Compleat and Experienced Midwife....III. His Book of Problems:....IV. His Last Legacy*....[1741?]. [ESTCN20671]

1745 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....(1745). [ESTCT118474]

1745 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(23rd edition, 1745). [ESTCN55721]

1746 ERRA PATER, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating of the Wisdom of the Ancients*....(1746). [ESTCN32382]

1748 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(20th edition, 1748). [ESTCN29899]

1748 COMPLIMENTS, *A New Academy of Compliments; Or, The Compleat English Secretary....To which is added, 1. The Art of Good Breeding and Behaviour,...2. The English Fortune Teller, as to what relates to Good and Bad Fortune in Maids, Widows, Widowers and Batchelors. 3. Joyful Tydings to the Female Sex. 4. A Treatise on Moles. 5. The Interpretation of Dreams 6. The Comical Humours of the Jovial London Gossip in a Dialogue between a Maid, a Wife, and a Widow*...(1748), 12o. [BL 8411.aa.27.]

1749 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece*.....(23rd edition, 1749). [ESTCT116548]

[1750?] WIT, *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny: or, the Interpretation of Dreams* [1750?] [BL 1079.I.15. (17.)]

1752 ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Compleat Masterpiece. In Three Parts: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man:...To which is added, a Treasure of Health; or, the Family Physician*.....(24th edition, 1752). [ESTCN5722]

1753 COMPLIMENTS, *A New Academy of Compliments; Or, The Compleat English Secretary....To which is added, 1. The Art of good Breeding and Behaviour,...2. The English Fortune Teller, as to what relates to Good and Bad Fortune in Maids, Widows, Widowers and Batchelors. 3. Joyful Tydings to the Female Sex. 4. A Treatise on Moles. 5. The Interpretation of Dreams 6. The Comical Humours of the Jovial London Gossip in a Dialogue between a Maid, a Wife, and a Widow, over a Cup of the...* (1573 [i.e. 1753]), 12o. [BODL Harding E 328]

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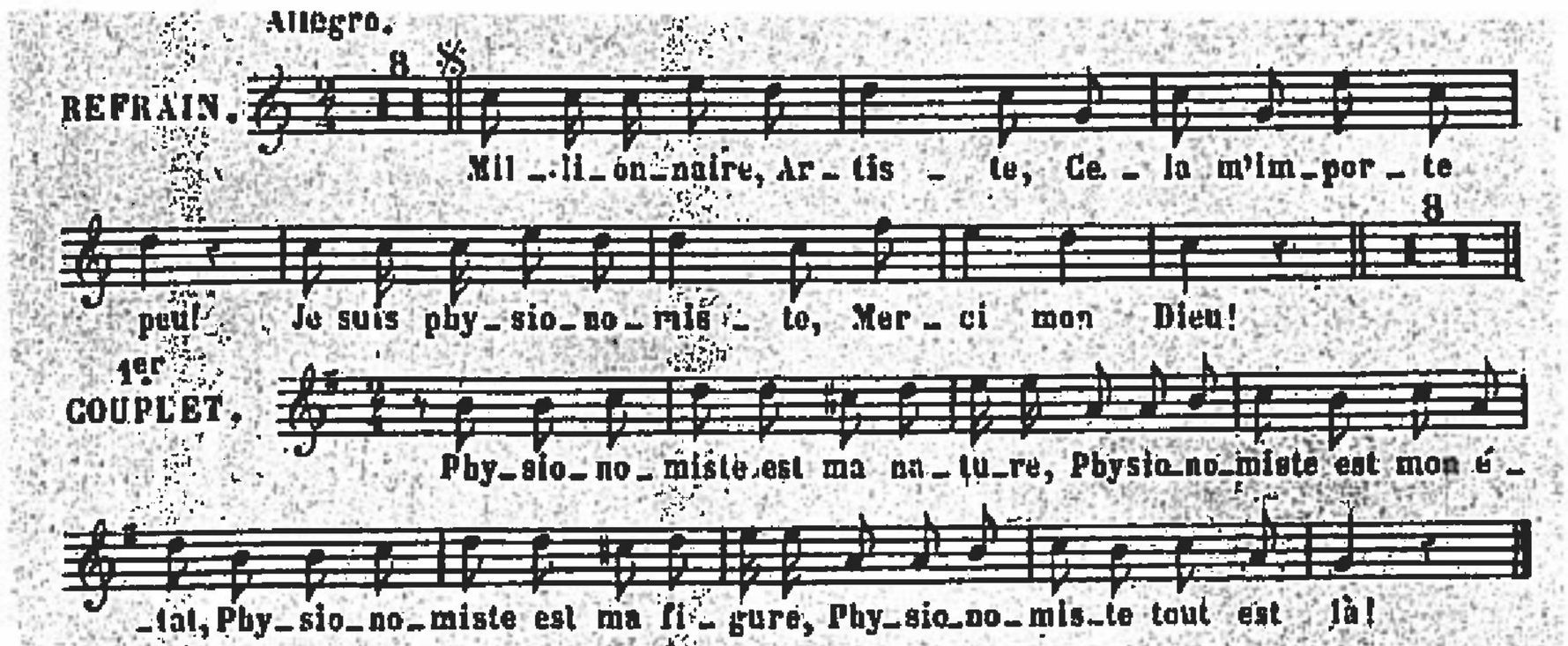
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ENVOI



PARLÉ.—To be physionomist, or not to be physionomist)) a dit l'immortel Shakespeare.... La Providence a écrit sur le front de chaque individu: Tu seras pharmacien, artificier, rémouleur, professeur d'aphicléide. Il y a des enfants de deux mois qui ont l'air de petits sénateurs; les parents qui ne sont pas physionomistes leur achètent des fonds d'épicerie... Qu'arrive-t-il? Ce sont de détestables épiciers... ils auraient fait d'excellents hommes politiques...C'est vrai, me direz-vous, mais le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas *vrai sans blaguer* (au Refrain.)

(M. Boullard, V. Revel, *Le Physionomiste* [c. 1890].)

I'm a million different people from one day to the next I can't change my mode

(Richard Ashcroft, *Bitter Sweet Symphony*, July 1997.)

Silent friend of many distances...
Among the beams of the dark belfries let
yourself ring out.....

Be conversant with transformation....

Be, in this immeasurable night,
magic power at your senses' crossroad,
be the meaning of their strange encounter.

And if the earthly has forgotten you,
say to the still earth: I flow.
To the rapid water speak: I am.

(Rainer-Marie Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, No. 29.)