Quidditas

On-line Journal of
The Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association

in memoriam

BOYD H. HILL JR.

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ROCKY MOUNTAIN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ASSOCIATION 2019 CALL FOR PAPERS

"Sapere videre, Knowing How to See"

The Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association invites proposals for papers and panels at Annual Conference to be held April 11-13 in downtown Denver, Colorado, at the SpringHill Suites Marriott adjacent to the Metropolitan State University of Denver.

In addition to welcoming all paper and session proposals related to Medieval and Renaissance studies across all disciplines, the organizers will be creating a series of panels specifically focused on papers encoding Leonardo da Vinci's belief in the essentiality of *sapere videre* on this the 500th anniversary of his death (1452-1519). Walter Isaacson, a recent biographer of Leonardo da Vinci, described Leonardo as the "epitome of the universal mind, one who sought to understand all of creation, including how we fit into it."

In memory of the great polymath and his many interests in the arts and sciences, we hope to see presented at this conference the widest possible variety of inquiries—historical, artistic, literary, scientific, philosophical, medical, archaeological, pedagogical, scientific, anthropological—that lead participants toward knowing how to see and to understand the period 400-1700, including paper, panel, and roundtable proposals which focus on the process and/or pedagogy of Medieval and Renaissance studies both within and outside of the academy.

The RMMRA is dedicated to creating an inclusive scholarly community. We encourage papers from scholars regardless of race, national origin, gender, gender expression, sexual orientation, age, religion, political views, military status, (dis) ability, and career paths. Our organization is committed to providing a safe, accessible, harassment-free, and collegial conference experience for all attendees. The RMMRA recognizes and supports the inclusion of diverse scholars from across the academy.

Proposals for panels or abstracts should be submitted through our online portal using MemberPlanet (you will need to sign up as an RMMRA member—conference registration will also be available through MemberPlanet soon!):

http://www.memberplanet.com/s/rmmra/proposalfor2019rmmracfp.

Questions about the call for proposals or the conference should be directed to RMMRA2019@gmail.com.

Abstracts are due January 31, 2019.
A preliminary schedule will be available via email on 28 February 2019.

from the editor

Quidditas is a Latin legal term that originally meant "the essential nature of a thing." In fourteenth-century French the word became "quiddite." In the early modern period, the English adaptation, "quiddity," meant "logical subtleties" or "a captious nicety in argument" (OED), and is so used in Hamlet ("Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks?" (Act V, scene 1, lines 95–97). Thus, the original Latin meaning, together with the later implied notions of intense scrutiny, systematic reasoning, and witty wordplay, is well suited as the title of the journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association.

Quidditas is the annual, on-line journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association. The journal's content is eclectic, publishing articles focused on medieval and early modern topics from all disciplines. The journal also accepts "Notes" for short articles pertaining to factual research, bibliographical and/or archival matters, corrections and suggestions, pedagogy and other matters pertaining to research and teaching. The journal welcomes contributions to our "Texts and Teaching" section, which seeks review of literature essays, articles on teaching approaches and other aspects of pedagogy, and short reviews of individual textbooks and other published materials instructors have found especially useful in teaching courses in medieval and early modern disciplines. These features furnish readers and contributors venues not available in other scholarly journals.

The year 2018 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association, and the thirty-ninth anniversary of the journal. During those fifty years the Association has held conferences in Albuquerque New Mexico, Banff Alberta, Canada; Big Sky and Missoula, Montana; Boise, Pocatello, and Rexburg, Idaho; Boulder, Breckenridge, Colorado Springs, Denver, Durango, Grand Junction, and Fort Collins, Colorado; Flagstaff, Tempe, Tucson, and Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona; Jackson Hole, Wyoming; Las Vegas; Nevada; Cedar City, Logan, Park City, Provo, Salt Lake City, and Snowbird, Utah. Three of those conferences were held in conjunction with other associations: the Wooden O Symposium (Cedar City, 2010 and 2015), and the Medieval Association of the Pacific (Las Vegas, 2018). In 2005 the journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association became an online publication hosted by Brigham Young University at http:humanities.byu.edu/rmmra.

This year's volume is dedicated to Boyd H. Hill Jr. (1931-2018), Professor of History, Emeritus of the University of Colorado Boulder and a founder and past-president of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissnace Association. As it happens, the journal received, and granted, a request for permission to reprint an article by Professor Hill that appeared in volume 16-17 (1996): "Ado and Omen III: The Antichrist in the Tenth and Twentieth Centurties."

Membership Information

The annual cost of membership in the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association is $25, with an additional $5 fee for joint memberships.

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Notice to Contributors

Quidditas, the annual, online journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association invites submissions from all aspects of medieval and Renaissance or early modern disciplines: art, literature, history, music, philosophy, religion, languages, rhetoric, Islamic and New World cultures, global regions, comparative and interdisciplinary studies. Online format enables extensive illustrations. Since there is no subscription fee, Quidditas is easily available from any computer. Authors will be informed about the disposition of manuscripts within three months of receipt.

Articles in Quidditas are abstracted and indexed in MLA, Historical Abstracts, Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index, America: History and Life, EBSCOhost, and Oxbridge Standard Periodical Directory, and Ex Libris has designated Quidditas as a peer-reviewed journal in its SFX Knowledgebase. Quidditas includes a "Notes" section for short articles pertaining to factual research, bibliographical and/or archival matters, corrections and suggestions, pedagogy and other matters pertaining to the research and teaching of medieval and Renaissance disciplines. Our "Texts and Teaching" section seeks longer review of literature essays, articles on teaching approaches and other aspects of pedagogy, and short reviews of individual textbooks and other published materials that instructors have found especially valuable in teaching courses in medieval and early modern disciplines.

Membership in the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association is not required for submission or publication.

Guidelines for Submissions

Please send your submission electronically in MS Word (.doc or .docx) to the appropriate editor below. Use *The Chicago Manual of Style* (16th ed.). The author's name must not appear within the text. All articles must include a short abstract (200 words maximum) before the main text, and a bibliography of works cited at the end. A cover letter with the author's name, address, telephone number, e-mail address, and manuscript title must accompany all submissions.

Documentation: Quidditas uses footnotes. No endnotes or parenthetical citations, please. Since submissions must include a full bibliography, all footnotes, including the first footnote reference, should use abbreviated author, title, and page.

For example: Bibliographical entry—Nirenberg, David. Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. First and subsequent footnotes—Nirenberg, Communities of Violence, 22-24. **Do not use ibid**. Subsequent references to the same work should continue the use of abbreviated author, title and page number.

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In Memoriam

Boyd H. Hill, Jr.

Professor Boyd Howard Hill, Jr., died at the age of 87 on July 2nd, 2018, at his home in Longmont, Colorado. Boyd was a medieval historian at the University of Colorado at Boulder from 1964-2001. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and published important articles and books on pre-modern anatomy, physiology, comparative history, diplomatics, and Ottonian Germany. He was also the general editor of a text for courses in western civilization. On a personal note for the authors of this article, Boyd was an influential mentor, guiding us first through seminars and classwork through the rigors of graduate school training, but always with knowledge and good humor. We survivors-cum-graduates of his training in the medieval history doctoral program at CU Boulder will always fondly remember the sterling quality that informed not only Boyd's lectures and seminars, but especially the expectations and training of his advisees.

Ginger observed: "Boyd was one of the founders of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association (RMMRA), and he and Harry Rosenberg, another of our founders, had a hand in the origin and direction of the RMMRA and in me as a scholar. When I received my MA at Colorado State University, Harry and Boyd put their heads together to create a path for me at CU Boulder. With his gruff laugh, feisty personality, and great erudition, Boyd shepherded me through my Ph.D. coursework and the beginning of my dissertation work when failing eyesight finally forced him into retirement. Boyd was a demanding teacher, and he not only directed my interest in medieval medicine with a laser focus, but he also created opportunities for me to learn and teach, and he molded me as a medievalist. Boyd's research on the *Fünfbilderserie* has continued to inform my own to this day and his writing on the subject continues

to be relevant and important to the field. And, of course, I remember his lessons, including the importance of archival research and the value of working with manuscripts. Although I eventually finished my degree with another professor, it was Boyd who hooded me at my graduation. I corresponded with Boyd by letter once in a while after we parted ways, including most recently in February when I contacted him as a Past President of the RMMRA about the 50th Anniversary program at this year's conference. While he was not able to come because of his health, he did offer good wishes for the future of the association and, particularly, warmly offered his own congratulations on my presidency. I was sorry to not be able to visit with him one more time, but it was nice to make that connection and his warm wishes were especially heart-warming. Boyd was a first-rate scholar, a caring mentor, an important founder and leader of the RMMRA and a good man. He will be missed."

Todd had this to add: "I'll always fondly remember Boyd. Indeed, I was the too-often-fortunate recipient of his teaching style, which fell somewhere between that of Professor Charles Kingsfield in *The Paper Chase* and a military drill sergeant, but his relentless demand of excellence from those wishing to become medieval historians meant that no student could graduate without a comprehensive knowledge of history, proficiency in languages essential for medieval historians (Latin, French and German), respect for the rules of evidence, expertise in paleography, accurate documentation, and above all, clear writing. One of the best training moments I ever had occurred in front of a full class of undergrads in a general medieval history survey. I was Boyd's advisee, and among his requirements was that his advisees were to audit and fully master the course texts and material he presented in his undergraduate courses in medieval history. During that term, I was also serving as a graduate teaching assistant for another professor and I had brought a stack of tests with me to catch up on grading while Boyd was lecturing, a practice *verboten* by him. Thinking I was safe in the back of the class behind a host of freshman and sophomores, I was happily flying through my grading when,

mortified, I realized he was saying my name: '. . . and Mr. Upton, as we begin talking about Saint Augustine, where is Hippo Regius?' Relieved, I said 'North Africa,' and held onto the hope that he hadn't noticed me grading. I knew the jig was up when he continued, 'Yes, now please show the class where that is on the map.' Face flaming because I had absolutely no idea where Hippo Regius actually was, I walked to the front of the class and started with shaking finger at Alexandria, Egypt and—with Boyd's voice prompting, 'No, that's not it. A little farther, a little farther . . . — kept heading westward along the darn North African coast until I finally reached the area of modern-day Libya. As I walked back to my seat drenched in sweat, he thanked me and told the undergrads that, first, one must always have not only textbook knowledge of the places they studied, but actually be able to geographically know sources, and, secondly, that perhaps in the future 'Mr. Upton will grade his blue-books on his own time, not mine.' I still grin at the fact I survived his training, and he was so comprehensively excellent an historian that I've striven to live up to his example in my own career, both in publications and teaching—my own undergraduate students at MSU Denver groan at the geography portion of their quizzes in my world history and medieval world classes, but Boyd was absolutely correct to make this demand! After he retired, having him return to CU Boulder and be by my side in 2007 to hood me on the stage in Mary Rippon Theater will always remain one of the highlights of my life. I am deeply grateful for his training, his scholarship, his urging me to join the RMMRA, and, ultimately, the trust he placed in me to participate in what Marc Bloch called 'the historian's craft.' He will be missed. *Requiescat in pace.*"

A brief review of his career and publications will offer our RMMRA members and readers of this volume of *Quidditas* some insights into a historian whose light will be missed.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE

ASSOCIATION

Besides being a founder of the RMMRA at its inception in 1968, in the course of his long involvement in the RMMRA, he filled nearly every role possible: presenter, conference host, officer, board member, program chair, keynoter, invited speaker, and reader for our journal. The RMMRA is deeply indebted to his thirty years of scholarship and service to the society. Hill's involvement in our organization became particularly pronounced in the early 1980s, when he served as a member of the Executive Committee (1979-1982), represented the RMMRA from 1979-1985 at the Medieval Academy's Committee on Centers and Regional Associations (CARA), and then elected President of the RMMRA in 1983. That involvement with our association continued throughout the remainder of the decade and into the next, when he was the keynote speaker at the Plenary Session of RMMRA at Colorado State University, Fort Collins, in April 1988. In the early nineties he served as a history session chair at the 1991 Breckenridge meeting, and presented a paper at the 1994 RMMRA meeting in Jackson, Wyoming, "Queen Gerberga and the Turn of the Millennium." The following year, he again attended our conference and as a courtesy read a paper at our 1995 Logan, Utah meeting for a CU Boulder colleague, Dr. Steven Epstein, who was unable to present. At the 1996 RMMRA meeting in Park City, Utah, Hill continued his work with Carolingian and Ottonian documents by presenting "Queen Gerberga as Intervenient: Diplomatics at the Late Carolingian Court." And, finally, shortly before his retirement, our association welcomed Hill as the invited speaker at 1998 Big Sky, Montana, where he delivered a paper, "Thirty Years Ago." He also gave time to our journal when he served as an outside reader for papers and manuscripts submitted to our journal in the 1980s and 1990s—when it was known as the *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*—and chaired sessions at a variety of RMMRA meetings that reflected his interests ("Latin Letters and Paleography," RMMRA Flagstaff, AZ, April, 1979; and "Spiritual Education and the Monastic Tradition," RMMRA Greeley, CO. April, 1980).

PUBLICATIONS & INTERESTS

For the first decade of his academic career Hill concerned himself with both completing his dissertation in 1963 (*The Fünfbilderserie and Medieval Anatomy*), and securing a position as Assistant Professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1964. His research primarily built upon his interest in medieval medicine and led to a series of publications, two of which were concerned with examining the "Five Picture Series" discovered by the University of Leipzig's Karl Sudhoff and published in 1907 that Hill described as "a series of figures depicting veins, arteries, bones, nerves, and muscles." In both articles, Hill discovered new iterations of the series— one in the Wellcome Medical Library in London and another in the Vatican Archives—from which he compared and contrasted the new finds with those of Sudhoff. Evident here already were characteristics that would become hallmarks of Hill's methodology: careful attention to manuscripts (either on microfiche or personally handled) and a willingness to go as far afield as necessary to make comparative analyses demanding knowledge from a wide variety of disciplines. See Hill, "Another Member of the Sudhoff Fünfbilderserie—Wellcome MS. 5000" (in *Sudhoff's Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, Bd. 43, H. 1, 1959: 13-19); and, with his dissertation advisor, Loren C. MacKinney, "A New Fünfbilderserie Manuscript—Vatican Palat. Lat. 1110" (in *Sudhoff's Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, Bd. 48, H. 4, 1964: 323-330).] Indeed, some of Hill's work with this set of pictures was so groundbreaking that his dissertation's tentative identification of the "greater omentum" (a membranous layer of fatty tissue that covers the stomach and intestines) was cited as authoritative by a historical medical journal's author who in 1977 was reassessing the *Fünfbilderserie* in light of new evidence. (Ynez Violé O'Neill, "The *Fünfbilderserie*—A Bridge to the Unknown," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 51.4 (1977): 538-549, at 545.)

In 1965, his research in the Wellcome Library yielded two other articles. The first,"A Medieval German Wound Man: Wellcome MS 49," provided an illustration, Middle High German text, and Hill's translations (on both text and illustration) of what he called "an unusual wound man … which shows more types of injuries than most other wound figures. In addition to the usual knives and clubs, there are also insects, parasites, reptiles, and even a small dog in the illustration." Most appreciated by the reader is Hill's presentation of the original "Wound Man" in its High Middle German text, and then his translations in English on the same illustration (see plates below).
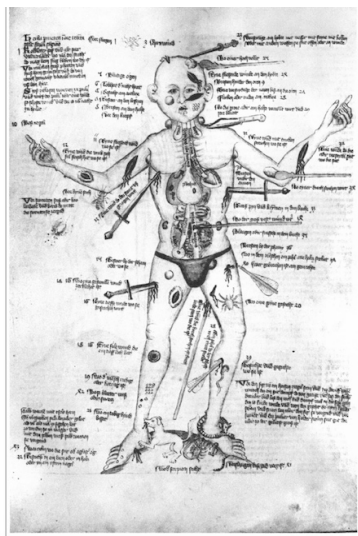
Fig. 1. Wound man. (The Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London, MS 49 [*ca.* 1420], fol. 35).
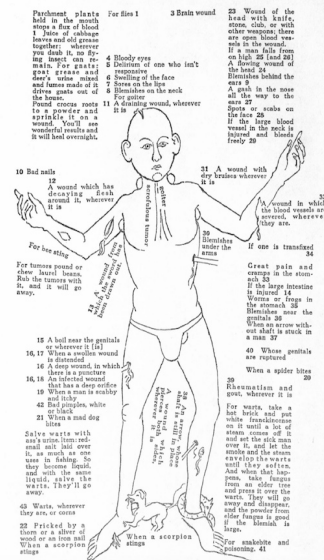
Plate 1

Plate 2

Given this attention to detail and facility with languages, it is small wonder that Hill demanded so much in the way of mastering Latin, German, and French for medieval graduate students expecting to earn a Ph.D. under his direction!

The second article in that year, "The Grain and the Spirit of Medieval Anatomy," was written thanks to a U.S. Public Health Fellowship (No. GF-11,344) and grant from the Wellcome Trust in London. In this work, Hill used the "artery man" illustration from the *Fünfbilderserie* to make a wide-ranging assessment of an assertion in the original medieval manuscript that the *spiritus* originated from a "black grain" (*nigrum granum*) depicted in the heart of the artery man. Hill's consideration of the term "spiritus" takes the reader on a wide-ranging tour-de-force of historical opinions to support his argument, beginning with a 17th-century medical tract on circulation (by William Harvey), and then contextualizing the medieval illustration with 12th century accounts by Alcher of Clairvaux, an 11th century "pulse" treatise (Alfanus of Salerno), excerpts from Albertus Magnus's 13th century *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, relevant observations by Albert's student St. Thomas Aquinas, an extensive use of Aristotle's *De anima*, Galen's thoughts on the subject, heart descriptions from 10th-century Arabic physicians (Rhazes, Haly Abbas), Arabic polymaths including Avicenna, and finally the grain so central in Chaucer's *The Prioresse's Tale*. With respect to the latter, Hill argues that the grain the Virgin places on the boy's tongue could represent the boy's own disembodied spirit restored for a time so that he may sing in her honor. Hill suggests also that the grain could be considered an indispensable factor in the medieval understanding of the body's biochemistry, and concluded the article (and argument) with another Chaucerian description, the death of Arcite in *The Knight's Tale*: "it is reasonable to suppose that [Chaucer's] placing of the spirit in the heart is meant to be taken literally . . . the phrase 'His spirit changed hous'—presumably the house is the heart — resembles the reference to the heart in the *Fünfbilderserie* text: 'in quo spiritus habitat.' Chancer's 'hous' might also be compared with the statement of Albertus Magnus that the heart is the 'domicilium' or 'habiticulum' of the soul." ["The Grain and the Spirit of Medieval Anatomy," in *Speculum* 40 (1965): 63-73.]

For all the interest and passion that they evoked in him, anatomical illustrations were not the only focus of Hill's scholarship in the field of medical history. In 1960, his article—"Ambroise Paré: Sawbones or Scientist?"—reads initially as a mini-biography of the famed 16th-century "father of modern surgery" and physician to French kings best known for, as Hill points out, "three major contributions: the use of balm instead of boiling oil in the treatment of gunshot wounds; the ligaturing of blood vessels after amputation instead of using cautery; and the obstetrical practice now known as podalic version" (turning the fetus in the womb so that the feet are presented through the cervix). In his discussion of Paré's major contributions, Hill makes the important case that, while Paré remains fully early modern in his acceptance of evil spirits and sorcerers in medicine, Paré opens the way for "humanitarianism" in his approach. Thus, Paré rejects folk remedies such as the "bezoar stone" (thought to make one immune to poisons), "unicorn horn" (for healing), and "mummy" extract (to stop internal bleeding). In short, Hill successfully directs historical attention to the pragmatic and empirical demands that a patient-minded and humanely-minded Paré placed upon medical recommendations, stating that the surgeon ". . . pursued most diligently those medical problems which were useless or harmless as remedies. But he did not challenge the whole fabric of false ideas of the 16th century." ("Ambroise Paré: Sawbones or Scientist?", in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 15: 1 (Jan., 1960): 45-58.)

The 1980 essay, "AHR Forum: Marc Bloch and Comparative History," in *The American Historical Review* was perhaps the article of which Hill was most proud, because it was co-written with his wife, Alette Olin Hill, and because it stimulated so much debate in the historical and linguistic communities of the time. In this essay, the Hills addressed what they saw as incoherence in many of the papers presented at the American Historical Association's 1978 Conference and its theme "comparative history." In addressing this incoherence, the Hills used Marc Bloch's 1928 article—"Pour une histoire com-

pare des sociétés européenes," in which Bloch called for a comparative method in historical studies—as a means to explore methodological approaches in linguistic and historical inquiries. The Hills's argumentation and analyses in the paper began a series of exchanges between the Hills and preeminent American and international historians and linguists that continued over the next four years. (See the replies by William H. Sewell and Sylvia Thrupp that follow the article in the same volume; "Marc Bloch and Comparative History," in AHR 85 (1980): 828-857), and yielded a follow-up article and updated commentary by the Hills in another AHR volume a couple of years later, "Comparative History in Theory and Practice," which the editors used as part of a forum where many participants discussed practices and critiques of current research in the field. (see AHR, 87 (1982): 123-143, the Hills's reply and comments at 140-143).

The first two of Hill's three published books were expressions of his academic passion for the peoples and history of Carolingian and Ottonian Germanic lands; notably, too, both *The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century* (1969) and *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV* (1972) were published when the historian was moving up the *cursus honorum* in the history department at the University of Colorado, Boulder, where in 1971 he earned the rank of Professor.

In the first work, Hill displays an interest in (and command of) political, diplomatic, linguistic, and paleographic aspects of 9th through 11th century history, providing general assessments and introductory comments to the primary source material of writers such as Widukind of Corvey, Liudprand of Cremona, Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II), Bernward of Hildersheim, and Otto III before excerpting secondary material from Geoffrey Barraclough, Martin Lintzel, Carl Erdmann, Walter Ullmann, Ernst Kantorowicz, and Percy Schramm. He concluded the work with 14 plates of "art monuments" and an epilogue of suggested readings for the interested student. In his second book, *Medieval Monarchy . . .*, Hill intended to "present certain documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries which had not

yet appeared in English—the royal and imperial diplomas of the period," and, after a 106-page "Introduction" that gives serious attention to respective rulers of "The Age of the Saxons and Salians," Hill offered first a "Diplomatic Key: Parts of a 'Typical' Diploma" (e.g., Initial Protocol, Text, and Eschatol) and the fifty selected documents that give the reader insight into the book's titular period. His third book was a survey text where he served as a general editor, *The Western World: The Development of Western Civilization* (1974).

While immersed in teaching and contributing publications to his field, Hill also prioritized staying as current as possible in a wide range of academic interests by regularly attending, participating, and serving on boards of professional associations. In summer 1971, he served as Resident Director, Institute for Basic Disciplines (Paleography and Diplomatics) at the University of Colorado, Boulder (sponsored by the Medieval Academy of America). The next year he participated in the Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Universities (sponsored by Phi Alpha Theta, History Honorary, May 1972), also at CU Boulder. During this period, he served as a Councillor for the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch (1971-1974), and he considered it a particular honor in that decade also to be a Councillor and Member of the Executive Committee for the Medieval Academy of America (Cambridge, MA) from 1973-1976.

A return to an aspect of his military past as a veteran of the Korean War (U.S. Army, ARTY, Historian, 55th AAA Brigade) may be seen—along with his ability to also stay atop contemporary pop culture — in the paper he presented in 1989 at the Fourth General Conference of Studies in Medievalism (United States Military Academy West Point. N.Y., 5-7 October 1989): "The Antichrist in the Tenth and Twentieth Centuries: Adso and *Omen III*." A couple of years later, he chaired a session for the 30th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Medieval History Association "Medieval Germany," Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN, October 17-19, 1991), and his last professional meeting he attended was, aptly, the annual meeting

of the Medieval Academy of America in Boston, Massachusetts, 14-16 April 1995. In the following year, he was the lead-off commentator on Professor C. Bynum's article in the AHA Newsletter (1996) for a seminar consisting of the Department's European historians (on April 5, 1996).

SERVICE & TEACHING

Hill made it a priority to meet the service obligations of his profession, taking an active interest from the start of his career to cultivate and develop fellow academics in many different fields, as may be seen from his participation in the 1960 seminar "Institute for the Teaching of the History of Science" at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, membership in UCLA's Brian Research Institute, serving at CU Boulder as Convener of Chairs of the Social Science department (whose goal in 1984 was to establish guidelines for articles and books published by faculty members), and, notably, his serious involvement with the Medieval Academy of America's Committee on Centers and Regional Associations (CARA). In 1982 he hosted the association in its October 1-2 meeting on the CU Boulder campus, and it was while attending the meeting of the Executive Committee of CARA in Toronto (October 4-6, 1984) that Hill was appointed to a three-person committee with professors John Leyerle of Toronto and Ute-Renate Blumenthal of Catholic University to evaluate CARA's subcommittee on pedagogy. He served as a member of the Executive Committee of CARA from 1980-1984, and at the meeting of October 3-6, 1991, he represented the University of Colorado at CARA's annual meeting where he reported (alongside Ed Nolan of English) on the Medieval Studies Program at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

Professor Hill enjoyed high esteem both from his peers in the history department at CU Boulder—he served as chair from 1981-1985 — and also across the university campus (Chair of the Department of Classics, 1986-1987). His opinions and recommendations were highly respected in that other departments at CU Boulder (and other

universities) sought his evaluations of, and recommendations on, professorial and tenure promotions for the following faculty: Gerald B. Kinneavy, Fidel Fajardo, Marjorie K. McIntosh, Piotr S. Gorecki, Mark Damen, David Pretty, Clifton B. Hall, and Peter Knox. In fact, it was during the late 1980s and early 1990s that Hill threw himself into a variety of evaluative roles that had meaningful impacts on university life at CU Boulder. For example, in 1985 he was both appointed to the University Committee for Diagnostic Conference in Foreign Languages and assisted the Department of French and Italian search for new chair; he was part for the Internal Review Team for the University of Colorado School of Law (1987); he was a member of the College Committee on Courses (1991-1994), and he worked on developing the core curriculum for the History Department from 1991-1994. In 1984-1985, he was elected Chair of the Council of Chairs in the College of Arts and Sciences. The end of the decade would see him sitting on the College of Arts and Sciences Ethics Committee from (1989-1991). Finally, near the end of the 1990s and toward his retirement, in 1997 he was appointed to the Boulder Campus Self-Study Committee in preparation for the North Central Association reaccreditation of the University in 2000.

His personality and generosity are clear in his colleagues' memories. Fellow University of Colorado medievalist Professor Steven Epstein remarked on this magnanimity, saying: Boyd "gave me my first chance at a job and I would not have had a career without him. When I arrived in Boulder as a new assistant professor in 1984, I went to the chair's office to ask Boyd about my job, what I was expected to do. He looked at me and said, 'Teach history.' I will never forget the freedom and responsibility he conveyed in those simple words."

Such an observation encapsulates Boyd's academic rigor, generosity of spirit, and true enthusiasm for his field and those who joined him in the department to teach each new generation of students. For his part, the courses that Hill taught at CU Boulder cleaved to traditional Western Civilization (ancient, medieval, and modern)

and medieval European readings courses , but his long career at the institution also afforded him many opportunities to offer graduate-level seminars that reflected his personal interests and passions, and sometimes even crossed disciplines: thus, "Culture and Institutions of the Middle Ages" (HIS 2511-2521); "Social Foundations of European Civilization" (HIS 4511), "Intellectual History of Medieval Europe" (HIS 4521); "History of Science from the Ancients to Sir Isaac Newton" (with Professor E. Ruestow, HIS 4314); "Latin Paleography" (HIS 7581); "English Constitutional History" (HIS 4013); "Graduate Historiography" (HIS 5000); and a particularly popular course for medieval studies, "History and Culture of Medieval England" (HIS 4113/ENGL4112), which was taught every other year since spring 1992, with enrollments of 90-180 students (!) For the authors' part, it was Hill's reading seminars on Eschatology, Latin Paleography, and assaying of topics such as Feudalism, the 12th Century Renaissance, Historiography, etc that were among the most demanding and exhilarating of our graduate school years, with many memories of Hill's inimitable lecture and conversational style that demanded extensive reading from a variety of sources, rhetorical preparation for argumentation within the seminar, and a general expectation of us that the "historian's craft" to which we'd committed ourselves would dominate our lives as much as it did his own.

He made a particular positive impact on both undergraduate and graduate students at CU Boulder, ensuring that degree progress was both steady and interesting—in recognition of this facility and interest, Hill was nominated by the Chair and Executive Committee for Outstanding Undergraduate Award (given by the Council on Academic Advising, Feb. 3, 1992) and he received the Outstanding Undergraduate Advisor Award presented by the University of Colorado at Boulder Council on Academic Advising for the academic year 1996-1997. In that same year, he was also nominated for the 1997 Teaching Recognition Award sponsored by Student Organization for Alumni Relations (SOAR), February, 1997.

Hill also demonstrated a particular interest in helping develop criteria for rewarding academic endeavors by peers and students *in re* scholarships. The involvement in this area of academe was remarkable: Hill was Director of Scholarships for the College of Arts and Sciences from 1992-1996, and during this time he served as a member of the University's Task Force on Scholarships (1993), represented the College of Arts and Sciences at special meeting for scholarships in Denver (1993), gave an address at the annual College of Arts and Sciences Scholarship Luncheon (1994), and served in that same year as an outside evaluator for the Kayden Prize Committee (he also had served as a member of the Kayden Manuscript Committee in 1989-190). In 1995 he chaired the meeting of the university's annual scholarship meeting, which was sponsored by the Offices of Central Administration and the Office of International Education. He was the university representative for the Truman Scholarships in 1995-1996, and from 1992-1996 was a member of the University of Colorado System's Scholarship Committee.

EDITORIAL & REVIEWS

Besides sending a chill down his graduate students' spines whenever he returned an essay with edits (often with recommendations to turn to the *Chicago Manual of Style*!) throughout his career, Hill's editorial skills were repeatedly brought to bear in the matter of historical publications, most notably in the 1990s when he served as an outside reader and consultant on two textbooks: Strauss, et al, *Western Civilization: The Contemporary Experiment Vol. I: To 1715* (1995) and Spielvogel's *Western Civilization*. 3rd ed., Volume I (1997). Closer to his specialization in medieval Europe, Hill was a member of the Ad Hoc Committee for Creation of Speculum Anniversary Monographs (Toronto, Canada. 1975), and in 1985 he served as the Chairman of the Medieval Academy of America's three-member committee to select the recipient of the John Nicholas Brown Prize (for the best first book by a scholar in the field of medieval studies in North America)—the presentation of that award was made at the annual meeting of the Medeival Academy of America at the University of

Indiana, April 12-14, 1985. At the start of the next decade he served as a member of the Social Science Prize Committee for articles and books in the Social Sciences (1990). He had many published book reviews (mostly in *Speculum* and *The American Historical Review*), with an emphasis on medieval Germany-focused works.

At the memorial service of 29 Sept 2018 at the University Memorial Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder, family, friends, colleagues, and students gathered to remember Boyd and honor his memory. He will be greatly missed, and RMMRA is a better organization for his being such an integral, foundational part of its existence.

Ave atque vale

Ginger L. Smoak, Ph.D.

University of Utah

RMMRA President

Todd P. Upton, Ph.D.

Metropolitan State University of Denver

Obituary: *Denver Post*, July 29, 2018

Boyd Howard Hill Jr. Died Monday, July 2nd, 2018, at the age of 87. He was at his home in Longmont, CO with family and friends. Boyd was born in Clearwater, FL on February 21st, 1931. He was the only child of Boyd Howard Hill Sr. and Minnie Cauthen Buchanan, both of Georgia. The Gulf of Mexico and its beaches were his playground. Tennis and softball were his sports and he still has some signed baseballs from the Yankees who held their spring training in St. Petersburg during his childhood. Boyd attended St. Pete High and later Duke University, where he met his wife to be, Alette Louise Olin. He completed his undergraduate work before being

drafted for the Korean War in 1953. He served in the U.S. Army Artillery in the 55th AAA Brigade. He was also historian for his unit. Boyd returned from service in 1955 to begin his graduate work. He completed his M.A. and Ph.D. in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he also married Alette, a Yankee, who was the love of his life. He taught briefly at L.S.U., Baton Rouge, before joining the History Department at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1964. He also was Visiting Assistant Professor at U.C.L.A. from 1966-1967. Boyd was elected Chair of the History Department in 1981 and worked in that capacity until 1985. He fought for the History Department. He was later brought in as a "hired gun" to quell turmoil in the Classics Department and served as its Chair for one year beginning in 1986. Boyd's career at Boulder lasted until 2001, when he retired because of failing eyesight. His expertise was Medieval Europe and pre- modern anatomy and physiology. Some of his research was conducted in Berlin, Aachen, and Marburg, Germany. His notable accomplishments included being elected Chair of Chairs in the College of Arts and Sciences and President of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association. He was listed in Who's Who in America starting in 1984. Boyd was editor of "The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century" and was author of the book, "Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV." He also wrote "Adso and Omen III: The Antichrist in the Tenth and Twentieth Centuries." He was especially proud of the article "Marc Bloch and Comparative History" in the AHR that he co-authored with Alette. During his academic career he received many teaching awards, was guest speaker at many events, and was appointed to many committees. Boyd enjoyed old movies, marching bands, horseback riding, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, sailing, scotch with friends and colleagues, and a good argument. And don't forget bacon. Although losing his vision was difficult, he hardly ever complained and was always ready with a joke or jibe; but we know this was a great blow to him. Boyd's COPD scared him, but he had many dedicated caregivers over the past five years who always answered the call day or

night to soothe him. His enthusiasm and generosity were noted by many. His thirst for knowledge and his feistiness continued to the end, and he was preparing notes for future articles which now will never be written. He loved the mountains and the snow of Colorado, having lived in Gold Hill, Jamestown and Boulder over the years. He moved to Longmont in the late nineties and lived there with his wife, Alette, and their German Shepard, Koda, until the time of his death. If you ever happen to be alone in Hellems Hall on a dark night and you catch the smell of Kool menthol cigarettes, hear the tapping keys of an IBM Selectric typewriter or a booming laugh echoing from down the hallway, it's probably just Boyd preparing his next lecture. We will miss our good friend. Boyd is survived by his wife Alette, his two sons Buck and Michael, and grandchildren Ian and Olivia. A service will be held in the fall at a date yet to be determined. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Boyd Hill Nature Preserve in St. Petersburg, Florida. His ashes will be spread at Buchanan Castle, Aachen Cathedral and in the Gulf of Mexico.

The Agency of Wives in High Medieval German Courtly Romances and Late Medieval Verse Narratives: From Hartmann von Aue to Heinrich Kaufringer

Albrecht Classen

University of Arizona

In some secular medieval literature married life increasingly gained respect and literary traction, as illustrated by the rise of genres such as verse narratives (fabliaux, mæren, novelle, tales), *early prose novels, didactic literature, and Shrovetide plays. In that world we encounter many discussions about the proper relationship between husband and wife, about the individual's role within society, and also about economic and financial aspects that had a large impact on private life, and hence also on the gender relationship. The phenomenon of female agency within marriage, which this paper will investigate, comes to the fore in more texts than we might have suspected so far. The question that I will pursue here pertains to a married woman's range of options to determine her own destiny and to push for her own decisions in order to preserve her chastity, her honor, but then also her economic well-being, and this in a specifically patriarchal society. To illustrate and support this thesis, I will take into view Hartmann von Aue's* Erec (*ca. 1170/1180*), *the anonymous* Mai und Beaflor (*ca. 1280), and the verse narratives* Der Borte *by Dietrich von der Gletze (*Glesse, Glezze*), Ruprecht von Würzburg's* Von zwei Kaufleuten, *and Heinrich Kaufringer's* Die unschuldige Mörderin (*all from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries*).

Introduction: Gender Issues in Medieval Literature

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In much of secular medieval literature, whether in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* or in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, in Marie de France's *Lais* or in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, we easily recognize how much the poets explored the relationship between the two genders, bonded together erotically and sexually, but then also economically, politically, religiously, and socially, here disregarding those cases where violence interrupts the free exchange and creates terrible imbalance, mostly to the disadvantage of the female victim.[1] As to be expected, the focus commonly rests on the male

1 The case of incest would be only one of many examples; see Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*; Classen, *Sexual Violence*. See also the contributions to *Violence Against Women in Medieval Texts*.

protagonists and their chivalric and knightly accomplishments, but we would unjustifiably ignore the female characters if we regarded them only as secondary figures, as the popular *Partonopeus* (or Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*) and Heldris de Cornuälle's *Roman de Silence* signal, and as the pan-European narrative of *Apollonius of Tyre* confirms as well.[2] Married life became the more central focal point only in late medieval literature, but then the wife regularly seems to emerge as a nasty, badgering, vile, gluttonous, or simply pacified and mute creature.[3] The hatred of marriage and especially of the wife was rampant, so it seems, if we follow a specific genre of misogynous literature.[4]

At the same time, however, married life increasingly gained respect and literary traction, as illustrated by the rise of genres such as verse narratives (*fabliaux*, *mæren*, *novelle*, *tales*), early prose novels, didactic literature, and Shrovetide plays.[5] In that world we encounter many discussions about the proper relationship between husband and wife, about the individual's role within society, and also about economic and financial aspects that had a large impact on private life, and hence also on the gender relationship. The phenomenon of female agency within marriage, which this paper will investigate, comes to the fore in more texts than we might have suspected so far. The question that I will pursue here pertains to a married woman's range of options to determine her own destiny and to push for her own decisions in order to preserve her chastity, her honor, but then also her economic well-being, and this is a specifically patriarchal society.

Already in the first half of the thirteenth century, the otherwise unknown but highly prolific poet Der Stricker offered a broad gamut of relevant texts, often satirizing foolish husbands and giving praise to worthy wives, without ignoring the misogynous tradition either,

2 See, for example, Krause, "Generic Space-Off," 93–136.

3 See the rich anthology, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*. The focus, however, rests primarily on women at large, and not on wives, that is, on the gender relationship.

4 Wilson and Makowski, *wykked wyves*.

5 *The Making of the Couple*; *Ordnung und Lust*; Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs*.

playing with both quite freely, obviously for his audience's great entertainment and instruction (*prodesse et delectare*).[6] As to be expected under those circumstances, laughter peels throughout that entire time period, very often at the shrewd but contemptible wife, mirroring deep-seated misogyny and simply male fear of the strong woman.[7] Of course, we also encounter many foolish husbands, truly silly men who do not know how to handle themselves and who rely excessively on traditional gender roles to affirm their own identity within marriage, so they tend to fail in living up to the social expectations, requiring help from their own wives, after all, or who need to learn quickly that they are not much better at all than their spouses. This finds most vivid expression in Hans Sachs's very late Shrovetide Play "Der Fahrende Schüler im Paradeis" (1550), the message of which can easily be projected backwards, especially because this Nuremberg cobbler drew so much of his literary material from the Middle Ages.[8] Conversely, increasingly women raised their own voices in the literary discourse, which has fortunately forced us to rewrite the literary histories and to make much more room for women at large in our annals.[9] Intriguingly, as we have learned through recent research (Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Maxo Karras eds.), both in legal and political terms women gained a much stronger profile in the late Middle Ages, either as singles[10] or as married

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6 Der Stricker, *Verserzählungen*, vol. I. See also Der Stricker, *Erzählungen, Fabeln*. See also *Die Kleinepik des Strickers*. However, our interest in the gender relationship and wives, in particular, is not mirrored here. Der Stricker's verse narratives have survived in thirty-nine manuscripts; see http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/367 (last accessed on Nov. 13, 2017).

7 Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative*; *Laughter in the Middle Ages*; Velten, *Scurrilitas*. The literature on this topic is legion, by now, but there is fairly little attention paid to laughter about the wife.

8 http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/drei-fastnachtsspiele-5218/2; or: https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/16Jh/Sachs/sac_fahr.html (both last accessed on Nov. 9, 2017). For the latest biographical and literary-historical investigation, see Brunner, *Hans Sachs*.

9 Classen, *Reading Medieval Women*, esp. the introduction with its critical review of the relevant research literature, 7-50.

10 *Young Medieval Women*. See now the contribution to Bennett and Maxo Karras.

partners,[11] meaning that historical evidence regarding women's considerably higher stakes in inheritance regulations and family properties can be supported by the literary observations, and vice versa.

Wives' Subordination or Self-Determination

Significantly, already since the high Middle Ages, poets projected strong wives who, through their personal agency, succeed in contributing rather powerfully to the happy development of their marriage by way of assuming control, steering their husbands into a new direction, and demonstrating that a good marriage is only possible if both partners strongly subscribe to such fundamental aspects as good communication, community, commitment, compassion, collaboration, cooperation, and compromise, the seven Cs, to which we could easily add courage, courtesy, or company, etc. Observing many, or all, of those ideals could lead, as countless medieval poets underscored either directly or indirectly, to the achievement of individual happiness.[12] The literary evidence from the early modern world does not necessarily expand on this phenomenon, but there are strong narrative features highlighting especially the strong role assumed by the female characters.[13]

In a previous study I already outlined how much agency in the case of Isolde in Gottfried von Straßburg's famous romance, *Tristan und Isolde* (ca. 1210) emerged as the central tool for the female protagonist to maintain not only successfully at King Mark's court in Cornwall, but much more importantly to pursue her almost elusive love for Tristan, although this represents adultery; yet, tragically, her lover at the end is forced to depart from her, probably never to come

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11 See, for instance, Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*; D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*. The most seminal study remains Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*. See also the contributions by Sheehan, *Marriage*, *Family*.

12 Classen, "The Erotic and the Quest for Happiness," 1–33.

13 See, for instance, Nivre, *Women and Family*. She points out, however, that increasingly the notion of the witch and the focus on the shrew that has to be tamed imposed new restrictive measures on sixteenth-century women, as both reflected in literature and in the historical records.

back.[14] In fact, as I will argue in this paper, slightly moving beyond Gottfried's romance more often than not wifely actions, prove to be very important and effective and allow the husband or lover to sustain himself and to continue with all of his actions and efforts as a knight, as a leader of his people, and as a marriage partner.

Here I would like to argue that previous scholarship has paid too much attention to the male characters only, even though their female companions matter often just as much, if not more than the men. To illustrate and support this thesis, I will take into view Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* (ca. 1170/1180), the anonymous *Mai und Beaflor* (ca. 1280), and the verse narratives *Der Borte* by Dietrich von der Gletze (Glesse, Glezze), Ruprecht von Würzburg's *Von zwei Kaufleuten*, and Heinrich Kaufringer's *Die unschuldige Mörderin* (all from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). These Middle High German examples from two different but closely related genres can subsequently be used to develop our observations further and to apply them to contemporary European literature where we also observe the emergence of the highly virtuous, self-determined, and independently-minded wife.[15]

Of course, the literary examples do not necessarily confirm the true extent to which late medieval women could exert their own agency, but the fictional projection of such strong wives in individual cases underscores at least the poets' and their audiences' interest in, fascination with, and maybe also abhorrence of self-assured, self-directed, and independently minded female individuals. In most cases, however, as we will recognize, the wife proves to be a highly respectable individual her husband certainly has to reckon with, particularly because she contributes essentially to his own sense of hap-

14 Classen, "Female Agency and Power," 39-60. See also Smith, "Textual and Visual Building Blocks," 165-74; Battles, "Amended Texts," 323-43; Christi, "(Extra)Ordinary Woman," 93-100.

15   See, for example, the anonymous *Reinfried von Braunschweig*; cf. Classen, "Ehelob und Preis," 95-112; see also the contributions to *Married Women and the Law*. For women in the early modern age, see now Koch, *Verspottet, geachtet, geliebt - die Frauen der Reformatoren*. For a longitudinal study of this topic, from the late Middle Ages to the early modern age, see Becker-Cantarino, *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit*.

piness and self-fulfillment by means of her self-directed decision-making. The focus will not rest on marriage as a social institution, and not so much on marital love and children; instead the interest that I will pursue here concerns, above all, the wife's agency within marriage, which can also shed light on the wider social, economic, and political context.

As we will observe many times, manly virtues are praised, of course, and idealized in many different contexts, but in a subtle, yet highly significant way neither the husband nor the wife can achieve their social ideals and goals without the other. Partnership, in other words, emerges as the new role model, meaning the practical realization of the seven Cs (communication, cooperation, commitment, collaboration, community, compassion, coordination). The treatment of the actively performing and self-assured wife by such a large range of male authors might allow us to understand more in detail what the actual gender relationship might have been in the late Middle Ages and how poets wanted their audiences to view intelligent, virtuous, and respectable wives.

Anonymous *Mai und Beaflor Erec*

Already in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* (ca. 1170), the central issue quickly comes to the fore, with the husband Erec badly abusing his wife after he had fallen victim to his own uxuriousness, which led to his social failure as the leader of his people.[16] While he is subsequently trying to compensate for his previous shortcomings, his excessive dedication to sexual and amatory pleasures with his wife Enite, he is forcing her, as a punishment for her presumed wrongdoing, which led to his own neglect of his social and political obligations, to accompany him on his journey through the forest on the quest for adventures. However, every time he encounters robbers or hostile opponents, she needs to come to his rescue and warn him in time. Erec regards this as shameful and then punishes her even

16 Rushing, "Erec's Uxuriousness," 163-80.

further, but at the end he succumbs to utter exhaustion and extreme loss of blood in his fight against the two giants.[17]

In that situation, the focus suddenly shifts more directly toward Enite who breaks down in sorrow and pain, assuming that her husband has died. She laments loudly and soon is prepared to commit suicide when Count Oringles of Limors appears and prevents this in the last minute. He takes Enite with him to his castle in the hope that he might be able to force her to sleep with him and to join hands in marriage with him. He also has Erec's corpse transported back with him, without burying him immediately. Erec, however, is still alive, and when the count begins to hit Enite in her face because she refuses to eat with him, whereupon she shrieks loudly and calling for help, Erec awakes from his coma, grabs a sword and kills the count.

The couple can escape and they begin to talk with each other for the first time, and this in a meaningful, communicative manner, with Erec finally acknowledging her as his partner in marriage who deserves to be treated equally because he needs her desperately. Unfortunately, this does not mean the end of their suffering, and Erec faces deadly dangers ahead of them, but ultimately, he triumphs over all his opponents also because he receives Enite's full emotional and other support. As we can read in the text, for instance, "With Lady Enite's help—for she showed him the way—he turned back to the road on which he had come on the bier" (128); "King Erec then asked Lady Enite how he had fallen into the hands of the count" (129), and, most importantly: "Immediately the distressing strange matter came to an end, as well as the peculiar pretense with which he had treated her up to that day without cause" (129). Erec then embraces and kisses his wife, promising her a better life, and she forgives him under tears because she loves him dearly (129).

17   Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*. See now also the edition by Manfred Günter Scholz, trans. by Susanne Held. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 5 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2004). For the English translation, see *The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*; for most useful studies in English, see *A Companion to the Works of Hartmann von Aue*. See also Bumke, *Der "Erec" Hartmanns von Aue*.

In many ways, as we could argue, Enite's steadfast love for her husband, her disregard of all the mistreatment, and her physical and spiritual strength in all those life-threatening situations make it all possible for herself and then also for Erect to overcome their enemies and to regain the joy of the court on behalf of the entire society.[18] This, however, is only possible because Enite helped Erec to find the right balance in his life and to accept both marital responsibilities and bliss as well as his social and military duties.[19] She achieved that goal by first submitting quietly under him, then by defying all his death threats when she warns him of imminent danger, subsequently by deeply mourning his presumed death, and finally by resisting the count and screaming for help, which awakens Erec from his physical and spiritual coma.

All this finds its peculiar, but highly meaningful expression in the extensive description of Enite's saddle, a masterpiece of ekphrastic strategies in medieval literature. Even though the images included in the saddle do not tell much about Enite's own actions, they reflect on the entire world history upon which courtly society was predicated and visually associate the owner, Enite, with the greatest heroes and lovers from the past (136-38). The narrator underscores that Enite fully deserved to have received this saddle as a gift because she is identified as "the most beautiful woman alive at that time" (138), but in light of her previous performance, her bold fight for her husband's happiness and honor, and her unshakable loyalty to Erec even in the worst conditions force us to read this laudatory formulation slightly differently.

She earned this saddle, and gained this ekphrastic praise because she is the most worthy lady on earth, a powerful individual who is perfectly qualified to ride on that saddle insofar as she has proven to be Erec's partner in all of his social and personal struggles. While Erec has the obligation to fight with his sword for his honor and the well-

18 Christoph, "The Language and Culture of Joy," 319-33.

19 Sterling-Hellenbrand, *Topographies of Gender in Middle High German*); she examines, above all, the spatiality of the gender discourse, which is, however, not quite the same as agency as displayed by Enite.

being of courtly society, Enite rises to the occasion and becomes an equal spouse, drawing from her own strength and qualifications, as indirectly mirrored by the images on the saddle.[20]

The Anonymous *Mai und Beaflor*

My other example among many others is the anonymous *Mai und Beaflor*, composed at the end of the thirteenth century, which has survived in only two manuscripts and might not have achieved much popularity, and this until today since even modern scholarship has not paid much attention to it.[21] While there are numerous fascinating aspects that would deserve to be discussed at great length, such as incest, the crossing of the see in a rudderless ship, falsified letters, an evil mother-in-law, crusade in Spain, an assassination attempt, matricide, council for the ruler, and the like, here I want to focus on the way how Beaflor operates both as wife and as the female protagonist. In many ways, she emerges as independently minded, as strongly willed, deeply devout, and as loving as Enite in Hartmann's *Erec*, but it also deserves to be mentioned that here we observe a remarkable intensification of emotions as the driving force throughout the entire romance.[22] Beaflor's long series of suffering almost make her to a saint, but since the narrative is mostly secular, the emphasis really rests on her inner strength, her religious devotion, and dedication to her husband Mai.

The romance traces the very difficult life of Beaflor, the daughter of the Roman emperor who tries to rape her after his wife's death. Differently than in *Apollonius of Tyre* where the incest actually occurs,[23] the young woman knows how to resort to cunning and can

20 For this phenomenon, see Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume*, 157-79; Bussmann, *Wiedererzählen, Weitererzählen und Beschreiben*.

21 *Mai und Beaflor*, ed., trans., and commentary Classen; see also the edition by Christian Kiening and Katharina Mertens-Fleury, online at: http://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/17304/1/MaiundBeaflor-1.pdf (2008); for critical discussions, see Classen, "Kontinuität und Aufbruch," 324-344; Deibl, *Die Meeresüberfahrten in "Mai und Beaflor."*

22 Classen, "*Roman Sentimental*. 83-100. For a broad study of this genre around 1300, see Herweg, *Wege zur Verbindlichkeit*; he touches on *Mai und Beaflor* only in passing. See also the contributions to *Hybridität und Spiel der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Baisch and Jutta Eming (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2013).

23 Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*. This text was highly popular throughout late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.

thus hold back her father and eventually escape before the crime might happen. She also proves to be decisive, forward-looking, energetic, resolute, and courageous in all the subsequent events, and thus arises from early on as a major female character who knows from early on how to handle her own life despite countless challenges of an egregious kind. As the narrator comments once, which applies to Beaflor throughout, "Si was witzich vnd chark" (936; she was smart and strong). In fact, she impresses everyone in her social environment, including the senator Roboal and his wife Benigna, through her determination, virtues, and intelligence. However, she is in constant need of help, which regularly comes forward as well because she impresses everyone through her innocence, piety, beauty, and ideal character.

Once Beaflor has arrived in Greece, she is immediately wooed by the Count Mai, but her future mother-in-law regards her soon with greatest suspicion, although she had arrived with greatest treasures, fearing that she might have been expelled for some sinful behavior or been exiled as the product of some shameful act (2655-2709). Nevertheless, Mai pursues his goal energetically, disregards his mother's strong objections and the warning of his councilors, and marries the stranger woman. Tragically, although the marriage then develops most harmoniously, leading soon to her delivering a child, Mai's mother plots against her, and even tries to get her killed during her son's absence on a crusade in Spain by means of falsified letters that spread entirely fake news, as we would call them today.[24]

In that peculiar situation, Beaflor demonstrates, once again, her foresightfulness, her circumspection, and ability to strategize in order to prevent the murder to happen, bravely accepting the advice of two counts who administer the country in Mai's absence. She departs from Greece with the same boat in which she had arrived, leaving behind a grieving court, a mournful people, and, soon enough, a suicidal husband who must believe that his wife and son have been

24 Wenzel, "Boten und Briefe," 86-105; here 101-04; Bußmann, "Im Bann der Inszenierung – Lachen," 101-28. She focuses, however, more on the elements of masking one's identity and subsequent revelation.

killed, allegedly because he himself had ordered this as a punishment for falsely claimed adultery that she had committed. Mai then even kills his own mother once he has realized that she had manipulated the letters and can thus be identified as the true culprit in the death of his wife, not knowing that Beaflor had managed to escape in time.

This female protagonist takes the most dangerous sea voyage upon herself, along with her son Schoifloris, and she manages, with God's help, to return to Rome, where she lives, in hiding, in the house of her foster-father, the Senator Roboal. Years then pass, and eventually Mai and his companions arrive in Rome as well to ask the pope for forgiveness, which ultimately makes it possible for the couple to meet again and, after some playful retardation, to recognize each other. Beaflor perfectly plays the game as a stranger, but finally the secret is revealed and the couple reunites in complete happiness.

Admittedly, formally Roboal assumes the central role in this theatrical comedy as the 'stage director,' but Beaflor performs her own role exceedingly well, which allows all the emotions involving the two people to come fully to the fore. After the denouement has occurred, Mai and Beaflor assume the government of the Roman Empire and live a happy life as a couple in harmonious company. We do not learn much about her own contributions in that function, but the poet sheds enough light on her for us to understand how much she continues to determine her own life and understands how to assure that things develop in a reasonable, logical fashion. For instance, when the Greek nobles want to return home, they request that the couple's young son accompany them and take over the rule in their country, but his mother resolutely refuses this and orders them to accept the rule by the two noblemen, Corneljo and Effreide (9632-35), who had already proven their loyalty back in Greece and had taken every possible effort to protect Beaflor from the threatened execution as allegedly ordered by her husband (as a result of Mai's mother's falsification of the letter).

More important, however, proves to be Beaflor's agency during the time of greatest trials and tribulations when she is facing near death as a result of her husband's command, as spelled out in the letter. She accepts her doom, but then follows the advice to leave the country secretly, and thus she can rise to the occasion and demonstrate through her own existence the workings of God. In fact, everyone, both back home in Rome and in Greece deeply revers her and regards her as the most virtuous person ever. This is, however, also matched by Mai's inner virtues, and the couple at the end joins in a happy union again because they are equally strong and passionate about each other, and also display the greatest character qualities.

Altogether, this proves to be a rather sentimental verse romance, but it is predicated centrally on the idealization of the wife who is obedient and loving, energetic and trusting in God, and who thus can, at the conclusion of the romance, surprise Mai with the fact that she is still alive. As much as she always seems to be the victim of external forces, her resoluteness and piety, her devotion to God and love for Mai make her to the outstanding female protagonist who dominates the entire romance. As submissive and obedient as she appears to be, we can consistently recognize a deep inner self-determination to protect her own honor, virginity, and agency.

The departure scene in Greece, when she is supposed to be executed upon her husband's order, formulated in the fateful, falsified letter, seems to imply her complete filial piety and subordination under the Count. She immediately accepts her death penalty and begs the two knights not to sacrifice themselves and their families only in order to protect her. Beaflor even goes so far as to defend her husband, identifying God as the one who really wants her to die (5876), while she declares Mai to be innocent in all this (5895-96), although she does not know anything of the true circumstances resulting from her mother-in-law's evil machinations.

Re-emphasizing her own humility, she affirms that her own death would not matter much, whereas the destiny of the two knights and their families concern her most. She only begs them to preserve her

child as a completely innocent victim and to put herself to death (5916). In fact, no one would ever blame them for their actions which they would have carried out as loyal servants of their lord. Beaflor almost recognizes here an opportunity to die as a martyr and thus to pay for her sins, though she is completely innocent and would be a victim of monstrous murderous intentions. Cornelio and Effraide, however, figure out an alternative, taking her to the boat with which she had arrived, and allow her to escape this way, together with her child and all the treasures with which she had come originally.

As soon as she has disappeared, however, the two counts lose all their confidence and courage, blaming themselves for not having escaped together with her. They are sure that the entire country will accuse them of having committed terrible murder and being contemptible and dishonorable individuals (6063-68). In fact, they are about to commit suicide and can be rescued only in the last minute, while Beaflur floats across the Mediterranean Sea and arrives safely in Italy, always trusting God.

The men, however, including her own husband, constantly demonstrate desperation and despondency, not knowing how to cope with their own emotions. The entire people begins to lament and cry over the terrible loss of the princess, all assuming that the two counts have carried out her husband's order. Deep sorrow sinks on the country, as everyone grieves deeply over Beaflor's and her child's death, allegedly killed as instructed by Count Mai. The latter is completely innocent, of course, and also ignorant about the entire situation, but he then acts the same way as all of his people, completely devastated and ready to commit suicide. He later finds out the truth and commits matricide, but this does not bring back his wife and son. Years pass, in which Mai sinks into terrible depression and self-abandonment, until the bishop urges him to go to Rome and to beg the pope for forgiveness.

At the same time, Beaflor has arrived in Italy, but she would not be willing to get out of the boat unless she knows to be save from her father's sexual persecutions. Her agency is that of a saintly person,

a martyr, since she would be rather prepared to return to the incertitude of the waves than to stay there where her father could pursue her once again (7271-79). However, Roboal and Benigna take care of her and promise her complete security, which later allows her, once her husband has also made his way to Rome, to reunify with him and gain worldly joys and honors again, especially because by then her father has publicly admitted his guilt and then steps down from the throne, making room for Mai to ascend in his place, becoming the new Roman emperor.

Granted, here as well a male protagonist appears as the leading figure since the Senator Roboal operates as the *magister ludi* at court, arranging the play with fake roles, bringing together Mai and his own wife Beaflor, him being the only one to know her true identity, until days have passed and both have experienced much sorrow. Finally, the secret is then lifted, and universal happiness returns to all protagonists, except for the emperor who admits his guilt which he had caused himself when he had tried to rape his own daughter. Nevertheless, since he then resigns from his post and seeks the pope's forgiveness, even this aspect finds its happy solution.

Beaflor operates throughout the entire scene in a most skillful manner and carries out all of Roboal's instructions without ever breaking her promise not to betray herself. She enjoys highest respect for her virtues, beauty, and piety, but we also recognize in her an individual protagonist who pursues her life's goals strictly, always trying the hardest to protect her virtues and to follow God's commands. Even though Roboal is the one who arranges the deceptive game, it is Beaflor who assumes the central role, teasing her husband with her appearance which makes her look exactly as his presumably dead wife. Her agency is not that of organizing her own life since she follows the instructions both by the Senator and his wife, and, back in Greece, by the two counts, but her highest goal of serving God is her own pilot light, and she does not allow anyone making her move away from Him, whatever the circumstances might be. Beaflor thus proves to be, by way of her deliberate passivity and obedience under

her husband and under God, a saintly figure with a high degree of indirect agency, but she operates effectively here in this world and gains global respect from everyone, except her evil mother-in-law and her own father, the emperor. While Mai at the end earns greatest honor and a universal reputation as a fair judge and a good ruler, his wife Beaflor stands right next to him and shares with him her love (9666-68). The poet has only praise and admiration for her and gives her his highest credit because, ultimately, she steered her own ship, both metaphorically and concretely, across rough seas and succeeded because of her utmost honor and devotion to God and gaining her own happiness and personal fulfillment through her love and commitment to Mai.

Late Medieval Verse Narratives, *mæren*

From here let us turn to another literary genre, late medieval *mæren*, where we hear more often than not of highly self-determined, self-assured, and independently minded wives.[25] My three prime examples are Ruprecht von Würzburg's *Die getreue Ehefrau*, Dietrich von der Gletze's *Der Borte*, and Heinrich Kaufringer's *Die unschuldige Mörderin*, three almost extreme cases where the wife's agency is strongly profiled and presented as an ideal that even husband ought to acknowledge and respect as most useful and honorable for themselves. As we have already learned, in the first case, Irmengart holds up her own honor against her entire family that proves to be thoroughly corrupt and yet also deeply shortsighted, and can thus defy all traditional prejudices against wives and, at the same time, is thereby capable of preserving her husband's property and business.[26] We can build on this interpretation and investigate further to what extent this wife knows how to bring into play her own agency and pursue both her love and economic well-being within an honorable setting.

25 Fischer, *Die deutsche Märendichtung*; and his *Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung*; Schirmer, ed. *Das Märe*; Ziegeler, *Erzählen im*; Heinzle, "Kleine Anleitung zum Gebrauch," 45–48. For a solid text selection, see *Novellistik des Mittelalters*. Klaus Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos*; see now also Classen's English translations *Erotic Tales of Medieval Germany*.

26 Classen, "A Woman Fights for Her Honor," 95-113.

Ruprecht von Würzburg

The narrator never leaves any doubt about Irmengart's exemplarity as an individual, as a wife, and as a competent manager of the family business. She and Bertram love each other deeply and trust each other fully. He goes so far as to bet his entire fortune on her loyalty, and he does not want to believe until the end that his opponent, the inn-keeper Hogier, might have succeeded in seducing her during his absence, which was part of their wager to test his wife. Hogier had argued that any woman can be enticed to sleep with a man if the price is just right. Considering how much Irmengart's entire family urges her to accept the huge amount of money for one night with Hogier, we are not surprised about this capitalistic mentality that knows nothing of honor and virtues.

Irmengart is actually totally chagrined to learn that her aunt, her parents, and others subscribe to this ideology and are simply ready to accept prostitution as a legitimate form of earning money. She fights against this attitude with all her wits and knows at the end how to subterfuge the seduction attempt by using the same strategy, inviting her maid to stand in for her, and this for a much more modest price. The maid proves to be a prostitute, and hence has to pay a much higher price than she had expected because Hogier cuts off her pinky after they have slept with each other in order to have proof of his triumph over Bertram and his wife. Irmengart thus beats the seducer with his own weapons and regains her agency, despite all the bad advice by her family. However, what does agency mean in this context?

First of all, her husband can go on his business trip because he knows that he can entirely rely on his wife to represent him fully back at home. Then, Irmengart is faced by a serious challenge when Hogier appears on the stage, and at first she resolutely beats back all the various servants who have been bribed by him to help him in his seduction efforts. Yet, then she faces more difficulties because Hogier ups the monetary offer, which certainly appeals to Irmengart's family who strongly encourages her to accept it and thus to make

much money for herself and Bertram. Thus, she faces a profound dilemma, being caught between the pressure by her family and her own value system. In that moment, she prays to God and receives the advice she has long looked for, entering a new stage in her defense by deceptively accepting the role which Hogier and everyone else wants her to play, that is, the corruptible wife. In reality, however, she creates a double for herself, the maid, and can thus escape Hogier's grip and still appease her family.

Ultimately, and this is the third level in the entire strategy, during the public event in which her opponent argues that his claim holds true that all women can be sexually seduced if the price is right, she simply holds up both her hands and can thus prove that Hogier, and patriarchal society at large, are fundamentally wrong. She powerfully illustrates that she was a loyal, intelligent, and energetic wife who knows exactly how to maintain her virtuosity and honor and who demonstrates publicly and privately her own agency. As in our previous examples, however, Irmengart is exposed to tremendous external pressures and must seek unique and secret measures to implement this agency directly against the patriarchal authorities.

The narrative itself also highlights her considerable problems maintaining herself in face of Hogier's attacks, especially because she is alone without her husband's support. In other words, we also notice specific criticism of the husband who failed in his duties or is simply negligent. Bertram seemingly deserves credit for his enormous trust in his wife's loyalty, but in reality he is responsible for his wife's terrible testing and abandons her in that situation, which forces her to draw on her own agency and thus to save their marriage.

Dietrich von der Gletze

In Dietrich von der Gletze's *Der Borte* this condition is profiled even more pronouncedly, and the wife takes more charge in the marriage than all other female figures discussed above. However, in contrast to the other examples, here the husband, Konrad, proves to be rather insecure and lacking in public reputation and departs

from her in search of fame at a tournament in some distance. While she is alone at home, a stranger knight appears who offers her miraculous animals in return for her love, and finally, since she has steadfastly rejected those and thus his wooing, his iconic belt that guarantees the one who wears it honor and reputation. This magical object succeeds in breaking down her defense since she wants to acquire this belt for her husband, but the odd knight also abandons all of his valuables and departs on foot, no longer owning any of his traditional attributes as a knight.[27] Being nameless and appearing only as a cameo figure, we might speculate that he constitutes an abstract symbol or ideal of knighthood, but in the narrative reality he has seduced the wife, which a servant has observed, who tattles on her to his lord. The young man is enraged, but he does not confront his wife; instead he departs for the court of Brabant without ever returning home. His wife is waiting for him patiently and performs exceedingly well in managing the estate and maintaining her honor despite the one-time infraction, which no one comments on as if the public had not learned of the truth despite the servant's tattling.

After two years without having seen her husband, this wife takes actions into her own hand and pursues him, disguising herself as a knight, using the pseudonym "Heinrich" (Henry). Since s/he owns those magical animals (two greyhounds, a falcon, and a horse), she earns highest fame at greatest ease, while her husband appears to suffer from continuous ignominy, if not incompetence. At a convenient moment, he begs his new friend to gift one of those animals to him, that is, to share a little of his honor and reputation. The wife finally indicates her willingness if Konrad would be prepared to sleep with her.

The young man, not knowing of the disguise, laments that a splendid knight like this stranger would have homosexual inclinations, but declares his readiness, after all out of greed, as she later calls it, or despondency regarding his failed attempts to achieve knightly acclaim. Only then does she finally reveal her own identity and lam-

27 Classen, "Disguises, Gender-Bending, and Clothing Symbolism," 95-110.

basts him egregiously for his foulness, calling him a heretic who would not even hesitate to prostitute himself to another man only in order to gain a valuable object/animal. In her assessment, she committed adultery for altruistic reasons, thinking only of Conrad and trying to help him, while he was only concerned with himself and was callously ready to commit a major crime 'against nature,' homosexuality, as we call it today.[28]

The husband immediately acknowledges his own guilt, begs for her forgiveness, which she happily grants, and both then return home, the couple finally having reached mutual understanding and respect. Since she shares the magical animals and also the belt with him, she helps her husband to gain the long desired public reputation.

As brief as this narrative proves to be, it offers an extraordinary example of wifely agency and powerfully profiles her decisiveness, intelligence, rationality, and cunning, all employed to secure her marriage and her husband's love. We can certainly debate contro-versially whether she prostituted herself as much as her husband, although it is pretty evident that her action, to which she agreed only after a massive effort on the part of the foreign knight, served to sup-port her husband and was done for him alone. She has no personal interest in the stranger, and very much would have liked to maintain her chastity during her husband's absence, but the attractiveness of the belt for her husband makes the decisive difference.[29]

This is a wife who very much holds her own, both at the very begin-ning where she is portrayed as a loving and loyal person, trustworthy and reliable, while her husband feels insecure and quickly proves to be unstable and rash in his decisions. We are not informed about his

28 Even though the homosexual act itself is vehemently condemned here, which was typical of the entire Middle Ages, the narrative proves to be rather extraordinary insofar as homosexuality is even treated in such an open fashion, as if it would not be very unusual for such a sexual sin to happen. Medieval scholarship has worked on this topic for a long time, by now. See, more recently, Cadden, *Nothing Natural is Shameful*; most fundamental, Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*.

29 In light of this observation we can entirely dismiss the notion that the belt which she wears herself at the beginning, or the belt which the knight grants her in return for sex represents a chastity belt. See Classen, *The Medieval Chastity Belt*.

life at the court in Brabant, whereas the poet clearly emphasizes his wife's ability to run the estate all by herself despite her youth. She has amassed a fairly large amount of money during those two years and now utilizes it to mastermind her disguise as a knight with a splendid following.

And indeed, with the help of the magical animals (and the belt) she quickly achieves highest honor which makes Konrad desire them uncontrollably. By contrast, she had resisted all the various offers by the foreign knight, constantly being mindful of her love for her husband, not interested in committing adultery at all. Granted, the narrator adds that nature happily responded to that lovemaking in the garden, and she went so far as to give him a loving kiss upon his request, but she badly mocks him subsequently and dismisses him as meaningless. She took the opportunity as it had presented itself, but not for her own enrichment or enjoyment, but on her husband's behalf.

Altogether, here we face a somewhat curious, but certainly impressive example of a wife who secures the couple's happiness by means of pursuing her own agency and struggling with all her might to hold on to her happiness and helping him to secure a respectable social status as a knight. We can be certain that Conrad acknowledges her from that time foreword, as the final comments confirm, especially because she had demonstrated to him how much inner strength she possessed and that he could rely on her completely, despite the one time infraction. He himself had failed badly, if not even worse, and now understands how to appreciate his wife despite her shortcoming during his absence. Dietrich projected thus a poetic paean on marriage as a situation in which husband and wife enjoy their love and partnership based on mutual respect and admiration.[30]

Heinrich Kaufringer

My last example presents a slightly different scenario, but the poet's view regarding wives' agency resembles the previous cases considerably, although the female protagonist is badly abused by people

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30 For an early attempt to come to terms with this issue, see Ortmann and Ragotzky, "Minneherrin und Ehefrau," 67-84.

around her. In Heinrich Kaufringer's *Die unschuldige Mörderin* we encounter a young countess who is about to marry the king, but the night before the wedding an evil-minded knight manages to convince her that he is her fiancé and deserves to be let in so that he can enjoy a night of sexual pleasures with him.[31] Tragically for him, after his has almost fallen asleep, he betrays himself, and in her desperation, the princess takes the gruesome action and decapitates him. However, she is not strong enough to remove the body from her bedroom and must ask the guardian for help. The latter proves to be equally evil and demands sexual pleasures before he would assist her. The countess has to submit under him, but later, when they are about to throw the corpse into the well, she surreptitiously lifts him up at his legs and throws him into the water, drowning him. Subsequently, the wedding takes place and everything seems to have worked out well for her, but she has lost her virginity and hence resorts to the traditional trick to ask her most trustworthy maid to substitute for her during the first night with her husband. The maid, however, then betrays her lady after all, insisting on staying in bed with the king because she wants to take on the role of his wife. In her desperation, the countess then sets fire to the bedroom and rescues her husband, locks the door behind her, and so has the maid burned to death.

The truth comes out only thirty years later, and then, surprisingly, her husband forgives her in light of her long suffering and in acknowledgment of her having committed those horrible deeds on his behalf only. Is she is a murderess, as we would call her today, or is she a victim of the circumstances? Moreover, is she an individual who acted on her own or is she a victim of the prevalent conditions? Do we feel sympathy for her dilemma or do we judge her according to strictly legal perspectives? This issue does not have to be decided here, especially because the title itself proves to be contradictory, whereas the central matter pertains to her agency which she takes on quickly and resolutely.

31 Ziegeler, "Ruprecht von Würzburg," 418-21.

Although there is multiple murder in place, the narrator paints a picture of a strong female character who is suddenly faced by a series of horrible situations in which she must make fast decisions without any help from anyone else. From her perspective in those specific moments, she has no choice but to defend herself and eliminate her enemies who are about to destroy her life. However, for her entire life she feels deeply guilty, as she finally admits to her husband, and yet she had acted very strategically and without hesitation and thus could overcome the existential danger and terrible abuse by the two men and her own maid. On the one hand it seems that she was justified in carrying out the killing because the perpetrators had broken their fundamental ethical ideals and so deserved to die. Nevertheless, she committed murder, after all, and the narrator leaves no doubt about it, despite extensive sympathy for his protagonist.

She experiences this profound aporia in legal, moral, and religious terms because she refuses to be a passive victim and takes charge of her life, particularly in this extremely critical situation in the night before her marriage and then in the wedding night. Female agency thus results into severe conflicts with the standard legal conditions, which are not satisfactorily resolved and which resonate even with us in the modern world as a huge challenge (manslaughter versus murder).

Conclusion

More often than not medieval authors of courtly romances and late medieval verse narratives project their female characters as endowed with much agency which allows them to pursue their ideals and values, although they operate in their own way and often in private. Beaflor, for instance, never seems to rise to the occasion to determine her own life, constantly being tossed around by destiny, being sexually threatened by her father, and victimized by her mother-in-law through the assassination attempt. Nevertheless, at the same time, by pursuing the model of a near martyr, she gains tremendous agency and can thus determine the course of her entire existence with God's help. Similarly, the women characters in some

of the *mæren* face severe crises but succeed in managing their lives successfully and fruitfully, enjoying happiness for themselves and together with their husbands.

We could, however, also point out literary examples where the opposite takes place, meaning that the female protagonists are victimized and survive only because strong men enter the scene and help them in a critical fashion, such as in Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken's *Sibille* (1437).[32] Our analysis forces us to recognize that the power relationships in marriage was regularly discussed already since the twelfth century (Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*), that this discourse continued well into the late thirteenth century (*Mai und Beaflor*), and that late medieval poets increasingly introduced strong women who command much agency both privately and publicly. The most dramatic but also rather problematic example would be Melusine in Thüring von Ringoltingen's eponymous prose novel from 1456, which later became a true bestseller on the early modern book market once the printers had discovered it as a fantastic product for their business.[33] Here the female protagonist arranges the marriage with Raymond; she commands the necessary resources to build many castles and to establish an entire dynasty, which is also underscored by her prolific fertility. However, she is a hybrid creature and has imposed a taboo on her husband not to search for her on Saturdays when she is hiding in a bathhouse.

Tragically for both, once he has transgressed this taboo and subsequently revealed her true nature to the public, she has to depart from her entire family and leave this world, which entirely devastates Raymond because he cannot handle this profound loss.[34] Of course, Thüring drew from an old literary tradition (Couldrette, Jean d'Arras, Gervasius of Tilbury, and Walter Map), but the novel's enormous popularity probably mirrored the fascination with and

32 *Der Roman von der Königin Sibille*; see also the comprehensive study by von Bloh, *Ausgerenkte Ordnung*.

33 Thüring von Ringoltingen, *Melusine*.

34 Tang, *Mahrtenehen in der westeuropäischen und chinesischen Literatur*.

also fear of the strong, independently minded wife who operates with a high degree of agency and yet fails at the end because her husband cannot live up to his own promise and pledge.

The examples of self-assured and powerful wives in the *mæren* underscore, by contrast, the extent to which the figure of the strong and independently-minded wife, controlling and exerting her own agency with the purpose of securing her own happiness and that of her husband, strongly intrigued late medieval poets, as we can also observe in the case of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*, and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*. This, however, already takes us into the middle of the sixteenth century, which would require a separate investigation of the contemporary literature in light of female agency.

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Portrait of Hartmann von Aue
Codex Manesse. Fol. 184v.

Stewarding Treason: Political Instability in *Amis and Amiloun*

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𝔚*hen the unnamed steward in the medieval romance* Amis and Amiloun *attempts to join the knights' brotherhood and prevent Amis from defiling the duke's daughter, he is simultaneously lauded for his fidelity and reviled as a "fals feloun." Medieval stewards are defined by their status as assistants to the king's interests, and yet if the narrative or scholarship remember him at all, it is as the stereotypical "fals steward" who betrays his post. This article considers the implications to the political body when the "traitor" has a superior legal political standing than the protagonist(s). The work legitimizes the traitor by granting him moral and political supremacy while leaving the heroes' power unconstrained.* Amis*'s validation and condemnation of multiple avenues for authority inadvertently diversifies the political landscape, which ultimately questions the delineation of the political community. I contend, therefore, that political power occupies a dispersed and conflicted network.*

𝔗he ideology of chivalry, exemplified in the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, imbued the aristocracy with ideals of "prowess, loyalty, largess, and courtesy" which shaped and gave structure to the political vocabulary.[1] In the historical and literary structure of the court, chivalric values—"true" knighthood, amorous loyalty and displays of prowess—all helped create a shared identity amongst the governing class. But it also relied on the performance of a shared masculine or homosocial bond. This homosocial community therefore structured the systems of cultural power by establishing legitimate modes of interpersonal interaction and evaluation—but also forged the bonds of the political community. Treason was defined importantly by not only a crime or transgres-

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1 Maurice Keen identifies chivalry as variously defined as an order of knighthood, as an estate or social class, or as a code of values—idealizing "prowess, loyalty, largess, courtesy, and *franchise* (free and frank bearing that is visible testimony to the combination of good birth with virtue)"(2). As Stephen Jaeger outlines, "courtliness" and the flowering of literature of the twelfth century was aimed at "taming the reckless assertiveness if the European feudal nobility, at limiting its freedom in manners and morals, at restraining individual willfulness, and at raising this class…imbuing it with ideals of modesty, humanity, elegance, restraint, moderation, affability, and respectfulness." These ideals and ethical ideology came "to be called 'chivalric'"(4). This ideology of "courtesy and chivalric ideals were nurtured in the conditions of courtly life"—and such courtly literature became an instrument to "urge" that process of civilization, rather than "reflect[ing] some social reality"(Jaeger, 9).

sion against the state or court hierarchy, but also any transgression against these lateral bonds between knights or against the ideal of chivalry itself. The boundaries of knighthood and chivalry therefore depend on (and are threatened by) the strength of these homosocial bonds. This paper questions and puts pressure on (the imagined stability of) the categories of chivalry, criminality, and "truth" in the popular romance *Amis and Amiloun*.

The identical knights Amis and Amiloun, the namesakes for the thirteenth-century medieval English romance *Amis and Amiloun*, both swear an exclusive oath of loyalty to one another while serving the Duke of Lombardy. Amiloun subsequently departs Lombardy for his own lands while the royal steward is denied his request to join Amis's fellowship. The Duke's daughter Belisaunt proclaims her love for Amis—and threatens to cry rape if he refuses her advances. The steward, angered by the knights' rejection, overhears the lovers and reports them to the Duke. Unable to truthfully swear he did not sleep with Belisaunt, Amis convinces his brother Amiloun to fight the steward in the judicial battle in his stead. But by swearing innocence and killing the steward, Amiloun perjures himself—for which God punishes him with leprosy for his dishonest impersonation, his wife rejects him for killing the "good" steward, and Amis happily weds Belisaunt.[2] Some years later, the homeless and leprous Amiloun arrives at Amis's court, where an angelic voice informs them that killing Amis's infants will cure Amiloun's leprosy. Amiloun is indeed cured by the blood of the murdered children, who are later miraculously found alive. Despite the brothers' infanticide, murder (of Amiloun's wife and the steward), false swearing,

2 Much of this Middle English romance follows the earlier French *Amis et Amiles* and the Latin *Vita Amici et Amelii*, which casts Amiles as Charlemagne's seneschal (steward) who similarly requires his sworn brother Amis to perjure himself in judicial battle by impersonating Amiles and then wedding Belisaunt. Interestingly, the French and Latin texts of the tradition all have God's punishment (of leprosy) resulting from Amis's bigamy, for he marries Belisaunt in his brother's stead despite already having a wife—the ME text is unique in linking divine and social punishment to his false oath (swearing innocence in his brother's place). The ME poet places the divine warning and illness directly after Amis falsely pledges innocence, and therefore is punished not for marital deceit but for his manipulation of social or political "trowthe" (Kratins, 350). For more in depth analysis of the Old French and Middle English texts in the wider context of the *Amis* tradition, see Ojars Kratins' "The Middle English Amis and Amiloun: Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography."

and prioritization of their oath above communal bonds, the romance praises their loyalty and rewards the two knights while condemning the steward as a "traitor." What are the legal and moral implications of the romance's legal multiplicity—which defines the steward, heroes, and the ladies as alternatively "traitorous" and "trewe"?

The poet praises the brotherhood for their "trewth and godhede" and condemns the steward as "fals" and "ful of felonie," yet simultaneously calls on us to witness the nameless steward's moral and political honor during and after the judicial battle.[3] Amis did indeed commit the treason of sleeping with Belisaunt, and then deceived the duke. The narrator acknowledges this crime both within the text and voiced through other characters by condemning Amis as being in the "wronge"—and yet the steward's orthodox fulfillment of his duty is similarly defined as "felouny." The steward activates, upholds, and serves as an instrument of the legal structure, where "lawe" takes precedence above the personal desires of those in power—contradicting the text's or hero's negotiation of power. In fact, both the steward and the knights are alternately condemned as "traitours" and "fals men" throughout the tale (847). We are therefore left with an unstable political framework and a shifting definition of "treason" as the political and social authority of the heroes and the villain are equally brought under suspicion. The steward's conflicted characterization underscores the polity's conflicting systems of justice, and the ways competition governs the text's political discourse.

Critical attention on Amis and Amiloun's ambiguous heroism has generally split over the brothers' hagiographic characteristics (seen in their divine favor despite their infanticide) or chivalry (their amorous adventures)—frequently in relation to how such categorization influences their fraught morality.[4] Leah Haught in particular consid-

3 Foster, *Amis and Amiloun, Robert of Cisyle, and Sir Amadace*. All subsequent quotes will be taken from this edition and cited parenthetically within the text. Lines 2506, 311, 700 and 407 respectively.

4 Leah Haught astutely summarizes critical uncertainty as arising from the text's articulations of a "variety of competing "trewths";" as a secular, sacred, personal, social, or moral consideration Haught, Leah. "In pursuit of "Trewth," 241. Ken Eckert, Ojars Kratins and Dean Baldwin, for example, argue the knights sacred absolution overshadows their infanticide and murder. See Baldwin's "*Amis and Amiloun*: The Testing of *Treuthe*."; Eckert's "Amis and Amiloun: A spiritual journey"; and Kratins' "The Middle English Amis and Amiloun." Ralph Hanna, Thorlac Turville-Petre, and Sheila Delaney posit the romance's social and amorous concerns signal the text's chivalric preoccupation, see Hanna's *London Literature, 1300-1380*; Turville-Petre's *Reading Middle English Literature*; and Delaney's "A,A, and B: Coding Same-Sex Union."

ers the effect their exclusivity has on the social community, assert-
ing the protagonists' adhere "to their private conception of *trewth*
above not only their other obligations but also the needs and respon-
sibilities of other characters."[5] The lack of a shared legal or political
vocabulary, and the brotherhood's inviolable exclusivity, challenges
the traditional power structure of a court. The poet's emphasis on
the steward's political conventionality, the brothers' treason, and the
retained problem of the ending infanticide suggests that moral con-
flict pervades the text's political and social landscape. The linguistic
slippage between "treweth" and "treson," as terms that refer to both
specific acts and abstract values, invites competition between disso-
nant approaches to such values, as R.F. Green and Haught both ar-
ticulate.[6] Rather than assess the "contentious" morality of the poem
(as scholarship has already noted), this essay will consider legal
multiplicity and the effect of the romance's shifting political center.[7]
Reading through the steward's dual treason and fidelity highlights
the text's ambiguous political economy, offering criminality as a po-
litically motivated charge with considerable socio-political capital.

Beginning with the ambiguity of treason's parameters, this study
will trace the legal and political ramifications of the steward's dual-
ity. If justice requires and punishes the steward challenging Amis,
how does the legal system function? By establishing the social and

5 Haught, "In pursuit of 'Trewth'," 242.

6 I lean on R.F. Green's articulation of "truth" and "treason" as ambiguous "keywords."
Green demonstrates that *truth* and *treason* "had a far wider range of meanings in the four-
teenth century than it does now, and changes in its meaning were proving a source of
potential ambiguity for contemporaries" (207). Haught has similarly noted the "complex
spectrum of competing values" which arise from such various approaches to "truth"—
the MED cites "sixteen different definitions…ranging from 'fidelity' and 'honesty' to 'a
promise…oath…or covenant,' to 'goodness," a set of beliefs or doctrines'…"(241). The
word's many possible meanings strips it of any manifest connotation, directing audiences'
attention toward linguistic and ideological slippage and away from consistent or stable
signification"(242). The assumed link between "truth" (as rectitude or honesty) and moral
superiority is clearly undermined by the lack of a stable definition of what that rectitude
ought to look like, but the linguistic link remains nonetheless—as each character's protes-
tations of their "treweth" demonstrates. Philosophers and historians have also tackled the
problem of "truth," commenting on the "multiplicity of co-existing truth games"(Weir,
368). The "politics of truth" therefore refers to not only localizing the specific form of
"truth," but also the power dynamics of those in question. This paper specifically explores
the linguistic slippage and resulting ethical space created between "truth" and "falsity," or
between "legal" and "criminality/treason."

7 Haught argues that the "impact of the romance as a whole might best be understood as
contentious rather than as exultant..." "In pursuit of 'Trewth',"(244). Haught focuses on the
effect this multiplicity and contentiousness has on *trewth* or morality within the text. This
essay picks up on this same question, but explores how it provides interpretive purchase on
the romance's political body.

political obligation of the steward within the court network, the text emphasizes his correct performance of his duty, as well as his unique advocacy of justice. The narrative's other court figures manipulate policy or display moral failures, which further underscores the steward's vision of the polity as a dispersed network. The narrative validates the steward's disruptive action and fosters multiple power centers and ongoing conflict.

Rethinking The Traitor

Despite the poem's condemnation of the "traitorous" steward, the narrator offers him as an alternative to the protagonists and a safeguard against improper rule—giving him the voice of the "ryght" quarrel. Unlike the self-interested desires of the brothers, duke, or Belisaunt, who all disregard socio-political obligations to the community, the steward's "trecherie" is valorized. "Envie" may be the steward's motivation, but the poet allows this envy to be both personally and politically defined.

> For thai were so gode and hende,
> or the douke was so wele her frende
> He hadde therof gret envie (211-3)

The steward's "gret envie" is a product of the duke's close friendship with the "gode and hende" knights above any other courtly bonds. We are told the duke loved the knights "so wele" that he provided "al that thai wald" (170), granting them high positions within his court and supporting them financially. This gives the brothers disproportionate access to power, which the steward is obliged to prevent. The knights' love "*or*" that "the duke was so wele [t]her frende" suggests both slights equally inspire the steward's anger. This suggests that the steward's request to join Amis's brotherhood and for the knight to "be me kende"(358) is motivated by his desire to break apart the brotherhood (or simply prevent the powerful brotherhood from such anti-social exclusivity) or to reduce the duke's favoritism. Even if his spying is initially inspired by personal jealousy, his actions conform to the legal parameters of his position.

In fact, the steward's disclosure of Belisaunt's and Amis's secret

union goes beyond his personal envy or political jealousy. The traditional duty of the steward "to protect his overlord's interests and property, including the reputation of the duke's daughter," is coupled with his desire to join or dismantle the brotherhood.[8] Sheila Delaney reads his dual desire as introducing "queer" politics and desires into the heteronormative space of the poem. She argues the emotional intensity of these scenes suggest that queer desire and jealousy for Amis's love (and resentment at his rejection) trigger the steward's spying—allowing for a queer reading of other scenes as well. While some critics read the brothers' oath to one another as hinting at a sexual union, the steward's "resentment" demonstrates that sexual politics have become purely political. The text does not clarify what form the steward's "envy" or anger takes, but the resulting conflict is cast as political by the involvement of the entire court in the judicial battle. Sexual politics become politics tout court.

The steward's envy or bitterness at the unequal treatment was not abnormal; in fact such favoritism caused major rifts within Edward II's and Richard II's courts in the poet's and audience's recent memory.[9] Whether this mistrust arose from the brotherhood's implied or potential homosexuality or from their influence over the duke, their favor reflected back on the duke's political authority. Michael Hanrahan, quoting Adam of Usk, asserts that allegations of favoritism within court were frequently framed as sexual deviance—which imagined "'intimacies' and 'sodomies'" as crimes of political intimacy, sometimes completely divorced from any sexual or physical acts. Richard II's marked favoritism for Henry Despenser, for example, was castigated as a sexual sin that made the king "unfit for rule."[10] Unequal political intimacy was frequently articulated in sexual terms. A figure's sexual practices—sodomy, homosexual-

8 Delaney, "Coding Same-Sex Union," 69.

9 Delaney outlines the close similarities between Edward II and Piers Gaveston and the brotherhood as a critique actively offered by the text. Richard II's favoritism toward Henry le Despenser, Michael de la Pole and Robert DeVere was likewise a main factor in the Merciless Parliament of 1388. Poor negotiation or lack of equality between political actors was a particularly contentious issue for Richard, but also plagued Edward II, Louis XI of France, and James III of Scotland. See Delaney for specific details relating to the romance and Gerald Harriss's *Shaping the Nation* for a more general historical critique.

10 Hanrahan, "Seduction and Betrayal", 235.

ity, and even extramarital desire—became linked and even defined through political deviance.[11] Unequal "intimacies," whether political or sexual, caused political tension. The steward's "envie" cannot be isolated to purely sexual or social desires, but informs the political sphere as well.

The long delay between the steward's initial envy and his actions against the knights similarly reframes his intervention as the proper stewardship of the court's interests as he negotiates for the interests of others. The knights' "hendness" and favor with the duke might initially inspire the steward's desire "to don hem schame," yet "yeres t[wo]" pass before he acts (215/17). Only after Amis engages in his secret relation with Belisaunt (a crime even according to Amis himself) does the steward move against him, and even then his action follows the required parameters of his post by bringing this news to the duke. If personal envy were the steward's only motivation, then his two-year abstinence is hard to justify. It is perhaps also significant that this steward is not alone in his vilification, but appears in various guises throughout many romances—the churlish Kay of Arthur's court is perhaps best known, but vindictive, "traitorous," and "fals" stewards litter medieval romance, frequently with little justification—suggesting that this figure's position and power within the polity was as source of concern for many texts.[12]

While the duke takes the steward's word as proof of Amis's guilt—which itself hints at a close affective bond between the two—there is "no wight [in the court]… durst ben his [Amis] borwe among" (1096-8). The text is ambiguous, but the court's reticence in supporting or seconding Amis, who is described as so loved by the Duke, suggests that either the court fears the steward's power or they, like him, resent the brothers' status. The poet is silent on the precise justification of the steward's envy, but the court's refusal to "borwe" Amis implies that they back the steward and similarly

11 See Walter Ong and Paul Strohm for more on sexual legitimacy signifying political legitimacy.

12 Dinah Hazell discusses the ubiquitous "evil steward" while K.S. Whetter refers to the "wicked steward" trope. Whetter gives Arthur's steward Kay as an example of the "evil seneschals" which "are taken to be one of the stock features of medieval literature"(344). Other medieval romances which feature a central steward, both good and bad, (just to name a few) are *The Squire of Low Degree*, *King Horn*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Orfeo*, Marie de France's *Bisclavret*, Chretien de Troyes' *le Chevalier de la Charrette*, and *Sir Cleges*. *Sir Orfeo*'s steward is notably "good" in his protection of Orfeo's throne without self-interest or malice. More often, however, the steward is a nameless figure derided by the text, such as *Sir Cleges*' stewards who attempt to extort the hero or *The Squire of Low Degree*'s Maradose.

share his envy or concern over Amis's actions. In a chivalric community, seconding or guaranteeing a fellow knight was common, which suggests the court's reluctance has more to it than the steward's physical "might" but instead implies his honor—and Amis's lack. In fact, Robert Bartlett demonstrates that "charges of treason… or perjury involved not only the imputation of wrong, but also the implicit accusation of bad faith…for the charge implied that no trust could be placed in the word of the accused."[13] Even when the "judicial battle" occurred between second parties, the accused's word would be suspect, according to Bartlett. Amis's difficulty finding a peer to "borwe" for him may be related to the reticence of the accused, but it may also (or instead) suggest a pre-existing prejudice against Amis—perhaps because of his great love for Amiloun which excluded the court from their brotherhood, their belief in his liaison which breaks faith with their lord, or a chivalric or political failing the poet has not explicitly narrated.

And while the court expresses joy upon Amiloun's victory, their joy hints at appreciation of public spectacle rather than a particular love for Amiloun/Amis:

> Alle the lordinges that ther ware,
> Litel and michel, lasse and mare,
> Ful glad thai were that tide.
> The heved opon a spere thai bare (1369-73)

Mounting the steward's head within the public square and rejoicing in the knight's success where stanzas earlier they refused to support him questions their authentic support for Amis. The lords of the court might have justified loyalty to Amiloun or hatred of the steward, but the "litel and michel" of the entire community are also "ful glad." The poet's explicit inclusion of multiple social classes removes the court or political factions as an interpretive metric for the battle. Instead the steward's death becomes a spectacle for public consumption divorced from the precise justifications for the conflict.

Larissa Tracy and Elaine Scarry both suggest that depictions of torture and public executions represent satire, critique, and dissent

13 Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, 108.

against the status quo rather than celebrations of the regime's sta-bility.[14] It is "precisely because the reality of that power is so highly contestable, the regime so unstable, that [execution and] torture is being used."[15] The text emphasizes the entire community's presence at the judicial combat and the steward's subsequent beheading, and turns his head into a symbol of Amis's (and the Duke's) power. Yet this reaction indicates the "fiction of absolute power" more than it proves the brotherhood's dominance. In Scarry's argument, textual representations of excessive violence and torture are an attempt to stabilize and secure the "contestable" and unstable nature of power. Kathryn Royer similarly looks at the English execution narrative to claim that the absence of blood, as we see in this scene, suggests the text's attempt to "dehumanize" the traitor and "remove him" from the civic and Christian community.[16] Depictions of abstract violence (without the visceral representation of bleeding and blood) allow the audience to "dehumanize" the victim and distance him from their civic community. If this is the case, it would not matter to the audience of *Amis*'s battle which combatant succeeded—either man would have been joyously supported while the corpse would be vilified and removed from their "civic and Christian community" in order to symbolically support the political body's strength. More-over, mounting a head on a spike was specifically reserved for *high* traitors (not just petty), so this performance of joy at the spectacle of the steward's death is also a politically necessary performance of loyalty and national identity.

Treason itself is linguistically unstable throughout the text. The steward's protest that Amis will be "ataint" by court reminds the reader of the steward's legitimacy in the civil courts while also sug-gesting that Amis is morally "tainted" within the canon courts.[17] The steward condemns Amis as a "traitour [and] fals man," just as

14 Tracy, *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature.*

15 Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain*, 27.

16 Royer, *The English Execution Narrative 1200-1700*, 11.

17 Edward Foster glosses "ataint" (849) in his edition of the text as a civil term relating to "property and civil freedoms."

the text calls the steward the same (848). False "traitour" describes both the heroes and the villain of the text. Amis tells us the steward has the "right," while this upstanding figure tells us the knight is a "traitour." The audience is invited to up-end the text's justice and social hierarchy here, yet the poet remains steadfast in describing the steward as "that feloun" and "fals" while Amis is "bold" and "hend."[18] The juxtaposition of the steward's right and his accusation of Amis's "treason," closely followed by the poet's accusation against the steward using these same terms creates a disjunction between the character's understanding of justice and our own. If the hero admits his lack of "trueth" but the poet continues to vilify his judge, political merit and justice become arbitrary.

As Megan Leitch demonstrates, the English had "a constitutional understanding of treason" codified in the 1352 Statute of Treason, which "clarified and limited the relevant crimes…for both high and petty treason" as anything that "compass[ed] or imagin[ed] the death of the king" or even intended to harm the king's authority.[19] Both Richard Firth Green and Leitch verify that the "institutional view of treason" defined it as "the breach or intended breach of a strictly hierarchical loyalty."[20] However, as this steward demonstrates, identifying treasonous thoughts and activity was much more fraught than the Statute imagines, and frequently depended on political and personal motivation. While according to legal statutes, "hierarchical crimes" were perhaps the most egregious acts of treason, disloyalty, hypocrisy, and offences against peers (or kin) could also be generally discussed as treason. The steward's "tresoun and gile" is not necessarily a hierarchical crime, as Amis is a peer rather than a lord, but his disclosure to the duke of Amis's tryst is framed as treason (407). However, Amis's amorous relation with Belisaunt, according to English law, would unquestionably be a hierarchically treasonous

18 Lines 1082 and 1106 describe the steward's falsity while Amis and Amioun are "hendi" knights and "bold" in 1108 and 1123.

19 Leitch, *Romancing Treason*, 22.

20 Richard Firth Green's *A Crisis of Truth*, 208 and Leitch's "Romancing Treason," 22 respectively. Green defines treason as having "two centers: a personal conception in which the offense was committed against someone who had good reason to trust the traitor… and an institutional view of treason according to which it could only be committed against someone in political authority, particularly the king, his immediate family, or his judicial officers." Green proposes that "the [Statutes], by trying to insist that treason should be defined as any challenge to the king's sovereignty, found itself in conflict with some deeply held traditional ideas about the nature of social order." In effect, "troth" (as plighted oaths of loyalty) works at odds with the institutional view of treason.

crime for its transgression against the lord and succession, making it a more serious offense.

Legal chronicles and critics agree that hierarchical transgressions were perceived as more serious than other offences, but defining its boundaries was challenging.[21] While the repeated condemnation of the steward as "fals" because of his "tresoun" suggests the narrator imagines hierarchical crimes as the most egregious, the steward was in fact within his "jurisdiction" to oversee the "Court of Chivalry" by accusing Amis of treason.[22] Historically, stewardship of the king and his court was "characterized by its close connection with the king…and its complete subjection to the royal will" even as the steward retained control over certain judicial matters of the court. The steward had "special jurisdiction" to oversee legal and domestic complaints within the king's domain—through the "Marshalsea court" or "court of the steward and marshal"—which frequently included any "breach of the peace" or threats to "the royal dignity."[23] Not only was the steward obligated through his oath of loyalty to the duke to report Amis's dalliance with Belisaunt, his role as judge over domestic affairs within the "court of the verge" required him (specifically) to act against the knight. In fact, by the late fourteenth century, it appears that the royal steward and the Marshalsea court oversaw inquests of treason more commonly under the domain of common law courts, such as the partisan nobles of Richard II, and it was not until centuries later that parliament transferred all "judicial competence" of treason into the "common law courts."[24]

21 Leitch, *Romancing Treason*, 24.

22 Leitch, *Romancing Treason*, 22.

23 Beginning in the late thirteenth century, the royal steward had jurisdiction over the "court of the verge" or "Marshalsea court"—which governed a range of complaints within the royal court. The distinction between the court of the verge and the *Curia Regis* is not entirely clear, but traditionally any "domestic" matters or "breaches to the king's peace" or the "royal dignity" within twelve miles of the king's residence counted as a matter for the court of the steward (2). Even after the stewardship was stripped of official political powers, his position still exercised significant judicial powers within the king's court (meaning that occasionally there is very little to distinguish between his legal authority and political weight). W.R. Jones, "Court of the Verge."

24 Jones identifies a grouping of pleas and records from the court of the verge of "inquests into the treasonable activities of certain nobles, partisans of the late king, Richard II, before the steward and marshal sitting at Oxford on January 12, 1400." The nature of the defendants and charges suggest "it was the sort of 'state trial' which usually came within the jurisdiction of the court of the Constable and Marshal." Finally "an exasperated parliament abolished it and transferred its judicial competence to the common law courts" in 1849. Jones, "The Court of the Verge," 6.

The steward, then, not only had the potential to control the royal administration, but also influence what was defined and charged as treasonous. The jurisdictional role of the steward may be a factor in his textual vilification—a reflection of contemporary anxiety of his authority—but it also points towards a more general ambiguity of jurisdictional authority as partisan or dispersed. Rather than look at *Amis*'s steward as a symptom of the fourteenth-century, his liminal yet vital status to court function in multiple romances (spanning the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries) suggests a critical intersection between criminal voices and political change—documenting the gradual dispersal of government authority away from the central court to a wider (communal) network.

This text's destabilization of treason's parameters, by making the steward both judge and criminal, similarly points towards the multiplication of the political community. The narrator describes the steward's desire to "bring hem [Amis] into care" through the thrice repeated charge of "with tresoun and with gile" (707-8). Leitch picks up on the literary uses of "treason" in late medieval texts to argue that while it may have a fluid application, it nonetheless carried a "sense of gravity" well above that of "betray" or "treachery"—which held less legal and political weight.[25] *Amis and Amiloun* specifically employs the term towards Amis, Amiloun, and the steward to condemn Amis's rejection of the steward's oath, Amiloun's bedtrick, and the steward's exposure of Amis's dalliance. In fact, "traitor" and "treason" appear over 25 times throughout the text—more than any other condemnation (well above terms such as "treachery" or "false"). The poet chooses to define most conflicts in the text as "treasoun" rather than any other legal or cultural category of crime. One explanation is offered by Paul Strohm, who asserts "treason" had "become a mobile signifier, available for application and use by either party," harnessed by any political actor as an attempt to undermine their opponent or more firmly grasp power themselves.[26] Here, however, the shifting uses of treason result from different speakers.

25 For example, Leitch notes that in the *Roman de Tristan* Mark is condemned as "cowardly" and "disloyal" while Malory translates the episode to "traytourly and cowardly," suggesting the English were particularly attuned to the legal vocabulary of treason as well as its parameters. Leitch "Romancing Treason," 26.

26 Strohm's *Politique*, 188. Strohm, Wendy Scase and Megan Leitch all comment on "treason" as a "floating signifier" (Scase, 237) or "an anti-principle, a recognized component of most mid- to late fifteenth-century English political smear campaigns" (Leitch, 29).

While the steward condemns Amis as "thou traitour [of] unkinde blod" and Amis calls himself an "ivel traitour" if he accepts Belisaunt, the only accusations of treason made directly by the narrator are against the steward (389/608). The duke claims Amis is a "traitour stronge" and "vile traitour," Amis condemns himself and even calls Amiloun a "traitour" when he mistakes the leper as his brother's killer, and the steward explains Amis is "a traitour strong,/ when he with tresoun and with wrong/ thi douhter hath forlain!"[27] The steward's articulation of treason conforms to the Statute's articulation of a hierarchical offense, and in fact the most frequent repetitions of "treason" are applied to the one of the knights directly by a character—frequently by the steward, but also by the duke himself who promises to "the traitour slon"(827). In terms of frequency, consistency, and law, the brothers are the traitors—yet these accusations are only made by a character and countered by the narrator's consistent praise. The only treason defined by the narrator is that against the steward. The poem therefore sets up a conflict where fallible characters may hold the knights in contempt but the authority of the poet solely condemns the steward. The audience must choose between the narrator's political evaluation and the hero's. Treason indeed becomes the "mobile signifier" Strohm outlines, but the narrator becomes one such fallible "political actor" set against his characters, rather than an objective speaker. The disjunction between understandings of treason demonstrates that each operates with different models of the political structure or action and that any normative principle is subject to negation by a range of political participants. The steward champions legal precedent, the characters articulate self-interest at war with such norms, and the narrator allows both visions to stand before ultimately condemning precedence.

As the vilified voice of legal precedence, the steward's "tresoun" casts him as a scapegoat who nonetheless highlights the failure of our hero and the system he operates within. Judith Weiss uses Mordred, himself the steward of Arthur's kingdom, to demonstrate ro-

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27 The duke calls Amis a "traitour stronge" and "vile traitour" on lines 790, 800, 822, 824, and 827. Amis condemns himself a traitor if he "deshonour[s]" his lord (608) and calls Amiloun a "traitoure" twice when he mistakes the leperous Amiloun for stealing his brother's cup (2045/2076). The steward accuses Amis multiple times as a "traitour" for "tresoun," of which this quote above is only one example (790-2).

mance's willingness to "sometimes allow" the villain "redeeming features" despite his role as traitor—even while sowing the "seeds of destruction" within the hero's "own character."[28] *Amis* describes Amis's "wrong" in the same breath as accusing the steward of "falshede," which destabilizes the text's definition of justice rather than convincing the reader of either party's corruption (940/945). If the steward is "redeemed" by his moral quarrel, which the narrator and Amiloun's wife support, then criticizing him "sows seeds" of distrust (if not "destruction") not only within Amis's character, but in the political and judicial system generally.

Rethinking the Heroes

The steward's ambiguous treason—which advocates for traditional justice and the entire political community—is unique within the text's political landscape.[29] While the "douhti" steward, always "at crie" for the duke, is castigated as a traitor for threatening the brothers, the romance's other figures avoid this censure even as they politically and morally fail. Briefly outlining the other central figures' moral and political failures, the steward's unique voice for justice (or at least he negotiation of how the system functions) becomes pronounced. Not only does the duke abstain from actively governing his own land, Belisaunt participates in blackmail while each brother individually and jointly commit crimes against the polity and morality (such as the infanticide which criticism has grappled with).

The steward's distinctive manipulation of the political network is pronounced in his ability to "parceive" the lovers' initial crime while no one in court suspecsts. Belisaunt "an hundred time…cast hir sight" onto Amis in full view of the court:

28 Weiss, "Mordred," 81.

29 We might consider the steward an "anti-hero," as Neil Cartlidge articulates, where his "rebellion" rejects the organizing metrics of romance and in fact provides "imaginative power" and bolsters "the idealization of heroism." We expect heroes "to be distinguished from anti-heroes by their ethical virtue, cultural identity, and ultimately success in combat," yet the steward illustrates the ways Amis and Amiloun fail this structure. Our villain is effective enough to intimidate the court and reveal Amis's treason to the duke—which causes Amis to run and hide in a locked room rather than display "success in combat." See Cartlidge's *Heroes and Anti-Heroes*.

> Wel fast [the steward] gan hem aspie
> Til he wist of her fare
> And bi her sight he parceived tho
> That gret love was bituix hem to (701-4)

Without overhearing their pledged love, the steward "parceved" the "sights" exchanged by the lovers in public and accurately intuited their "gret love." And while Beliasunt was "casting" these "sights" a "hundred times" under the very eyes of her father and the court, they nonetheless failed to "parceive" the couple's intentions. The steward is unique amongst the court by intuiting this secret knowledge "withouten les," which frames his knowledge as both singular and indisputable while the duke operates with only partial or insufficient understanding.[30]

The steward's greater understanding of courtly negotiation is evident in his demand to hold and participate in the narrative's judicial combat after he reveals the lovers:

> The steward was michel of might;
> In al the court was ther no wight
> Sir Amis borwe durst ben.
> Bot for the steward was so strong (868-71)

His ability to "aspie" and "parcieve" demonstrate his intellectual or physical mobility, but his "strength" here also implies his political and physical influence within the court.[31] His "might" and "strength"—which may apply equally to his physical and chivalric qualities—has a marked effect on the political body. After the trial by combat has been announced, none within the court are willing to

30 The entire romance is filled by character with only partial or limited understanding. The Duke recognizes the knights are "brothers" and that their bond is exclusive, yet cannot recognize the threat this poses to his other courtiers or that their bond may allow them to circumvent justice: "Were ye bothe went me fro,/ Than schuld me waken al mi wo,/ Mi joie were went oway."(271) The duke instead prioritizes his "joie" in their company over the threat his favouritism will pose to his court. "The levedi loked opon him tho/ Wrothlich with her eighen tuo,/Sche wend hir lord were wode"(1165-7).

31 The steward's ability to occupy physical spaces unnoticed, or sneak into these spaces, allows him to occupy many positions from which to see—which I include as an aspect of his superior knowledge here. A.C. Spearing makes a similar argument about the source of the steward Maradose's power in *The Squire of Low Degree* in "Secrecy, Listening, and Telling."

"borwe" Amis—simultaneously casting doubt onto Amis and demonstrating the steward's powerful influence. The steward's physical participation in the duel, regardless of the outcome, further illustrates his commitment to the political system.

In contrast to the steward's quick perception, the duke is surprisingly marginalized. Amis's transgression, for example, is discovered and "punished" by the steward on the field while the poet leaves the duke silent. The steward confronts the duke, asking him to "herken to mi sawe!. . . Therefore ich aske jugement" (1206/10). Despite "asking" for judgment, the steward's imperative "herken!" and reminder that "it is londes lawe" turns this request into a demand (1212). His prompt that it is the land's "lawe" to judge Amis implies the steward's (or narrative's) fear that the duke may be swayed by favoritism. Law taking precedence over the duke conforms to political ideology, but his silence while the steward is the voice for that law is surprising. The "fals" steward demands "jugement," and by doing so divides the court into factions of support, championing the "londes law" and justice while the duke is comparatively silent.

We might expect the duke's second to act as the proxy in the trial; however, upon the steward's death the duke's authority is restricted to the knight's amorous future. While before the battle, the duke was ready to burn his wife and daughter (who acted as guarantors for Amis), after the duel the poet leaves him silent about the legal outcome. His willingness to "tho levedis take…to bren" when Amis/Amiloun did not arrive for the combat displays his prioritization of the law above his familial loyalty—even when the initial crime was defiling the daughter he was about to burn. Yet after the combat and the steward's death, the duke's legal voice is silent, offering comment on Amis's amorous desire but eliding the political or judicial nature of the combat:

> Y graunt the ful yare,
> For Belisent, that miri may,
> Thou hast bought hir ful dere today (1386-8)

Upon determining that "no" defilement happened, the duke offers the "miri [maiden]" as payment. There is a disconnect here between

the trial's terms and the duke's reward, which the poet glosses over in favor of the knight's amorous success, but which nonetheless remains for the reader. Legal resolution would dictate Amis's pardon—not a crown—yet the duke's response entirely occludes legal justice in favor of personal desires.

Amis similarly admits that conceding to Belisaunt's love would do "deshonour" and make him "an ivel traitour"(607-8), but nonetheless returns her favor. We have already discussed the instability or amplification of "treason" as a personally motivated charge, but here Amis's decision to act regardless of this "deshonour" merits attention. By committing this "dede"—taking Belisaunt's maidenhead and then compounding this "sinne" by lying about it—Amis becomes the "ivel traitour" he initially condemns. Furthermore, he explicitly declares that "yif y do mi lord this wrong,/ With wilde hors and with strong/ Y schal be drawe also" (643-5). Amis himself positions his actions as politically problematic against "his lord" and reminds the reader of the expected punishment—and by specifically contemplating being "drawn" by "wilde hors" he suggests real experience with treason's dangers. Yet Amis implicitly accepts this punishment by committing the "wrong." While we might sympathize with Amis's dilemma here—either falsely condemned for rape or legitimately condemned for doing "mi lord wrong"—he nonetheless accepts Belisaunt's love, and compounds his passivity by attempting to displace blame and conscript his brother to fight in his place. Amis may recognize the parameters of legal and moral action, but fails to reject the system that forces him into such a dilemma.

In contrast, Belisaunt's threat to cry rape if Amis refuses her love is surprisingly aggressive, emphasizing the knights comparative passivity and the ways sexual politics are intertwined with court politics. Belisaunt suggests that if he refuses to sleep with her, then "thou no schust have ben no knight, to gon among maidens bright"(619-20) which predicates knighthood on sexual aggression and makes a knight's value entirely dependent on his sexual desir-

ability.[32] Such value being placed on a knight's sexual availability is not unusual in romance, as *Launfal*'s queen demonstrates in her accusation that since he "lovyst no woman," Launfal "were worthy forlore" (689-90). What is surprising here is Amis's sexual passivity throughout: his reluctance to accept Belisaunt or find an alternative to her choices of treason or sex and his abstinence towards Amiloun's wife. After conscripting Amiloun's help, Amiloun's wife comments on Amis's passivity—asking "whi farstow so" when he refuses her sexual advances (1168).[33] While the reader is conscious of the difficult choices Amis faces between Belisaunt's threat and the wife's misdirected desire, the text offers no space for Amis as an aggressive or authoritative presence.

Belisaunt's position as politically and socially superior to the knight reverses the frequent occurrences of male violence in romance (such as actual rape in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* and *Sir Gowther* and threatened rape in *Sir Isumbras* or *Guy of Warwick*) and allows her to coerce the knight. She threatens Amis that

> Bot yif thou wilt graunt me mi thought…
> Y schal torende doun ichon
> And say with michel wrong,
> With strengthe thou hast me todrawe
> Ytake thou schalt be londes lawe
> And dempt heighe to hong (632-6)

She not only highlights the sexual violence at play, but also the "wrong" inherent in their union because of their social inequality. Belisaunt details the physical ramifications of disobedience, shared amongst thieves and traitors, and she emphasizes her superior position and privilege which requires the knight "graunt me mi thought." It is irrelevant in this scene what the lady desires—the emphasis is in-

32 As Carolyn Dinshaw convincingly shows, "there is good late medieval evidence that sexual acts were fundamental to an individual subject's sense of self and location in larger cultural structures"(208). Trokhimenko argues in Medieval German literature, clerical celibacy caused anxiety as it precluded the sexuality which traditionally defined masculine gender identity. If a cleric's masculinity is questioned by his inability to pursue or engage in sex, then masculinity and sex are linked. See Dinshaw's "A Kiss is Just a Kiss" and Trokhimenko's ""Believing that which Cannot be'."

33 Amiloun's wife asks why Amis lays a sword between them and refuses her advances, which implies that Amiloun is usually more sexually open or aggressive than Amis here. While Amis refuses to sleep with the lady out of faith to his brother, this still reminds the reader that he did not remain faithful to his lord the duke and that his sexual passivity seems to be a constant factor.

stead on the political and physical ramifications if the knight refuses her order. This is unusual in romance, where the beloved (of either gender) is more likely to lapse into lovesick melancholy, as Orfeo does upon the loss of his queen or Troilus for love of Creseyde, than to threaten their life.[34] While the "michel wrong" Belisaunt speaks of is that of rape, the line "and *say* with michel wrong" allows the reader to interpret the "wrong" action is Belisaunt's speaking (or crying rape) rather than the fictional rape itself. Like Amis, she is conscious of her own coercive ploy. "Saying" wrong becomes more notable than doing wrong, which makes this sexual debate one of politics (who "says" what, and to whom). The lady demonstrates skill at manipulating the social hierarchy and political system with greater aptitude than the brothers.

Amiloun's wife similarly turns Amis's sexual hesitation into a political failure, "missay[ing] hir lord" for his false usurpation of Amis's place, asserting "with wrong and michel unright thou slough ther a gentil knight; ywis, it was ivel ydo!" (1489-94). She censures him for "slough[ing]" the steward with more vigor than she questions his sexual passivity. Just as Amis recognized the steward's "right," Amiloun's wife voices the knight's judicial and political failure as more problematic than his amorous inconsistency. Rather than blame her outburst on her "shrewd[ness]" to distract from her legitimate complaint, the text provides space for the reader to support the validity of her criticism by restricting Amiloun's reply to "oft times his honden he wronge" (1570). The lady calls him a "chaitif" or coward for killing the steward "with wrong," and Amiloun's simple hand-wringing in response seems to support her (1565). The text again turns sexuality in this scene into a comment on the court's political systems.

The political failures of each figure individually pales in comparison to the textual centrality (and approbation) of the brotherhood. Even

34 Troilus describes his lovesick symptoms as a "wonder maladie" for which he swoons and "loste his hewe"(419/491) just as Orfeo goes into the forest as a hermit. Both show the classic symptoms of depression, anxiety, and passivity associates with the melancholy beloved—rather than aggression or violence. Mary Wack discusses the physical and literary tropes of lovesickness in relation to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* as an intensely physical ailment which goes back to Ovid and Petrarchan Sonnets.

if an individual actor or brother is found wanting, the text imagines their fellowship has the potential to benefit the community. We are instructed to have "grete joy" for merely beholding "that frely foode," and the political body of the court is imagined to prosper or thrive because of "how feire they were of sight" (56/80). The text invites the entire community of "pore [and] ryche" to be "blyth" because of the knight's beauty and true love for one another. The poet promises the brothers "the blisse of hevyn" in reward for their "trewth and her godhead" (2506-7), which imagines their loyal oath as an instructive lesson for the reader. However, the knights' bond is exclusive and frequently at odds with the interests of the larger community called on to witness the tale. The "pore and riche" who are asked to celebrate the knights' beauty find it burdensome, as they are required to bear the weight of "susten[ing] hem" (119). The narrative imagines that because of the knights' beauty, love for one another, or duke's "love" for them, they are no longer obligated to support themselves; instead the court as well as the poor *outside* the court must "susten" the idle knights "for ever mo as lordinges proude in pride" (120). Not only must the community maintain the knights, they must pay to keep them at an elite status. The text explicitly contemplates this economic structure, denaturalizing the commoners' support of the aristocracy, and implicitly critiques the system's dysfunction.

Critics have aptly noted the "dangerously antisocial" element of the knights' exclusivity, which operates at the cost of the community and destabilizes traditional moral or political structures, "since it promotes a highly personalized and apparently unrestricted loyalty above any and all other responsibility."[35] The brothers' bond "so powerfully defines these knights that forming other amatory and familial relationships becomes difficult."[36] While Amis and Amiloun's oath

35 Haught, "Romancing Treason," 247. Pugh similarly sees the oath "debasing" larger social obligation. Pugh uses *queer* and *queering* as a term to capture the "disorienting effect of non-normative identities and their frequent clash with ideological power" over and above simple "homosexuality." Pugh argues that the potential homosexuality of the same-sex oaths implicate the ideological system and links this "eroticism with cultural disenfranchisement."(305) In using "queer desires" here, I wish to similarly encompass the larger implications of nonnormative or anti-social identities. Tison Pugh's "Satirizing Queer Brotherhood."

36 Pugh, "Satirizing Queer Brotherhood," 288.

is not unusual within the genre, it nonetheless rejects other structures of social authority.[37] Scholarship on the brotherhood's exclusivity centralizes the infanticide and murder of Amiloun's wife, questioning the portrayal of homosocial bonds within the polity. Building on such criticism, I argue that by focusing on the steward's unique negotiation of personal and public justice, the brotherhood's threat to other social structures becomes pronounced. When the steward asks to "swere ous bothe brotherhed" this does not necessarily negate Amis's earlier oath to Amiloun, yet Amis nonetheless reacts with anger that his "truethe" is threatened and curses the steward, for whom "give y nought a slo" (362/395). While Amis emphasizes the exclusivity of his bond, the steward brings together personal and communal structures. He imagines that "bothe" of them may be in a brotherhood, suggesting that the court may similarly operate with multiple networks interwoven and supporting one another. Instead, Amis rejects the steward as worth "nought a slo," imagining that socio-political relationships are mutually exclusive and binary—his bond with Amiloun precludes any productive relation with others, which includes that of his lord or his children. In the steward's vision, the court's multiple desires and factions support and negotiate with one another while Amis's vision creates firm boundaries between these factions that must compete against one another.

Their promise "in wele and wo, in wrong and right"(148) notably usurps the language of the marriage sacrament, which places the brotherhood above amorous or heterosexual marriage while also casting the political community as a threat to their union.[38] The knights swear to "frely…hold togider at everi nede" just as the of-

37 *Athleston* and *Amis and Amiloun* both 'show idealized same-sex friendships," but *King Horn*, *Eger and Grime* and *Guy of Warwick* (to name just a few) similarly have knights who swear fealty and friendship to one another. *Eger and Grime* is quite similar to *Amis and Amiloun*, both by their sworn oath and the ways the brothers switch identities. See Ford's "Merry Married Brothers" for details on other romance brotherhood oaths.

38 Marital language of brotherhood's bond: "Trewer love nas never non"(144); "While thai might live and stond/ That bothe bi day and bi night,/ In wele and wo, in wrong and right,/ That thai schuld frely fond/ To hold togider at everi nede,/ In word, in werk, in wille, in dede,/ Where that thai were in lond,/ Fro that day forward never mo."(146-54) They use both present tense (to "hold togider…fro that day") and future tense ("forward never mo" and "thei shuld") which is required of the official sacrament of marriage, as well as emphasizing that both parties entered into it "frely." Speaking the words of consent constituted the marriage contract, regardless of written proof or the presence of a priest. The only aspect missing from the brother's bond was explicit physical consummation. For a full articulation of the obligations and regulations of Medieval English marriage, see McSheffrey's *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture* and Ford's "Merry Married Brothers."

ficial sacrament obligated both parties to freely enter into the union that will endure "sickness and health." The knight's union is a mirror of heterosexual (and public) marriage, but it imagines an entirely private or enclosed space. Shannon McSheffrey tells us that "the household, the neighborhood, the parish, the ward, the crafts and livery companies, and the court of the mayor and aldermen" all imagined wielding power within and above the marriage sacrament.[39] Patriarchal governance over marriage expressed itself through political structures, social politics and even violence, attesting that marriage between two people was never divorced from the political community. This brotherhood rejects notions of public power within their bond, threatening the sacrament's social nature.

Centralizing Discord

Rather than explicitly condemn the brotherhood's deviance or Belisaunt's aggression, the text turns this discord into a problem of stewardship. Yet the steward also gains praise, which suggests he is both the cause and the solution to the socio-political conflict. Discord introduces an ambiguity crucial to the story *and* to the steward. The instability here comes down to the constantly shifting definition of treason, or political obligation, and of the dispersed network of the political body. Moreover, the narrative's apparent pleasure in vilifying and killing the steward suggests that this conflict is more than an inherent part of the system; it is a desired component of the court and narrative structure. While "wicked," the steward's political vision follows the genre's traditional hierarchy of the political body as one firmly stratified, but ethically obligated to the community below it. Yet the text goes beyond rejecting his voice to instead celebrate his death—which suggests that the romance *desires* his presence and opens space for the audience to enjoy the brotherhood's failure, the steward's intervention, or political treason more generally. By desiring the disruptive presence, which rejects categorization and definition of effective governance or moral action, the text actively sustains ambiguity and conflict for its reader.

39 McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture*, 13. McSheffrey demonstrates that "the regulation of marital and sexual relationships…was an important element of civic culture and political rule in the late medieval City of London" (14).

In the culminating scene of the brothers' heroism we are again reminded of their moral and political ambiguity, as they "caught" with "grete strokes" all the guests ("both grete and smale") who attended Amiloun's wife's remarriage (2466-9). Regardless of her villainy or the narrative's condemnation of it, "al that they there… both grete and smale" are not similarly culpable of her sin. Amis and Amiloun nonetheless cut down innocent guests of all classes and ranks "grete and small" who are unrelated to Amiloun's exile or the wife's bigamy. In the face of such injustice, the poem encompasses this scene with lines rejoicing in the knight's "love" and goes so far as to describe this "bredale" as "glad and blyth"(2470), linking violence to their—and our—gladness. The reader is invited to applaud the knight's "victory" and rejoice at their violent punishment of the lady and her bridegroom just as we are expected to share the court's bloodthirsty joy at the steward's beheading. As the text's heroes, we are implicitly encouraged to share "alle the lordinges" gladness when Amiloun defeats the steward and "heved [his head] opon a spere" (1373). Regardless of the possible divine sanction on the brotherhood's actions, the text allows or even invites the audience to take pleasure in their corrupt actions.

Similarly, we are encouraged to applaud Belisaunt's successful threat of rape to obtain Amis's love. The knight agrees to Belisaunt's terms "and so thai plaid in word and dede,/ that he wan hir maidenhead" (766-7). Defining it as "play" rather than sexual sin in which he "won" her maidenhood resituates their actions as pleasurable games, where the audience might applaud his victory rather than lament either the maiden's coercion or Amis's disloyalty. The narrator elides Amis's oppression here by turning him from a "pover man" who is threatened with improper action on both sides to the "hende knight" who restores his masculine authority and "riches" through Belisaunt (755/761). The steward's presence is cast as the sinful and problematic component of this scene, as he overhears and "unskere[s]" her "conseil" (780). Disclosing or betraying council is primarily reserved for the romance villain, as betraying confidence is aligned with forfeiting one's honor. Therefore we are encouraged

to censure the steward again for betraying confidence and congratulate the "bird bright" for her love, even if it was "won" through deceit (776).

The narrator offers these scenes of morally ambiguous murder and lust as critical moments of the brotherhood's strength by concluding this scene with the knights "in muche joy without stryf" (2494). There may be a lack of "stryf" between the brothers, but this assertion comes on the heels of a stanza dedicated to the heroes' violence and their strife against Amiloun's wife. Their "joy" is juxtaposed to the "stryf" they cause all around them. Their "treweth" and narrative power are intrinsically linked to the conflict they cause, which the audience nonetheless is advised to support. Reading through the steward's "treason," which destabilizes his criminality as an act of loyalty, asks the audience to fundamentally question the socio-political structure and community—and their position within it.

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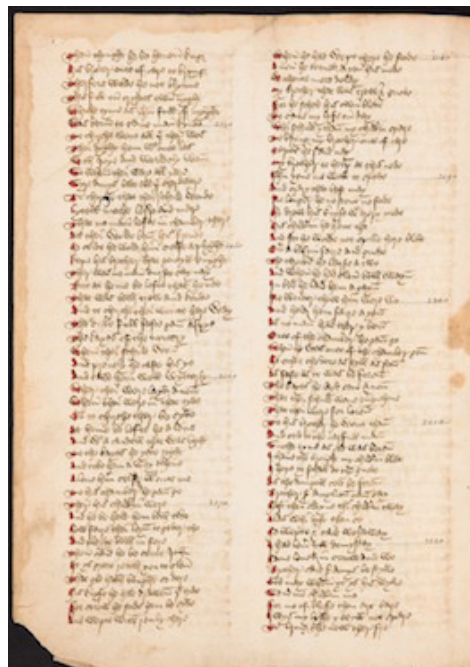
A page from Amis and Amiloun in the Auchinleck Manuscript, c. 1340

The Agency of Prayers and their Benefit to the Dead:

The Continuity of the Commemoration of the Sinful Dead,

400 - 1240

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According to their hagiographies, medieval saints could cure or let languish the devoted followers of their cults. Humans were at their mercy, and of course by extension at God's mercy. For the ordinary dead, however, these roles were reversed. In Late Antiquity, Augustine of Hippo's De cura pro mortuis gerenda *reveals the belief that the living had the power to aid their deceased loved ones, as well as the anxieties theologians had about the place of commemoration within a Christian framework. Conversely, in Gregory the Great's sixth-century* Dialogues *(book four) a different clerical viewpoint emerges, one much more at ease with the commemoration of the dead and the agency of the living to benefit the dead. A final analysis of an exemplum recorded by Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. 1240) likewise illustrates the continuity of these beliefs into the later middle ages. Through this three-fold analysis and close reading, the desire and perceived duty of medieval religious people to expend time and effort, not on themselves but for the sake of the souls (and the memories) of those suffering in the afterlife manifests as pervasive and integral to a medieval understanding of personal agency in an otherwise chaotic world.*

Saints were the first line of defense in a medieval world of death, disease, and misfortune. In the narratives medieval people told of saints, agency and control were firmly in the hands of these special dead saints to cure or to let languish the devoted followers of their cults. Giants in the field, such as Peter Brown, Patrick Geary, and Robert Bartlett have explored this topic at length in their work. But what of the ordinary dead? How was the perceived power dynamic different in relationships between the living and the ordinary dead, and how did these relationships change from the fourth to the twelfth centuries? Using the writings of Augustine, Gregory the Great, and

the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, I argue that the desire and perceived duty of medieval religious people to expend time and effort, not on themselves but for the sake of the souls (and the memories) of those suffering in the afterlife is pervasive and integral to a medieval understanding of personal agency in an otherwise chaotic world. In instances concerning the ordinary dead, instead of being at the mercy of powerful supernatural beings as in relationships with saints, it is the living who have agency and power.

Augustine of Hippo was not the first to comment on or attempt to censure the persistent belief in Late Antiquity among new converts that the living had the power to aid their deceased loved ones.[1] As a foundational Church Father, however, he is a good starting point and reveals the anxieties early theologians had about the place of remembering the dead within a Christian framework. He is hesitant, but ultimately even he concedes to the pervading sentiment across the majority of the Middle Ages: that of emphatic support of and belief in the agency of the living to benefit the dead, even if this had potentially blasphemous pre-Christian implications.

Within the context of a rapidly Christianizing Late Roman Empire, from the fringes of Northern Africa, Augustine of Hippo was pro-lific in the quantity and quality of his theological writings.[2] Many of these writings including the books of his famous works like *City of God* are dedicated to his ideas concerning the dead.[3] One of his let-

1 Opinions on the nuance of Augustine's beliefs differ significantly: Moreira, *Dreams*, 42; Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 15, 17; Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 5; Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead*, 40. Moreover (and perhaps paradoxically), at theheart of Augustine's theology was the idea that, even as he tried to explain the mysteries of the unknown in his works, God was ultimately unknowable, and so "divine mysteries were unsuitable for intellectual analysis": Licence, "The Gift of Seeing Demons," 52.

2 For more on Augustine's early life and context, see: Moreira, *Dreams*, 29; Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 1; Asiedu, "*Caritas*, *Amicitia*, and the Ideal Reader," 107-8; Constable, "The Commemoration of the Dead," 101.

3 Other Augustinian writings relevant to the discussion of disembodied souls and their place (if any) on earth, include: The latter chapters of *The City of God* (*De civitate Dei*, c. 426 CE), the twelfth book of *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* (*De genesi ad litteram*, c. 415 CE), *Treatise on the Soul and Its Origin* (*De anima et eius origine*, c. 419 CE), *Concerning Faith of Things Not Seen* (*De fide rerum invisibilium*, c. 400 CE), *On the Divination of Demons* (*De divinatione daemonum*, c. 406 CE), and *On the Care to Be Had for the Dead* (*De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, c. 422 CE).

ters in particular, however, addressed to his friend and fellow Christian Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) is a succinct and insightful distillation of his thoughts concerning the agency of the dead, as well as the living's potential agency over the dead.[4] For the purposes of this paper, I will be using a translation by John A. Lacy, reprinted in 1999.

 "On the Care to Be Had for the Dead," or *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* in Latin, is one of many correspondences with Bishop Paulinus, early caretaker and devotee of St. Felix of Nola. In a previous letter, Paulinus had asked Augustine about a religious woman named Flora; her son had recently died, and she had asked Paulinus if it would be possible, or of benefit to the boy's soul, to bury his body near the shrine of St. Felix.[5] In this response letter, Augustine gives his opinion and provides various details of his theology that, in some respects, would resonate in later centuries.

Augustine begins by saying that, although he knows that Paulinus's intentions are good, he would be in error for burying the boy near the tomb: what matters most to Augustine is what the individual has done in life, not what happens to the body after death.[6] He is hesitant to support prayers, masses, and alms for the dead, saying, "There are those [who are evil] whom these works aid in no way, [as well as] those whose merits are so good that they have no need of them," and further that "whatever is done piously in behalf of a person is of advantage or is not of advantage when he has left the body."[7] In this way, Augustine dismisses the entire concept of funerary practice; using Luke 21:18 as his evidence, he claims "not even ferocious wild beasts would hinder those bodies at the time of resurrection. 'For not a hair of their heads shall perish.'"[8] Augustine thus makes

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4 For more on Augustine's relationship to Paulinus, see: Asiedu, "The Ideal Reader," 135, 138; Leinhard, "Friendship," 289.

5 Lacy, intro. "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 349.

6 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 366.

7 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 352.

8 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 354.

clear that funerals, while pleasing to God and proper in moderation, are more for the benefit of the living than the dead: "he who has left the body can be aware of no injury to the lifeless body, nor can He who created it lose anything."[9]

Augustine was combatting several beliefs within his own culture that he did not see as compatible with orthodox Christian values. Christian conversion had become commonplace, although scholars such as Peter Brown debate the accuracy of Augustine's claims of mass conversion. Nevertheless, there is a clear desire throughout the middle ages to preserve the body after death, and there are likewise later stories of revenants destroying corpses to prevent the return of their enemies at the Last Judgement.[10] Such stories clearly illustrate these heterodox medieval anxieties.[11]

Augustine lived during a time where new Christians still venerated their dead pagan ancestors, and in his letter to Paulinus, we see his discomfort with venerating the ordinary dead, as he thought only saints should be commemorated.[12] Augustine shows no reticence, for example, when confronted with the story that St. Felix appeared to defend Nola "when [it] was being besieged by the barbarians,"[13] but when it came to the appearance of ordinary souls in visions, he was much more skeptical.[14] Repeatedly within the letter, Augustine stresses that even though "some dead persons are reported to have

9 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead,"365.

10 Such as the high medieval tale in William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum* (c. 1198).

11 Joynes, *Medieval Ghost Stories*, 124.

12 Although Augustine's work clearly makes distinctions between the ordinary dead and saints, he nevertheless and allowed for the commemoration of non-Christian relatives: Rebillard, "*Nec deserere memorias suorum*," 101; Constable, "Commemoration of the Dead," 813; Brown, "Enjoying the Saints," 13.

13 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 378.

14 This is an attempt to urge people away from the worship of the general dead, while maintaining the orthodox veneration of the cult of saints: Moreira, *Dreams*, 2.

appeared either in a dream or in some such fashion to the living,"[15] that it is foolish to think that the dead have any more knowledge of their appearance in dreams than the living do. He uses the example that he himself had appeared in the dreams of his friend Eulogius, and yet had no knowledge of it.[16] In the same vein, he discredits a tale from Milan of a son whose dead father appeared to him to uncover the location of a missing receipt of payment: "sleeping, his father told him where he might find the receipt which would acknowledge full payment of his original note."[17] Augustine claims that either the account is false, or the apparition is intercession of an angel on behalf of the dead father, and he also warns against the ever-present danger of these dreams being facilitated by demons, not angels. Throughout the letter, he leaves accounts of saints returning unchallenged.[18] Ever the diplomat, he concludes "I should prefer, rather, to seek out these things from those who know."[19]

Hence, in this letter, Augustine outlines his Late Antique belief that the commemoration of the dead was for the benefit of the grieving living, and that saints—brimming with divine power and licence—are in a wildly different category.[20] Whereas Augustine was adamant that commemoration of the dead was of no real benefit to them, and that it is only for the consolation of the living, his word was never law. In the sixth century, Gregory the Great had some exceedingly different ideas, not about a saint's power over the living, but about the living's power in commemorating the dead.

15 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 366.

16 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 369.

17 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 368.

18 For instance, he takes no issue with the claim that St. Felix appeared to defend the city of Nola from barbarians: Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 378.

19 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 367, 380; Moreira, *Dreams*, 18.

20 Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 34; Moreira, *Dreams*, 18. In truth, the popularity of Augustine's writings only truly took hold in earnest with the Reformation, in which Protestants began attributing almost all notion of the supernatural to the demonic: Swanson, "Ghosts and Ghostbusters," 144.

No longer Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages had begun in earnest by Gregory's lifetime.[21] Gregory was of Roman lineage and a monk at heart, and only begrudgingly accepted the papal throne in 590. Once there, he became known for his conversion efforts and his religious writings.[22] He wrote a considerable amount about saints, pastoral care, and commentaries on the Bible; his clearest thoughts on the commemoration of the dead, however, come in the fourth and last book of his *Dialogues*. This text is a long dialogue between Gregory and his student, Peter the Deacon, and recounts the great deeds of his fellow clergy, religious brothers, and, of course, of St. Benedict of Nursia, father of the Benedictine Rule of which Gregory was so fond.[23]

The *Dialogues* is full of rich material for historians of the supernatural,[24] as Gregory explicitly aims "to illustrate [already established] theoretical assertions of ghosts" using anecdotes and stories.[25] However, one tale from Gregory's own memory and lived experience stands out, in which Gregory himself exercises direct agency upon a newly dead monk, who expired not in the best of standing. And, unlike Augustine, Gregory seemed to have no qualms writing down tales about the living as having some sort of influence on the dead.[26] For the purposes of this paper, I will quote from a translation by Odo John Zimmerman, reprinted in 1977.[27]

21 For more on Gregory's life and context, see: Zimmerman, intro. *Dialogues*, v.

22 Zimmerman, intro. *Dialogues*, v.

23 For more about the authenticity and authorship of Gregory's works, see: Mews, "Gregory the Great," 142; Dunn, "Gregory the Great," 238; Moorhead, "*Dialogues* Seriously," 197, 206; Wood, "Early Medieval Devotion," 1; Santo, "Gregory the Great," 421.

24 Gregory discusses many of the same points as other Church Fathers, although with differing conclusions concerning the nature of the soul, and all contribute to origins of Purgatory. For more on these topics, see: Tertullian, "Treatise on the Soul," 221, 223, 225; Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 367. Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 354, 365; Gonzalez, "Anthropologies," 482; Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 91-3.

25 Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, 31. For more on the categorization of these anecdotes and miracle stories, see: Petersen, *The Dialogues*, 134; Moreira, *Dreams*, 167.

26 Lecouteux, *Return of the Dead*, 49.

27 Gregory, "Book Four," 189-275. The first three books discuss men with spiritual powers, St. Benedict, and dozens of saints, and the fourth book of The *Dialogues* alone has sixty-two chapters, far too many to reasonably discuss in detail. As such, a few illustrative examples will have to suffice.

The tale is from Gregory's time as a monk, a time for which he is full of nostalgia. He recounts the tale in the fourth and last book of his *Dialogues*, which "focuses on the single theme of a person's final hours and of the destiny of the soul after death."[28] The book is full of accounts both of souls departing to Heaven, as well as dying men seeing visions of ghostly entities both divine and diabolical.[29] His tale of Justus, is remarkable both in its detail and implications.

After telling his pupil, Peter the Deacon, about many instances of sinful people burning in either Hell or Purgatory, the young man asks with reasonable anxiety: "Is there anything at all that can possibly benefit souls after death?"[30] As part of his answer, Gregory tells the story of Justus, who had on occasion, been his physician. Justus had fallen deathly ill, and "Realizing that his final hour had come, Justus told his brother that he had kept three gold pieces hidden away for himself."[31] Gregory considers this sin very grave, as it breaks the Benedictine vow of poverty, and as he had founded the monastery, it was up to him to decide what was to be done. The following was his decision:

> See to it that none of the brethren visits the dying man or speaks any word of comfort to him. When Justus in his dying moments calls for any of the brethren ... inform him that the brethren will have nothing to do with him because of the three gold pieces in his possession. The bitterness of this experience at the moment of death may serve as a penitential scourge to cleanse him from the sin he had committed. After his death, do not bury him with the brethren, but, instead, cast his body into a grave dug in a manure pile. And as you throw the gold pieces into the grave after him, have all the brethren say together, "Take your money with you to perdition." So shall he be buried.[32]

28 Gregory, "Book Four," 189-275.

29 Cementing faith through the use of supernatural proofs is a key component of Gregory's emphasis; he states, "anyone who is not yet solidly grounded in his faith ought to accept what his elders say:" Gregory, "Book Four,"190.

30 Gregory, "Book Four,"266.

31 Gregory, "Book Four,"267.

32 Gregory, "Book Four,"268.

This severe sentence was to impress upon the other monks the seriousness of breaking vows, but it was also to give them agency over the situation, for they prayed for Justus for thirty consecutive days, after which time, "Justus appeared to his [biological] brother Copiosus, who asked him at once why he came and how he was. 'Up to this moment I was in misery,' he said, 'but now I am well, because this morning I was admitted to communion.'"[33] This had happened at the very moment the monastery had performed its thirtieth mass for him.

This story represents a great shift in how belief in ghosts and the living's control over the dead had shifted between the time Augustine and Gregory were writing. Instead of a discussion of angels, or skepticism about the reality of Copiosus's vision, Gregory actually uses the apparition as evidence of the righteousness of his difficult decisions as the leader of a monastery. In Gregory's conception of his Christian world, not only can the living help the dead through their actions—such as the treatment of Justus before and after his death, the ritual desecration of his body, the dedication of masses—but it is the duty of good Christians, especially monks.

This trend continues, too, into the high Middle Ages, with writings like that of Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. 1240).[34] Gregory's use of anecdotes about the supernatural to teach morality was copied, and over time evolved in new genres, such as *exempla* and *miracula*.[35] Cistercians, such as Caesarius, compiled these stories and used them in the same way, thus continuing the trend of using the supernatural and stories of the miraculous as didactic tools. This practice ties together the realities of performing religious actions for the dead and giving a sense of agency to the living. Caesarius's compilation

33 Gregory, "Book Four," 270.

34 Caesarius has received scholarly attention in recent years, but many of his anecdotes have not been treated thoroughly by historians, although they appear occasionally as part of broader quantitative studies. For such studies, see: Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 31.

35 Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead*, 44; Mula, "Cistercian *Exempla* Collections," 903.

of over 700 morality tales, called the *Dialogues on Miracles*, even copies Gregory's dialogic structure of an older monk teaching his student. For the purposes of this research, I have used the 1929 edition, translated by H. Von Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, but I have also consulted Joseph Strange's 1851 Latin edition where necessary to confirm accuracy.

Many of Caesarius's *exempla* are short and repetitive, but some are detailed in a way that suggests Caesarius is recording the general report of the region, and it illustrates just how integrated belief in the power of the living to benefit the dead was in the thirteenth century.[36] Certainly, as the translators of his work suggest, Caesarius was no fantasist: "He can be checked by contemporary documents, he has never, I believe, been convicted of more than the ordinary small lapses of memory into which we fall in recalling distant years."[37] This means that Caesarius's work, far from originating from within his own head or from within the walls of his monastery, was drawn from his personal experience and of second-hand accounts. However, at the same time, this world contained ghosts, angels, demons, and all manner of divine and satanic elements.[38] The line between accounts of the natural and unnatural, therefore, was blurry at best.

In one of his more detailed stories, Caesarius begins by telling of a certain young nobleman, who became a monk against the desires of his relative, a certain bishop.[39] As the bishop had no doubt feared, the youth did not fit the monastic mold, and a short time after ce-

36 Some *exempla* circulated with only vague indications from whence it originated, but others are replete with contextual detail (e.g. that a story happened to the abbot of Morimond twenty-four years prior and was related to the author by Dom Herman the abbot of Marienstatt; from Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:39). This adds a sense of authorial legitimacy, but it would also entice the audience of both novice monks and laypeople with recognizable names and places: Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 124..

37 Coulton, intro. *Dialogue on Miracles*, xvii.

38 Schmitt says as much as 6.6 percent of Caesarius's 746 *exempla* involve ghosts alone, and that does not include celestial beings, or visions of Christ or the Virgin Mary, the last to which there is an entire book devoted; Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 128.

39 The text indicates that he was the relation of "a certain bishop who loved him dearly." This could be a polite way of saying that this was the bishop's illegitimate son.

menting irrevocable vows and being ordained a priest, "Under the temptation of the devil, who drove the first man out of Paradise, he forgot his vows, forgot his priesthood, and worst of all, forgot his Maker, and deserted from the [Cistercian] Order."[40] Deserting his monastery was a damnable offense, far worse than hoarding a few gold coins, and "because he was ashamed to return to his parents, he joined a band of robbers and freebooters [or bandits]."[41] As a result of his wicked deeds, he was mortally wounded. With no doctor nearby, he is convinced to confess his sins to a priest, although he did not see "what profit...confession [could] be to [him], who have wrought so many great evils."[42]

> More in number than the sands of the sea...I robbed [men] of life itself. My eye had pity on none. If sometimes they, touched with human pity, were willing to spare, I, driven by wickedness of my heart, spared none who came into my power. The wives and daughters of many I violated, and vast numbers of homes I committed to the flames.[43]

The priest was at a loss, and he refused to set a penance for such overwhelming sin, saying: "Your iniquity is too great for you ever to hope for pardon."[44] But the monk-turned-bandit, had been educated in the ways of God, and declared that he should serve two thousand years in Purgatory, for "he had thought upon the greatness of his sins, and reckoned any penalty measurable by time as a mere nothing in comparison with an eternity of woe."[45] Then he died, and the bishop was told of what had occurred.

In spite of the enormity of his sins, for two years the bishop and his entire diocese prayed diligently for the dead bandit's soul, and twice the dead man appeared to the bishop from the afterlife. The first time

40 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:64.

41 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:64.

42 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:64.

43 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:65.

44 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:65.

45 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:65.

he appeared, a year after his death, "the dead man appeared to the bishop, pale, worn and emaciated, and clad in sad-coloured garment, plainly declaring his condition by the appearance and dress."[46] The second time he appeared, on the second anniversary of his death, "he appeared again, but now clad in a snow-white robe [cowl], and with a countenance of tranquil serenity, and related how all his desires had been fulfilled."[47] And so, it only took two years of diligent and consistent prayer by the living to wipe away even this bandit's most horrendous crimes.

This amount of agency over the fate of the dead is much transformed from Augustine's "whatever is done piously in behalf of a person is of advantage or is not of advantage when he has left the body."[48] By Caesarius's account, a dedicated congregation could save a soul in a fraction of the time initially allotted for punishment, no matter how wicked that soul—as long as they had repented authentically, showing true contrition.[49]

In the Middle Ages, saints could heal any ailment, and bring about any measure of miracles, or punishment, whatever the case might be. Living humans in this model were, to an extent, at their mercy, and of course by extension at God's mercy. For the ordinary dead, however, the roles were reversed. The idea was widely spread by Church fathers such as Gregory the Great, later by monks like Caesarius of Heisterbach, and even as late as the sixteenth century by mendicant preachers, that even lay Christians could effect change through

46 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:66.

47 Caesarius, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:67. On the topic of the color and nature of the ghost's clothing, see: Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 203-4; Pastoureau, *Black*, 65.

48 Augustine, "The Care to be Taken of the Dead," 352.

49 This *exemplum* comes from Caesarius's book "Of Contrition," and not from his book "Of the Punishment and the Glory of the Dead," so it is clear that these categories have some degree of overlap.

ritual and prayer upon the fates of their deceased loved ones.[50] This act of commemoration and spirituality added, perhaps, a little more purpose and hope to an otherwise difficult and chaotic life. As Peter the Deacon exclaims after hearing Gregory's story about the monk Justus: "The things I hear are marvelous and most delightful."[51]

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50 Whereas before the spread of Christianity, this relationship was coded as a one between the living family and the deceased ancestor, Cistercians spread instead the importance of "neighbors, people like oneself, within the framework of one's trade, the parish, the community of residents, or the zone of influence of a Mendicant monastery." In reference to the living praying for the dead, Schmitt notes that one function of *exempla* was to control the "cultural practices governing the relationship between the living and the dead": Schmitt, *Ghosts*, 126.

51 Gregory, "Book Four," 270.

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The Evolution of Personal Pledging

for the Freemen of Norwich, 1365-1441

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This paper examines the evolution of the personal pledging system used by newly admitted freemen, or citizens, of Norwich between 1365 and 1441. It argues that in the late fourteenth century new freemen chose their own sureties, and a large, diverse body of men acted as their pledges. The personal pledging system changed early in the fifteenth century, however, and from 1420 to 1441 civic office holders, particularly the sheriffs, served as the vast majority of pledges. This alteration to the pledging system coincided with changes to the structure and composition of Norwich's government, and it paralleled a decrease in opportunities for the majority of Norwich's freemen to participate in civic government.[1]

On September 14, 1365, thirteen men came before Norwich's assembly and swore their oaths as new freemen of the city.[2] They promised to pay entrance fees ranging from 13s. 4d. to 40s.[3] One of the men, Andrew de Hidyngham, agreed to pay his 20s. fee immediately (*statim*), whereas the others all named at least one man as a pledge to vouch for the future payment of their fines, and four freemen named two pledges. All told twelve men agreed to stand surety for the newly minted citizens, with four of their number acting as pledges for two freemen apiece. This variety was typical of the pledging groups that came before the assembly between 1365 and 1386. In contrast, when four men swore their oaths as new citizens

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1 My thanks to Mr Tom Townsend, Archivist, and the staff of the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich. I am grateful to Dr Carole Rawcliffe and Dr Ben Nilson for their helpful comments on a draft of this article. Any errors that remain are, of course, my own. An earlier version of this article was presented as a paper at the joint RMMRA/MAP conference held in Las Vegas, Nevada, in April 2018.

2 NRO, NCR 8d/1, m. 2; Hudson and Tingey, eds., *Records of the City of Norwich*, i, 264. Hereafter cited as *RCN*. The printed translation does not include the entry of Thomas Bule of Colton, which is found in the assembly roll.

3 NRO, NCR 8d/1, m. 2.

in September 1420, the city's two sheriffs served as pledges for them all, and this was the norm in the years following.[4] This paper examines the evolution of the pledging system for those entering the freedom of Norwich between 1365 and 1441. It argues that in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries a wide range of men acted as sureties for new freemen, whereas from 1420 to 1441 the sheriffs (and some mayors and treasurers) predominated as pledges. This alteration to the pledging system coincided with changes to the structure and composition of Norwich's government that began in 1404, and with the redefinition of the roles of the sheriffs in particular. Whereas new freemen in the late fourteenth century could choose their personal pledges and many different individuals stood surety for new citizens, by 1420 Norwich's new freemen had no choice in their pledges. Pledging became an activity that was consigned largely to office holders, and freemen's ability to select their pledges was almost entirely abandoned

Two recent books have investigated the creation, shape, and impact of civic ceremonies in medieval London and in other contemporary English cities.[5] This paper examines what happened in Norwich just before the occurrence of a key civic ceremony, the oath-taking of new citizens. It focuses on the pledging system associated with the admission of freemen of one of medieval England's most important cities.[6] It analyzes the entries of 509 new citizens whose names are recorded in the assembly rolls, which survive patchily from 1365 to 1386, 1413-14, and 1420 to 1426, and in the folio book of assembly proceedings, which contains admissions from 1436 to 1441.[7] The records of the civic assembly provide the sole source of information about freemen's pledges and payment terms. The *Liber Introitus Civium,* commonly called the Old Free Book, does not provide

4 Norwich gained a mayor and replaced its bailiffs with two sheriffs in 1404. See below.

5 Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*; Liddy, *Contesting the City,* 25-30; 109-24.

6 Rawcliffe and Wilson, eds., *Medieval Norwich*; Ayers, *Norwich: Archaeology of a Fine City*.

7 NCR 8d/1 through NCR 8d/10; NCR 16d/1.

evidence about pledging, nor do the surviving treasurers' rolls. To date much of the research into personal pledging in late medieval England has focused on pledges offered in manorial courts and villages,[8] and on pledges for lawsuits, court appearances, and the negotiation of credit and debts within towns and cities.[9] This paper differs from these previous approaches in that it focuses on a single, specific type of personal pledging. Whereas people stood as pledges for a range of reasons in courts and in other contexts, the sureties in this study served only one purpose: to guarantee that the entrance fines of new Norwich freemen would be paid.[10]

The freedom of Norwich was established by the late twelfth century,[11] and new freemen called upon pledges at least by the early fourteenth century. Between 1306 and 1311 the "Laws and Customs" contained in the Book of Customs described the procedure involved in becoming a freeman, a process overseen by the city's government.[12] By the fourteenth century Norwich was governed by four bailiffs elected each year, and they in turn were advised by a council of twenty-four that was chosen yearly by the commonalty of citizens.[13] As Christian Liddy notes, the bailiffs and twenty-four were joined

8 For some investigations into personal pledging, see Pimsler, "Solidarity"; Postles, "Personal Pledging"; Razi, "Family, Land, and the Village Community," 8, 11-12; Bennett, "Public Power," esp. 25, 26. Capital pledges differed from personal pledges. By 1300 a capital pledge in Norwich was no longer expected to provide surety for a person in his tithing; Sagui, "Capital Pledges," 111. Personal pledging contrasts with the use of movable property as a pledge. For an example, see Reddaway and Walker, *Goldsmiths' Company*, 192.

9 Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 208-209; Kermode, "Money and Credit," 492-93; Goddard, *Credit and Trade*, 55-57.

10 Olson, *A Chronicle of All That Happens,* 54; Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 209.

11 Charter of Richard I (1194) in *RCN*, i, 12. For a discussion of changes to Norwich's government from the 1100s to 1300, see *RCN*, i, xviii - xxxviii.

12 Book of Customs, NRO, NCR, 17b/1. In the mid-fifteenth century the fifty-six chapters of the laws and customs were copied into the Book of Pleas (NRO, NCR, 17b/5, fols. 89-97d). Volume 1 of *RCN* contains a transcript of the version found in the Book of Pleas, alongside Hudson's English translation; *RCN*, i, xxxiii, xxxix; *RCN,* i, 132-99. Ch. 36 deals with the admissions of citizens; *RCN,* i, 178-80.

13 Liddy, *Contesting the City*, 28.

in the "'common assembly' (*communis congregatio*)" by "others of the community (*et aliis de communitate presentibus*)."[14] These "others" were citizens. Freemen were not expected to be present at all assemblies, but in the fourteenth century the commons, or those citizens who were not part of the elite of bailiffs and twenty-four, had a right to attend and participate in congregations as a perquisite of citizenship.[15] In addition, freemen could vote in municipal and parliamentary elections, and they enjoyed privileges that included exemptions from lastage and tolls throughout the ports and towns of England.[16] They also assumed various responsibilities associated with citizenship, including paying taxes and holding civic offices if elected.[17] Only freemen ranked as citizens or burgesses of Norwich.[18] In theory, both men and women could gain the freedom there, but in practice only two women are known to have become free between 1365 and 1441.[19] In the late fourteenth century Norwich had a population of about 8,000 people, and roughly 12.3% of its residents are estimated to have been freemen.[20] Most inhabitants thus did not

14 Liddy, *Contesting the City*, 28; *RCN*, i, lv. The assembly was also referred to as the "'assembly of the community of the city' (*congregatio communitatis ciuitatis*)"; Liddy, 28.

15 Maddern, "Order and Disorder," 192.

16 Charter of Richard I (1194), in *RCN*, i, 12-14.

17 Dunn, "Trade," 231; Frost, "Urban Elite," 236.

18 Norwich mostly employed the terms *ciues* (or *cives*) or "citeȝens" (or "citeȝeyns"), but sometimes "burgeyses" or "freman" is used. For an example of *ciues* see Richard I's charter of 1194 (*RCN*, i, 12); for "citeȝens" see the oath of citizens (*RCN,* i, 129); for "citeȝeyns" see the Composition of 1415 (*RCN*, i, 94); and for "freman" and "burgeyses" see the same (*RCN*, i, 106 and 107).

19 Isabella Weston and Petronilla de Bokenham became free in the 1360s; NRO, NCR, 8d/1, m. 4 (Weston) and m. 7 (de Bokenham); *RCN*, i, 265 (Weston). As most citizens were men, masculine pronouns are used throughout this study. In York, women comprised "about 1 per cent" of all registered admissions between 1272 and 1500; Goldberg, "Female Labour, Service and Marriage," 32.

20 Dunn, "After the Black Death," 88. In comparison, the burgesses of Wells (population around 1,800 in 1377) comprised about 12.8% of the total population, whereas the citizens of Exeter (population of just over 3,000 in 1377) equalled only 4% of its total population; Shaw, *Creation of a Community,* 142; Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 88, 96.

enjoy the benefits or bear the burdens associated with citizenship.[21] Some residents engaged in trade or took apprentices despite not being free. As long as they paid fines as a type of licensing for doing so, however, the city government did not object too strenuously to their activities.[22]

The process of becoming a freeman of Norwich was similar to that elsewhere in medieval England: people became free by apprenticeship to a Norwich citizen, by redemption (purchase), or by patrimony.[23] It was also possible to gain the freedom by gift, service, or patronage, but this rarely occurred between 1365 and 1386.[24] Men who entered the freedom by apprenticeship or by redemption were required to come before the assembly to swear their oaths of citizenship, as were men whose entrance fees were waived because of gift, patronage or other reasons. Entrants by patrimony - those who gained the freedom because their fathers had been Norwich citizens when they were born - did not have to come before the assembly, however, nor did they have to pay an entrance fee.[25] Before being accepted as freemen, all but the entrants by patrimony had to be vetted before at least twelve men with authority to examine them "concerning the quantity of their goods secretly."[26]

Once the candidates passed muster and were approved for admission,

21 Liddy, *Contesting the City,* 22.

22 *RCN,* i, 382, 384-385; Dunn, "Trade," 233.

23 Barrie Dobson refers to the "classic tripartite division of patrimonies, apprenticeships, and (apparently) redemptions"; Dobson, "Admissions to the Freedom," 19.

24 Maryanne Kowaleski distinguished between "patronage, patrimony, fine, gift, service, and apprenticeship" in her analysis of the freedom of medieval Exeter; Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 96-97. This study uses 'redemption' rather than 'fine,' and counts entries with waived fines (those of gift and service) under 'redemption.'

25 Several citizens' sons did come before the assembly and swear their oaths, perhaps because their right to citizenship had been challenged in some way. See below for a discussion.

26 *"de quantitate bonorum suorum secrete"*: *RCN,* i, 179. In Wells candidates for free admissions were vetted before 1425, but not after that year; Shaw, *Creation of a Community*, 149.

they took their oaths publicly before the assembly.[27] The Book of Customs implies that new entrants usually had pledges:

> And let the names of those 12 at any entry be enrolled and the name of the entrant in a Roll indented and duplicated and the fine of the entrant and his pledges and the term of his payment and the year and day and the name of the sworn clerk, who shall have one roll in his possession and the other shall remain in the common chest.[28]

The civic authorities in Norwich were not alone in requiring most freemen to have pledges; they were also necessary for candidates in Nottingham and Wells, for example.[29] The Book of Customs notes that a foreigner who had not been an apprentice in Norwich was to pay a minimum of 20s. for his entrance fee. A candidate who had been an apprentice and who had the support of his master and neighborhood was to pay at least one mark (13s. 4d.).[30] Although the Book of Customs does not provide further details, the assembly rolls show that payment of the fees was divided into two, with half going to the community (or civic) coffers, and half to the bailiffs for the payment of the fee farm. These contributions were not due on the same day. Between 1365 and 1378 most freemen chose when they made their payments: only a handful left it to the discretion of the bailiffs or commonalty to decide the due dates.[31] As a result months could elapse before payments were due. The weaver John Lynes, for example, became free in October 1366, but he did not have to pay the

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27 *RCN*, i, 129: "The charge of them that ben made Citeȝens." For a discussion of oath-taking as a "form of insurance on behalf of the co-opting group," see Lee, "Oath-taking and Oath-breaking," 31.

28 *RCN*, i, 179-80. The Book of Customs also indicates that entrants should be received four times a year, but by the later 14th century new citizens came before the assembly more frequently. For an example, see the entries in the Old Free Book for 49 Edward III: NRO, NCR, 17c/1, fol. 35v.

29 Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, 97; and for a Nottingham example from 1378-9, see *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, ii, 302 – 305.

30 *RCN*, i, 179. The original phrase is "*habeat testimonium de domino suo et visneto illius.*" Hudson translates it as "good testimony from his master and his venue," but "neighborhood" is a better translation than "venue."

31 For example, Thomas de Taterford left both payments up to the discretion (*ad voluntatem*) of the bailiffs and *communitatis*; NRO, NCR, 8d/1, m. 7d..

communitatis until April 1367, and he did not owe anything to the bailiffs until June 1367.[32] On 9 April 1378, however, admission fines were doubled to 40s. for foreigners and 26s. 8d. for apprentices.[33] Payment flexibility was reduced around the same time: new citizens had to pay the commonalty within a month of becoming free and the bailiffs soon thereafter.[34] These increased fines and restricted terms helped fund the city's ambitious acquisition of property in the market and of two common quays on the river Wensum.[35]

The assembly rolls that survive between 1365 and 1386 contain legible freedom information for 324 people – 322 men and two women.[36] Of these, the majority – 248 people or 76.5% – named two pledges to support their entry.[37] Thirty-eight men relied on only one pledge, whereas nine named three pledges. Only 29 people, or 9%, named no pledge at all. Two of them became free by patrimony and thus owed no fines, and three had their fees waived, apparently because they were sergeants.[38] The majority of the remaining men owed fees ranging from 13s. 4d. to 40s., and most of them paid their fees immediately upon entry.[39] During the fourteenth century a new freeman answered to his pledges if he was late or negligent in paying

32 NRO, NCR, 8d/1, m. 5d.

33 NRO, NCR, 17b/1, fol. 25. This reference and date comes from the description found within the Norfolk Record Office online catalogue (nrocat.norfolk.gov.uk). The assembly rolls indicate that the fees remained at this increased level through 1426: NRO, NCR, 8d/10. By the 1430s they had reverted to 13s 4d and 20s: NRO, NCR, 16d/1, fol. 8r.

34 NRO, NCR, 8d/5 is the last roll that lists the dates and terms of payments.

35 Dunn, "Financial Reform," 101-104. For some of the financial pressures on the city in the 1370s, see Dunn, "Financial Reform," 105.

36 There are at least two entries where specific fees can be deciphered, but pledging information is very difficult to read. These entries have not been counted in the tally. Because so many rolls are missing, the figure from the rolls does not correspond to the 553 freemen found within the Old Free Book between 1365 and 1386.

37 No one named three pledges after 1380.

38 NRO, NCR, 8d/5d.

39 The payment terms for a few of the remaining individuals are missing or obscured. Five men agreed to specific payment dates yet had no pledges. It is possible that the clerk failed to record their pledges in the rolls.

his fees. The men who served as sureties were ultimately responsible for the payment if new citizens did not meet their obligations. By employing pledging as "a type of insurance that potentially reduced enforcement costs," [40] the government of Norwich reduced the likelihood of defaults and delays that would hurt city coffers and could hinder the payment of the fee farm.

Financial concerns thus prompted the creation of the personal pledging system for freemen in Norwich. Alice Stopford Green argues that a candidate for admission in an English town or city had "to find two or more good men as pledges that he would 'observe all the laws.'"[41] In Norwich, however, a man's pledges came before the assembly not to attest to the candidate's character or vouch that he would obey the laws, but rather to guarantee that he would pay his entrance fine. This is why the aforementioned Andrew Hidyngham, as well as others who paid their fees immediately upon entry, did not have to find sureties, and why freemen by patrimony, who paid no fees, did not provide pledges.[42] On the face of things, the expectation that new freemen would have pledges seems redundant, given that prospective candidates had already been examined for the "quantity of their goods."[43] Nevertheless, financial prudence took precedence over blind trust, and by their presence at a freeman's oath-taking the pledges publicly attested that they would ensure that the entrance fees would be paid. As with their counterparts in Wells, new freemen in Norwich may have felt social pressure to pay their fines in a timely fashion. After all, as David Gary Shaw observes, the pledging link "was personal and established the new man's first obligation within the community" as a freeman.[44] Not all freemen met these expectations, however, and an example survives of one who failed to honour his financial commitments. In April

40 Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter,* 209.

41 Green, *Town Life*, i, 178.

42 NRO, NCR, 8d/1, m. 2.

43 *RCN*, i, 179.

44 Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, 97.

1439 the mercer Richard Ayfeld came before the congregation and renounced his freedom. Gregory Draper had been a sheriff and acted as Ayfeld's pledge when the mercer swore his oath of citizenship about ten years before, and Ayfeld still owed Draper money for the fee a decade later.[45] We only know about the case because of a chance entry in the assembly proceedings. It is likely that other new freemen occasionally defaulted on or delayed their payments, and that other pledges had to pay out of their own pockets or suffer another penalty.[46] As the freemen had been vetted to ensure that they possessed sufficient means, and as most of them probably saw the benefits of having a "good reputation," widespread defaults seem unlikely.[47] Ayfeld's very public and potentially humiliating release from the freedom is certainly atypical.

Between 1365 and 1386, at least 186 men served as pledges for the 295 new citizens who required them.[48] (Only males served as pledges, but the absence of female sureties was not confined to Norwich; they are absent from most manorial records, too.[49]) The Old Free Book is of limited help in identifying which pledges were freemen because it does not provide admission records for most of the 1350s and some of the 1360s.[50] In addition, entries by patrimony rarely appear in the freedom register prior to 1451. According to the Old Free Book 697 persons became free during those years between

45 NRO, NCR, 16d/1, fol. 10r. The treasurers' roll for 7-8 Henry VI (1428-29) shows that Ayfeld had agreed to pay 20s. for his entrance, and he still owed Draper most of the money about a decade after his entry; NRO, NCR, 7a/41; Hawes, *Index*, 54 (Draper).

46 This happened in Brigstock when defaults occurred; Bennett, "Public Power," 25.

47 Goddard, "Medieval Business Networks," 16. For other examples of the importance of reputation, see Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, 205-7; Hanawalt, "The Limits of Community Tolerance," 14; and Hanawalt, "Rituals of Inclusion and Exclusion," 31.

48 A few pledges may have shared the same names, and about 20 pledges' names are incomplete or obscured. The surnames of some individuals may also have changed. The names of some Norwich capital pledges altered "from a locative surname to a (*sic*) occupational one," for example; Sagui, "Capital Pledges," 105.

49 The manor of Brigstock was an exception, with 46 women, mostly widows, identified among "thousands of pledges"; Bennett, "Public Power," 25.

50 Dunn, "After the Black Death," 75.

1365 and 1441 for which assembly rolls and proceedings survive.[51] Only five of them, or less than 1% of the total, entered by patrimony.[52] In comparison, between 1467 and 1491, when admissions *per patres* were more reliably recorded in the Old Free Book but when this type of admission was still under-reported, 11.3% of all entrants entered by patrimony.[53] A comparison between the Old Free Book and the surviving assembly records for 1365 to 1441 suggests that only those men who took the unusual step of proving their patrimony before the assembly made it into the freedom register.[54] Common clerks may have separately recorded patrimony entries but never copied this information into the Old Free Book. It is also possible, however, that no written record of admissions by patrimony was created prior to 1451 because people collectively recognized the sons of citizens, and even remembered births and whether their fathers had been free at the time. In her study of enrolled deeds from 1377 to 1399 Penny Dunn found that 47% of the people identified in the deeds as Norwich citizens could not be found in the Old Free Book.[55] We know that some of the pledges who do not appear in the register were freemen because they served as bailiffs or held other civic positions open only to citizens. For example, William Asger was bailiff in both 1363 and 1379, and he acted as pledge for over thirty new freemen between 1365 and 1386. Asger was clearly a citizen, yet the Old Free Book does not provide any information about his

51 This figure includes all the Old Free Book entries for years with surviving assembly records. As some of the assembly rolls are incomplete, however, not all of the entries in the Old Free Book are to be found in them.

52 Prior to 1397 the register of freedoms for York under-reported entries by patrimony, too; Dobson, "Admissions to the Freedom," 8.

53 This figure comes from a current research project of mine. While admissions by patrimony appear more frequently in the Old Free Book after 1451, they continue to be under-reported. For example, John Pynchamor, alderman from 1488-99, is not found in the Old Free Book, yet he must have been a citizen; Hawes, *Index*, 125 (Pynchamor).

54 At least four of the five men appeared before the assembly. The Old Free Book lists the entry for the fifth, Geoffrey atte Stile, under 16-18 Henry VI, noting that he became a citizen in 13 Henry IV; NRO, NCR, 17c/1, fol. 49r. No assembly roll survives for Henry IV's reign, but atte Stile does not appear in the assembly proceedings for 16-18 Henry VI.

55 Dunn, "After the Black Death," 80.

entry. Similarly, Stephen Silvester, a bailiff in 1370 and again in 1382, served as pledge for at least five men between 1366 and 1382 but is not mentioned in the Old Free Book either.[56] Like Asger and Silvester, other pledges were omitted from its pages because they entered the freedom by patrimony or were admitted prior to 1365.

Despite its limitations, the Old Free Book does note the admissions of many pledges. An analysis of the admission dates for those sureties with identifiable freedoms suggests that men acted as pledges at almost any point during their careers. In this they resembled sureties on the manor of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, where youths as well as adults performed this service.[57] At least fifty-five men appear as pledges for Norwich freemen admitted in 1385-86, and the admission dates for 28 of them can be identified.[58] Five became free between 1343 and 1353, eleven gained the freedom between 1365 and 1372, and twelve between 1376 and 1385. One of these men volunteered as a pledge just a year after he became free. An analysis of the pledge group for 1366-67 reveals a similar breadth of freedom dates. One pledge, Henry Mirygo, was not a freeman when he served, however, becoming free only a year later.[59] Likewise, in 1384-85 William Warner offered sureties for Clement Parmine before Warner was himself a citizen.[60] Men who were not Norwich freemen evidently proved acceptable as pledges (perhaps if they were sufficiently affluent), but because of the gaps and silences in the Old Free Book it is uncertain how often this occurred.

Just as *lacunae* in the Old Free Book make it impossible to determine how many pledges were Norwich citizens, so gaps in the assembly rolls mean that we know only some of the men who served

56 Le Strange, *Norfolk Official Lists*, 96 and 97.

57 Bennett, "Public Power," 26.

58 NRO, NCR, 8d/8. The names of several pledges are obscured or incomplete.

59 NRO, NCR, 8d/1, m. 6 (Richard Storm), and m. 9 (Mirygo). The entry for his oath-taking notes that Mirygo was '*de Erlham,*' or Earlham, a village in the western suburbs of Norwich.

60 NRO, NCR, 8d/7 (Pamine) and NRO, NCR, 8d/8 (Warner).

as members of the aforementioned council of 24, or as electors of the bailiffs, or in other lesser official roles during the second half of the fourteenth century.[61] Only the bailiffs can all be identified. The assembly records of 1365-66, however, provide the names of most office holders for that year. All told, forty-eight men occupied at least one civic position, excluding the four current bailiffs.[62] Significantly, 30 of them, or 62.5%, served as a surety for a new freeman at least once between 1365 and 1386. Twenty-two of the 48 office holders (46%) had been, or would become, bailiffs, and of these 22 men, only two are not found amongst the pledges in the surviving assembly rolls. In contrast, of the 26 officials in 1365-1366 who never served as bailiffs during their careers, sixteen, or 61.5%, do not appear as pledges between 1365 and 1386. The remaining ten were called upon as sureties at least once.

The following table analyzes the number of times that men appear as pledges in the extant assembly rolls for 1365 through 1386.

Table: Freemen's pledges, 1365 through 1386

Times the person is a pledge	Men in this category	Percentage of total pledges
1	98	52.7%
2	29	15.6%
3	21	11.4%
4 to 8	29	15.6%
9 to 12	4	2.1%
13 to 16	0	0%
17 to 21	4	2.1%
22 to 33	0	0%
34	1	.5%
	Total: 186 men	

As the above table shows, the majority of the pledges (52.7%) are named only once in the surviving assembly rolls for 1365 to 1386, while 27% appear just two or three times.[63] About 20% of the entire

61 For the treasurers, who are known for most but not all years, see Grace, "Chamberlains and Treasurers," 194-97.

62 This figure also omits the four bailiffs elected in September 1366 for the following year.

63 It is of course likely that many individuals would appear more often if a complete run of assembly rolls had survived.

pledging body served four or more times as pledges.

John de Eggefeld, one of the eight collectors of payments such as tallages in 1365-66, was in the group of men who pledged five times.[64] He was unusual amongst this group because he never became a bailiff. In general, the more often one appeared as a pledge, the more likely one was to occupy this important post. Only seven of the 98 men (7.1%) who served once as a pledge were ever bailiffs, and just 11 (37.9%) of the 29 men who pledged twice ever held the post. In contrast, the majority (69%) of the individuals who pledged four to eight times were elected bailiff at some point during their career.[65] Not surprisingly, all but one of the twelve citizens (92%) who stood surety for nine or more freemen served at least one term as bailiff. Yet, despite the prominence of former, current, or future bailiffs, several active pledges never held office as bailiff or even as treasurer. Two examples are Nicholas de Betele and Giles Albert, who acted as sureties nine and seven times respectively. They were anomalies, however: the vast majority of frequent pledges held the most prestigious civic office at least once in their lives.

Why did past, present, and future bailiffs dominate the pledging group from 1365 to 1386? Current or former bailiffs were visible and recognizable, and most were also financially comfortable. New freemen probably asked them to be pledges in part because of their clout and affluence. Penelope Dunn describes the bailiffs Thomas Hert, Hugh Holland, Henry and William Lomynour, and Ralph Skeet, for example, as the "wealthiest late fourteenth-century merchants" in Norwich.[66] All five men were active as pledges. Some members of the elite were probably chosen because new freemen recognized that they had the means and willingness to serve multiple times simultaneously. Around the same time that the admissions fees

64 *RCN*, i, 264. For collectors, see Ch. 47 of the Book of Customs in *RCN*, i, 194-95.

65 Four of the remaining nine men served as treasurer but not bailiff.

66 Dunn, "Trade," 227, and 392, n. 107. Dunn also includes John Worlyk on the list. Worlyk became free in October, 1381, and does not appear as a pledge before the assembly rolls end. Active as a bailiff in the 1390s, he may have been a pledge after 1386.

rose and payment terms became less flexible and more pressing, the ruling elite sought to increase official control over trade. The civic authorities pressured residents to enter the freedom or to pay fines if they were conducting business without benefit of the franchise.[67] In 1379-80 a large group of 95 people took the first option, [68] and demand for pledges soared, particularly because the new entrants had to agree to pay at least half their fines within a month. While many people served as sureties over the year, and some acted multiple times, one man predominated: William Asger, a current bailiff, was a pledge for at least 18 men in 1379-80.[69] It was not incumbent for him to do this as a bailiff, and his motivations are hidden from us. If any emoluments or other rewards were quietly offered to him by the new freemen, they remain unknown.[70] Asger may have stepped forward simply to fill a need, and incoming freemen may have spread the word that it was worth approaching such a prominent figure for support. Another frequent pledge, the merchant Thomas Spynk, stood surety for twelve of the entrants recorded in 1381-82. Spynk, likewise a bailiff at the time, had been one of the sixteen commissioners appointed as "supervisors of the community" in 1378.[71] He was active in other ways, as well: between 1370 and 1399 he appeared a hefty 215 times, often as a trustee, in the city's enrolled deeds.[72] In his investigation of the manor of Elton,

67 Dunn, "Financial Reform," 111.

68 Dunn, "After the Black Death," 73, citing A. King, "The Merchant Class and Borough Finances in Later Medieval Norwich" (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1989), Table 3.1.

69 The assembly roll for that year is incomplete, and as a result many of the admissions are missing.

70 Asger was not always so popular. In 1371 he and six other prominent men fled the city "for fear of their lives"; Dunn, "Financial Reform," 112.

71 Dunn, "Financial Reform," 106.

72 All of the sixteen commissioners are named in the enrolled deeds, and all of them acted at least once as a pledge for freemen, as well. After Asger, Nicholas de Blakeney appeared the most frequently in the deeds, showing up 132 times. He served as a pledge for at least eight new freemen over the course of his career. For Asger, de Blakeney, and the others, see Dunn, "Financial Reform," 107.

Huntingdonshire, Martin Pimsler suggests that "village officials and other relatively wealthy people" sometimes received fees to serve as pledges, usually for people who were too poor to find sureties of their own.[73] Maryanne Kowaleski observes that in Exeter some people "undoubtedly had to pay for pledging services, thus making broken pledging contracts subject to litigation concerning both debt and covenant."[74] The pledging highlighted by Martin Pimsler and Maryanne Kowaleski occurred for a range of reasons. In contrast, however, the Norwich pledges under consideration here acted solely on behalf of new freemen. As the entrants were supposed to have sufficient means to qualify for admission, it seems unlikely that they recompensed their sureties in any but exceptional circumstances.[75]

Although all but a few of the most frequent pledges were of similar status to Asger and Spynk, and served as some point as bailiffs, the majority of pledges were not leading citizens. Nevertheless, they still chose to act as sureties. A complex mix of motives probably prompted them to volunteer. Some may have pledged out of a sense of civic duty, or derived satisfaction from being asked – or agreed for a combination of these reasons. Freemen who served as pledges may have wanted to show solidarity with, and support for, neophyte citizens. In doing so, they helped to create emotional as well as financial bonds, while increasing their own social capital. Just as new freemen may have benefitted from the kudos of having an elite pledge such as William Asger, so some pledges who hoped to climb the *cursus honorum* or expand their business opportunities in the future may have served as sureties in order to widen their own networks.[76] Recipients of pledging support could offer what Kowaleski terms "reciprocal favors" instead of money.[77] Successful

73 Pimsler, "Solidarity," 11.

74 Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 209.

75 Kowaleski notes the "development of professional pledgers and brokers"; *Medieval Exeter,* 209.

76 Bennett, "Public Power," 27.

77 Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter,* 209.

pledging relationships between new and existing freemen may have borne fruit later when men sought election to a particular position, or shared responsibilities that came with active participation in civic affairs. Personal pledging on behalf of new Norwich freemen may have strengthened existing bonds between people who were related to one another by blood or marriage, who were neighbors or fellow parishioners within the city, or who were 'foreigners' with shared associations in another town or village.[78]

Most links between new citizens and their pledges are destined to remain unknown. It is likely that occupational connections were common, but they can be hard to identify in part because the Old Free Book does not consistently record occupations until the 1420s.[79] Some examples of these links can, none the less, be readily located. The tailor Peter Stodeye stood surety for the tailor Thomas Dowsyng, for instance, and the butcher Thomas de Merton acted as pledge for fellow butcher Henry Austin.[80] While many former masters probably pledged for their apprentices, these relationships are elusive, as information about apprenticeships is not provided in the Old Free Book or the assembly proceedings before 1452.[81] Two unusually descriptive entries from 1414, however, provide examples of household links. Henry Smyth is described as the servant of Thomas Cok, and William Knapton is identified as the former servant of John Cambrigg. Both masters acted as sureties for their employees, Cok as the sole pledge for Smyth, and Cambrigg as one of Knapton's two pledges.[82] It is likely that other freemen also

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78 For links between pledges in Exeter, see Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 209. A Chester merchant who owned property in Ireland served as a pledge for the Irishman William Preston when he entered the freedom of Chester; Laughton, "Mapping the Migrants," 177.

79 NRO, NCR, 17c/1, fol. 43r, entries for 3 Henry V. An analysis of deeds, wills, and other documents would reveal more ties, but lies beyond the scope of this paper.

80 NRO, NCR, 8d/7 (Dowsyng and Stodeye) and NRO, NCR, 8d/8d (Austin and Merton).

81 A few men are described as apprentices in assembly entries for the 1430s, but their masters are not named.
82 NRO, NCR, 8d/9, entry for 9 February 1 Henry V (1414). For both entries the abbreviation *s'* is used to denote servant. It often appears in the Norwich leet rolls, as well.

enlisted the support of their employers or former masters, but the assembly records are silent on the subject.

The assembly rolls from 1365 through 1386 reveal that a wide and varied group of men served as personal pledges for new freemen during those years. The candidates for admission chose their own pledges, and office holders did not automatically act as sureties as part of their formal duties. Nevertheless, the majority of men who appear as pledges four or more times were also elected bailiff at least once and were prominent figures in Norwich. Judith Bennett observes that the "political ramifications of pledging are best illustrated by the fact that the people who most actively served as pledges" within medieval English villages were "among the wealthiest and most influential members of the community."[83] This was true in a city as large as Norwich, too. The most active pledges were the very individuals who had, or came to develop, a firm grasp on political power within the city, and the pledging system itself supported the group of men from which Norwich's future leaders and office holders would emerge.

Because of gaps in the evidence, nothing is known of freemen's pledges between 7 September 1386 and 19 October 1413. Between 20 October 1413, when the next surviving roll begins, and 1 May 1414, when it ends, nine men entered the franchise, and between them they had twelve pledges.[84] All but one surety was active in civic government in or around 1414.[85] Between 1386 and 1413 some significant changes occurred in Norwich's governance.[86] Early in 1404, the city was incorporated as a separate county and was granted the right to have a mayor. In addition, as a result of the same royal charter, two sheriffs replaced the four bailiffs and became responsible

83 Bennett, "Public Power," 25.

84 NRO, NCR, 8d/9. The pledge for the spicer Robert Coutessale cannot be identified (*per pleg' apprentic' Steph' Boole);* NCR, 8d/9d.

85 Both sheriffs, one treasurer, the mayor, and six members of the 80 for that year served as pledges; *RCN,* i, 275-76, and Grace, "Chamberlains and Treasurers," 196.

86 Frost, "Urban Elite," 236-38.

for paying the fee farm to the king.[87] As their predecessors had in the fourteenth century, in the early fifteenth century twenty-four men continued to be elected yearly to provide advice and to sit in the assembly. Later in 1404, the assembly passed a resolution establishing "a body of 80 citizens to sit at all common assemblies by themselves."[88] Further refinements followed, and in February 1414, the assembly "ordained that for every common assembly the Mayor Sheriffs, the Twenty Four, Coroners, Supervisors, Treasurers, Clavers, all kinds of Constables and 80 of the more sufficient persons of the Commonalty appointed from the said leets" were henceforward the only men allowed to be present.[89] Although over a hundred individuals were expected to attend these general assemblies because of their positions, the rest of the citizens – the vast majority - no longer had the right to do so. David Gary Shaw suggests that once a town achieved county status, changes often occurred: "The more lordly authority and corporate independence a town had achieved the more pure power was invested in its elite, the less that elite needed the active consent, as opposed to simple acquiescence, of the larger body of townspeople."[90] In Norwich, a rapidly diminishing reliance on the "active consent" of the wider

87 See Henry IV's charter of 28 January 1403/4 and Hudson's translation, *RCN*, i, 31-36. For a discussion of its implications see *RCN*, i, lx-lxviii. The Charter notes that the mayor, sheriffs, citizens and commonalty "shall enjoy & use all the franchises which and as the Bailiffs Citizens and Commonalty had and exercised before the change of name"; *RCN*, i, 33. For discussions of how the 'citizens' differed from the 'commonalty', see *RCN*, i, lxi-lxiv; McRee, "Peacemaking," 836. In their oath, the sheriffs swore to uphold their responsibility for paying the fee farm; *RCN,* i, 126.

88 *RCN*, i, lxii. William Hudson attributes this information to the Norfolk antiquary Francis Blomefield (d. 1752), speculating that he had access to an assembly roll that subsequently went missing; *RCN*, i, lxii. The resolution also specified the procedure for electing the sheriffs, but this changed in 1413-14; see *RCN*, i, lxii; McRee, "Peacemaking," 848 n. 4, and 849 n. 1.

89 *RCN*, i, 275. Clavers held the keys to the City Chest, which stored the Common Seal; *RCN*, i, 261 n. 4.

90 Shaw, "Social Networks," 221-22.

commonalty of citizens can certainly be detected after the city became a county in 1404.[91]

In 1415, the structure of Norwich's government was again modified, this time in response to disputes between the commons and elite of Norwich over the thorny issue of participation. Promulgated by Sir Thomas Erpingham, the Composition of 1415 "specified in extraordinary detail the steps for selecting all local officials, from the mayor at one end of the civic hierarchy to the local keeper of dikes at the other."[92] The Composition split the responsibility for most elections "between the commons and the elite."[93] In addition, it established that the twenty-four "Concitezeyns," known as aldermen by 1417, would be elected for life unless "cause resonable" prompted their removal. The common council was simultaneously reduced from eighty to sixty.[94] The Composition also articulated some new expectations about freemen, particularly foreigners and apprentices.[95] Whereas the fourteenth-century Book of Customs called for twelve individuals "assigned for that purpose by the whole community every year" to be present at the examination and oath-taking of freemen, the Composition decreed that "vj men shal be chosen for to be of counseill wit yᵉ Chamberleyns in resceyvynge of burgeyses."[96] The Composition likewise designated specific responsibilities that the sheriffs had vis-à-vis these new citizens, requiring that "þo men yat thus shul be resceyued shal make gree

91 In 1378 the elite successfully petitioned the king "that the four bailiffs and twenty-four citizens elected each year might have the power to make and establish such ordinances and remedies for the good government of the town"- without involving the commonalty; Dunn, "Financial Reform," 111. They did not, however, act upon this privilege, which remained hidden from the commonalty until 1414, when it became a flashpoint for discontent; Dunn, "Financial Reform," 113.

92 McRee, "Peacemaking," 851.

93 McRee, "Peacemaking," 851-52.

94 *RCN*, i, 97-98. The Composition broadened the method of election for the 60, however, by establishing that "alle yᵉ enfraunchised men housholders" of each ward would elect the common councillors for that ward; *RCN*, i, 99.

95 *RCN,* i, 105-107.

96 *RCN*, i, 179 (Book of Customs); 107 (Composition).

wit yᵉ Shireves as þey may acorde."[97] Along with the expectation that they would "make gree," or reach an agreement, with these new citizens, the sheriffs henceforward assumed the responsibility of acting as freemen's pledges. No assembly rolls survive from May 1414 until September 1420, but when the rolls resume in 1420 they reveal that the sheriffs were the sole pledges for the freemen who gained admittance between 1420 and 1426.[98] No variety whatsoever existed among the pledges. By 1420, new citizens no longer selected their own sureties, and freemen thereby lost an opportunity to expand their own social networks as they saw fit.

During the 1430s and early 1440s, Norwich office-holders continued to predominate amongst the pledges, but this activity was no longer the sole responsibility of the sheriffs. Mayors and, less frequently, treasurers, also acted as sureties for new freemen. The surviving assembly proceedings from 1438 to 1441 record the admissions of 71 men. Fifty-seven of them (80%) had a current sheriff, mayor or treasurer as their pledge. In a single, anomalous congregation, however, the fourteenth-century system of sureties and payment terms resurfaced, and on 15 July 1438 the variety of pledges and terms paralleled the system in place prior to 1415. Fourteen men then entered the freedom, and fourteen different individuals served as their pledges. No pledge was a sitting sheriff, treasurer, or mayor.[99] It is unknown why these particular admissions differed so strikingly from entries recorded at other congregations held around that time. The 1430s were a contentious decade in Norwich, marked by contested mayoral elections, popular protests, and a loss of liberties to the crown.[100] Perhaps the differences in pledging reflected tumult in the city's guildhall. After the anomalous July 1438 congregation,

97 *RCN*, i, 107. For additional duties, see the sheriffs' oath of office, *RCN*, i, 125-6.

98 NRO, NCR, 8d/10. The sheriffs acted as pledges for 81 men during this time. Nine more entered the freedom, but as their fees were waived they did not require pledges.

99 NRO, NCR, 16d/1, fol. 9r.

100 McRee, "Peacemaking," 853-63.

sheriffs, mayors, and treasurers resumed their activities as pledges until 1441. From this point, however, the pledging system that accompanied admissions to Norwich's freedom vanishes from our sight and a long hiatus ensues in the assembly proceedings. When the entries resume in 1452 they contain little information about pledges. Indeed, only one man appears as a surety between 1452 and 1460: John Chittok, a draper and citizen of both Norwich and London who served as a sheriff in 1452 and mayor in both 1457 and 1466.[101] While Chittok may have been a keen supporter of nascent freemen, he may also have charged for his services as a pledger.[102] Beyond Chittok's unexplained participation, the assembly proceedings reveal next to nothing about personal pledging on behalf of Norwich's freemen after 1441.[103]

Although the practice of pledging for Norwich freemen was instituted by the early fourteenth century to ensure freemen's payment of entry fines, the pledges themselves became part of the semi-public ritual and ensuing public memory that surrounded most admissions. Barbara Hanawalt's observations about civic rituals and ceremonies in London – that they were used to create "power relationships" and impart "lessons in civility and expected civic behavior" – apply to Norwich, as well.[104] As Christian Liddy remarks about the oath of citizenship and its accompanying ceremony, "While it was sworn *to* those at the apex of town government, it was taken *before* an audience that made the new citizen aware of his membership of

101 Hawes, *Index*, 36 (Chittok); Dunn, "Trade," 230.

102 Chittok served as a pledge for at least 28 freemen. For an Exeter example of a professional pledger and broker, see Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, 209.

103 In 1464 the sherman John Berde came before the assembly and stated that he was unable to pay the 20s that he had pledged for the since-deceased William Passelewe (Padelewe) upon Passelewe's admission to the freedom. The Assembly agreed that Berde would pay a reduced fee of 10s. at a rate of 40d. each year for three years; NRO, NCR, 16d/1, fol. 59v. The assembly proceedings do not note that Padlewe had any pledges when he was initially admitted; NRO, NCR, 16d/1, fol. 46v.

104 Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 157.

a larger corporate body."[105] In Norwich the oath-taking occurred before the civic assembly, in a ritual that distinguished freemen from the wider body of residents. In the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, however, new citizens could and did have pledges who were not necessarily themselves Norwich freemen. Entering citizens enjoyed latitude in choosing their guarantors and, until 1378, in determining their payment terms. This system brought opportunities for new freemen and their sureties to "solidify friendships and to enlarge political influence," as Judith Bennett observes about pledging in Brigstock.[106] While prominent Norwich citizens often acted multiple times as pledges, a wide range of other men also performed this service at least once or twice during their lives. Arrangements became more proscriptive by 1420, and with few exceptions newcomers to the Norwich freedom no longer had the leeway of choice that their fourteenth-century counterparts had enjoyed. This reduction in the number and variety of freemen's pledges corresponded to a broader trend within the city. It paralleled a decrease in freemen's opportunities to participate in Norwich's common assembly, and it coincided with the extension of the power of the sheriffs. The ritual around entry to the freedom continued to be emphasized: promises were still made and memories still created through the ceremony of semi-public oath-taking, but the cast of characters who acted as pledges shrank after 1415 before eventually disappearing from the public record.

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105 Liddy, *Contesting the City*, 28.

106 Bennett, "Public Power," 25.

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Norwich Guildhall built between 1407 and 1413

"What is he whose grief bears such an emphasis?"

Hamlet's Development of a Mourning Persona

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Long viewed by scholars as destructive to his selfhood and detrimental to his swift execution of revenge, Hamlet's concern with the outward expression of his grief actually plays an integral part in his struggles to forge a mourning identity in the wake of his father's death. The Shakespearean prince's attempts to faithfully perform his interior bereavement, I contend, are challenged by his father's command to enact his mourning through outward revenge, which at first seems contrary to Hamlet's hope to discover a mourning persona consonant with his grief. By the conclusion of the drama, though, Hamlet embraces mourning as part of his selfhood, allowing it to become something he can both feel and enact. Indeed, his final words to Horatio suggest that Hamlet believes that grief can be expressed in an authentic way and that the work of mourning can unify the self.

In Hamlet's first lengthy statement to his mother, he claims that the external signs of his grief—his "inky cloak," "windy suspiration of forced breath," and "fruitful river in the eye"—cannot fully signify his interior feelings.[1] Instead, Hamlet asserts, "I have that within which passes show," and declares all his outward marks are "but the trappings and the suits of woe."[2] These words, according to many critics, attest to the start of modern subjectivity, or the individual awareness of an interior self. Stephen Greenblatt, for instance, writes that "*Hamlet* seems to mark an epochal shift not only in Shakespeare's own career but in Western drama; it is as if the play were giving birth to a whole new kind of literary subjectivity."[3] And while some scholars claim that early modern subjectivity is at best materially based and could not have existed during the sixteenth century, even Francis Barker, who suggests that Hamlet's subjectivity is

1 *Hamlet*, 1.2.77, 79-80. (A. R. Braunmuller's 2001 Penguin edition.)

2 *Hamlet*, 1.2.85-86.

3 See Greenblatt, "Hamlet," 1685.

emergent rather than "fully realized," concedes the Danish prince's words show that "an interior subjectivity begins to speak."[4]

Yet despite Hamlet's obvious if insufficient shows of grief, modern scholarship rarely links its consideration of Hamlet's engagement with human mortality to his interiority, instead often discussing his subjectivity (or lack thereof) in terms of his conscience, his moral sense, and his possible psychological maladies.[5] Some scholars, in fact, view the character's inwardness and single-minded focus on his response to his father's death as ultimately destructive of his selfhood. Newer assessments of Hamlet continue to support this interpretation. Greenblatt, for example, proposes that the prince's conscience produces "corrosive inwardness," while Bernhard Greiner even suggests that as an individual mourning the death of his father and contemplating his own demise, Hamlet cannot "maintain possession" of his subjectivity and has, in fact, lost himself.[6] I, however, argue that the play indicates that, bound by his duty to his father to place revenge before his own desires, Hamlet does not lose his selfhood but instead recognizes his inability to outwardly express a grief consonant with his feelings and the expectations of others.

It should be noted that, for Shakespeare and his contemporaries, mourning was often a public and cultural performance, read by others and judged on the basis of its show of sincerity or lack thereof.[7] Indeed, calls to revenge in early modern drama are often based on the idea that by directing mourning into masculine action, individu-

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4 Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body*, 34, 32.

5 There are a few notable exceptions. Arthur Kirsch, for instance, contends that "if vengeance composes the plot of the revenge play, grief composes its essential emotional content, its substance." Kirsch's reading, however, focuses on Freudian readings of grief and fails to take into account the Ghost's command that forces Hamlet to direct his feelings of sorrow into physical revenge. See Kirsch, "Hamlet's Grief," 17. In a more recent treatment of mourning in Hamlet, Tobias Döring suggests the prince's revenge functions as an ineffective and problematic type of remembrance that tries but ultimately fails to replace Catholic lamentation rituals following the English reformations. See Döring, *Performances of Mourning*.

6 See Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 208, and Greiner, "The Birth of the Subject," 4.

7 For a more detailed discussion of the outward signs of mourning, see Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 421-455.

als could both outwardly show their sorrow and purge themselves of grief.[8] Citing a wide range of Renaissance dramatic texts, including *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *The Spanish Tragedy*, Tanya Pollard, for example, argues that "the medical, or restorative notion of revenge draws on a homeopathic idea of fighting like with like," and notes that the central characters of these plays hope to heal their griefs through violence.[9] Yet while this channeling of male grief into violent action allowed for a socially acceptable expression of passion, many early modern writers also criticized revenge as detrimental to the selfhood and healing of the individual. Not only could violent masculine grief threaten an uncontained cycle of revenge, it also could, according to Francis Bacon, prolong the mourning period: "This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well."[10] In a recent study, Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. outlines other ways that revenge similarly threatened the individual. Contending that tragic subjectivity stems from an individual character's realization that his or her desires directly conflict with the social order, Sullivan identifies in the figure of the revenger a divided self, torn between the individual ego and the will of the reigning monarch.[11] Taking revenge, therefore, might not only heighten and extend the individual's sorrow for the deceased but also sever the person from his or her socially-constructed self.

Hamlet's role as revenger and its link to his experience of grief exemplifies one man's struggle to portray a sorrow consonant with

8 Contemporary proverbs employed by a number of playwrights suggest that by refusing to give voice to their griefs individuals suffered loss more acutely. See, for instance, the list, based on the proverb "grief pent up will break the heart," compiled by Dent, *Proverbial Language*, 389.

9 Pollard, "A Kind of Wild Medicine," 69. Jennifer C. Vaught also notes that Laertes combines weeping for Ophelia with violence, which she contends illustrates "coupling grief with violent action wards off the wide-spread anxiety in the Renaissance that tears shed by men are effeminizing." See Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion*, 123-124.

10 Bacon, "On Revenge," 16.

11 According to this definition, Hamlet is, of course, the quintessential tragic hero. See Sullivan "Tragic Subjectivities," 76.

his inner emotional experience. Throughout the play, the prince's subjectivity is bound up in questions of how to balance his affective commitment to his father with his own performance of mourning. This balancing act, however, is difficult because the Danish prince at first finds the masculine form of mourning his father demands to be incompatible with his interior experience of grief.[12] Resolving this issue by exploring different modes of expressing his grief, including excessive mourning, channeling his passions into violent revenge, and finally merging his passions and beliefs, Hamlet works to develop a mourning identity.[13] Indeed, by the end of the play, the Danish prince comes to realize that his father's call to revenge reflects his desire for an authentic expression of his selfhood—one that indicates his ability to convey his internal affective state through both action and public verbal expression.[14] Hamlet's struggle culminates in the graveyard scene, where, confronted with the death of Ophelia, he finally comprehends and accepts that the outward actions of mourning can be fitted to his personal case and can adequately express his interior sorrow. Far from being destructive, grief instead serves as

12 Throughout the play, taking revenge is coded as a distinctly masculine form of mourning, while the inward and personal experience of grief is often depicted as feminine. Claudius, for instance, characterizes Hamlet's initial reactions to his father's death as "unmanly grief." See Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1.3.94. Such gendered designations of grief also informed contemporary theologians, who often criticized female mourning as excessive and personal. For more on this topic, see Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England*.

13 My argument, that Hamlet wants to express his grief in a way that is "consonant with his emotions," is attested to by his initial statement to his mother and Claudius. By self-anatomizing his own mourning, Hamlet shows that he possesses all of the outward markers of extreme grief, but notes that "that within" is beyond his performance. According to Drew Daniel, "the nomination of 'that within' in a speech produced here for Gertrude's and Claudius' and our own audition marks not the assertion of a fact but the expression of a wish." As Daniel points out, this speech "betrays Hamlet's desire" for the enactment of a privately felt and understood melancholy. See Daniel, *The Melancholy Assemblage*, 122.

14 In considering what defines emotions as authentic, a recent interview with Barbara H. Rosenwein provides important context. While our contemporary society judges emotional authenticity as free from formal language and spontaneously expressed, understanding the emotions of another human being (in all cultures) requires shared cultural structures of meaning. Thus, Rosenwein notes, "Emotions are largely communicative tools, and if we are to understand one another, we are wise to express ourselves through well-worn paths that all of us are familiar with." Hamlet's attempts to express his inward and authentic emotions, I argue, rely not on spontaneously expressed feelings, but rather, he tries out and refashions different conventional approaches to grief to see which of these genres most fully communicate his interior state. See Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation," 1496.

the catalyst by which Hamlet unifies himself. Consequently, Hamlet resolves what other early modern dramatic characters could not—he is able to both be and seem the grieving son.[15]

Most scholars exploring grief in Renaissance England note that following the Protestant Reformations of the sixteenth century, a new style of mourning emerged that stressed moderate grief rather than the excessive outpouring of sorrow more common in the medieval era.[16] For example, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury during Elizabeth's reign, warned his parishioners to moderate their shows of grief following the death of loved ones:

> Wee are not therefore forbidden to mourne ouer the dead: but to mourne in such sorte as the heathen did, we are forbidden. They, as they did neither beléeue in God, nor in Christ, so had they no hope of ye life to come. When a father saw his sonne dead he thought he had beene dead for euer. He became heauie, changed his garment, delighted in no companie, forsooke his meate, famished him selfe, rent his bodie, cursed his fortune, cried out of his Gods . . . Thus they fel into dispaire, and spake blasphemies.[17]

For Jewel, immoderate mourning signified lack of faith in a divine plan and a failure to firmly trust in the eternal afterlife of believers. Theologians and philosophers often linked excessive mourning instead to either "barbaric" others or women. Mourners, and mourning men in particular, were expected by physicians and divines to conform to social norms and moderate their grief lest they become

15 Carl Schmitt contends that the play represents authentic tragedy because it relies upon a tragic reality (built either on commonly held myths or cultural understanding) shared by the audience. Building on this idea, I argue that Hamlet's emotions must not only allow him to perform his grief to his own satisfaction, but also elicit empathy from the audience because of collective knowledge of sorrow's affects. See Schmitt, *Hamlet oder Hekuba*.

16 Stephen Pender, for instance, argues that "the emergence of the idea of moderate grief reflects a shift in practices devoted to burial and bereavement and is underwritten by changes in theological and ecclesiastic attitudes that led to less attention being paid to predestination and purgatory." See Pender, "Rhetoric, Grief, and the Imagination," 54-85. It should be noted that while theologians during the early stages of the reformation were more rigorous in their condemnation of overwhelming grief, these would later "yield to increasingly more tolerant conceptions of moderation." See Pigman, *Grief and the English Renaissance Elegy*, 27-39, especially 28.

17 Jewel, *An Exposition*, 161.

like those deemed unable to control their passions: women, children, and racial others.[18]

Even so, when unexpected or violent death occurred, immoderate individual grief was often viewed as a normal, if temporary reaction, and sometimes exhibited itself in physically observable ways, including both mimetic illness and excessive violence. In fact, in early modern England experiencing the death of a close family member or friend could cause some individuals (both men and women) to respond with overwhelming grief that took the form of a sympathetic sickness.[19] In addition, excess grief in men, when combined with masculine action, was rendered socially acceptable in early modern society.[20] When, for instance, in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Macduff responds to the sudden murders of his family by telling Malcolm he "could play the woman with mine eyes," but instead chooses to channel his grief into violent revenge, Malcolm judges that "this tune goes manly" and advises his companion to let his mourning become "the whetstone of your sword, let grief / Convert to anger. Blunt not the heart, enrage it."[21] While under normal circumstances early modern people judged immoderate mourning to be effeminate and ill-advised, when passionate outpourings of sorrow seemed to confirm authentic inward emotions they elicited praise from contemporaries.[22] And, in a culture fascinated with the dichotomy between an interior and exterior self, over-the-top displays of the passions often seemed to more fully denote feelings than stoic reserve

18 Pender, "Rhetoric, Grief, and the Imagination," 54-55.

19 Weisser, *Ill Composed*, 81-82, 93.

20 For a more extensive discussion of male mourning being channeled into violent revenge, see McCarthy, "King Lear's Violent Grief," 151-168.

21 *Macbeth*, 4.3.233, 238, 231-232. (Stephen Orgel's 2000 Penguin edition.)

22 As Todd Butler points out in a recent article on victim impact statements, displays of grief (in our contemporary society and in the early modern period) are assessed both by the closeness of the grieving individual to the deceased and by the way that the performance of mourning is consonant with the feelings of the bereaved person and the understandings of those gathered to witness such enactment. See Butler, "Victim Impact Statements," 851-852.

did. These enactments of grief, therefore, while suspect, also could verify individual sorrow and even, according to some writers, allow individuals to lessen their grief.

Hamlet recognizes this performative aspect of mourning when he notes that the outward markers of sorrow and the various "forms, moods, shapes of grief" function as "actions that a man might play."[23] For Hamlet such enactments of grief are inadequate, as the "customary suits of solemn black" and physical manifestations like tears and a depressed posture fail to "denote me truly."[24] Few other characters in the play, however, express a similar scepticism about the ability of knowing others through outward signs. Polonius, for instance, advises his son Laertes that "the apparel oft proclaims the man."[25] Laertes, likewise, when warning his sister of the danger Hamlet presents to her female virtue, suggests that even though constrained by his social position, Hamlet's "temple," or physical body, functions as the ambassador of his inward self, expressing outwardly his inner desires.[26] And Claudius, for all his criticism of Hamlet's grieving demeanour, accepts the prince's sorrow as part of his "filial obligation" and a trustworthy representation of his interior sorrow.[27] Even Gertrude, who suggests that by altering his outward manifestations of grief Hamlet might move beyond a state of mourning, observes the particularity of her son's sorrow with a genuine belief in his pain and conveys a desire to help him moderate his passions.

While Hamlet's sorrowful demeanour and outward expressions of grief, therefore, seem very real, if immoderate, to his family, for him they seem singularly inadequate. In particular Hamlet questions his inability to adequately express his deep sorrow at his father's death, despite his effort to perform his passions through "outward

23 *Hamlet*, 1.2.82, 84.

24 *Hamlet*, 1.2.78-83.

25 *Hamlet*, 1.3.71.

26 *Hamlet*, 1.3.1-14.

27 *Hamlet*, 1.2.91.

show." His demonstration of mourning, at this early point in the play, suggests an attempt to project a self most in line with his grief. For Hamlet, the death of his father ushers in a nihilistic viewpoint: "How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable / Seem to me all the uses of this world!"[28] Unable to move beyond his grief, Hamlet allows his sorrow to tinge everything he sees with emptiness. Although castigated by his uncle for his excessive grief, Hamlet suggests that such public displays of anguish mark him as a reasonable human being in tune with his passions. For Hamlet, sincere mourning—a mourning that upholds both traditional practices and speaks to inner sorrow—denotes rational humanity.

Yet as Michael Schoenfeldt notes, for early modern individuals "the pain of grief is an intrinsically private experience," which is evidenced by Hamlet's perspective taking over the play and by his inability to publicly articulate his grief, save to the theatre audience.[29] Therefore, despite his disgust over his mother's incestuous relationship with her former brother-in-law, Hamlet cannot openly speak about his pain over Gertrude's betrayal. Instead, he can only lament: "But break my heart, for I must hold my tongue," suggesting not only that his grief is inherently interior and impossible to speak of fully, but also that openly condemning his mother's remarriage is politically dangerous. This inability to publicly articulate his grief causes him greater sorrow and a forced inwardness and isolation from those individuals he cares about, including his mother and Ophelia.[30] In the politically corrupt world of Denmark, outer shows of excessive grief offer the prince his only avenue for expression, forcing him to initially stage his mourning identity through outward signs rather than openly articulating his inner condition.

28 *Hamlet*, 1.2.133-134.

29 Schoenfeldt, "Shakespearean Pain," 195.

30 *Hamlet*, 1.2.159. As Schoenfeldt notes, a number of early modern writers, including Montaigne and George Puttenham, suggest that speaking about pain and grief could relieve individual suffering because articulating sorrow is by nature communal and reciprocal. See Schoenfeldt, "Shakespearean Pain," 197-199.

The visitation of his father's ghost, however, makes Hamlet channel his grief into revenge, a position that threatens to inhibit Hamlet's mourning by further limiting the way he can express his identity as a mourner. By asking Hamlet to revenge his death, the Ghost relies on Hamlet's love and sense of duty, urging him to action on the basis of his feelings: "If thou didst ever thy dear father love. . . Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder."[31] Hamlet responds in kind, promising that because of his love he will channel his grief into a violent revenge:

> Haste me to know't, that I, with wings as swift
> As meditation or the thoughts of love,
> May sweep to my revenge.[32]

Here, the "wings" Hamlet invokes suggest the iconography of death as a winged angel, linking violence to prayers and love, suggesting that revenge is both divinely sanctioned and the most apt form of grief. And, according to Stephan Laqué, "the ghost's appearance seems to serve as a kind of catalyst which causes Hamlet to learn to remember and to learn to mourn."[33] Yet the Ghost's call to revenge is more than just a call to mourn, which Hamlet has been performing in sight of the entire court. Rather, the Ghost's injunction to Hamlet presents the prince a corrective in the precise masculine type of mourning he should be enacting on behalf of his murdered father. His father offers Hamlet only one role as mourner, that of the revenger, who must through violent action remember and honour the dead. Michael Neill correctly notes that Hamlet's task as revenger is "construed as the only kind of reckoning that can perfect this broken narrative."[34]

In choosing to undertake his father's plan, however, Hamlet is constrained to keep his true emotions concealed, lest he alert Claudius

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31 *Hamlet*, 1.5.23, 25.

32 *Hamlet*, 1.5.29-31.

33 Laqué, "Not Passion's Slave," 270.

34 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 218.

to the plot and fail to fulfill his father's will. Although the action of revenge seems to provide the prince with an opportunity for an outward display of grief, it does not resolve his concern with authenticity. Hamlet is compelled by the love he holds for his father to perform a mourning persona that conforms to the Ghost's terms of masculine action, which requires violent deeds, not just the passive feminine signs Hamlet outlined to his mother and Claudius as markers of his woe. Nor can his grief be expressed openly through words. "His encounter with the Ghost," according to Neill, "while it redoubles the burden of memory, also reinforces the necessity of silence."[35] Hamlet needs to prove the extent of his grief not with rituals or speech, but through bloody acts. Fulfilling the Ghost's commandment, however, proves difficult for Hamlet for such an identity requires him to reshape his mourning in an unfamiliar way, which will require a reassessment of his approach to performing his grief.

However consonant it is with Hamlet's pain, the Ghost's demand for revenge narrows Hamlet's grief into a socially understandable framework in which his agency is bound to another. Viewed from this perspective, in pursuing revenge Hamlet becomes a sort of martyr to his father's cause, substituting his father's brand of mourning for his own attempts to express his grief and all other passions and relations that have in the past defined his selfhood. In his response to the Ghost's call to revenge, Hamlet promises to "wipe away" from his memory "all trivial fond records, / . . . all pressures past / That youth and observation copied there" and become an empty vessel for his father's demands.[36] Thus, Hamlet believes that in order to carry out the Ghost's request he must relinquish his own desires and allow himself to feel only vengeful emotions.

Following the ghostly visit of his father, Hamlet must purge himself of his previous emotional attachments and personal interests in order to direct his sorrow into violence. Forced to replace his passions, including perhaps his yearning for Ophelia and his desire

35 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 225.

36 *Hamlet*, 1.5.99-101.

for the Danish throne, with the singular longing for revenge, fails to resolve Hamlet's issues of performing a grief consonant with his interior emotions; instead, his father's command to revenge necessarily short-circuits his ability to enact a meaningful mourning persona. Indeed, Hamlet's oath to uphold his father's will and subjugate his own desires becomes a desperate attempt to funnel all of his emotions into one brutal act that will prove to himself that he loves and remembers his father. To successfully make his deep loss mean something, Hamlet needs to control and shift his passions from ritualistic expressions of mourning to violent deeds, and such a change requires time. Throughout Act 2, Hamlet manages to hide his desire for revenge from the court so that he can work on channelling his grief into appropriately masculine anger. By playing up the impact of his grief and exacerbating its imprint on his psyche, Hamlet is able to confuse his step-father, mother, Polonius, and Ophelia, all of whom struggle to define and understand the causes of his seemingly mad behaviour. By feigning madness, Hamlet hopes that his family and the court will forget that he mourns or believe that his mourning has caused him to lose his sanity. For Hamlet, his willingness to play the dejected lover and the madman position him to take his revenge.

In a particularly enlightening article on Michel de Montaigne's influence on the performance of identity in early modern drama, Joan Lord Hall notes that "the question of how far a man can avenge murder without being corrupted by adopting the role of revenger is central to *Hamlet*."[37] And while Hall's assessment of the prince's performativity is correct, the question of Hamlet's developing habit of presenting himself as mad remains perhaps more central to an assessment of the role of grief in his concept of self. Hamlet's outward shows of melancholy and insanity, while interpreted as truth by other characters, are dismantled through his soliloquies, which reveal a man haunted by his inability to portray a grief consonant with his emotions. Indeed, in soliloquy Hamlet expresses his passions, his

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37 Hall, "'To Play the Man,'" 177.

grief, and his fears to the audience. Alone on the stage, Hamlet's soliloquies attest to his conflicted relationship with playing the role of revenger. And through these soliloquies, the audience receives constant reminders of Hamlet's attempts to unify himself through his commitment to mourning his father by avenging his death.

Responding to the player's representation of Hecuba's lament for her lost husband, Priam, one of Hamlet's first major soliloquies attests to the prince's failure to apply his inward sorrow towards the creation of a more authentic mourning performance. By asking for this particular speech, which the player notes "Would have made milch the burning eyes of heaven / And passion in the gods," Hamlet allows himself to vicariously experience a fuller expression of grief.[38] The player, despite the theatrical and obviously feigned nature of his monologue, lets fall the tears Hamlet has denied himself. So impacted is Hamlet by this sight of grief, that he envies the player who,

> Could force his soul so to his own conceit
> That from her working all his visage wanned
> Tears in his eyes, distraction in his aspect,
> A broken voice, and his whole function suiting
> With forms to his conceit . . . [39]

Hecuba's lament, which Hamlet views as a release of real emotions through artistic conceits, shows the prince how the outward performance of mourning can actually "force [the] soul" to feel true passions. In fact, more than soliloquies, such social enactments of grief could work to bring emotions to the surface and further develop a self in line with individual feelings.[40] The speech reminds Hamlet of his earlier enactment of excessive grief, interpreted as feminine by Claudius, and which he now struggles to hide through

38 *Hamlet*, 2.2.457-458.

39 *Hamlet*, 2.2.491-495.

40 According to Ramie Targoff, during the early modern period many individuals believed that "external practices might not only reflect but also potentially transform the internal self." See Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 3.

his "antic disposition." His engagement with the player's speech is more than just Hamlet's realization that representations of mourning are "things a man might play," rather it is a trigger causing him to bewail his inability to express his passions. The player, who cannot truly feel sorrow, yet can display all the outward signs of grief in a meaningful way to the audience, shows Hamlet the possibility of using performance to generate real grief. For Hamlet, the player's speech mirrors his own desire to mourn his father through outward signs of sorrow. Due to his father's ghostly decree, however, Hamlet must remain "Like a John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause, / And can say nothing."[41] Indeed, although "prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell" Hamlet struggles to enact the type of grief his father demands of him.[42] His delay in carrying out this violent form of masculine mourning, of being able to channel his grief into proper revenge, seems based upon his inability to access the necessary passions in a manner that is simultaneously socially acceptable and authentic to himself. Yet, as the player's speech reveals, part of this process involves acting out grief, which may serve as a catalyst by which Hamlet can harness his emotions towards that end.

While in soliloquy Hamlet expresses his grief and laments his inability to swiftly carry out his father's command he struggles to perform his mourning publicly because avenues for its expression are not consonant with his interior sorrow. The soliloquy in particular, because of its private nature, inadequately addresses Hamlet's needs. The prince requires not just the lone expression of his interiority, but rather a relational communication that allows for a social verification of his grief. Indeed, perhaps the clearest manifestation of early modern subjectivity is not the soliloquy, but instead social enact-

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41   *Hamlet*, 2.2.507-508. Scholars often read the phrase "unpregnant of my cause" as representative of Hamlet's inability to act on his father's command and take revenge. Yet instead of discussing action, Hamlet here brings up speech acts, suggesting that without the ability to verbally express his grief to others he is unmoored from the very feelings that prompt him to enact vengeance.

42   *Hamlet*, 2.2.523.

ments of the self.[43] Restricted by the Ghost's directive to transmute his grief to revenge, Hamlet initially resists. He wants to mourn in a way that he controls and his father's attempts to orchestrate Hamlet's emotional response, while couched in terms of love, sever the prince from performing a grief consistent with his emotional state and his understanding of his selfhood.[44]

To get around his inability to sincerely enact his grief, Hamlet turns to the theater, staging before the court a representation of his mourning that vicariously voices his suffering. *The Murder of Gonzago* works to not only convince the prince at last of Claudius' guilt, it also functions as a way for Hamlet to publicly express his ideas about grief and death, while at the same time doing so from a distance in order to test his resolve to avenge his father's death. In particular, the Player King's words reflect on Hamlet's need to embrace his masculine mourning persona in order to carry out revenge. For Hamlet, the *Murder of Gonzago* is more than simply a mouse-trap; instead it serves as a way for the prince to work through his grief and resolve many of the issues first raised in Hamlet's Hecuba soliloquy.

The Player King, although representative of the deceased monarch, King Hamlet, also acts for Prince Hamlet, expressing his conflicted position in regards to mourning and hope for a harmonious end to both the plot in which he is embroiled and his own life. As the Player King questions his queen's promise to never marry again if he should die, his words seem to echo Hamlet's earlier ruminations:

43 John Jefferies Martin promotes this idea in his study of early modern individualism, contending that "the Renaissance self, while protean, was almost always understood as the enigmatic relation of the interior life to life in society." See Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 16.

44 As Stanley Cavell notes, "the father's dictation of the way he wishes to be remembered—by having his revenge taken for him—exactly deprives the son, with his powers of mourning, of the right to mourn him, to let him pass." See Cavell, *Disowning Knowledge*, 188.

> But what we do determine oft we break.
> Purpose is but the slave to memory,
> Of violent birth, but poor validity,
> Which now, the fruit unripe, sticks on the tree.
> . . . .
> What to ourselves in passion we propose,
> The passion ending, doth the purpose lose.[45]

Here the Player King laments the distance between the Player Queen's earlier emotional experience and her current loss of passion, which he fears will cause her to break her promises. More than simply suggestive of Hamlet's own delay, such sentiments explain how Hamlet's ability to mourn in the masculine way proposed by his father hinges on the prince's capacity to harness his passions for a specific purpose. Similarly then to his response to the Hecuba speech, Hamlet recognizes that without the enactment of his grief to bring his passions to the forefront he remains unable to employ his emotions towards revenge. In short, Hamlet has not yet learned to combine public verbal expressions of sorrow with masculine action. Furthermore, by suppressing the outward performance of his grief, Hamlet has blunted the passions required for such action.

Near the ending of the Player King's speech, however, the theme turns to mortal ends, proposing for both Hamlet an end that matters. While acknowledging that his queen's promises and passions will probably end with his demise, the Player King still notes the possibility of individual meaning in the face of others' mutability:

> But, orderly to end where I begun,
> Our wills and fates do so contrary run
> That our devices still are overthrown;
> Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.[46]

These lines testify to Hamlet's overarching problem of how to enact his grief. The Player King's words epitomize the dichotomy between Hamlet's will (his desire to make his mourning consonant

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45 *Hamlet*, 3.2.183-187, 190-191.

46 *Hamlet*, 3.2.206-209.

with his inner passions) and his fate (his need to fulfill the Ghost's command). Yet even within these constraints, the prince holds out hope that while his narrative ending may not be of his choosing, his thoughts will remain his own, which suggests possibilities for the development of a positive and meaningful mourning persona—one that combines social communication with masculine action.

Despite his staging of his interior thoughts through *The Murder of Gonzago*, Hamlet still struggles to come to terms with the mourning identity imposed by his father. Although he believes Claudius' guilt verified by his reaction to the play, Hamlet at first fails to avail himself of the opportunity for revenge when he sees his uncle at prayer. In the closet scene, however, Hamlet finally takes masculine action, and thinking that his uncle hides behind the arras, stabs Polonius instead. Thwarted in his intention, despite his enactment at last of masculine grief worthy of his father's memory, Hamlet subsequently wavers in his decision to transmute his sorrow into revenge. Visited by the Ghost, Hamlet admits to his tardiness in performing his father's directive and links again his failure to a lapse "in time and passion."[47] In return, the Ghost exhorts him that "This visitation / Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose," thereby reminding him of his duty to honor his promise to his father and his need to use the passion, linked by Hamlet via the Player King to purpose, to shed the blood of Claudius. Yet Hamlet's response to the Ghost's directive is compromised by Gertrude's reaction to the wildness of her son's gaze, threatening Hamlet with disclosure of his excessive grief. He begs his mother:

> Do not look upon me,
> Lest with this piteous action you convert
> My stern effects. Then what I have to do
> Will want true color—tears perchance for blood.[48]

Hamlet fears to express his grief in the excessive style that characterized his demeanor before the Ghost's call to revenge. Differentiating

47 *Hamlet*, 3.4.107.

48 *Hamlet*, 3.2.127-130.

between the two competing forms of mourning, Hamlet realizes that by stabbing Polonius he has embraced the masculinity identity of a revenger (albeit the death of the old advisor is the intent of neither Hamlet nor the Ghost). Thus, Hamlet struggles to negotiate the strictures placed upon the expression of his grief, still hoping to find a way to perform a mourning that seems authentic to his passions.

Hamlet's reaction to Polonius' death reveals his continuing doubts about revenge as the proper form of mourning. He regrets the murder, viewing it as God's punishment:

> For this same lord,
> I do repent; but heaven hath pleased it so,
> To punish me with this, and this with me,
> That I must be their scourge and minister.[49]

The prince's words here suggest that his violent action stems not from his own will or passion, but rather from a divine force that controls his destiny. By accepting his role as "scourge," Hamlet becomes, according to sixteenth century definitions, both "an instrument of divine chastisement," and a destroyer of lives.[50] Yet at this point his role in the narrative of revenge still remains reactive, based as it is on the will of the father or heavenly forces. Deprived of the expression of his passions, Hamlet now seems stripped of the impetus required to carry out his father's command. Instead, the only type of agency accessible to him at this point, due to the absence of any other route of expression consonant with his interior grief, seems to be an in-depth contemplation of mortality. Therefore, rather than moving swiftly to kill Claudius, Hamlet spends considerable time focusing on humanity's powerlessness over death. These musings, like his own inability to reject the role of mourning revenger, suggest to him the meaninglessness of grief amidst the horrific commonness of death and its annihilation of human differences.

49 *Hamlet*, 3.4.172-175.

50 See "scourge, n." *OED*.

Following Polonius' death, Hamlet obsesses in particular over the process of bodily decay, and by doing so, forces himself to confront what Gertrude and Claudius had previously noted: the universality of death. Such contemplation, however, moves Hamlet towards accommodating the ubiquity of mortality within his need to personalize his grief.

Robert Watson notes that the fear of death "lies in its indifference, which steals away the differences by which and for which we live."[51] For Hamlet, this indifference is summed up by his observation to Claudius that "Your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service – two dishes, but to one table."[52] Indeed, as both Watson and Neill point out in their studies of early modern understandings of death, one of the most fearful aspects of human mortality for a society fixated on the differences of status was the ability of death "to abolish all the boundaries of humane definitions and significance."[53] Fear of death as "The Great Leveler" permeates Renaissance literature, and a wide range of individuals commented that death assaulted identities rooted in outward markers of difference.[54] For Hamlet the power of death to erase identity exerts a powerful and sobering reality. As John Hunt points out, the body, Hamlet realizes, is merely "a shadow through which nonbeing beckons . . . a composition of parts that will inevitably fall apart and decompose."[55]

Hamlet's attention to death's levelling attributes continues in the graveyard scene, which critics often argue is the most significant scene of the entire play because it moves Hamlet towards his final revenge. The space of the cemetery, as Neill reminds us, is a paradoxical location signifying not just memory, as shown through

51 Watson, *The Rest is Silence*, 98.

52 *Hamlet*, 4.3.22-24.

53 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 12.

54 See, for instance, the early modern theologian William Harrison's observation that human bodies "will become a thing of naught: the beautie of them will fade, they shall be deformed, and most ougly to behold." Harrison, *Deaths Advantage*, 26-27.

55 Hunt, "A Thing of Nothing," 34.

monuments to the dead, but also oblivion, represented by the confusion of skulls and decaying human remains.[56] The gravedigger epitomizes the latter idea through his song:

> But age with his stealing steps
> Hath clawed me in his clutch
> And hath shipped me into the land,
> As if I had never been such.[57]

Throughout the scene, the gravedigger constantly refers to the levelling aspects of the graveyard, responding to Hamlet's morbid curiosity with tales of decay. Yet although Hamlet seems adept at grasping the graveyard's denizens' loss of distinction, he constantly reimagines the dead as living beings, as if fighting the annihilation of death. In the space of the graveyard, rather than focusing on death's universality, Hamlet ponders the individual lives of the deceased and comes to view personalized grief as worthwhile.

Hamlet's confrontation with the bodies and skulls suggests that, rather than simply signifying the dissolution of humanity, his grief allows him to give the bodies meaning. Neill reads Hamlet's interactions with the gravedigger and skulls as pointing "to an end beyond even the skull's sign of apparent finality—the absolute anonymity and severance from meaning" shown through his final ruminations on the fate of Alexander's postmortem fate.[58] However, Hamlet's actions and words following this encounter actually show that he refuses to accept meaningless death and the lack of justification for mourning that comes with it. Instead of noting the skulls as only signs of abjection, Hamlet imagines the men who once breathed and moved, questioning, "Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer?" and inventing a past for the skull: "This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his

56 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 234.

57 *Hamlet*, 5.1.67-70.

58 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 235.

double vouchers, his recoveries."[59] Although his historical recovery of the dead man cannot recreate a full person, Hamlet here hints at the details of a life, envisioning social relationships that insert the deceased into the world of the living. The prince individualizes the dead man, providing the unknown skull with a plausible past identity, thereby giving meaning and humanity to what has become merely an object. In addition, Hamlet's reflections on death extend to a man he once knew, his father's jester, Yorick. And while the prince is obviously disturbed by the sight of a skull that he once kissed, his thoughts turn to memories of the man that border on the passionate mourning he once tried to display for his own father. Following this train of thought Laqué contends that "the mortal remains are refuse only to the gravedigger, while to Hamlet they are significant objects of contemplation."[60]

Rather than viewing the burial grounds as a reminder of human indistinction, the graveyard becomes a place where Hamlet can battle his fears of individual annihilation through imagination and memory, and at last reclaim his mourning identity by incorporating outward shows of excessive grief and violent revenge. While in the first three acts, Hamlet has tried to constrain the expression of his grief and channel his emotions into the masculine mourning decreed by the ghost of his father, his unperformed interior passions ultimately resurface as a more authentic performance of grief. Struck by the meaninglessness of life and death posited by the gravedigger, he chooses instead to embrace what he believes will provide significance to the dead: a mourning that will "suit the action to the word, the word to the action."[61] The graveyard shows Hamlet the need not just for action, but for a personal and personalized action, fitted to his particular case and subordinated to his own sense of self rather than the expectations of others. Hamlet, therefore, redefines himself and gives voice to his passions, allowing himself to embrace his

59 *Hamlet*, 5.1.92-93, 97-99.

60 Laqué, "'Not Passion's Slave,'" 277.

61 *Hamlet*, 3.2.17-18.

identity as a mourner who can express himself through both displays of ritualized mourning and through violence.

By contemplating death's ability to strip human beings of individuality, as signified by the skull of Yorick and the opened tombs, Hamlet moves to reassert his identity as prince and lover. Upon learning that the burial ritual taking place in the churchyard is that of Ophelia, the prince reacts with a grief that combines words and action. In her analysis of *Hamlet*, Margreta de Grazia, who interprets the play as preoccupied with matters of inheritance and takes to task the critics who obsess over the causes of Hamlet's delay, notes the difficulty for critics in assessing Hamlet's violent reaction to Ophelia's death and his passionate leap into her grave, asking: "How can such abandon be consistent with the self-possession of his meditation? . . . How is his outrageous lack of control to be reconciled with his new-found composure?"[62] However, Hamlet's change here is not a shift from composed acceptance of his upcoming death, but instead a realization of how, through both active masculine grief and ritualistic displays of anguish, he can perform his mourning identity. Indeed, Hamlet's passionate enactment of mourning is the result of his struggles to make his outward expressions of sorrow consonant with his interior passions. His response to Ophelia's death, therefore, is a turning point for the prince, allowing him for the first time to connect his inward emotions to the outward presentation of his grief.

Hamlet's first statement to the crowd gathered around Ophelia's newly dug grave is both a claim of selfhood and a definition of that identity as a mourner. Posing rhetorical questions, Hamlet obliges the gathered crowd to gaze upon him and verify his subjectivity:

> What is he whose grief
> Bears such an emphasis? Whose phrase of sorrow
> Conjures the wand'ring stars, and makes them stand
> Like wonder-wounded hearers? This is I,
> Hamlet the Dane.[63]

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62 de Grazia, *Hamlet Without Hamlet*, 152. While de Grazia's intervention against the tradition of reading Hamlet through a psychological lens merits further study, her privileging of action over character seems to close off interpretations of the protagonist's reaction to losses that encompass not only the material, but also the social and relational.

63 *Hamlet*, 5.1.243-248.

Instead of hiding behind his "antic disposition," Hamlet allows himself to express the passions he has kept under wraps since the visitation of the Ghost. He claims that his expression of mourning exhibits strength and passion, moving beyond the earlier suspect shows of grief over the death of his father to a marvellous moment of subjectivity that makes the audience take notice. By publicly— rather than through soliloquy—performing an act of grief that denotes more fully the interior man, Hamlet here comes closest to a genuine portrayal of his mourning identity. Laqué notes that in this scene Hamlet reveals "his new-won capacity to accept the passions," but this is not completely correct.[64] The prince, when alone on stage, has deftly expressed his desires, lamented the loss of his father, and raged against his inability to properly harness his passions. This moment, rather than showing just an acceptance of feelings of grief, instead becomes an outward manifestation of "that within that passes show."

In the churchyard, surrounded by the bodies of the dead and stirred by his newly discovered grief for his former beloved, Hamlet finally performs the mourning identity that defined his earliest attempts to give meaning to his father's demise. Just as importantly, he also identifies within himself the righteous masculine anger his father's ghost insisted he needed to become the avenging son. Hamlet tells Laertes that "though I am not splenitive and rash, / Yet have I in me something dangerous," asserting the mourning identity of violence, but simultaneously noting his ability to base this violence on reason rather than impulsiveness.[65] He claims to love the deceased Ophelia more than "forty thousand brothers,"[66] and lists the actions—both those active and masculine and those deemed suspect by early modern thinkers as immoderate and ill advised—that he might perform for the deceased. These performances of mourning, Hamlet declares, show that his grief is more than that of Laertes, and can be exhibited

64 Laqué, "'Not Passion's Slave,'" 279.

65 *Hamlet*, 5.1.251-252.

66 *Hamlet*, 5.1.259.

through both feminized forms of lamentation like tears and fasting and manly customs such as leaping into the open grave and fighting. His grief is his own.

Although the graveyard scene provides Hamlet with the ability to fully express his mourning identity and allows him to prepare for the moment of revenge, the prince lets the timing of his bloody action remain undetermined and accedes that decision to providence. Scholars remain notably divided by Hamlet's assertion of providence's place in his life. Neill argues that by alluding to providence, Hamlet "abandons all attempts to script [the ending] for himself" as if placing himself as a passive actor in someone else's plot.[67] Yet, by using the term "readiness," Hamlet attests to his agency. As James L. Calderwood points out, readiness implies more than simply "a condition of preparedness"; readiness connotes an achievement, a mastery of the self that allows Hamlet to express mourning in its fullest.[68] And this readiness means that Hamlet, rather than fearing the timing of his death, accepts its possibility and feels prepared to meet that end.

Called upon to participate in a fencing match against Laertes, Hamlet assures Horatio that no matter the outcome, he is at peace with his role and ready to assume his violent masculine identity when needed:

> There is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come. The readiness is all. Since no man of aught he leaves knows, what is't to leave betimes? Let be.[69]

Here Hamlet figures out how to manage the problem of fate. He declares that despite his lack of control of the timing of his revenge, he can still maintain a self by deciding to perform his vengeance. With his mourning identity finally fully recognized and expressed,

67 Neill, *Issues of Death*, 238.

68 Calderwood, *Shakespeare and the Denial of Death*, 77-78.

69 *Hamlet*, 5.2.197-202.

Hamlet therefore attests to a readiness to attend to the violent action of manly grief. If he dies in the endeavour, so be it; the prince is fit both to inflict death and to die because he believes that despite the "undiscovered country" he may enter, the present business of revenge will provide his life and death with meaning as he will at last prove his love for and grief over his father. The significance beyond the mortal life is the concern of providence.

Arthur Kirsch, linking Hamlet's statement of providential grace to his mourning, surmises that this declaration means "that the great anguish and struggle of his grief is over, and that he has completed the work of mourning."[70] Yet this interpretation fails to account for Hamlet's complaint to Horatio just moments earlier: "how ill all's here about my heart."[71] Instead of an end to his suffering, Hamlet embraces his mourning as part of his continuing identity; his grief becomes something he can claim, outwardly give voice to, and enact. The role of the revenger, therefore, no longer feels as if it has been externally imposed; rather, Hamlet accepts this task as consonant with his passions. Unlike Hieronimo, who removes his tongue to end the expression of his mourning over his son's murder and thereby provides narrative closure to his enactment of revenge, Hamlet chooses to fully incorporate his sorrow into his life and remain ready for the final moment when he can express his sufferings through both word and action. Hamlet's final moments on the stage show that he has linked his earlier expressions of grief with his father's call to violent action. When the time is ripe, the prince strikes with words and a sword thrust, declaring before the gathered court:

> Here, thou incestuous, murd'rous, damnèd Dane,
> Drink off this potion. Is thy union here?
> Follow my mother.[72]

Combining his grief finally with the proper action, Hamlet is vindicated, but his grief continues to work itself out through his own dying fall.

70 Kirsch, "Hamlet's Grief," 32.

71 *Hamlet*, 5.2.190-191.

72 *Hamlet*, 5.2.308-310.

Hamlet's death provides a conflicting resolution to his problem of constructing the proper mourning persona. As we have seen through the play, Hamlet struggles to incorporate the grief of the avenger into his concept of himself as the mourning son. Because such a role is imposed on him by others and as his expressions of grief are truncated by the need to restrain his public mourning, Hamlet turns inward, relating his passionate sorrow only in soliloquy. After his graveyard confrontation with the body of the dead Ophelia, though, Hamlet realizes that a performance of mourning that publicly incorporates both words and deeds can most fully give voice to his grief. As Robert Watson rightly notes, "by the time Hamlet completes his revenge, he seems no longer to be working at the behest of the ghost, but on behalf of a compulsion to achieve shape and purpose in his own foreshortened lifespan."[73] Having obtained the revenge demanded by his father, Hamlet seems to resort to the same anxieties stressed by the Ghost in the first act. He begs Horatio over and over again to remember him, and laments his lack of time:

> O God Horatio, what a wounded name,
> Things standing thus unknown, shall I leave behind me!
> If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
> Absent thee from felicity awhile,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
> To tell my story.[74]

Hamlet here sounds concerned with earthly matters—his reputation, his inability to express the grief that led to these tragic events, and his need to be remembered. Yet in this call for remembrance, Hamlet offers Horatio a chance to profit from the lessons he has learned about grief. By insisting that his friend "absent thee from felicity" and "draw thy breath in pain," the prince encourages Horatio to feel his grief and give voice to his suffering. Having discovered the way to unify his mourning identity, Hamlet encourages Horatio to believe that grief can be expressed through both actions and public verbal expression, both of which he had struggled to perform. Therefore,

73 Watson, *The Rest is Silence*, 96.

74 *Hamlet*, 5.2.327-332.

while Hamlet's final words—"the rest is silence"—attest to the end of his mortal existence, the work of mourning and the ability of those left behind to incorporate grief into their understandings of themselves, remain of paramount importance.[75]

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75 *Hamlet*, 5.2.341.

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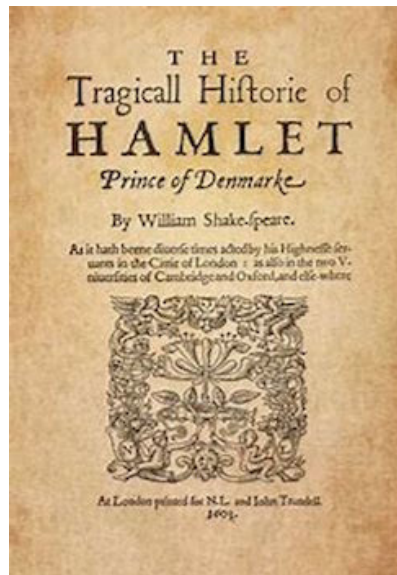
The Jacobean Peace

The Irenic Policy of James VI and I and its Legacy

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King James VI and I furnishes the example of an early modern monarch who pursued a policy of peace that worked to his disadvantage. This irenic policy arose more from circumstances than conviction. As king of Scotland, he had learned to distrust the violent and warlike members of the Scots nobility, and diplomacy and conciliation were the only instruments he had to deal with these ruffians. Despite aspersions upon his manhood, he led attempts to suppress their rebellion, and when he succeeded as king of England, he possessed more military experience than any English monarch since Henry VII. Those of his subjects who attributed his irenicism to cowardice or effeminacy drew upon a literary tradition that stretched back to classical antiquity. There were proponents of a more peaceful foreign and military policy in England, but the war party conducted the more effective propaganda campaign, which had many supporters among the Puritans in Church and Parliament. For all his great learning, James was ignorant of the politics of mainland Europe, and he undervalued the Dutch Republic as an ally of England against the very real danger of Spain. His reliance on diplomacy anticipated the means of resolving disputes in the future, but ignored the extent to which England's enemies, the Hapsburg rulers of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, used diplomacy for dissimulation. James's attempt to play the role of rex pacificus *won him few supporters as did his failure to employ the martial talents of the nobility to defend the cause of European Protestantism. Moreover, his failure to maintain and improve the military resources of royal government and to reward the martial endeavors of the aristocracies of the Three Kingdoms left his son Charles I ill-prepared to deal with the rebellion of Parliament in the next reign.*

"What hath effeminated our English, but a long disuse of arms."

(Giovanni Botero, *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdomes*, 28.)

"The principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms, in base effeminate people, are failing."

(Sir Francis Bacon,"Of the Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," 445-6.)

The return of peace between England and Spain in 1604 may have been welcomed by tax-payers and overseas merchants, but there was a very vocal minority who belonged to the so-called 'Puritan' party (the successors of the Elizabethan war party) who opposed peace because they thought that it betrayed England's Protestant allies in mainland Europe and was more harmful to the commonwealth than war. Like Sir Francis Bacon, they believed that the "principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men." Divines and military writers insisted that England had become effeminate through the long disuse of arms. James VI and I disliked war and martial men and preferred peace because he believed that his kingdoms lacked the financial resources for war, although the states of mainland Europe continued to regard the British Isles as an important source of military manpower. James feared the political and military power of the nobility, and he diluted the peerages of the Three Kingdoms with non-military persons. However, he could not prevent the remilitarization of these aristocracies from within their ranks.[1] Peace brought official disengagement from the Anglo-Spanish War and the Eighty Years War, and critics of James's policy of peace charged that he undervalued the valor of the nobility. After the Imperialist forces ejected his daughter Elizabeth and his son-in-law the Elector Palatine from the Kingdom of Bohemia, they also accused James of besmirching his dynasty's honor and aiding the papalists because of his failure to go to their aid and that of other Protestants of mainland Europe in a timely fashion. James was also criticized for failing to act the part of a soldier-king and to set a good example for his subjects. He was accused of cowardice and effeminacy by a few scurrilous writers, but more reputable writers also obliquely criticized his policy of peace in verse and drama. At the same time, it should be remembered that many of these criticisms were published after James's death. Denied the patronage and recognition of the king, those writers who celebrated martial values looked elsewhere and found encouragement at the court of Henry, prince of Wales as

1 These topics are discussed in Manning, *Swordsmen* and *An Apprenticeship in Arms*.

well as the court of his daughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia, living in exile in the Netherlands. The military men among the British aristocracies turned their backs on James's court and continued to serve in the armies of the Protestant powers–especially those of the Dutch Republic and Sweden–and to volunteer for the relief expeditions sent to Bohemia and the Rhenish Palatinate. The leaders of the war party–including the so-called "military earls"–played a leading role in the parliamentary criticism of the Jacobean peace and also provided much of the military leadership for the Palatine expedition.[2]

The Dangers of Peace

The argument that long periods of peace caused the exercise of arms to wither and bred moral degeneracy was not new.[3] Most Elizabethan writers continued to believe that the lack of opportunities to appear on the battlefield effeminated the aristocracy, caused people to grow discontented and mutinous and invited attack by foreign powers; Sir Walter Ralegh and Dudley Digges thought that the concept of peace was a subject for humanist scholars to contemplate in their studies. It can only be described as a personal philosophy; not a political philosophy. Samson Leonard, a Neo-Stoic writer, who had been a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, assumed that the period of peace enjoyed by England early in the reign of James I could not possibly last. Barnaby Rich, in his *Allarme to England* (1578), expressed suspicions of all "peace mongers." Those who opposed war for the sake of conscience were simply misguided; most peace mongers were opposed to war because of cowardice or an aversion to paying taxes. Rich also insisted that no one in Elizabethan England had produced a compelling argument for pursuing peace. Many writers who addressed the problems of war and peace thought that a just war was a natural function of a healthy state and served to correct vice and excess. A state could not remain long at peace

2 Carlton, *This Seat of Mars*, 79-81; Trim, "The Context of War and Violence," 233-55.

3 Cotton, *An Answer to Such Motives*, 2, 5, 21, 23; Manning, *War and Peace in the Western Political Imagination*, passim.

without falling victim to civil wars and foreign aggression.[4] These unsettling notions were inculcated by exposure to Roman historians such as Lucan, Tacitus and Seneca, which led to a characteristically Neo-Stoic acceptance of war as an inevitable part of life; this is probably one of the reasons why James VI and I had no use for Neo-Stoicism.[5] Similar sentiments had been expressed in the late queen's reign before the official English intervention in the Eighty Years War in 1585. Geffrey Gates had said that the state which was "not able to stand in arms and to vanquish the rage and power of both intestine and foreign violence" could expect to be overrun and subjected to the "lust of the spoilers," while Sir John Smythe, whose *Certain Discourses Military* was suppressed by Elizabeth's Privy Council, wrote that nations which neglected military exercises would learn that "long peace" led to "covetousness, effeminacies and superfluities." Contrariwise, where martial exercises were pursued and "military prowess" was cultivated, one could expect "justice, nobleness, science and all manner of virtuous and commendable occupations" to flourish.[6] Thomas and Dudley Digges asked: "who seeth not to what height of riot in apparel, to what excess in banqueting, to what height in all kinds of luxury our country was grown" in the reign of Elizabeth; "the flower of England, the gentry and the better sort" had fallen into a dissolute way of life, and in this they were imitated by the commonalty. While some had charged, with some exaggeration, that the late queen was "an enemy to [the] military profession," it remained true that "no prince or state doth gain or save by giving too small entertainment unto soldiers." The lesson to be learned was that "the open show of peace bred divers corruptions."[7]

4 Digges, *Foure Paradoxes, or Politique Discourses*, 1604, 109; Jorgenson, "Theoretical Views of War," 471, 477; Waggoner, "An Elizabethan Attitude toward War and Peace," 22-3; Lucan, *The Civil War,* bk. I, p.15; Charron, *Of Wisdome*, fos. 3*r* & *v*.

5 Stifflet, *Stoicism, Politics and Literature in the Age of Milton*, 17,21; Skinner, "Classical Liberty, Renaissance Translation and the English Civil War," in *Visions of Politics,* 308-43; *Basilicon Doron,* ed. McIlwain, 41-2.

6 Gates, *The Defence of Military Profession*, 10-11; Smythe, *Certain Discourses Military*, ed. Hale, 7-8.

7 Digges, *Foure Paradoxes, or Politique Discourses*, 1, 99-100.

The theme that the neglect of the military arts led inevitably to moral decay continued to be expressed by preachers and military writers.[8] Thomas Adams, in a sermon preached to the Honourable Artillery Company of London in 1617, insisted that effeminacy was inconsistent with true nobility and maintained that Mars had been "shut out the back gate" in England. He suggested that if the ladies were to start withholding their favors–"to afford no grace to them that had no grace in themselves"–England would once again have lords and gentlemen who could tell the difference "between effeminacy and nobleness."[9] Christopher Brooke, a poet, barrister and Member of Parliament in 1614, used the description of Edward IV's court in his *The Ghost of Richard III* (1614) to suggest "Now Mars his brood were chained to women's locks" at the court of James VI and I.[10] Sir William Monson thought that it was probably inevitable that soldiers living in a peaceable island such as England would be undervalued. He also thought that the evil reputation of "Low-Country captains," who exploited their offices for profit and disdained to lead their soldiers into battle, had brought the military profession into low repute. Consequently, any military successes enjoyed by English soldiers serving in the armies of mainland Europe were to be attributed to chance and fortune rather than valor.[11]

These values still held sway among swordsmen who had forborne much in the late queen because she was a woman. Sir Walter Ralegh blamed Queen Elizabeth for paying more attention to the advice of members of the peace party on her Privy Council, such as William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, than to members of the war party, such as Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester and Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, in the prosecution of the wars in the Low Countries, Ireland and on the high seas, but Elizabeth

8 Bacon, "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," xii.185.

9 T. Adams, *The Souldier's Honour*, sigs. B2 *r & v.* Cf. also Robert Johnson's rather loose translation of Botero's *Relazioni universali*, 28.

10 O'Callaghan, "Talking Politics," 41.1 (1998), 117.

11 Oppenheim (ed.), *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, i.104.

understood that a defensive war policy was dictated by the limited financial and manpower resources of England. Moreover, Elizabeth had no wish to destroy Spanish power as long as France remained a threat and she was uncomfortable with supporting a republican regime in the Dutch Republic.[12] Yet despite Elizabeth's distrust of swordsmen and her pursuit of a defensive war strategy, she achieved a considerable degree of military glory by repelling two attempted Spanish invasions, and advocates of an offensive war against Spain in the next two reigns in retrospect would wax nostalgic about the military and naval successes of the late Elizabethan wars.[13]

James VI of Scotland's attitude toward peace with Spain as a diplomatic policy was shaped by the circumstances of his succession to the English throne. James had failed to persuade Queen Elizabeth to recognize his right of succession upon her death, so he apparently came to some sort of agreement with Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, prior to the latter's rebellion in 1601. Recognizing the advantages of a peaceful succession, Sir Robert Cecil saved the king of Scots from his folly, and managed to keep James's name out of the trials of the Essex conspirators. As late as 1602, shortly before Elizabeth's death, James VI had told Cecil that he was opposed to peace between England and Spain and to toleration of English Catholics because he feared that a Catholic prince, such as Philip III of Spain might advance a claim to the throne of England with the support of Catholics.[14] The policy of ending the war between England and Spain, which led to the Treaty of London of 1604, originated with Sir Robert Cecil rather than James VI and I. Indeed, while the negotiations were going on at Somerset House, James was away on a hunting tour of the Midlands. England was just emerging from the crises of the 1590's which might well have led to more domestic

12 Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh,* i.245; Wernham, "Elizabethan War Aims and Strategy," 340, 348-9, 361; id., "Queen Elizabeth and the Siege of Rouen, 1591," ser., 15 (1962), 176-7.

13 Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 187-91; Barton, "Harking back to Elizabeth: Ben Jonson and Caroline Nostalgia," 715; Marshall, "'That's the Misery of Peace,'" 3.

14 Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI & I*, 9, 170-1, 200-2.

unrest, and could not afford the continuing costs of war. Cecil also assigned ending the Irish wars a higher priority, and assumed that England could not make peace with Spain until Ireland had been pacified and the Spanish denied the use of Ireland as a place where they could stir up trouble in the British Isles.[15]

In 1598, the second earl of Essex, who had complained that he possessed no credit at court and admitted that his associates were mostly military men, gave his reasons for opposing overtures for peace with Spain. He argued that the Spanish would use peace for rebuilding their military and naval strength to resume the war against England at their leisure and would also be free to subdue England's ally the Dutch Republic. In an attack on the Cecilian strategy of fighting the Spanish in Ireland, Essex regretted that money should be wasted and the lives of brave men squandered "in a beggarly and miserable Irish war." He further lamented that "our nation [was] grown generally unwarlike; in love with the name and bewitched by the delights of peace." Essex argued that while a just and honorable peace was always to be preferred to war, in England's case, because more of its revenues derived from trade rather than agriculture, and since money was the sinews of war, and since its trade was interrupted by the continuing Hispano-Dutch war, England was bound to continue the war against Spain if it were to survive. Essex and his circle drew upon the writings of the Roman historian Tacitus for an intellectual foundation for the revival and strengthening of their martial ethos and for depicting Spain as the perpetual enemy.[16]

Thus, James became disposed to a policy of peace with Spain only after he became king of England. This is not to deny that James genuinely hated war, but that his more immediate motive was his worry

15 Croft, "*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil and the 1604 Peace with Spain," 140-54.

16 Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earl of Essex,* sigs. A3*r* & *v*, F3*r.* (This book was first written in 1598 and published after Essex's execution for treason. The title page graphically illustrates Essex's belief that war will always devour peace, and features a woodcut depicting a hawk (or other raptor) seizing a dove beneath the image of a benevolent Apollo. All of this is enclosed in a cartouch bearing the motto "*sic crede*" [believe thus!]). See also Kewes, "Henry Saville's Tacitus and the Politics of Roman History in Late Elizabethan England," 515-51.

that the continuation of the war would prove expensive, and that the crown lacked the financial resources for pursuing such a policy. The need to finance a war would make him dependent upon Parliament for subsidies, and thus diminish his sovereignty. To James, peace meant the stability of his composite monarchy, good social order and legitimacy.[17] When James came to the English throne, he brought with him a dislike of the Dutch as rebels against the king of Spain combined with an ignorance of diplomacy and the politics of mainland Europe. His policy toward the Dutch Republic, where England maintained garrisons containing English and Scots troops, was guided by his dislike of republicans and rebels, but also by his belief that the religious diversity of the Republic grew out of the popular nature of its government. James had no sense of how the collapse of the Dutch struggle would alter the balance of power across the North Sea and deliver the formidable Dutch naval might into the hands of Spain. Nor had he any appreciation of the English investment of men, blood and treasure in the Dutch resistance to Spanish rule over the previous 35 years. He refused to listen to the English war party because he feared the ambitions of their leaders such as Robert Devereux, third earl of Essex, Henry Wriothesly, third earl of Southampton, and Henry de Vere, eighteenth earl of Oxford, all of them soldiers. James was also rude to the Dutch delegation which had come to congratulate him on his recent accession to the English throne. However, the skillful diplomacy of Maximilien de Bèthune, later duke of Sully, persuaded James not to abandon the Dutch cause completely; a small amount of assistance to the Dutch continued.[18]

This small concession to the support of the Dutch cause was not sufficient to appease Sir Edward Hoby, a leader of the war party in the House of Commons, who, on more than one occasion, had fought as a volunteer in the Netherlands. Hoby insisted that a close alliance with the maritime provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland was

17 S. Adams, "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," 144; Smuts, "The Making of *Rex Pacificus,*" 384-5.

18 Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica,* 113-19; Grayson,"James I and the Religious Crisis in the United Provinces, 1613-19," 195-219.

necessary for reasons both of trade and defense, and took prece-
dence over the peace with Spain. A hostile Dutch Republic would
be more dangerous and more expensive to fight than a belligerent
Spain. Moreover, the preponderance of Protestantism in the United
Provinces and the assistance that the Dutch had provided in the past
should not be forgotten, because they might well furnish assistance
in future conflicts with Spain and France.[19]

When peace was concluded between England and Spain by the Trea-
ty of London of 1604, the Dutch war effort was seriously hampered.
The United Provinces lost almost all of the financial support that
they had received from England during the previous two decades.
Spanish shipping could now pass through the English Channel with-
out English interference, and the troops intended for the Spanish
Army of Flanders no longer had to proceed overland from Italy.
Moreover, a possible Anglo-Spanish alliance began to take shape,
and Spanish recruiting agents were allowed to draw upon the po-
tential military manpower of the Three Kingdoms. However, this
embryonic alliance was sabotaged by the Gunpowder Plot of 1605
and the discovery that the conspirators were English veterans of the
Spanish Army of Flanders. There were also pledges which had been
made to the Dutch government that James could not well break.
Although the English government agreed in the peace treaty not to
continue financial assistance to those in rebellion against the king of
Spain, the matter of the English and Scots regiments in the States'
Army was not mentioned. The officers of these seven regiments
held their commissions from the States General and were paid by
the same, and so these regiments were allowed to continue to recruit
in the British Isles.[20]

The idea that war could be terminated by diplomatic negotiation
rather than the victory of one power and the defeat of another was
a new one at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This aston-

19 Thrush, "The Parliamentary Opposition to Peace with Spain in 1604," 301-15.

20 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 237; Dalton, *The Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, Vis-
count Wimbledon*, i.103-4.

ished James's subjects and other rulers of Europe, according to Arthur Wilson, the companion and secretary of the third earl of Essex. The king demonstrated his preference for peace and diplomacy and his aversion to war by ending the Irish Rebellion and pardoning Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. Tyrone seems not to have understood James's motives. He thought the English promise of peace was a deception, and that peace on English terms would destroy the Gaelic way of life, so he went into exile in the Spanish Netherlands.[21]

The Elizabethan and Jacobean courts reflected a wide variety of attitudes concerning war and peace. Elizabeth had wished to avoid war for fiscal reasons, but had to face the reality of the Spanish menace, and sought to justify war by staging pageants that celebrated classical heroes and tournaments and plays which glorified military prowess and the values of chivalry. James's policy of peace caused him to turn away from such bellicose entertainments and play down chivalric culture. James challenged the chivalric revival by employing poets and dramatists such as Ben Jonson (although he had been a soldier in the Low Countries) to write masques which praised the pursuit of peace. Jonson asserted that the aristocracy needed to give up the pursuit of military glory and cultivate peaceful pastimes. Whereas the Elizabethan tournament had glorified knightly chivalry, the Jacobean masque insisted that service to the monarch was more highly esteemed than military glory. Such entertainments no longer made reference to warrior-kings as in medieval times, nor did they boast of military and naval power.[22]

The image that James VI and I projected was at odds with aristocratic and martial values. James espoused a policy of peace at a time when many of his subjects wished that he had unsheathed his sword and championed the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War. Instead, he took up his pen as a scholar and a peacemaker, which unmanned him

21 Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica*, vii-viii; Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James I,* ii.661; Walsh, *An Exile of Ireland: Hugh O'Neill,* 24-5.

22 Mulryne, "'Here's Unfortunate Revels,'" 165-7; Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 180-1; Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in England*, 24-5.

in the eyes of his critics who whispered that he was a sodomite. Sir Anthony Weldon, a dismissed former official of the royal household and one of the more scurrilous writers of his age, said of James that "he naturally loved not the sight of a soldier nor any valiant man."[23] This is a harsh judgment–perhaps exaggerated–but, it was a perception shared by contemporaries.[24] His nervousness in the presence of weapons did not escape notice or comment. John Aubrey recounted a story he had heard that when Sir Kenelm Digby appeared at court to be dubbed a knight, "James I turned his face away from the naked sword, owing to a constitutional nervousness, and would have thrust the point into Digby's eye had not Buckingham interposed."[25] Sir Andrew Grey, a Scots soldier of fortune who had commanded a regiment in the Palatine army, was an eccentric man who habitually dressed in a buff coat and armor whether he was on the battlefield or elsewhere; he appeared at court seeking employment for the forthcoming campaigning season wearing a long sword instead of a rapier and a pair of pistols in his belt. At least James was able to make a joke about Grey's uncourtly dress and told him that "he was now so fortified that if he were but well victualled, he would be impregnable."[26] Sir Anthony Weldon thought that James "was infinitely inclined to peace, but more out of fear than conscience, and this was the greatest blemish this king had through all his reign; otherwise [he] might have been ranked among the very best of kings."

23 M. Young, *James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality*,168. The belief that James I was "a great coward, and hated the sight of a soldier" persisted to the end of the seventeenth century. Cf. [Trenchard,] *Short History of Standing Armies in England*, 5. Attacks upon an opponent's masculinity was a rhetorical device frequently resorted to by seventeenth-century polemicists to discredit an opponent's credibility. Such tactics were employed by John Milton in his political propaganda piece *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1658), which was an attempt to demolish the arguments put forth by Salmasius in his *Defensio Regia pro Carlo I*, which the English Royalists had hired him to write. This rhetorical device, which apparently derives from Cicero, was meant to cast doubt upon Salmasius's credentials as a defender of patriarchalism (Milton, *Political Writings*, xx, 58, 111, 193, 198. For a discussion of other seditious libels to which James I was subjected, cf. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk*, ch. 5, esp. 94-6, 99-103.

24 Bamford (ed.), *A Royalist's Notebook*, 193-4.

25 Dick (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, 97.

26 Grant, *Memoirs... of Sir John Hepburn*, 22.

Weldon lived long enough to declare his allegiance for Parliament in the English civil wars, and his book *The Court and Character of King James* was published in 1651 to discredit the Stuart cause.[27]

Weldon was particularly critical of James because he spent far more money sending ambassadors to treat with his enemies than, by Weldon's estimation, he would have spent on a timely intervention in the Rhenish Palatinate. Moreover, "it would have kept him in his own inheritance and saved much Christian blood since shed."[28] Yet, ironically, this man of peace based his claim to both the English and Scottish thrones on the right of conquest, dating the former claim to William the Conqueror and the latter to Fergus, first king of Scotland, who came out of Ireland.[29]

The Concept of a Warrior-king

There is good reason to doubt stories of James's timidity. James had been compelled to lead military forces into the field as king of Scotland on six different occasions before 1594 in order to suppress rebellions. Indeed, he possessed more military experience than any English monarch since Henry VII.[30] Considering the background of his family in Scotland, one can understand why he might have been paranoid about assassination plots and learned to abhor violence. He was surrounded by it before his first memories were formed. His father was strangled; his mother was beheaded after marrying the man who probably killed his father. Three of his guardians were assassinated, and the only one that he ever cared for was sent back to France. He witnessed murders, was kidnaped and his life threatened on more than one occasion. James learned the skills necessary for survival at an early age.[31]

27 Weldon, *Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland*, 16; *DNB, sub* Sir Anthony Weldon; Bellany and Cogswell, *Murder of King James I*, 469-73.

28 Weldon, *Court and Character of King James*, 76-7, 7, 171.

29 McIlwain (ed.), *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, 61-3; Hill, "The Norman Yoke," 61; Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, 53-4, 285.

30 K. Brown, "From Scottish Lords to British Officers," 134-5.

31 Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI & I*, 3-5.

As king of Scotland James VI had ended the endemic blood-feuds in Lowland Scotland, and had achieved considerable success in suppressing assaults and duels by nobles and their followers. He bound the offending parties to the peace with heavy penalties, but this was always accompanied by royal efforts at conciliation, because he lacked the force to rule in any other way. James VI is regarded by Scots historians as an able monarch, and was the most successful of all the Stuart kings of Scotland in deciding on a policy and carrying it out.[32] Clearly, his Scots subjects thought better of him than his English subjects. After his death, James VI was eulogized by the Neo-Latin poet, David Wedderburn, as "the peace-maker, the best of kings," who tried to calm the waters in an age of "party strife."[33] The Scots nobility remained strong during James's reign, and many continued to be crypto-Catholics while outwardly conforming to Protestantism. James chose to be lenient toward the Scots Catholic nobility because he did not wish to provoke any more blood-feuds and because he preferred conciliation as a method of governing. Moreover, he needed the help of the Scots nobility to make good his claim to the English throne.[34] James's policy of reconciliation with Catholics made the Reformation in Scotland a more peaceful and less violent process than was the case in either England or France. The king of Scots welcomed Catholics at the Stuart court because he found their company congenial, and their presence helped to counter-balance the influence of the Presbyterians in the Kirk. Consequently, James hoped that this same policy of conciliation would work with Catholic powers abroad.[35]

Conciliation, whether with Catholics at home or the Hapsburg monarchies abroad was never a strategy favored by the Puritan war party in England. Yet, it was a policy that James VI felt obliged to fol-

32 K. Brown, "The Nobility of Jacobean Scotland, 1567-1625," 61-2; Wormald, "Princes and the Regions in the Scottish Reformation," 77; Donaldson, *Scotland: James VI to James VII*, 214-15.

33 Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland*, 74-5.

34 Lee, *John Maitland of Thirlstane*, 177-92.

35 Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 18-2.

low both before and after he became king of England in 1603. He was also conciliatory to the English Catholics (and especially the powerful interest of the Northern Catholic earls) and in his relations with the pope because he did not wish to incur the penalty of excommunication before he succeeded to the English throne. Since James was a Protestant, his subjects in both England and Scotland always had difficulty in understanding why he conciliated the Catholic nobilities of those two kingdoms. Besides not wishing to drive Catholic aristocrats into the hands of the Spanish or French, he also wanted to avoid giving some fanatical Catholic an excuse to assassinate him. James, a well read monarch, was also aware that Scottish historical tradition favored conciliation.[36]

Another argument against accusations of cowardice is James's devotion to hunting. James spent a considerable amount of time in the saddle hunting deer (to the neglect of his official duties, some critics thought). Hunting–properly meaning the pursuit of deer on horseback–was no sport for timid persons, and was still widely regarded as a rehearsal for war. James perhaps underestimated the symbolism and theatrical display of a royal hunt. He disliked being watched by the common people, he was careless about his appearance, wore only a hunting horn instead of a sword, and drank heavily before hunting, so that he slumped in his saddle with his hat askew.[37] Not only was his demeanor unkingly; no one ever accused James of being a gracious monarch. John Holles, first earl of Clare, told his nephew Gervase Holles that the king was jealous of anyone whose hawks and dogs surpassed his own. Clare always thought that this was one of the reasons why he never found employment under James. Of course, it must be added that Clare was also the head of a military family and did not trouble to hide his dislike of and contempt for the duke of Buckingham.[38]

36 Patterson, *King James VI and I*, 87-8; Donaldson, *Scotland: James VI to James VII*, 188–9.

37 Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 201-3; *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. McClure, i.201; Bergeron, "Francis Bacon's *Henry VII*," 23; Wilson, *The Life and Reign of King James, The First King of Great Britain,* ii.675; Bellany and MacRae (eds.), "Early Stuart Libels," online.

38 Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family,* ed. Wood, 100.

"The art of war is all that is expected of a ruler," wrote Machiavelli. He also said that "princes who have thought more of their pleasures than arms have lost their states." The same lesson could have been learned from Tacitus, who was also coming to be more widely studied in early-Stuart England.[39] Those who read Tacitus began to view the court of James I as a place that harbored corruption, and compared it to the Roman imperial court under Tiberius.[40] The main function of monarchy was still thought to be making war, and the Stuart monarchy could not perform this function. A Spanish observer noted that James was "timid and hates war," while one of James's own subjects referred to him as "Queen James."[41] The belief that a king needed to be a soldier before he was fit to rule did not diminish during the seventeenth century. In 1579, Geffrey Gates asserted that "this generally is to be noted in warlike princes and nobility, that as they excel in military prowess and worthiness, so do they excel in wisdom and all nobleness of heart."[42] At the end of the seventeenth century, during the Williamite Wars in Ireland in which he served as a chaplain, George Story wrote that:

39 The exposure of the aristocracies of England and Scotland to Roman historians such as Tacitus and Seneca led to a characteristically Neo-Stoic acceptance of violence and war as an inevitable part of life. The theme that people, when exposed to long periods of peace, grew discontented, indulgent and given to disorder and civil war, was taken up by dramatists in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Reading Tacitus also led to a greater awareness of the distinction between Divine Providence and secondary causation in human history. This was called "politic history," and it acquired a bad name in court circles because most of its practitioners– many of whom harbored republican sentiments– moved within the circle of Robert, 2nd earl of Essex (Waggoner, "An Elizabethan Attitude toward Peace and War," 23; Stifflet, *Stoicism, Politics and Literature in the Age of Milton*, 17, 21, 24, 27; Bradford, "Stuart Absolutism and the Utility of Tacitus," 132; Lake, "From *Leicester his Commonwealth* to *Sejanus his Fall*; Ben Jonson and the Politics of Roman [Catholic] Virtue," 130-35.

40 Salmon, "Stoicism and the Roman Example," 209; Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I*, 255-6.

41 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. G. Bull, 87; K. Brown, "From Scottish Lords to British Officers," 134-5; Scott, "England's Troubles, 1603-1702," 31-2; Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 72.

42 Gates, *Defence of Militarie Profession*, 17-18.

The courage and countenance of the chief commander in armies is a material point in the success of the action, and especially in kings; for he that has a genius to war has advantages above other men that makes his gentry, nobility and officers strive to imitate his example, by which he is better served and commonly more fortunate.[43]

Rex Pacificus

James's first attempt to bring about European peace began during the winter of 1589-90, when he was in Denmark to marry Anne of Denmark. After his return to Scotland he sent ambassadors to Denmark for the occasion of the marriage of Anne's older sister Elizabeth to the duke of Brunswick in order to discuss his project for peace with various European princes who were guests at the wedding. Although the North German and Danish rulers lacked enthusiasm, James never abandoned his dream of European peace. Just as James believed that the peaceful union of England and Scotland was the work of Divine Providence, so he also believed he was intended to be a divine instrument in effecting a reconciliation of the Hapsburg and Stuart composite monarchies.[44] In his attempt to form a union of his English and Scottish kingdoms and to persuade his subjects to accept a common citizenship James was following the example of the Romans who extended Roman citizenship to whole nations of strangers to encourage them to assimilate Roman values, culture and language. Had he succeeded, Thomas Hobbes believed that the British civil wars could have been avoided.[45]

James told his first Parliament in 1604 that he had a divine mission to restore peace to England. With the resumption of the continental religious wars in 1618, James's plea for peace could not be heard above the noise of war. "The king would be called *Rex Pacificus* to the last; his heart was not advanced to glorious achievements,"

43 [Story,] *A True and Impartial History of the Most Notable Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland*, 100.

44 Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 29; Smuts, "The Making of *Rex Pacificus*," 378; "James VI and I's Speech of 29 March 1603," ed. McIlwain, 271-5.

45 Beard, *S.P.Q.R.*, 66-7; Hobbes, *Leviathan*, II.19 (pp. 151-2).

wrote the third earl of Essex's secretary and companion in the Pala-
tine wars, Arthur Wilson. "If the king's spirit had been raised up
to a war when the voice of God (the voice of the people) called
him to it, happily it might have hindered the great effusion of blood
among ourselves in his son's time. But he was not the man; the work
was reserved for Gustavus [Adolphus], not Jacobus".[46] James might
have overcome some of the defects of his foreign policy of seek-
ing peaceful relations with England's former enemy if he had been
capable at least of projecting the image of a heroic soldier-king or
if he had shown some interest in military affairs or had made him-
self more available to his subjects who were always eager to see
and cheer him. Instead, he displayed only annoyance and contempt
when crowds turned out to watch him. The Scottish Court had never
developed traditions of elaborate public ceremonies involving royal
entries and progresses or other theatrical displays such as Elizabeth
had so adroitly cultivated.[47] The Jacobean policy of peace was at
least partly shaped by James's unease with being associated with
the Dutch and Bohemian revolts as well as his horror of the bloody
continental religious wars. This policy also grew out of James's
earlier experiences in his northern kingdom with feuding aristocrats,
ungovernable Presbyterians and perpetual clan warfare. It did not do
to encourage rebels in other kingdoms when one's own kingdoms
were so vulnerable.[48]

When James VI became king of England, he found that the atmo-
sphere of the royal court and council were very different from the
rough-and-tumble politics of Scotland where ministers had insulted
him to his face. The greater wealth of the English crown, the more
elaborate court protocols and the flattery of English courtiers made
him think that he possessed more power to make policy than was ac-
tually the case. James's foreign and military policies were frequent-

46 Gajda, "Debating War and Peace in Late Elizabethan England," 52.4, 851-78; Wilson,
The Life and Reign of James, The First King of Great Britain, ii.740b-741a.

47 Smuts, *Court Culture*, 26-7.

48 Bevington and Holbrook, *Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, 68; Scott, "England's
Troubles, 1603-1702," 31-2.

ly ineffectual because of factionalism–especially that promoted by the ascendancy of the duke of Buckingham–and prevented the king from receiving good counsel. Able people, who could have offered better advice, were excluded from office because Buckingham refused to listen to views that ran counter to his own opinions.[49]

Contemporaries and later generations of observers saw a number of unfortunate consequences flowing from James's policy of peace. Sir Walter Ralegh believed that one of the basic reasons for conflict between king and Parliament was the nobility's perception that they had lost military power since the fifteenth century. Ralegh was aware of the Florentine tradition and Machiavellian maxim that the "distribution of arms" was a kind of "index to the distribution of political capacity."[50] Matthew Wren, successively bishop of three different sees in the time of Charles I and subsequently imprisoned during the Interregnum, said that James feared the political power of the English peerage (as well as that of the Scottish and Irish peerages, one might add), and tried to dilute their ranks with new creations of non-military peers who purchased their titles. Foreign princes sometimes requested the military services of English peers, but James frequently denied or hindered swordsmen from seeking opportunities for military careers abroad. The third earl of Essex was invited by Prince Christian of Brunswick to lead a military expedition in Germany, and on another occasion the Venetian ambassador reported that Essex was willing to lead an expedition against the Barbary pirates, but James denied the earl permission to enter foreign service on both occasions.[51] The consequence of this was, said Bishop Wren, that when civil war broke out, his son Charles I lacked an aristocracy with strong military traditions "able to bear the shock and stand between him and the fury of the people." Martial men were also not adequately represented in the House of Lords

49 Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII*, 213; Sharpe, *Faction and Parliament*, 41-2.

50 Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 356-7; Fletcher, *Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias*, ed. Robertson, 2-7.

51 Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, 83.

during those crucial early days of the Long Parliament when the royal prerogative and aristocratic privilege were being challenged by the Lower House and popular demonstrations.

> But the most mortal error was that [which] the king committed in wholly disarming the nation. For fearing the martial humor of the inhabitants, and abhorring the trouble as well as doubting the revolutions of war, he courted the amity of all his neighbors...upon most ignominious terms; he discountenanced all men of action; he advanced traffic [i.e., trade] and sought to introduce plenty, that by it he might better immerse the nation in sloth and luxury. And in this he was so unhappily fortunate that the English gentry (anciently so renowned for valor) are enervated with ease and debauchery, and become both the prey and scorn of the basest of people.[52]

Thomas Scott taught that the nobility should display the virtue of courage, pursue an active life, take up the sword, and avoid the corrupting influence of the pursuit of peace and profit. Scott used these arguments to show that James I's policy of peace could only effeminate the aristocracy.[53] It was, of course, axiomatic that peace was harmful to members of a martial culture, because if the outlet for violent passions in warfare was denied them, such persons would pursue feuds among themselves.[54] Arthur Wilson blamed the increase in violence and popular disorder in London and the provinces during the reign of James I on the decline of opportunities for military adventure. This he attributed to the king's neglect of his duties from which he was distracted by the disproportionate amount of time he spent on hunting.

52 Wren, "Of the Origin and Progress of Revolutions in England," i.232-4. Makower, *The English Face of Machiavelli*, 243, regarded Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely as being steeped in Machiavellian discourse. Cf. also Sidney, *Discourses concerning Government*, 419, and Clark, *War and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, 96-7.

53 Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Thought,* 248.

54 Bodin, *The Six Bookes of Commonweale*, ed. MacCrae, 530.

> For the king minding his sports, many riotous demeanours crept into the kingdom, the sunshine of peace being apt for such a production upon the slime of late war. The sword and buckler trade being now out of date, one corruption producing another (the City of London being always a receptacle for such, whose prodigalities and wastes made them instruments of debaucheries), divers sects of vicious persons, going under the title of roaring boys, bravadoes, roisterers & c., commit many insolencies: the streets swarm night and day with bloody quarrels; private duels fomented– especially betwixt the English and the Scots; many discontents nourished in the countries [provinces] betwixt the gentry and the commonalty about enclosures...growing in many places to petty rebellion.[55]

Such explicit criticisms of the Jacobean peace were, of course, written many years later, after the upheavals of the civil wars made the censorship regulations unenforceable. However, the argument that the failure to pursue foreign wars to provide military adventure for over-mighty subjects when combined with court factionalism constituted a recipe for civil war that was explored even in the reign of Elizabeth by Samuel Daniel and Shakespeare.[56]

Many of James's subjects refused to accept the argument that it was not in the best interests of the Three Kingdoms to become directly involved in the continental religious wars. The costs of making war had greatly increased in the reign of James I over the costs of the Elizabethan wars,[57] but critics of James's policy of peace rejected this argument and blamed the reluctance or inability of James I and Charles I to go to war on court extravagance. George Wither asked

55 Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James, First King of Great Britain*, ii.647a. For a discussion of the Jacobean and Caroline riots in London, cf. Manning, *Village Revolts*, 211-19, and Lindley, "Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London," 109-26. Brawling and dueling by gentry and peers are discussed in Manning, *Swordsmen*, chs. 5-7. For James's obsession with hunting and his neglect of official duties, cf. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 201-7; Sir John Harington, quoted in Park (ed.), *Nugae Antiquae*, i.352; and *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth and King James*, in *Works of Francis Osborn*, 444-5.

56 Daniel, *The First Foure Bookes of the Civile Wars*, in Grosart (ed.), *Complete Works... in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ii.19-26; Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part II*, IV. iv; Siegel, "Shakespeare and the Neo-Chivalric Cult of Honor," 41-2 .

57 Braddick, *The Nerves of State*, 28.

Hence comes it that the rents and royalties
Of kings and princes, which did well suffice
In former times to keep in comely port
An honour'd and hospitable court,
(Yea, and an army if occasion were)
Can hardly now the charge of household bear.[58]

When James discovered that the English garrisons of the Dutch cautionary towns of Brill, Flushing and Bergen op Zoom had not been paid for some considerable period of time, he accepted an offer from the States General in 1619 to buy back the towns. The king, being told that his treasury was empty, accepted the Dutch offer to discharge his debt to the English garrisons and to acquire the means of paying for his forthcoming progress to Scotland.[59] Swordsmen were always ready to put the worst construction possible on James's motivations and actions. During the Restoration period, Algernon Sidney insisted that James had returned the cautionary towns to the Stadholder Maurice of Nassau so that the latter might help James subdue his English and Scottish subjects.[60]

The War Party

The 'Puritan' or war party at the court of James I continued to favor assisting Protestant allies abroad. Its adherents were not only dismayed by James's peace treaty with Spain, but also spoke out against the Dutch government's negotiations leading up to the Twelve Years Truce (1609-21). It was reported to John Chamberlain that "the men of war oppose mightily against it." After having fought in the Dutch struggle for independence for a couple of generations and lost many of their comrades, British swordsmen believed that they had a voice in this matter as well. For his part, James "rejoiceth not a little" at the cessation of hostilities, the same correspondent reported.[61]

58 Wither, *Britain's Remembrancer*, 365.

59 Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae,* i.29-31.

60 Sidney, *Court Maxims*, 162-3.

61 S. Adams, "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," 93-4.

There was little the English government could do to assist the king and queen of Bohemia when Imperialist forces expelled them from their kingdom in 1620, although individual swordsmen such as Sir Andrew Gray and William Craven, later Lord Craven, volunteered their services and raised troops. What energized the 'Puritan' party was the news, early in 1620, that Ambrose Spinola, marquis of Balbases, was making preparations to lead the Spanish Army of Flanders in an invasion of the Rhenish Palatinate to join up with Imperialist forces and so deprive his son-in-law and daughter, Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia, of their remaining possessions within the Empire and to make war against the Protestant Union. The invasion of the Palatinate began in May 1620. The 'Puritan' or war party which advocated intervention consisted of a coalition of swordsmen, parliamentary leaders and ecclesiastics. Those at court included Philip Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and James Hay, first Viscount Doncaster and later first earl of Carlisle, who had just returned from the continent with the news of Spinola's invasion plans in early 1620.[62] The senior advocate of intervention in the Palatinate among the swordsmen was Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton. The Palatine ambassador had proposed that Southampton should command a military expedition to the Palatinate, but the earl was personally unacceptable to James. He was linked to the cult of the second earl of Essex, had more enemies at court than friends and was thought to be more than half a republican. In 1619, when the office of lord admiral became vacant, Southampton was regarded as a leading contender because he was the only high-ranking peer who had actually commanded at sea, but he was passed over and the office went to Buckingham. Southampton was also closely associated with Sir Edwin Sandys, the parliamentary leader who was thought to share Southampton's radical views.[63]

62 S. Adams, "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," 141-3; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, 93-4.

63 Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James*, ii.736b; Rowse, *Shakespeare's Southampton*, 264-7.

Following the prorogation of Parliament in June 1621, Southampton was accused of disloyalty to the king and confined to the house of John Williams, dean of Westminster (who was shortly to become lord keeper). Sandys, Henry de Vere, eighteenth earl of Oxford, and John Selden were also confined. Southampton was released through the intercession of Williams, Buckingham and Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester. His main offence appears to have been a sympathy for the queen of Bohemia and her children which James regarded as excessive. Because Southampton, the third earl of Essex and other swordsmen were suspect in the king's eyes, Archbishop Abbot proved to be the more effective proponent for armed intervention in the Palatinate. Abbot told James that he could not neglect such a holy cause, and he received royal permission to collect a voluntary contribution from the clergy and to solicit contributions from the people to help with the costs of a military expedition.[64]

In order to intervene in the Palatinate, it would be necessary to have the cooperation and logistical support of the Dutch who controlled the Rhine and Maas estuaries. Eventually, it would be necessary to borrow veteran troops from the States' Army and replace them with fresh recruits from the British Isles, because there was no standing army in England; James had allowed the English forces in Ireland to wither away to barely 1,000 soldiers, and it would not do to strip Ireland of the remaining English forces. The Dutch could do little to help until the expiration of the Treaty of Antwerp ended the Twelve Years Truce in 1621. Because James had allowed the arms industry and the military administration built up under Elizabeth to atrophy, his government was prepared to do little in 1620. The Council of War, for example, did not have its first meeting until the spring of 1624. The military expeditions which were finally sent to the Palatinate, together with the other military and naval expeditions of the 1620s, would make it quite clear that the early-Stuart monarchs were neither motivated nor competent to undertake the planning and conduct of war–even when they enjoyed the support of their sub-

64 Wilson*, The Life and Reign of James,* 274-5; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, 93-4.

jects in doing so. In the long run, only Parliament would possess the resolve and financial means to make war, but although Parliament mounted a very successful war effort in the 1640s, it had refused to accept the financial responsibility for paying for a war to which they had only given lip-service in the 1620s.[65]

As the government of James I inadvertently descended into war in the 1620s, it was hampered not only by a lack of administrative institutions for prosecuting war, but also by a paucity of military and naval commanders with recent experience. The Council of War, when it finally got around to meeting in 1624, was composed exclusively of aging veterans of the Elizabethan wars, Sir Edward Conway, Arthur, first Lord Chichester, Sir Horace Vere, Oliver St John, first Lord Grandison, George, Lord Carew and Sir John Ogle. They were hand-picked by Buckingham who stayed in touch with men of military experience. They were all anti-Spanish, and inevitably their frame of reference was the deeds which they had performed in those wars. This promoted a nostalgia for the glories of the Elizabethan wars which tended to exaggerate the contributions of the late queen and to promote a less than favorable comparison with the lack of military exploits on the part of James I and Charles I.[66]

This harking back to the glorious days of Queen Elizabeth was a theme which swordsmen and poets were not slow in taking up. Fulke Greville's *Life of Sidney*, although not published until 1628– long after his death–was not a mere life of Sidney, but a panegyric which was meant to praise Sir Philip Sidney's martial image and his ethical approach to politics. By implication, Greville condemned James I's policy of peace and his failure to go to the aid of endangered Protestant princes and communities. Sir Walter Ralegh, also an admirer of Sidney, called him "the Scipio, Cicero and Petrarch of our

65 Breslow, *A Mirror of England*, 35-6; Adams, "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624;" Fissel (ed.), *War and Government in Britain*, 6-7; Stewart, *The English Ordnance Office,* 143-6; Wheeler*, The Making of a Grear Power*, v-vi, 15; The military and naval expeditions of the 1620's are discussed in Manning, *Apprenticeship in Arms*, ch.8.

66 Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition,* 22-3; Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, 97; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 85.

time." Michael Drayton, who fondly remembered English chivalry in the age of Sidney and the second earl of Essex, realized that no court patronage was to be had for idolizing Sidney; so he decided instead to write the *Battaile of Agincourt* to exemplify the martial values of an earlier age. Drayton later praised the belated conversion of Prince Charles and Buckingham to an anti-Spanish policy. This probably helped to procure official permission to publish the *Battaile of Agincourt*, but it brought little else in the way of patronage from Buckingham. Drayton's disappointment led him to believe that he lived in an "evil time," and that only poetry could preserve the older tradition of English honor.[67]

James I was angered by the joint Spanish-Imperialist invasion of the Palatinate, and he felt that he had been deceived in this matter by the Spanish ambassador, the Count Gondomar, with whom he had earlier collaborated to preserve peace. James gave permission for an expedition of 2,200 men led by Sir Horace Vere, the commander of the English forces in the States' Army, including two companies of 250 men each raised and led by the earls of Oxford and Essex, to proceed to the Palatinate in 1620, but he refused to be drawn personally into the Palatine intervention. Arthur Wilson, who accompanied Essex to the Palatinate, wrote of James: "yet would not his spirit set on work to preserve his children's patrimony– so odious was the name of war to him!" Most of the members of the two companies raised by Oxford and Essex consisted of gentlemen volunteers "who went to make themselves capable of better employment–the English for many years having been truants in that art." Subsequently, the two companies raised by Oxford and Essex were expanded into regiments, but the intervention failed, and the English garrison defending the Palatine capital Heidelberg was massacred.[68] Instead of supporting intervention in the Palatinate, James continued to seek

67 Worden, *The Sound of Virtue*, 13-14; McCrea, "Whose Life Is It Anyway?", 304-7; McCoy, "Old English Honour in an Evil Time," 146-52.

68 Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, 20; Wilson, *Life and Reign of James, First King of Great Britain*, ii.722a-724a; Brennan Pursell, "War or Peace? Jacobean Politics and the Parliament of 1621," 149-85.

a diplomatic solution by pursuing negotiations to arrange a marriage between Charles and the Spanish Infanta. The Spanish were delighted to string James along in these negotiations without ever intending to agree to a marriage alliance while the joint Spanish-Imperialist forces mopped up in the Palatinate. James gave much away by cutting off the supply of volunteers to the Elector Palatine, while allowing the Spanish to raise two regiments for the Spanish Army of Flanders led by Edward, Lord Vaux and Archibald, earl of Argyll.[69]

The Chivalric Revival and Martial Culture

Following the Anglo-Spanish Peace Treaty of 1604, James I's appeasement of Spain continued to dismay the swordsmen. There was a revival of chivalric culture at the court of Henry, prince of Wales that protested James I's policy of peace as well as the corruption and debauchery that were thought to pervade the latter's court. This new chivalric culture was characterized by a martial ethos, which harked back to the circle of Sir Philip Sidney and the followers of Robert, second earl of Essex and which promoted a continuation of the war at sea, an expansion of empire in the New World and English participation in a Protestant league directed against the Hapsburg threat in Germany and the Low Countries. Evidence that this aristocratic bellicosity enjoyed popular support can be found on the Jacobean stage.[70] Because of his precocious martial inclinations, the court of Henry Frederick, prince of Wales, became a focal point for the surviving adherents of the Elizabethan war party, which included many veterans of the wars in Ireland, the Netherlands and France. They believed that England must not only remain committed to the cause of Pan-European Protestantism, but should also exercise leadership and seize the initiative. The young Prince Henry held a reversionary interest and willingly played the role of Protestant knight-errant and

69 Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, 20, 274-5; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, sub* Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll, Edward, 4th Lord Vaux *et* Thomas, 2nd Lord Vaux.

70 Marshall, "That's the Misery of Peace," 2-3; Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture*, 67, 105.

filled the void created by his father's pacifism. Henry studied to cultivate a martial image, and was seen to devote himself to horsemanship, archery, the manual of arms of the pike, and other aspects of the exercise of arms. Although not old enough to joust, he delighted in royal tournaments by running at the ring. In 1610, when he was sixteen, Henry fought a contest on foot across a barricade with six others in the Royal Banqueting Hall. Continuing disappointment in the king made Henry, who was viewed as an embodiment of chivalric virtues and a prince dedicated to the Protestant cause abroad, a popular figure who promised to grow into a soldier-king. The portraits painted of him, especially the one by Marcus Gheeraerts, were meant to depict this martial image. Moreover, while his zeal gave comfort to those advocating a continuing engagement in Europe's religious wars, his soundness in religion reassured the clergy.[71]

Prince Henry's two great heroes were Henry IV of France and Maurice of Nassau because they were soldier-princes who led their men into battle. Henry was instrumental in securing knighthoods of the Garter for both his heroes, and their portraits were prominently displayed in the prince's gallery at St James's Palace. Henry was too young to travel to the Netherlands to participate in Maurice's school of war, but he had the next best thing. A Dutch captain, Abraham van Nyevelt, came to England in 1611 to instruct Prince Henry in fortifications, encampments, tactics and other aspects of modern warfare and military engineering. In effect, Prince Henry and his tutors, who also included Samuel Daniel and James Cleland, tried to replicate in miniature something like Maurice's school of war.[72] Sir Charles Cornwallis records how Henry tried to set a good example

71 Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales,* 66-7, 72; Catriona Murray, "The Pacific King and the Militant Prince? Representation and Collaboration in the Letters Patent of James I, Creating his Son, Henry, Prince of Wales," 1-16; Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 38-40; Wilson, *Life and Reign of James, First King of Great Britain*, ii.684b-685a; Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, 130-1; Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 244-55; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 193; "A Discourse of the Most Illustrious Prince Henry, Prince of Wales," ed. Sir Walter Scott, ii.217-18; Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror,* 9; Wells, "Manhood and Chivalrie," 395; Price, *Praelium & Premium,* 4-5, 8.

72 For a discussion of the practice of English and Scots gentlemen volunteers going to the court and camp of Maurice of Nassau to serve an apprenticeship in arms, see Manning, "Prince Maurice's School of War," 1-19.

for the members of his court who were tutored alongside him, including the third earl of Essex and James, second Lord Harington of Exton, by making good use of his time studying and preparing for civil as well as military offices by reading history, mathematics and cosmography. "His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and learning to swim; and some times walking fast and far to accustom and enable him to make a long march when time should require it." Henry took a particular interest in the navy in order to prepare himself for a "naval war with Spain, whensoever that king should give a cause of public hostility." Prince Henry had even worked out a naval strategy whereby part of the fleet would be sent to blockade Spain when hostilities resumed and the remainder dispatched to the West Indies.[73]

Sir Robert Dallington, who was later to become associated with the household of Prince Henry, was already a spokesman for the swordsmen when his *View of Fraunce* was composed in about 1598. Henry had become acquainted with Dallington's writings before Dallington became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry. Dallington served as one of the links between Sir Philip Sidney and the court of Henry and brought to the prince's household the kind of Lipsian active engagement in politics, which had characterized the circles of Sidney and the second earl of Essex.[74] Dallington also wrote a volume of aphorisms dedicated to Prince Henry and intended for his scrutiny. They contained a goodly dose of Tacitism, and the very first aphorism states that war is more devastating for those countries which have enjoyed long periods of peace and a soft life. Elsewhere Dallington states:

73 Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, 68, 72-3; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, 34-5; Cornwallis, *A Discourse of... Henry, late Prince of Wales*, iv.333-40.

74 Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Flemish humanist scholar who published a critical Latin edition of the works of Tacitus, and was a proponent of Neo-Stoicism which provided a more ethical approach to the issues of politics and war than had Machiavelli and which philosophy was more acceptable to both Catholics and Protestants. Lipsius advocated an engagement with political issues, a dedication to duty, and an acceptance of war as part of the human condition and God's plan. During the time that Lipsius resided in the Dutch Republic, his writings helped to make service as a professional soldier in standing armies more respectable. (Useful discussions of Lipsian Neo-Stoicism are found in Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, trans. McLintock; and McCrea, *Constant Minds*.)

> It is a manly virtue in a prince... to prepare for war when he propounds for peace; and not to stay his provisions for the one though he be treating upon conditions for the other. Because otherwise he seems to beg or buy his peace and gets it not but at a higher rate. Wherefore peace is never to be treated with our armor off or sword sheathed, nor to be concluded but under a buckler and upon sure terms.[75]

A similar message was contained in a hortatory poem in the Senecan style of verse by William Alexander, earl of Stirling, reminding Prince Henry and others that a king who does not prepare for war in time of peace and who does not go to war from time to time will be brought into contempt.[76] Another writer who urged Prince Henry to take up the sword to defend the cause of Protestantism against the pope, was Philippe Duplessis de Mornay, who had been a friend of Sidney. Samson Lennard, the translator of Mornay's *The Mysterie of Iniquitie* and Sidney's companion-in-arms at the Battle of Zutphen, said that although the book was formally dedicated to King James, Mornay had also directed a message to Prince Henry: the king's "pen hath made way for your sword, and his peace, if God give him long life, may further your wars."[77]

The swordsmen who gathered around the court of Henry, prince of Wales and who looked to him to become the kind of soldier-king James I never was, had learned well the Tacitean lesson that long periods of peace at home promoted vice, luxury, corruption and effeminacy and a loss of all the ancient Roman virtues. This naturally promoted a contempt for James I's efforts to promote peace. It also led to a distrust of courtier culture which was exacerbated by the tendency to put a Tacitean construction upon Prince Henry's death from typhoid fever in 1612 by relating that tragedy to Tacitus's account of the poisoning of Germanicus, the martial nephew and heir of the Emperor Tiberius.[78]

75 Dallington, *The View of Fraunce,* sig. L2; Dallington, *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie*, sig. A4, pp. 1, 259.

76 "A Paraenesis to Prince Henry," ed. Kastner and Charlton, i.402.

77 Mornay, *The Mysterie of Iniquitie,* transl. Lennard, dedication.
78 Smuts, "Court-Centred Politics and the Use of Roman Historians," 36-7; Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition*, 26.

The Parliament of 1621 was summoned by James I because his foreign policy of peace with Spain had collapsed after Philip III's forces had invaded the Palatinate in September 1620. Although James had previously considered foreign policy part of the royal prerogative and none of Parliament's business, he now gave Parliament leave to discuss a policy with regard to the Palatinate.[79] The course of the debates indicated that the question was not whether to become involved in the Thirty Years War in Germany, but rather how and to what extent. At the same time, James continued to pursue a personal policy of peace with the Spanish by resuming negotiations for a marriage treaty. Thus, his own personal foreign policy was at odds with the one being formulated by Parliament and was carried out by his own personal representatives since the members of the Privy Council refused to cooperate. This did not escape the attention of the martialists, and in 1624 an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost* was published criticizing James's continuing pursuit of peace and a Spanish match. It attacked the government's plea that James's revenues were inadequate for war and said that James should use some of the royal plate and jewels from the Tower of London to pay for the expenses of war. It further asserted that the king's subjects would be willing to pay for a more bellicose foreign and military policy if the king consulted with Parliament about the implementation of such a policy.[80] William Crosse, fellow of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, who had been chaplain to Sir John Ogle's Regiment in the Dutch army and would later accompany the expeditions to Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé, wrote a long epic poem intended to help rally support for intervention in the Palatinate. Crosse reflected a body of opinion which had regarded the Anglo-Spanish Peace Treaty of 1604 and the Hispano-Dutch Truce of 1609 as "milk-sop treaties," which had interrupted "our raging arms." Crosse went on

79 James had previously sought to ban the publication of news about foreign affairs, which he believed in no way concerned his subjects. These news stories about foreign events were purveyed in early newspapers called "corantos" (Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, 66, 88).

80 Adams, "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," 139, 141; anon., *Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost*, v.240.

to praise Sir Edward Cecil, Sir Edward Conway and Sir John Burgh as valiant soldiers. The Veres, the earl of Oxford, Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere, he called the "three thunderbolts of war." What Crosse looked forward to was a crusade to be joined in by the English, the Dutch and the French to stop the growth of Spanish and Imperialist power throughout the world.[81]

After the death of Henry, prince of Wales, martialists urged Prince Charles, with the usual Tacitean arguments, to project a martial image. Charles at first appeared to follow his deceased brother's example and to perfect his military and equestrian skills and to participate in jousting tournaments in the Tiltyard at Westminster; he even read Sidney and the heroic poems of Torquato Tasso which depicted the recovery of Jerusalem. However, the attempt to depict Charles's pursuit of the Spanish Infanta as a chivalric adventure convinced very few people, and his subsequent marriage to a French Catholic princess, his continuing dependence upon Buckingham and their mismanagement of the military and naval expeditions of the mid-1620s destroyed whatever image of a Protestant soldier-prince he ever possessed.[82]

Following Buckingham's assassination in 1628, Charles I lost heart and withdrew from an ineffectual and underfinanced policy of Protestant bellicosity into neutralism. Most European monarchies and republics were creating the administrative apparatus of the modern state by waging war and developing new sources of revenue at the same time. But Charles I attempted to reform his government and enhance his revenues when there was no military emergency to justify asking Parliament for subsidies or reviving old feudal exactions. This simply was not persuasive. Charles refused to be drawn into any more military adventures in mainland Europe because he had come to fear his domestic enemies more than those abroad.[83] The

81 Cross[e], *Belgiae's Troubles and Triumphs*, sig. A2, pp. 2-4.

82 Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre*, sig.A3*v*; Hunt, "Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War," 229-20.

83 Scott, *England's Troubles*, 114.

period of peace which characterized Charles I's reign between 1628 and 1638 made courtiers think that the mainland European wars had nothing to do with them, while swordsmen readily found employment in other European armies. When news arrived that Gustavus Adolphus had been mortally wounded leading his soldiers at the Battle of Lützen in 1632, Thomas Carew wrote the poem "In Answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the death of the King of Sweden."

> But there are subjects proper to our clime.
> Tourneys, masques, theatres, better become
> Our halcyon days; what though the German drum
> Bellow for freedom and revenge, the noise
> Concerns not us, nor should divert our joys;
> Nor ought the thunder of carbines
> Drown the sweet air of our violins. ...[84]

The appearance of domestic peace in Caroline England between 1628 and 1638 was deceptive. The so-called Caroline peace was a myth. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon's perception was that it was based upon a royal injunction not to discuss political problems. Charles's subjects were commanded to be silent in the pulpit, the press and in Parliament. Parliament was dissolved "and all men were inhibited upon the penalty of censure so much as to speak of a Parliament." Even though many of the swordsmen were away fighting in the continental wars, interpersonal violence involving courtiers and gentry persisted as French fashions in duelling spread and often involved multiple combats. As Caroline Hibbard points out in her study of the court of Charles I, the king and many members of the court viewed politics in terms of personal honor, and this mentality contained a potential for greater violence. Professor Hibbard also argues that the degree of factionalism at court–especially during the ascendancy of the royal favorite Buckingham– has been underestimated. Moreover, by his marriage to Henrietta Maria, who personally disliked Cardinal Richelieu and had close ties to dissident French nobles, together with the English intervention in the internal affairs of France by going to the aid of the Huguenots at the siege of

84 Dunlap (ed.), *Poems of Thomas Carew*, 77.

La Rochelle, Charles set a very bad example–something concerning which Elizabeth and James I would have been more circumspect.[85]

The concept of perpetual peace and the idleness it would bring may have been the one thing that struck terror in the hearts of swordsmen. The possibility that this concept might become a reality during the reigns of James VI and I and Charles I also contributed to a growing aristocratic unease with their monarchs who ignored the plight of Protestant communities abroad which were fighting a losing battle with the Hapsburgs. The failure to project the image of soldier-kings must be considered a weakness of the early-Stuart monarchs. This need to maintain a martial image was not only a legacy of the Middle Ages; it was also a practice urged by modern political theorists, military writers and many divines. It was still widely accepted that the cultivation of martial virtues promoted wisdom and justice as well, and these values were reinforced by the spreading influence of Tacitism. The belief that the failure to exercise arms and cultivate military prowess led to moral degeneracy was widely accepted among the aristocracy, and the movement to establish provincial artillery companies on the model of the Honourable Artillery Company of London provides evidence that these beliefs were trickling down to the urban elites.[86]

Clearly, the values of the military aristocrats of England, which by 1625 included more than half the peerage (as well as more than half the peerages of Scotland and Ireland),[87] were diverging from those of the Stuart Court. In their view, the failure to go to the aid of the Palatines brought dishonor upon the Stuart dynasty, and the reluctance to sustain alliances with Protestant princes and powers caused dismay. Despite continuing goodwill towards their monarchs, many people of the British Isles viewed foreign princes such as Maurice of Nassau and Gustavus Adolphus as their heroes.

85 Manning, *Swordsmen*, chs. 5, 6 and 7; Hibbard, "Theatre of Dynasty," 162, 168.

86 Manning, *Apprenticeship in Arms*, 130-1, 143-50.

87 Manning, *Swordsmen,* p.18, Table 1.1.

It would be interesting to speculate whether the political history of the 1630s and 1640s might not have been different had not so many martial men from the British Isles found employment and outlets for their assertiveness in the continental religious wars. As it was, many aristocrats were already perceiving that the value placed upon their valor had diminished, and the failure of the early-Stuart monarchs to provide military employment in their own service caused those aristocrats to reflect upon the extent to which their power had diminished in the previous century and a quarter. This might well have undermined their feelings of loyalty to Charles I.

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Portrait of James VI & I
Attributed to John de Critz c. 1605

Martin Luther, the Devil,

and the True Church

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Martin Luther refers to the Devil more than any other Reformer. Since the 1960s, historians have been more attentive to the role of Satan in his theology and polemical writings. But the place of the Evil One in Luther's outlook goes beyond the typically medieval emphasis on the Fiend's "private" function in tempting individual consciences. It is argued here that Luther integrated the Devil into his view of history and the two churches, the true and the false. The Reformer closely associated Satan with the persecuted church and its Catholic oppressor, as well as with the Jews, Turks, wayward Lutherans, and the Anabaptists.

It was a dark and stormy night when the Old Enemy appeared to the young monk in his cold upper room of the castle. When the Devil told the monk that he was wasting his time translating the New Testament, the monk responded with insults. Infuriated, Satan picked up the monk's inkwell and hurled it at him. The monk ducked and it splattered against the wall. About 80 years later, some of the monk's followers told the story, which was soon transposed into a reversal of roles: it now was the *translator* who threw the inkwell against his protagonist. The tale reached its classic form by 1650, when it was widely accepted as one of the iconic episodes in the career of Martin Luther, along with the 95 Theses, the burning of the papal bull, and his appearance before the Diet of Worms.

The story suggests that the Devil tried to prevent Luther from translating the Bible into German. More broadly it signifies the battle against the Evil One who tried to prevent the gospel from being preached, a battle which consumed the Reformer for the rest of his life. Prior to the 1960s the Devil in the writings of the early

Luther (and Lutheran) has received little scholarly attention. Earlier studies concentrate on the anecdotes in Luther's Table Talks,[1] with only cursory remarks on his comments in his biblical commentaries and anti-papal tracts. The focus has been on his personal encounters with the Demon, often tied to pastoral advice on how to cope with diabolical temptations. This relative neglect of the Devil is surprising, since Luther alluded to the prince of devils more often than did any other Reformer. Some of Luther's admirers, embarrassed by his frequent references to the Devil, simply dismissed them as symbolic or metaphoric, obliquely related to the scriptural Satan. More often, Luther's allusions to the Adversary were taken literally, but dismissed as merely "medieval" leftovers in the authentic Luther,[2] who was the forerunner of the "modern" age. Thus, the presence of the prince of darkness was but a quaint residue of the Dark Ages, when popery and superstition ran amuck. The modern Luther of the 19th-century German historians had little time for such anachronisms.

But as Luther historiography after World War II matured, it became clear that the historical Luther was truly concerned, even obsessed, with the Enemy of God. So too, there was now a greater tendency to insert the Wittenberger in the wider context of pre-sixteenth-century Catholicism, the German Reformation along with the other Reformations of the time, the polemical techniques of Luther and his disciples, the symbiotic interaction of Luther and the Catholic controversialists, and his differences with Lutherans and the various sects. The tendency was to move away from Luther's "private" confrontations with the Devil toward his broader social and political thought. The pioneer work of Heiko Oberman[3]—building on the

1 Hazlitt, *Table Talks,* chaps. 574-632, pp. 247-68; LW 54, pp. 16, 24, 29, 34, 51, 78, etc.: WATr6, nos. 6808-6835.

2 So too, his cosmology was medieval. Russell, *Mephistopheles*, 14-45; Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature,* chap. 1.

3 Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* and "*Teufelsdreck,*" 435-50; Hamm, "An Opponent of the Devil and the Modern Age: Heiko Oberman's View of Luther."

earlier studies of Obendiek,[4] Buchrucker,[5] Roos,[6] Edwards,[7] Adam,[8] Barth[9]—gives closer attention to his polemical and homiletic treatises. It is becoming clear that Luther's Devil was as much a "public" figure as a "private" one, as the Reformer exchanged words with his infernal Opponent. Yet in all these recent investigations of diabology little attention is paid to Luther's ecclesiology, the subject of this article.

I will argue that Luther called upon the Devil to define the true church and its nemesis, the false church. This is of course not to deny the existential reality of Satan in Luther's daily life. But as his conflicts with the Lutherans (as his followers were often called, to Luther's dismay, albeit he reconciled himself to its use), papists, and sectarians intensified, he came to realize that now and throughout history, the action of the son of perdition has served to clarify how God engages the true church.

Luther summons Satan in seven ways:

1

Luther extended the location of the Devil (where he directs his operations in "his" world, the latter being under his dominion) from the individual believer to entire groups: papists (Luther's general term for Catholics), Turks, Jews, sects, misguided Lutherans.

Now and in the past (going back to the Garden of Eden!) the Devil works his schemes through the papal church. Since the time of Pentecost the prince of lies uses the pope and the papists to introduce human doctrines into the Catholic church by means of papal decrees, canon law, scholastic

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4 Obendiek, *Der Teufel bei Martin Luther.*

5 Buchrucker, "*Die Bedeutung des Teufels.*"

6 Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, chaps. 1, 4.

7 Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren*, chap. 5.

8 Adam, "Der Teufel als Gottes Affe."

9 Barth, *Der Teufel und Jesus Christus*, chap. 3.

theology, and novel practices.[10] Popes have subverted the gospel by inventing private Masses, purgatory, clerical celibacy, pilgrimages, sacraments (beyond baptism and the Lord's Supper), communion in one kind, religious orders, indulgences, cult of the saints, separate clerical status, and papal supremacy, including supremacy over secular governments, even the Holy Roman Empire. The Evil Spirit and his earthly idol, the pope, have tyrannized the church with their reliance on good works, to the exclusion of justification by faith.[11] Note that Luther links diabolical activity to his baseline theological notion of justification by faith.

Luther's complaint is less with individual pontiffs than with the papacy itself, which was perverted by the Devil long before its current debasement. The Adversary tricked the emperor into making the pope (Boniface III in 608) the supreme head of the universal church.[12] The Destroyer has been particularly active in the church in the last 400 years and *a fortiori* after 1517 (or 1417, if one dates the "reform" to the death of John Hus, as Luther sometimes does).[13] Now that the gospel is again being preached, the Evil One has intensified his machinations within the papal church in the face of the imminent End Time. Luther was pleased that the recent diabolical assaults had been so severe, since these were evidence that the gospel is really being proclaimed. God is now preparing to destroy the papist church and allow the persecution of the true church.

2

The diabolical attacks of the false church upon the genuine church, now the recipient of persecution (by papists, radical

10 LW 8: 251-60; LW 39: 70-104, 189-223; LW 41: 210-28.

11 LW 5: 242, 257-59; LW 26: 155-68, 223, 307-11; LW 41: 110-14.

12 LW 41: 90, 292; Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles,* 186.

13 LW 2: 31; Fudge, "The Shouting Hus,"; Pelikan, "Luther's Attitude toward John Hus,"; Batka, "Jan Hus"; Oberman, "Hus and Luther"; Hendrix, "We are all Hussites?"; Haberkern, *Patron Saint and Prophet*, 149-210.

sects, Turks), are particularly acute because the Antichrist sits in the center of the church, the papal throne, worshipped as a god.[14] The Antichrist, as foretold by Daniel,[15] now dwells in the Temple of God, the papal curia, working his mischief with his perverse teaching of salvation by good works. For Luther the Antichrist is not some present or future vicar of Christ, but the papal institution itself, which disseminates blasphemous doctrine and practices at variance with the scriptures. When Luther refers to the pope as the Devil he is not simply name-calling, as if he were simply labeling him evil or engaging in the then-popular technique of invective. The pontiff is the opposite of Christ, the *anti*-Christ. Artists such Lucas Cranach[16] contrasted the humble Christ with the pompous pope and his curia. But whatever the popular appeal of the early Luther's rants against the corruption and exploitation of the German churches, the main point for the Wittenberger is that the bishop of Rome is Satan's disciple because he threatens the salvation of souls by disseminating false doctrine (a term Luther uses much more broadly than did contemporary theologians), which lead to spiritual complacency.[17] This combat between the Antichrist in the Vatican and the true believers is not (at least not primarily) some cosmological event beyond this world, but an ongoing clash here on earth. Luther has little interest in late medieval extra-terrestrial wars (based on Rev 12) or the then-current tales about the fall of the angels prior to God's creation of humans.[18]

14 LW 2: 38, 61, 101, 181, 213, 229; LW 37: 37, 368; LW 39: 60, 84, 134, 173, 193-94, 203, 279-80; LW 40: 353-59; LW 41: 205, 209-12, 339, 363-64, 371. Pettibone, "Martin Luther's Views on the Antichrist"; Russell, "Martin Luther's Understanding of the Pope as the Antichrist"; Oberman, "Teufelsdreck," 440; Stadtwald, "Antichrist"; Russell, *Schmalkald Articles,* 83, 85, 91-4, 198.

15 Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, 100-01; Headley*, Luther's View*, 197-98, 202, 211, 228; Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures*, 180-82, 192, 211.

16 Dykema, *Luther, Cranach*; Buck, *Roman Monster,* 160-68.

17 LW 1: 159, 179, 250, 253-54, 271-72. Hendrix in *Luther and the Papacy* argues that by 1520 Luther was convinced that the pope was the Antichrist because he had ignored his pastoral duty to preach the gospel. See also Hendrix, "The Turk, the Pope, and the Devil," 256-73; LW 39: 93, 149; LW 41: 291, 296, 301, 338-39.

18 Russell, *Mephistopheles*, 37-42.

3

While the pope is the Devil's favorite, the Turks and the Jews are not far behind. Although these two topics have been extensively examined in recent scholarship, the common denominator is that the Ruler of this world drives both groups. In the first instance God uses the Turks[19] to punish Germans for their weak faith and scandalous behavior, especially drunkenness and usury. Yet God nonetheless summons good Christians to resist the Muslims and protect the empire. We Germans must rally behind our emperor—however antagonistic he is to Lutherans—not as a holy war or crusade, but because of our duty to obey the legitimate secular government. God permits the infidel to attack Hungary and to teach Germans how to react to adversity. For Luther, the pope is worse than the Turk because the former poses a greater threat to the spiritual welfare of Christians. The Ottomans harm the body; the papists, the soul. Luther did not demonize the Turks, as was common in Germany at the time. And the Turks, after all, possess some good moral qualities, and are only "followers" of the Devil.[20] Luther showed no interest in the then-common artistic and theatrical depictions of the Devil and devils as grotesque half-animal monsters.

While Luther's teaching on the Turks is easy to discern, his views on the Jews are less so. Historians disagree on the reasons for the change in his attitude from tolerance to hostility, from patience with their errors to calls for their destruction after 1538.[21] Our concern here, however, is with

19 LW 43: 215-44; LW 46: 157-205; Lee, "Luther on Islam and the Papacy,"; Henrich, *Martin Luther—Translations of Two Prefaces on Islam*; Forell, "Luther and the War against the Turks"; Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, chaps 5, 7, 8; Brecht, *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church 1532-1546*, 351-57.

20 LW 46: 176-78, 180-82, 195, 200.

21 "On the Jews and their Lies" (1543), LW 47: 137-306; LW 58: 458-59; Wendebourg, "Luther, Jews, and Judaism"; Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews,* chaps. 4, 5; Evener, "The Enemies of God"; Osten-Sacken, "Martin Luther's Position on Jews and Judaism," 323-30; Brecht, *Luther: The Preservation of the Church*, 334-51.

the role of the Devil in Luther's idea of the Jews in these Last Days. Certainly, he blames the Tempter for hardening the Jews' hearts so that they will not convert before the Final Judgment. Luther may have believed that the End will not come until this mass conversion, as Augustine had intimated. But this does not suffice to explain the ferocity of Luther's vilification. More likely he came to believe that the Jews in Germany were interfering with the spread of the gospel. He suspected that Christians were Judaizing (or even converting to Judaism) by adopting more good works (or with the wrong motives) and accepting Jewish readings of the Old Testament. His heavy involvement with Genesis after 1534 made him more aware of Jewish renderings of Israelite history.[22] With witchcraft and magic widespread in Germany, the Reformer may have suspected Jewish hands— guided by the Devil—behind these practices. In some way the Jews were contributing to the disorders in the empire, always the result of diabolical doings. Perhaps the simplest explanation of Luther's assaults is that God is punishing the Jews for refusing to counter the wiles of Satan and converting to the true faith. Luther may have viewed his own role as God's prophet to accelerate this punishment to usher in the End Times. Not unexpectedly Luther accuses the popes for not treating the Jews more kindly throughout the centuries. The papists are to blame for making the Jews hostile to the Word.

4

God punishes Christians by having Satan infiltrate the sects which spread pernicious doctrine and cause disunity in the church. Luther's concern for their doctrines is revealed not only in his polemical tracts, but also in his letters[23] and Table

22 Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures on Genesis*, 39-60, 65, 164; Schramm, *Martin Luther, the Bible, and the Jewish People*, 10-21; Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews*, chap. 5; LW 15: 265-352; LW 47: 176-254.

23 Tappert, *Luther: Letters*, 34, 39, 40, 46, 48, 59, 85-9, 98, 102, 115, 117f, 206; LW 48: 152, 166, 168f, 235, 265-67, 269, 273, 278, 295, 307f, 328, 333, 354-55.

Talks.[24] He is particularly hard on the Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and sacramentarians for spiritualizing the Lord's Supper, and the Antinomians[25] for undermining sound ethical behavior. In every case Luther accuses the Devil of perverting the Word of God, who uses the spread of the radical sects to punish Germans for their drunkenness, laziness, indifference to the gospel, quarrelsomeness, passion for luxury and money, and adultery. So too, the Devil incites the peasants (1525) to rebel against legitimate secular authority. The father of lies stirs the princes to mistreat their peasants and suppress the revolts mercilessly.[26]

5

What makes the Devil so dangerous for Christians is that he entices them to deviate from true doctrine. He directs his attacks toward the central belief of the Christian religion: justification by faith alone. Satan seeks to subvert this *sola fide*, the foundation of true doctrine. The papists are the most insidious transmitters of works-righteousness with their traditions of canon law, scholastic theology, and widespread practices throughout Europe.[27]

6

The later Luther gradually worked out an ecclesiology which assigned to the Evildoer a central role in the history of salvation. The Reformer never gave the primitive church the function of being normative for Christian thought and action,[28] as did many of the sects such as the Anabaptists. The

24 WATr 6: 6808-35; Eire, "'Bite this Satan!'"; Janz, "Devil," 37-40; Rogers, "Deliver us from the Evil One."

25 LW 41: 113-14, 143, 147, 150, 153; LW 54: 233, 308f, 313f; Lohse, chap. 19; Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren,* chap. 7; Brecht, *Luther: Preservation of the Church*, 156-71.

26 LW 26: 52, 130, 142-44, 176, 192-94, 395-96; Edwards, *False Brethren*, chap. 3.

27 LW 26: 222-26; LW 41: 110-14, 302-22, 338-39.

28 Headley, *Luther's View of Church History*, 162-81.

apostolic church was, to be sure, a time of exemplary living and teaching. Yet it was also a time of diabolical scheming and at least a minimum of human additions to the Word. And there were even in those days some goats among the sheep. The church was not perfect as it struggled to assert itself as the community of believers. In some sense Christ founded the church as an institution, although it was not centralized around the holy see. But on a deeper level the "church" dates from the time of Abel, the real founder of the true church.[29] The "church" of Cain is the forerunner of the later papists, with its human institutions, tyrannical pope, hierarchy of prelates, indulgences, and monastic orders.[30] The head of the church of Abel is Christ: the head of the church of Cain is Satan.[31]

Note that Luther developed his theory of the two churches at the time he was combatting the Antinomians (who threatened to spiritualize the church and weaken ethical standards)[32], instructing the Lutheran leaders on how to defend the church in the upcoming general councils and imperial diets, and was writing his anti-papal polemics. He was under pressure to clarify his teaching on the constitution of the Lutheran churches and the confession of the "Lutheran" community, his alleged permissiveness on moral behavior, his defense of Christian participation in the wars against the Turks, the relationship between the true church and the church universal (Luther never relinquished the quasi-legitimacy of the Roman church), and his principles for the new ministers of the Word.

29 LW 1: 243-47, 254, 257-59, 261-92, 323-33; Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures on Genesis*, 157-63.

30 LW 1: 241-312, 319-29, 338-39; Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 277-85; Headley, *Luther's View*, 64f, 117-20.

31 LW 1: 140, 142-44, 149, 180, 183-200, 242, 271, 273, 275f. 281, 291-92, 300f, 311-12, 321-23, 340, 344, 346, 349; Gane, "Luther's Views on Church and State," 120-24.

32 Edwards, *False Brethren,* chap. 7; Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology*, 178-84; Althaus, *Theology of Martin Luther*, 261-66; note 25 above.

This advice for the pastors was the occasion of his lectures on Genesis (1535-45), where he elaborated on his two-church ecclesiology.[33] If all these concerns were not compelling enough, he strove to coordinate his view of the church with his ongoing commentary on Galatians.[34] (After 1530 Luther felt less need to reply to the Catholic controversialists, given his desire to respond to the sectarians and the wayward Lutherans.) It may be that Luther intended his lectures on Genesis to be his final statement on the two churches, in lieu of a formal tract on the nature of the church, and as a sort of continuation of John Hus' *De ecclesia.*[35] It was typical of the Wittenberger to develop his ideas piecemeal in the heat of polemical exchange. While he never wrote a compendium on the church, his mature thoughts on the nature of the *ecclesia* are revealed in his final commentaries and his tracts against the papacy.[36] The history of the two churches pivots on the actions of both God and the Devil. The work of both God and Adversary are symbiotic, always in response to the other. God is in control and sets limits to his nemesis' freedom of action. Yahweh incorporates the Demon into his providential plans for the cosmos and humankind. The Devil acts against the visible church as well as against individuals in the hidden church.[37] He employs the Serpent to punish members of the papist church as well as the members of the true church.[38]

33 LW 1: 237-331. Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor*, LW Supplement, chap. 5; Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures*, 147-63; Headley, *Luther's View*, 59-69; Lohse*, Luther's Theology*, 281-83.

34 LW 26: 50-53, 57f, 65-71, 113, 140, 378, 498-99.

35 Headley, *Luther's View*, 224-40; Haberken, *Patron Saint*, 156-63, 199-217; note 13 above.

36 LW 41.

37 Spitz, "Luther's Ecclesiology," 123-24; Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, chap. 14.

38 LW 26: 195-97; LW 41: 11, 34f, 161-72, 177f, 217-29, 241-51, 284-86, 295-96, 301-07. "The church of Satan [papists] is everlastingly at war with the church of God"; LW 2: 27.

The Devil tries to convince private consciences that they are not among the predestined.[39] God does not simply permit Satan to practice evil in the world; he actually wills evil.[40] The Bible makes the history of salvation the tale of the interactions between the true and false churches.

The makeup of the two churches is not rigid. There are true Christians in the papist church, and there are fraudulent Christians in the true church.[41] The Devil does not restrict his activity to the Catholic church. While he has free reign in "his" church (papist), he is ever-present in the true church. The reprobate in both churches can always repent of their ways and heed the preaching of the gospel. In a sense both churches "need" the Devil, a virus which punishes Christians in both the true and false churches. Yet one should not press Luther for a comprehensive theory of the church with its "imbedded" Devil. His allusions to the work of Satan are scattered around the lengthy commentaries on Genesis and Galatians and anti-papal tracts.

7

Although God will triumph in the end, the Devil runs loose in world by instilling doubt in the hearts of believers. Luther's Devil is more menacing than the affliction of private consciences; he disrupts the whole world with his promotion of war, social rebellions, domestic turmoil, diseases, demonic possessions, natural disasters, and despotic governments. Satan's main instrument in these doings is the pope. Since the time of John Hus, the Devil has intensified his assaults, since he is perturbed by the recovery of the preaching of the Word. "The hidden, stern will of God can appear to be the Devil's will."[42]

39 Table Talk, WATr 6: 6809, 6816, 6817, 6827; Schneider, *I am a Christian*, 30-34; LW 54: 29, 34, 78, 82, 93-4, 96, 105, 128f, 241, 275f, 279f, 298, 318, 379, 452; Brosché, *Luther on Predestination*, 136-40.

40 Russell, *Mephistopheles*, 37-42.

41 Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, chaps. 14, 15; LW 41: 194.

42 LW 54: 129; Russell, *Mephistopheles,* 37.

From one perspective, Luther's true church is the church of the Devil. The true church was born in sin, the result of the murder of a virtuous victim (Abel) by a tyrannical, proud brother. Fratricide results in a never-ending cycle of recrimination. One brother preserves the Word; the other destroys it. Yet the dichotomy of good and evil is not absolute, since the false church has always retained something of the true church's baptism, sacrament (at least in one kind), the keys of heaven, and the scriptures.[43] The true church contains the unworthy; it is not Hus' community of the predestined. The persecuted true church continued with the leadership of Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all prophets of the true church.[44] Luther seems to identify himself with these early prophets, especially Noah.[45] The head of the true church is Christ; the head of the false church is the so-called vicar of Christ. In sum, the true church keeps the Serpent on a leash by preaching the Word. The Christian community needs Satan to preserve its cohesion and common purpose. The Enemy provides a target for believers to hold to the faith in the face of suffering. The true church is and has always been persecuted by the so-called Catholic church, a powerful, wealthy organization. While the Devil does not reside *within* the true church, he stands in a symbiotic relationship to it as its relentless persecutor. The omnipresent "prosecuting attorney"[46] of God stands ready with temptation and false promises. God's Word for Luther is essentially a command experience, passed on from believer to believer. The Devil's attempts to prevent the preaching of the Word have the effect of strengthening the bonds within the Christian community.

Voltaire said that if God did not exist, humans would have had to invent him. Luther might had added that if Satan did not exist, Christians would have had to create him. Jesus on the cross reproduced a duel between God's curse (Cain) and his blessing (Abel). "God's

43 LW 1: 248-50; LW 41: 194-5 (baptism), 195 (keys), 196 (creed).

44 LW *Luther the Expositor,* 96f.

45 LW 1: 206-08, 334-58; Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures,* 148-50, 162-70, 190-91.

46 Schneider, *I am a Christian,* 47 (also 27-33, 90-1); Althaus, *Theology of Martin Luther*, chap. 13; LW 1: 252-54.

devil"[47] does God's work when he persecutes the faithful remnant. The papist church glories in its dominance in the world; the true church survives as the innocent foil of this worldly church. They are mirror images of each other. All the marks of the church[48] are to some extent formed by the diabolical attacks of the Catholic church, sustained not by the Word but by the Devil's machinations to undo them. Paradoxically the Devil's control of the world indirectly strengthens the true church. God and Devil are ying-yang versions of interdependent rivals, although the victor is never in doubt.

Conclusion

Luther was not a theologian of the church. His various remarks on the nature of the *ecclesia* were in large part polemical reactions to dissent from papists, sectarians, and Lutherans within the fold. His frequent allusions to the Devil suggest an antagonism to those who would underrate the large role the Accuser plays and has played since the creation of humankind. Luther had no "theory" of Satan, but only pastoral advice on how to deflect his assaults and how to profit from them. But increasingly after 1530 he came to realize the broader implications of the Evil One's significance for the current plight of the believers' church. As he grappled with the mistaken notions of the Antinomians, papists, sectarians, and his own circle, he gained more clarity about Satan's function in the church. When he returned to commenting on Galatians and Genesis after 1534, he fell back on his Augustine-like dualism, which fit into a grand vision of history. If he had any doubts about the ecclesial role of Satan in the wide setting of historical eras, they were dispelled by his meditations on the primordial age of humankind. (Luther never tired of saying that his opinions about the Devil stemmed from his own personal experience.)[49]

47 Schneider, *I am a Christian*, 33.

48 LW 41: 148-65, 194-98; Rupp, *Righteousness*, 322; Lohse*, Luther's Theology*, 283-85; Headley, *Luther's View,* 36-8.

49 LW 26: 164, 192-3, 196; Hazlitt, *Table Talk*, 260-66; WATr 6817; Lindberg, "Mask of God," 87-101.

The Cain and Abel story finally disclosed its secrets as the driving force of history: the ongoing struggle between the papalist church of the Antichrist and the humble true church of the Savior. Luther had found the key to the true church, and the outsized role of the Devil for it. Luther's Devil was the private "medieval" pest lurking behind every temptation. The prince of darkness has been elevated to the rung in the divine ladder just below the Creator. The Devil's playground is no longer the heavens where the war of the angels takes place. But the symbiosis is not mutual, for the Devil's reign will end soon, since he cannot resist the promise of Christ. For now, he is permitted to torment the church in its double form, the false and the true.

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Alani Hicks Bartlett

Disintegration, *Adynata*, and the Failures of Memory

in Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*

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In Francesco Petrarch's Canzoniere*, or* Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, the first sonnet, the canzone "I'vo pensando," and the collection's last canzone constitute a triptych that investigates the importance and potential of memory and commemoration. In the three poems, one of Petrarch's primary concerns is not just commemorating his beloved, as critics often understand, but that he may not be properly remembered after his death. Yet, rather than looking towards his contemporaries or the future, as his desire for commemoration would suggest, Petrarch curiously focuses his gaze on the past, ardently seeking approval and validation from the classical authors he values greatly. However, given the temporal distance that separates them, he is seeking what is both an impossible recognition, and an impossible validation. Though Petrarch emphasizes the associative and etymological connection of memory and commemoration, he also reveals that vanity— as futile enterprise and self-importance—is the destructive force that undermines lasting memory and appropriate commemoration. He does so by coupling his desire for recognition adynata and descriptions of failed seizure. However, by describing the poetic process as an attempt to grasp an intangible and elusive 'wind' that metaphorizes approval, Petrarch frustrates his own desire for posterity by looking in the wrong direction and to people who are dead. He claims to recognize the inevitable failure of his enterprise and acknowledges the change of strategy and orientation that are subsequently necessary. Instead of continuing to nurture his obsession with the memory of things past, he will turn his time and attentions irrevocably towards the future. Or so he avers.*

One of the most salient features of Petrarch's (1304-1374) oeuvre is its extensive and profound engagement with questions of temporality, trajectory, and loss. Through retrospection, a compulsive revisiting of past events, and an often nostalgic treatment of classical *topoi*, in all iterations of his work—from his scholarly, episto-

lary, and religious Latin writings to the vernacular poetry of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, commonly referred to as the *Canzoniere* (1336-74)—Petrarch obsessively charts and revisits the passage of time.[1] He bemoans his own temporal confusion, his preemptively frustrated hopes for the future, and his tortured yearning for an increasingly inaccessible past, all while lamenting that his concerns have direct and profound epistemological, amorous, and authorial ramifications.

To give just one example of many, in "Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade" (*Rvf* 23) Petrarch struggles to reconcile the person he has become, with the person he once was: "Lasso, che son! che fui!" ("Alas, what am I? what was I?") (v.30; Durling 60).[2] In other poems he frequently discusses time in a rather palimpsestic manner as well: he thematically, syntactically, and grammatically conflates distinct temporal moments, while emphasizing how time's pitiless course thwarts his desires. As he repines in the sonnet "L'aspetto sacro de la terra vostra" (*Rvf* 272), which maximizes the temporal valences of "anchora" ("to anchor" and the adverbs "still," or "again"), he is simultaneously hunted, trapped in place, encumbered, and violently thrashed by the constant rush of time:

> La vita fugge, et non s'arresta una hora,
> et la morte vien dietro a gran giornate,
> et le cose presenti et le passate
> mi danno guerra, et le future anchora;
> e 'l rimembrare et l'aspettar m'accora,
> or quinci or quindi […] (vv. 1-6)

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1 On the theme of time's too-swift passage, Petrarch's description of time, and Petrarch's recurrence to classical texts, see Adelia Noferi, L'esperienza del Petrarca ; Cecilia Gibellini, "Petrarca e le maschera degli antichi." For a very compelling situation of the centrality of time in Petrarch's oeuvre, consult Teodolinda Barolini's "The Time of His Life," 1-4, as well as the volume L'esperienza poetica del tempo e il tempo della storia. Studi sull'opera di Francesco Petrarca edited by Anatole Fuksas and Carla Chiummo.

2 All citations of the original are taken from Ugo Dotti's 2017 edition of the Canzoniere. The English translations are my own when not attributed; otherwise, they are from Robert Durling's 1979 edition and translation and are indicated accordingly.

Life flees and does not stop an hour, and Death comes after by great stages; and present and past things make war on me, and future things also, and remembering and expecting both weigh down my heart now on this side, now on that […]. (Durling 450)[3]

Petrarch feels that time, his present qualms, his past remembrances, and his future hopes are attacking him, concurrently, repeatedly, and from all sides. Yet while his complex treatment of time often simultaneously brings together these distinct temporalities, he does not handle each uniformly. Rather, Petrarch emphasizes temporal moments and the passage of time in a way that ultimately prioritizes looking backwards.

As Petrarch writes in the *Collatio laureationis*, in the *Secretum*, and in many of the letters that comprise his epistolary correspondence, he values classical writers and an imagined past audience over the presence and work of his contemporaries. Thus, he regards the classical period with "nostalgia," in the full etymological sense of the word. He longs to "return" home; however, the sense of loss that nostalgia inherently carries with it is particularly acute in his case since the refuge and sanctuary he seeks are largely irrecuperable and can only be accessed through memory and citation. Likewise, as Petrarch's creative and amorous goals tinge his longing with a frustrated Orphic desire to recuperate what he has lost, his backwards glance dramatizes the connection between his poetic identity and

3   In addition to the problematic anagnorisis staged with "Lasso, che son! che fui!," "Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade" (*Rvf* 23) also dramatizes the same temporal conflation as does "L'aspetto sacro de la terra vostra" (*Rvf 272), but with references that are* even more explicitly authorial:

Ma perche 'l tempo e corto,
la penna al buon voler non po gir presso:
 onde piu cose ne la mente scritte
vo trapassando, et sol d'alcune parlo (Rvf 23, vv.90-94)

But because time is short, my pen cannot follow closely my good will; wherefore I pass over many things written in my mind and speak only of some, which make those who hear them marvel (Durling 64)

the devastating losses that he has experienced.[4]

Not only does Petrarch feel more secure and more appropriately aligned with the writers of the past, frequently situating Juvenal, Ovid, and Virgil as his literary models and charting direct genealogies from the works of authors like Augustine, Cicero, and Statius to his own, he yearns for his classical ideal. Though he finds it problematic that all of antiquity is not unilaterally enlightened spiritually,[5] he longs to 'return' to his imagined classical world. At the same time, he hopes that his name and his poetry can have a boundless futurity and project forward, serving as a beacon of light that illuminates and edifies the bleak, inauspicious epochs of the present and future. Aside from his desire for present and future greatness, Petrarch problematizes these temporal concerns even further by frequently evidencing another point of disconnect and conflicting temporalities: he grapples not just with the distance between the past and the present, but between the present and the future—that is, between earthly life and spiritual eternity. Thus, after first making an appeal to antiquity, he turns his attentions rather vertiginously (and perfunctorily, I would argue) to an imagined spiritual future.[6]

4 For an analysis of the link between backwards glances, commemoration, and poetic inspiration (particularly in regards to Virgil's presentation of Orpheus in the Georgics), see "Poetry and the Backward Glance in Virgil's 'Georgics' and 'Aeneid,'" by Monica Gale, in which she susses out the temporal and spatial implications of looking backwards, p. 334: "Why, then, does Orpheus look back? In part, of course, because he is overwhelmed by his irresistible desire for Eurydice. But also, perhaps, because poets in general face backward towards the past whence they derive their inspiration. We should bear in mind that the crucial verb respicio can mean 'look back in time' as well as 'look back in space.'" See also Thérèse Migraine-George "Specular Desires," 226- 246.

5 Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the Dark Ages," 227-28.

6 In her book Il progetto autobiografico delle Familiares di Petrarca, Roberta Antognini describes Petrarch's vacillating orientation as evidence of a nervous and bewildered hesitation between "a desire for peace and a hope for glory" "fra desiderio della pace e aspirazione alla gloria," 221. Similarly, in "Petrarch's Autobiography," p. 60, Aldo Bernardo notes that the layered but conflicting temporalities and the vacillations between classical, worldly, and Christian glory are a frequent Petrarchan signature: [...] similar moments mark the ending of most of Petrarch's principal works, both Latin and Italian, including the Secretum, the Africa, the De vita solitaria, the two major collections of letters, the Canzoniere, and the Trionfi, not to mention his Coronation Oration which defines his classical poetics. In each case we see a Petrarch who feels the pull of greatness in the classical sense, a greatness resting on worldly glory and human renown. But in such moments we also sense a Petrarch trying, as in the Posteritati, to moderate his stance by confessing his Christian awareness of final things.

In the *Rvf,* rather than granting him a sense of unity or strength in numbers that allows him to connect productively with his predecessors, or that ensures his fame among his contemporaries, Petrarch's preference for the past creates distance and rupture. Moreover, his obsessive retrospection confounds the purportedly future-oriented linearity of his own authorial objectives. Consequently, this gives the *spargamos* topos of scattering and fragmentation that is so prevalent throughout his vernacular poetry a poetological function as well. Instead of solely being attributed to how he represents his fragmentary vision of his beloved and her disparate body parts (as critics such as Nancy Vickers and John Freccero have suggested[7]), fragmentation also typifies Petrarch's obsession with his own fragmented body and mind.[8] Indeed, it also defines the themes of dispersion and temporal disintegration that give the moments of loss, cleavage, and disorientation frustrating his amorous and literary aspirations such a privileged position in his "scattered rhymes."

Three prime examples of the disordered temporality that confounds the poetic voice and reinforces his notions of the futility or vanity of the poetic enterprise are presented quite clearly in the first and last poems of the *Rvf*—in the sonnet "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono," and the canzone "Vergine bella, che di sol vestita." They are also fundamental to the canzone "I'vo pensando, et nel penser m'assale," which, in the definitive manuscript is situated as the collection's 264th of 366 poems, and marks the thematic midpoint of the

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7 See, for example, Nancy Vickers, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme"; John Freccero "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics"; and, Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women, Parmigianino, Petrarchismo, and the Vernacular Style." See also Thomas Greene, The Light in Troy, 114-26.
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8 James Villas in "The Petrarchan Topos 'Bel piede': Generative Footsteps," and James V. Mirollo, in "In Praise of 'La bella mano,'" as well as Vickers and Freccero, are among the many critics who have emphasized the fragmentation of Laura's body. While much attention has been granted to Petrarch's psychological fragmentation, for example in the studies by Giuseppe Mazzotta in The Worlds of Petrarch, Sara Sturm-Maddox in Petrarch's Laurels, and Dino Cervigni in "The Petrarchan Lover's Non-Dialogic and Dialogic Discourse," aside from Robert Durling's "Giovane donna sotto un verde lauro," and his "Introduction" to Petrarch's Lyric Poems, and Teodolinda Barolini's "The Making of a Lyric Sequence" the fact that Petrarch continually presents himself as both narratologically fragmented and as just as corporally fragmented as Laura has yet to be sufficiently studied.

collection.[9] As they constitute a triptych that investigates the importance and potential of memory, commemoration, and proper orientation, these three crucial poems dramatize the fraught relationship between time, vanity, and Petrarch's concerns regarding poetic success (or failure). In each poem Petrarch embraces and repudiates his own work. He worries about his spiritual success and authorial reputation while regretting the distance and emotional imperviousness of his beloved, and the callous disregard of the vulgar masses. As the pitilessness of Laura and his contemporary interlocutors reinforces his sense of isolation, Petrarch then esteems that this conflation of trials, critical negligence, and frustrating distance from the people to whom he wishes to be attached might cause him to be improperly remembered after his death.

The *adynata*, or *impossibilia* topos to which Petrarch frequently returns, illustrates his nuanced understanding of time's control over poetic fame and greatness. Specifically, as Marianne Shapiro and Olivia Holmes have noted,[10] Petrarch frequently uses *impossibilia* to describe the poetic process. In the classical texts and troubadour poetry from which he often borrows, the use of *adynaton* frequently conjures up notions of the miraculous or post-apocalyptic salvation. These are not necessarily represented as "impossibilities," but

9 The date, and the various numerological positionings of "I'vo pensando" have been the object of not insignificant critical attention. Ernest Wilkins, in The Making of the "Canzoniere," for example, and in Vita del Petrarca, studies Petrarch's efforts to structure the collection, identifying nine separate attempts. See especially 355-84, and Durling, "Introduction," p.8. Amending Wilkins' emphasis on the nine various and rather arbitrarily determined forms, in "Petrarch at the Crossroads of Hermeneutics and Philology," Barolini clarifies that just two forms exist, "the form copied by Boccaccio in the codex preserved as Chigiano L V 176, and the form copied by Petrarch and Malpagini in the codex preserved as Vaticano Latino 3195," 39. She also elucidates the importance of the collocation of "I'vo pensando" at the "textual 'middle'" of the Rvf and as the 264th poem: Petrarch's division is a formal structure that, by generating a textual 'middle'—in the narratological sense of in medias res rather than in the mathematical sense (poem 264 is closer to two-thirds of the way through the Fragmenta than to the half-way point, suggesting as a model Augustine, who structures his Confessions so that the conversion experience occurs at roughly two-thirds of the way through the text)—also has the effect of throwing into relief the willed and constructed nature of the collection's beginning and ending. (26) See also Barolini's "The Making of a Lyric Sequence," 195-98 and Wilkins' "The Evolution of the Canzoniere," 419-25.

10 See Shapiro, Hieroglyph of Time, and Olivia Holmes, "Petrarch and his Vernacular Lyric Predecessors," 154-66.

as miracles that often come about through divine intervention or because of the prodigious abilities of an extraordinary poet.[11] Yet, instead of describing his success despite the odds and his ability to achieve the impossible, Petrarch uses *adynata* to denote both the challenges that he continually faces and his ultimate defeat.

In sonnet 239, "Là ver' l'aurora, che sí dolce l'aura" for example, he articulates his desire to soften Laura's resolve through *adynata*, commenting dolefully that winter will become spring before love will bloom in her heart, especially since she cares not for his poetry:

> Ma pria fia 'l verno la stagion de' fiori,
> ch'amor fiorisca in quella nobil alma,
> che non curo gia mai rime ne versi. (vv. 10-12)

> But winter will be the season of flowers
> Before love flowers in that noble soul
> That never cared for rhymes or verses. (Durling 398)

He then cites the challenge of filling daylight with stars, putting the lush verdure of youth back on fallen leaves, and gathering fleeting breezes in a net. He also uses *adynata* to extoll the power of poetry to transform the natural world:

> Nulla al mondo è che non possano i versi;
> et li aspidi incantar sanno in lor note,
> nonché 'l gielo adornar con novi fiori. (*Rvf* 239, vv. 28-30)

> There is nothing in the world that cannot be done by verses, they know how to enchant asps with their notes, not to speak of adorning the frost with new flowers. (Durling 400)

Subsequently, however, his descriptions showcase his thwarted attempts to enamor his beloved, and he settles on a list of impossible feats in the sestina's congedo. After first recounting an attempt to

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11 As Caron Cioffi specifies in her discussion of the *adynaton* in English texts (see "Criseyde's Oaths of Love," 524), there is typically no seamless connection between *adynata* and the marvelous. "The *adynaton* assumes that something cannot happen' the marvelous refers to something which is thought to be impossible but which actually happens nonetheless."

hunt the dawn with a stumbling ox ("et col bue zoppo andrem cacciando l'aura" ["we shall go with a lame ox hunting the breeze"] [*Rvf* 239, v.36; Durling 400]), he proffers a series of *impossibilia* used pessimistically to underscore his beloved's imperviousness:

> In rete accolgo l'aura, e 'n ghiaccio i fiori,
> e 'n versi tento sorda et rigida alma,
> che né forza d'Amor prezza né note. (*Rvf* 239, vv. 37-39)

> In a net I catch the breeze and on ice flowers,
> And in verses I woo a deaf and rigid soul
> Who esteems neither the power of Love nor his notes. (Durling 400)

Petrarch continually attempts the impossible, but while other lovers might be persuaded, he remains unable to move his beloved.

Therefore, it can be said that Petrarch's usage of *adynata* underscores his poetic failure. In sonnet 212, "Beato in sogno et di languir contento," he describes how he attempts to grasp and chase intangible things as he lunges after shadows and the summer air. He crosses a sea that is boundless and shoreless; he carves apart waves; he builds upon sand; borrowing from a challenge often favored by troubadours, he writes on the wind; and, finally, he attempts to wrangle another stumbling ox in order to pursue a fleeing, far swifter deer:

> Beato in sogno et di languir contento,
> d'abbracciar l'ombre et seguir l'aura estiva,
> nuoto per mar che non a fondo o riva,
> solco onde, e 'n rena fondo, et scrivo in vento;
> […]
> et una cerva errante et fugitiva
> caccio con un bue zoppo e 'nfermo et lento. (*Rvf* 212, vv.1-4, 7-8)

> Blessed in sleep and satisfied to languish, to embrace shadows, and to pursue the summer breeze, I swim through a sea that has no floor or shore, I plow the waves and found my house on sand and write on the wind; […] and I pursue a wandering, fleeing doe with a lame, sick, slow ox. (Durling 366)

Yet rather than a confident account of prodigious exploits attempted and achieved, Petrarch parenthetically encloses his *adynata* in negative commentary that undermines any potential success. De-

spite claiming to be "blessed" and happy in the sonnet's first verse, Petrarch admits that he suffers and is only able to find solace in the oneiric world. After his list of extraordinary deeds, the sonnet's tercets then create an even more pessimistic tone and Petrarch admits that he is entirely consumed by his fatal love. He is "blind and tired," and rather than a poetic miracle, his work has been a tantalizing, consuming, and "burdensome, long struggle" that leaves him only with "tears, and sighs, and pain."[12]

Instead of insisting on his originality and poetic prowess in order to convince readers of his extraordinary creative skills and the wondrous singularity of his love, as traditional usages of *adynata* do, in many of Petrarch's other poems *impossibilia* share the far more literal valence that is portrayed in poems 212 and 239. Petrarch still recurs to hyperbole, but he utilizes the device to signal the challenges that he is not able to overcome rather than his prodigious success. As such, since what is impossible remains unachieved and does not come to fruition in the *Rvf*, Petrarch's loving subject fails—he is ultimately depicted as irremediably bound to an oppressive desire and powerless to alter the course of events. To this end, he situates *adynata* as unfortunate proof of the trials of love that frustrate and confound his desires. They represent the impossible commemorative and artistic tasks he is not able to fulfill, and the elusive desired objective that he is not able to obtain.

In other words, not only does Petrarch's recurrent use of *impossibilia* dramatize the failures and powerlessness of the poetic voice qua lover, it also reveals a certain poetic failure. By drawing attention to what cannot be achieved or what cannot be obtained, Petrarch insists upon the necessary connection of memory and commemoration, each of which reflexively validate and reinforce his poetry; yet he also acknowledges the impossibility of securing both. It is this

12 Cieco et stanco ad ogni altro ch'al mio danno
   il qual di et notte palpitando cerco,
   sol Amor et madonna, et Morte, chiamo.
   Cosi venti anni, grave et lungo affanno,
   pur lagrime et sospiri et dolor merco:
   in tale stella presi l'esca et l'amo. (Rvf 212, vv.9-14)

impossible yet tantalizing challenge that subsequently shrouds the *Rvf* in a marked pessimism and a "powerful sense of catastrophe."[13] Moreover, by describing the poetic process as an attempt to grasp an intangible and elusive 'wind' that metaphorizes approval and the promise of fame, Petrarch frustrates his own desire for posterity by looking in the wrong direction and to people who have passed. He acknowledges that a change of strategy and orientation is necessary in order to achieve poetic greatness, and announces that instead of continuing to nurture his obsession with the memory of things past, he will turn his time and attentions irrevocably towards the future. Then, wracked with guilt over his indulgent desire for artistic posterity, he trades his literary objectives for spiritual ones. This is, at least, what he claims to do in the opening sonnet "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono" (*Rvf* 1) and in the final canzone "Vergine bella, che di sol vestita" (*Rvf* 366).

In both of these poems Petrarch denigrates his own poetic production in an anxious yet defensive stance that details the great lengths to which he will go to supposedly distance himself from the early fault of falling in love—as he puts it elsewhere, from the "fera voglia che per mio mal crebbe" (the fierce desire that grew because of my suffering) (*Rvf* 23, v3), and from the work that cannot bring himself to definitively abandon. Although Petrarch insists that being at the end of his life makes him eager to correct his wayward ways before time runs out, he remains shamefully aware of pleasing his audience and ensuring the positive reception of his poetry for generations to come. This preoccupation with both his spiritual reputation and his public repute undermines the sincerity of his insistence upon redirection.

In the opening sonnet "Voi ch'ascoltate," which has a proemial function, as Petrarch implores his audience for benevolence, he presents his obsessive concerns with vanity and squandered time. He regrets the moments he wasted during his misguided attempts to nourish his heart with the very same tortured sighs that stemmed from his early, terrific transgression:

13 Shapiro, Hieroglyph of Time, 71.

Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core
in sul mio primo giovenile errore
quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'i' sono, (*Rvf* 1, vv. 1-4)

You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound of those sighs with which
I nourished my heart during my first youthful error, when I was in part
another man from what I am now. (Durling 36)

Underscoring the vain egocentrism of his desires and his ineffective words, both of which are subsumed by his amorous objectives, Petrarch confesses that his poetic efforts consist of "vane speranze e 'l van dolore" (vain hopes and futile suffering), and he hopes that his audience can be moved to overlook the shameful origin of his love and the problematic nature of his poetry.

In many of his subsequent poems Petrarch details how he views the vanity of his hopes and the gratuitousness of his pain as directly linked to the problematic temporal consequences of his poetic efforts. The expression of his desires only offers paltry and tardy comfort, he explains, and not only does suffering consume all of his time—which he quantifies as "gli anni, e i giorni, et l'ore" "de' miei martiri," (the years, and the days, and the hours of my suffering) (*Rvf* 12, vv. 11, 10)—time remains inimical and staunchly "contrary" to his wishes. Pointing to a moment of self-recognition that causes him great shame as a mature poet "now" reflecting back on the flawed ways of his youth, Petrarch is highly cognizant of the risks to his fame and reputation. As such, he recognizes his inability to harness the passage of time and reroute his many years of error to his advantage. Time has been a perverse but continual witness to his suffering, as it controverts his desires by continuing to hurtle past, offering him only the trivial and delayed succor of "tardi sospiri," or "belated sighs."[14]

14 See, for example, "Se la mia vita da l'aspro tormento" (Rvf 12):
   […] vi discovrirò de' miei martiri
qua' sono stati gli anni, e i giorni, et l'ore;
et se 'l tempo è contrario ai be' desire,
non fia ch' almeno non giunga al mio dolore
alcun soccorso di tardi sospiri. (vv. 10-14)

   […] I shall disclose to you what have been the years and the days and the hours of my
   sufferings; and if time is hostile to my sweet desires, at least it will not prevent my
   sorrow from receiving some little help of tardy sighs. (Durling 46)

Since time cannot grant him any advantage, and since he ostensibly no longer finds himself blinded and bound by his problematic love, Petrarch uses language that maximizes the Christological potential of the *vanitas* topos, claiming, again, that he can "now" see how his actions have been shameful and misguided: "Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto / favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente / di me medesmo meco mi vergogno" ("But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I am ashamed of myself within.") (*Rvf* 1, 9-11; Durling 36). He admits that shame and regret have led him to seek both "pity" and "pardon." In turn, this epistemological anagnorisis makes him realize how shameful his amorous and poetic dalliances were ("et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto" [and shame is the fruit of my raving]) (*Rvf* 1, v.12)— particularly given that these deviating desires captured his attention for so long, effectively wasting the greater part of his life.[15]

Rather than having been focused on earthly attachments that would never endure or withstand time even if his relationship with his beloved Laura had been reciprocal, Petrarch admits that he should have turned his attentions to matters of a loftier nature. Instead, even the "vario stile," or "varied style" of his poetry is suggestive of dispersal and fragmentation. Furthermore, the many years he spent oriented improperly and his belated realization that the only "fruit" of his poetry and earthly love, is shame, regret, and more lost time reinforces the principles of vanity that circumscribe his poetry. They also underscore his tardy realization that not only has he indulged his desires too much, he has also been too vain, time is too short, and earthly things far are too fleeting.

15 Much work remains to be done on questions regarding Petrarch's authorial voice and the process of self-fashioning and recognition that reach climactic turns in his first and last poems, and of course, in "I'vo pensando" (Rvf 264) and the cluster of poems that directly laments Laura's death and Petrarch's response to it. While Thomas Hyde in The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature, p.81, identifies the moment of anagnorisis for poets like Petrarch and Dante as one born of "the dissociation between love as an experience and Love as a god," Terence Cave's nuanced discussion of the reception history of Aristotle's theory of anagnorisis in Recognitions: A Study in Poetics, is also helpful. Especially given the alleged spiritual and moral centrality of the moments of recognition that Petrarch presents in the first sonnet and last canzone, the purposeful ambiguity that shrouds the scenes of apparent recognition, acceptance, and correction undermine what he situates as a climactic, stunning realization. The fact that the opening and closing poems each portray this recognition does not create greater reliability but rather undermines belief in the poet's genuine response by doubling an event that should necessarily be singular.

This technique of anchoring his poetry in a discourse of shame, attempting to mitigate guilt by putting forth an exculpation that promotes the abandonment of earthly things and seeks absolution for an improper and even deleterious expenditure of time, aligns with the hagiographical and confessional texts that Petrarch frequently cites in his Latin works. Not only does he situate these works or their authors as his direct interlocutors, their description of the felicitous advantages of spiritual redirection—as he insists in the *Secretum* or "The Ascent of Mont Ventoux," for example—supposedly motivate his own desire for transformation.

Spiritual redirection and the opportunity to rehabilitate his otherwise futile experience is also the main argument Petrarch puts forth in the *Rvf*'s final poem, "Vergine bella, che di sol vestita." "Vergine bella" is a eulogistic canzone in which Petrarch appeals to the Virgin Mary, imploring her to intercede on his behalf, and to redirect and guide him down a more favorable path:

> Vergine dolce et pia,
> […]
> Con le ginocchia de la mente inchine
> Prego che sia mia scorta
> Et la mia torta via drizzi a buon fine. (*Rvf* 366, vv. 61, 63-65)
>
> With the knees of my mind bent, I beg you to be my guide and to direct
> my twisted path to good end. (Durling 579)

Replacing the deviating bewitchment of Laura with the succor the Virgin Mary represents, the Virgin is the "true bringer of happiness" (Durling 578). Moreover, replacing Laura's fragmentary nature with her integral and intact strength, the Virgin is described as "d'ogni parte intera" (whole in every part) and "stabile in eterno" (stable for eternity). As all of the poet's hopes are buoyed by her generosity and empathy towards him, she serves as a "referigio al cieco ardor ch'avampa" ("relief from the blind ardor that flames here") (*Rvf* 366, v.20; Durling 576). By stating that the pleasures of 'survival' through eternal life that the Virgin offers far surpass his vain desire for his poetry and name to endure in the mortal world,

the poet moves from "yearning" to "peace," regretting, as he does, his "secol pien d'errori oscuri et folti" (century full of dark and thorny errors) and his own flawed, human ways (*Rvf* 366, v.44).

As such, throughout the entire canzone Petrarch entreats the Virgin Mary both directly and repeatedly. He does so rather than turning to Laura, the earthly woman who has inspired his poetry and suffering for so long. Indeed, deigning not to mention her outright, as if in a performative attempt to accentuate the distance between them, in "Vergine bella" Petrarch refers to Laura only obliquely. To demonstrate how she is fully decentered from his thoughts, sight, and language, he refers to her only with the hostile periphrasis "Medusa et l'error mio" ("Medusa and my error) (*Rvf* 366, v.111), and with metaphors of mud, dust, and dirt to underscore her corruptible anchorage and the caducity of her body.[16] Refusing to name Laura directly and calling her "Medusa" also dramatizes Petrarch's problematic scopophilia and the bewitchment and deviation that the sight of Laura has caused him. This treatment, of course, is in stark contrast to the hyperdulia that he proffers to the Virgin Mary—to his unwavering, upturned gaze and repeated, deferential invocation of her name. Juxtaposing his new devotion to his past sins, the Virgin is the "cosa gentile" in whom, as he says, he puts "tutta la mia speranza" or "all of his hopes" (*Rvf* 366, v.105). While the Virgin thus represents eternity, success, and limitless love, the stark contrast she bears to Laura's distance, degradation, and untouchability emphasizes once more, her harsh rejection of the suffering poet and his ultimately fruitless, dangerous, and entirely deviating earthly desires.

Petrarch attempts to show how he has extricated himself from Laura's snares by describing how his transformed values and "cangiati

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16 This corresponds of course, to the oneiric dialogic poem, "Quando il soave mio fido conforto" (Rvf 359). After reminding the poet that death allowed her to leave behind the shackles of earthly misery and "come to a better life," Laura, in a gesture that anticipates the succor Petrarch ultimately requests from the Virgin Mary, enjoins the poet to abandon his "dolci […] fallaci ciance" (sweet deceptive babbling) and reorient himself towards heavenly life. More than removed or immaterial, he should regard her corporeal presence and what her body mean to him as fully inconsequential, and all the more so upon her death: "Spirito ignudo sono e 'n Ciel mi godo; /quel che tu cerchi è terra già molt'anni" ("I am a naked spirit, and I rejoice in Heaven: what you seek has been dust for many years now") (Rvf 359, v. 60-61; Durling 558).

desiri" (changed desires) have readied him for the Virgin's timely arbitration on his behalf. He evokes the laborious personal and spiritual transformation he claims he has undergone in the first sonnet of the *Rvf*, and also insists on his deepening understanding of the temporal constraints that will limit his life. Since he has no rudder, has not yet been "saved," and is dangerously close to his final cries, Petrarch regards his impending death as an opportunity to beg the Virgin for guidance:

> Pon mente in che terribile procella
>
> I'mi ritrovo sol, senza governo,
>
> Et ò già da vicin l'ultime strida. (*Rvf* 366, vv.69-71)
>
> see in what a terrible storm I am, alone, without a tiller, and I am close to the last screams. (Durling 580)

Given his supposed distance from Laura, the Virgin becomes the only lodestar than can guide him through the tempestuous sea of his experience ("di questo tempestoso mare stella" (*Rvf* 366, v.67). It is only her guidance that will allow him to find safety in a secured port, only her mediation that will concretize his transformation. Her benevolence, he insists, will allow him to "sanctify," and "purge" his "thoughts, wit, and style."

With his plea to distance himself from his "error" and trade his indulgent, "insane" cries for "devout weeping," and "holy repentant tears"—"Vergine, quante lagrime ò già sparte, / quante lusinghe et quanti preghi indarno," ("Virgin, how many tears have I already scattered, how many pleadings, and how many prayers in vain") (*Rvf* 366, vv.79-80; Durling 580)— Petrarch rearticulates his need for purification in a climactic moment towards the conclusion of his lengthy appeal for intercession and peace. His need for correction and redirection is immediate, he repeatedly insists, because his days have gone by "swifter than an arrow," and because he feels that he must be close to death: "et sol Morte n'aspetta" (and only death awaits) (*Rvf* 366, vv.89, 91). Indeed, wondering how the same individual can love the Virgin so ardently with the very same heart that was previously so devoted to the "terrestro limo," or "earthly mud"

that Laura represents, he begs the Virgin to understand how shamefully and deeply he was mired in worldly muck, and implores her to therefore treat him with even greater mercy:

> Vergine umana e nemica d'orgoglio:
> […]
> miserere d'un cor contrito umile;
> ché se poca mortal terra caduca
> amar con sì mirabil fede soglio,
> che devrò far di te, cosa gentile? (*Rvf* 366, vv.118, 120-23)

> Kindly Virgin, enemy of pride, […] have mercy on a contrite and humble heart; for if I am wont to love with such marvelous faith a bit of deciduous mortal dust, how will I love you, a noble thing? (Durling 582)

Yet the way in which Petrarch articulates the Virgin's intercession in this final poem of the *Rvf* is quite telling because it shows that Petrarch is not solely seeking a purgation of spirit, nor merely requesting a cleansing of abstract ills. Though slightly veiled, and despite his confession that the machine of time that ruthlessly "runs" and "flies away,' makes him even surer of his need for quick salvation, Petrarch *continues* to make reference to the writing process that exacerbated his deviation and problematic expenditure of time in the first place. He understands the Virgin's salvific arbitration as an intercession that will not only save his soul, but also cleanse, purify, and rehabilitate the deadly material to which he consecrated so much of his time and his life.

For example, by begging the Virgin to allow him to "rise from [his] wretched and vile state, and consecrate and cleanse his "thoughts, ingenuity, and style," Petrarch claims that he wants to be freed from his deviating poetry and given the better direction that will lead him to peace, as we have just seen. Indeed, in the canzone's opening invocation of the Virgin, Petrarch asks her to "soccorri a la [sua] guerra" (to give succor to [his] war) (*Rvf* 366, v.12); he wants her to bring to an end the time he has spent wandering and suffering. He then enjoins her to act swiftly: "Vergine sacra et alma, / non tardar" (*Rvf* 366, vv.87-88), while the conclusion of the poem also emphasizes the swift passage of time and the immediate need for new direction in order to obtain peace.

Scorgimi al miglior guado
et prendi in grado i cangiati desire or keep/reinsert these
[…]
Il dì s'appressa et non pote esser lunge,
sì corre il tempo e vola,
[…]
e 'l cor or conscienzia or morte punge:
raccomandami al tuo Figliuol, verace
omo et verace Dio,
ch'accolga 'l mio spirto ultimo in pace. (*Rvf* 366, vv.129-32, 134-37)

Lead me to the better crossing and accept my changed desires. The day draws near and cannot be far, time so runs and flies, single, sole Virgin; and now conscience, now death pierces my heart: commend me to your Son, true man and true God, that He may receive my last breath in peace. (Durling 582)

Yet, although Petrarch begs to be thus healed and insists that he has "a penitent heart," the fact that he is still concerned with the writing process suggests that his desires are neither as "changed" nor as pure as he proclaims them to be. Indeed, even though he couches it in dramatic professions of religiosity, Petrarch's preoccupation with the writing process betrays his unslakable obsession with the very *rime* that he claims have brought him such dishonor, and which only continue to mark the error of his ways.

Understood in this light, the question Petrarch poses to the Virgin when he wonders how, having loved "mortal dust," he can also love her ("ché se poca mortal terra caduca…," *etc.,*) becomes thornier than it originally appears. Rather than simply considering the benefits of his reinvigorated love for the Virgin and the better orientation that allows him to leave behind the inherently perilous state (the "dubbio stato") that earthly love represents, Petrarch's "che devrò far di te, cosa gentile?" ("how will I love you, a noble thing?") (*Rvf* 366, v.123; Durling 582) exposes his continued poetological anchoring. That is, when Petrarch asks the Virgin to imagine what he can offer her, he presents himself as more egocentric than contrite; he becomes all the more prideful given that he has just described her as the "nemica d'orgoglio" (the enemy of pride), yet he still dares to pose this question.

Petrarch's ardent appeal for the Virgin's intercession and his con-
cerns regarding how he will portray her again reveal his attachment
to mortal things and take on a very pessimistic note, particularly
when one considers the temporal parameters that are motivating his
pleas. For example, in "Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade" (*Rvf*
23), Petrarch posits that how one's life ends carries more weight
than how it was lived: "La vita el fin, e 'l di loda la sera" (v.31).
This prioritization of endings comes right after he questions "Lasso,
che son? che fui?" (Alas, what am I? what was I?) (*Rvf.* 23, v.30),
which highlights the correlation between the passage of time, his
epistemological doubts, and his awareness that he will continue to
sin if allotted the time. By ignoring the Virgin's allegiances and tak-
ing her clemency and his salvation for granted in "Vergine bella"
therefore, Petrarch betrays his own claims of penitence and his sup-
posed desire to be redirected towards the Virgin, in a question that
therefore becomes far vainer and more self-centered than repentant,
humble, or grateful. He is aware that he is not well-suited for loving
the Virgin after all, as he stills remains naturally and more firmly
inclined towards Laura. It is not contrition, but only time and his
impending death that will put an end to his deviating poetry and
deviant desires:

> Il dì s'appressa et non pote esser lunge,
> sì corre il tempo e vola,
> […]
> e 'l cor or conscienzia or morte punge:
> raccomandami al tuo Figliuol, verace
> omo et verace Dio,
> ch'accolga 'l mio spirto ultimo in pace. (*Rvf* 366, vv.131-32, 134-37)

> Lead me to the better crossing and accept my changed desires. The day
> draws near and cannot be far, time so runs and flies, single, sole Virgin;
> and now conscience, now death pierces my heart: commend me to your
> Son, true man and true God, that He may receive my last breath in peace.
> (Durling 582)

Although Petrarch presents himself as ashamed in the *Rvf*'s first
poem—begging for "pietà" despite the "dolce suono" of his poet-
ry—in this last poem of the *Rvf,* he continues to be assailed by the
very same temporal and authorial preoccupations that opened his
collection. He worries about his own vanity, the vanity of his work,

and the transient, fleeting, and problematic distractions of his "breve sogno"—"the brief dream" that life represents.

In the interstitial canzone "I'vo pensando," which is placed in the *Rvf* just a few poems before the enamored poet announces the depths of sadness and despair into which the death of his beloved has plunged him (which he recounts in poems 267-68 in particular[17]), Petrarch suggests that he has found a new objective and a better orientation. He is aware, at the very least, that the better moral, ethical, and spiritually propitious options he mentions in the *Rvf*'s opening and closing poems do exist. Nevertheless, despite being able to see his situation clearly and despite understanding the danger of his profane love, neither in practice nor in poetry can he resist the temptation and indulgence that the "early error" to which he has attached his soul requires.

The uncertainty and nervous hesitation of the poet attempting to chart a stable trajectory for himself as he "*goes* thinking" features a discussion of "poor choices," as the poet meditates on the errancy and error so prevalent in the *Rvf*. Moreover, recalling the proemial sonnet's confession of deviance, temporal dissonance, and poorly wrought maturation, in "I'vo' pensando," the nostalgic obsession with time gone by, the tricky valorization of a fleeting object of desire monumentalized in verse, and the trepidation before an indulgent and ultimately fruitless pursuit are situated as hindrances to proper orientation that frustrate trajectory, abuse time, and spur vanity. The lesson is difficult yet clear: Petrarch must choose what he wishes to possess properly, while on the right path, and at the right moment in time. Nor should he vacillate or falter once his choice has been made.

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17 With the repetition of "oimè" five times in the first stanza and once in the second, sonnet 267, "Oimè il bel viso, oimè il soave sguardo," reads like a dirge:

> Oime il bel viso, oime il soave sguardo,
> oime il leggiadro portamento altero;
> oime il parlar ch'ogni aspro ingegno et fero
> facevi humile, ed ogni huom vil gagliardo!
> et oime il dolce riso, onde uscio 'l dardo
> di che morte, altro bene omai non spero: (vv. 1-6)

> Alas the lovely face, alas the gentle glance, alas the proud, carefree baring! Alas the speech that made every harsh or savage mind humble and every base man valiant! Alas the sweet smile whence came forth the dart […]. (Durling 436)

Given its didactic subtext, "I'vo pensando" offers a telling example of this orientation towards the past and use of *adynata* when Petrarch turns *away* from religious salvation, *away* from his contemporaries, and *towards* antiquity. Instead of entreating his contemporaries and his future audience to remember him, as his desire for commemoration would suggest, Petrarch curiously distances himself from the very audience that would be able to remember his work after his death. He directs his gaze backwards, ardently seeking approval and validation from the long-dead classical authors he values greatly, imagining what would happen "se 'l latino e l'greco / parlan di me dopo la morte" ("if the Latins and the Greeks talk of me after my death") (*Rvf.* 264, vv.68-69; Durling 438).

This is a pivotal moment in the *Rvf*, because Petrarch accentuates his awareness of the futility of turning to the Romans and the Greeks by coupling his impossible desire for recognition from them with *adynata* and a description of failed seizure that has an important literary intertext. By describing the Romans' and Greeks' remembrance of him as a "vento," or "wind," Petrarch recalls a frequent troubadouric commonplace—that of lovers being dependent upon the wind for the activation and validation of their message. Unless lovers possess the otherworldly ability to master and control the wind, they remain beholden to the wind's power and clemency in order for news to be spread of their passions and devotion, and in order for their name and words to be transmitted directly to their beloved. One might think, in particular, of the famous envoi of the troubadour Arnaut Daniel, who, in his canso "En cest sonnet coind'e leri," combines his attempts to prove his "trop voler" or excessive desire to his beloved, by detailing his extraordinary poetic talents and his unique dominance over the wind :

> Ieu sui Arnautz q'amas l'aura
> e chatz la lebre ab lo bou
> e nadi contra suberna. (vv. 43-45)[18]

> I am Arnaut who gathers the breeze
> and hunts the hare with the ox
> and swims against the current.

18 Daniel, Canzoni, ed. Toja, 274.

Exalting his ability to firmly grasp air and catch a small fast creature with a heavy, sluggish one all while swimming upstream, the *adynata* Arnaut uses validate the importance of his poetry by showing his miraculous mastery of impossible feats. Similarly, Petrarch wants to grasp the intangible and elusive "vento" metaphorizing approval, success and the endurance of his fame, **yet his efforts for duration** and desire for posterity are frustrated by looking in the wrong direction and to people who are long dead. He claims to recognize the failure of his enterprise and acknowledge that a change of strategy and orientation is necessary, which contributes to his penitential stance and desire for reorientation:

> che, vedendo ogni giorno il fin piu presso,
> mille fiate o chieste a Dio quell'ale
> co le quai del mortale
> carcer nostro intelletto al ciel si leva. (*Rvf* 264, vv.5-8)

> for seeing every day the end coming near, a thousand times I have
> asked God for those wings with which our intellect raises itself from
> this mortal prison to Heaven. (Durling 426)

Instead of continuing to nurture his obsession with things past, he insists that with the help of the Virgin's timely intercession he will succeed in turning his time and attentions towards "the truth."

However, despite his supposedly heavenly aspirations, Petrarch cannot avoid worrying that both he and the literary and amorous efforts that his thoughts represent will be forgotten or "buried" with his death: "temo ch'un sepolcro ambeduo chiuda" (I fear that one grave will swallow both of us) (*Rvf* 264, v.65). This further incites Petrarch's desire for commemoration, yet, given the temporal distance that separates him and the classical authors, his efforts are proleptically thwarted by a certain vanity once again: he is seeking what amounts to an impossible recognition and an impossible validation. His "se 'l latino e l'greco / parlan di me dopo la morte, e un vento" ("if the Latins and the Greeks talk of me after my death, that is a wind") (*Rvf* 264, vv.68-69; Durling 428)" betrays the futility of his desire for recognition and validation all the more, since if they are indeed able to "talk" about him, it is only "un vento," and nothing else. Ultimately, it is Petrarch's realization that their speech

cannot bring him lasting fame, and his awareness that while their words have lived on they are enshrined in a darkness, which, akin to the literary and spiritual darkness he fears, seems to catalyze his turn towards salvation. As he confesses,

> ond'io, perché pavento
> adunar sempre quel ch'un'ora sgombre,
> vorrei 'l ver abbracciar, lassando l'ombre. (*Rvf* 264, vv.68)

> "therefore, since I fear to be always gathering what one hour will scatter,
> I wish to embrace the truth, to abandon shadows." (Durling 428)

Although he makes a series of protestations that superficially suggest his newfound religiosity, Petrarch continually reiterates his desire for seizure, his wish to *harness* the wind, the difficulty of the enterprise, and the "bad habit" that controls his 'corrupted' will since "il mal costume oltre la spigne" ("its bad habit drives it further") (*Rvf* 265, v.105; Durling 430). It is clear, therefore, that the mode by which "I'vo pensando" operates favors the return to a classical past. Petrarch represents this turn in his famous letter 4.1 from the *Familiares*, which narrates his ascension of Mont Ventoux. By situating his ascent as indicative of a new vantage point, understood both literally and figuratively, Mont Ventoux provides the propitious backdrop for Petrarch's confession of moral profligacy, errancy, and poor use of time, while impugning the troubled hermeneutic core of his love. Indeed, Petrarch lays bare his difficulty deciding whether or not he should nurture his early love since his passion is indeed so deranging, frustrating, and devastating. He also admits his confusion regarding even the type of love he feels for Laura, given its destructive wake and the irremediable pull that distances him from the salvific Christian potential he claims so ardently to desire:

> Quod amare solebam, iam non amo: mentior: amo ; sed verecundius, sed tristius. Iam tandem verum dixi. Sic est enim: amo, sed quod non amare amem, quod odisse cupiam; amo tamen, sed invitus, sed coactus, sed mestus et lugens, et in me ipso versiculi illius amosissimi sententiam miser experior: Odero, si potero; si non, invitus amabo.[19]

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19 Petrarch, De Rebus Familiaribus, (IV.i), 198.

What I used to love, I love no longer. But I lie: I love it still, but less passionately. Again have I lied: I love it, but more timidly, more sadly. Now at last I have told the truth; for thus it is: I love, but what I should love not to love, what I should wish to hate. Nevertheless I love it, but against my will, under compulsion and in sorrow and mourning. To my own misfortune I experience in myself now the meaning of that most famous line: "Hate I shall, if I can; if I can't, I shall love though not willing."[20]

Tellingly, in addition to modelling the Augustinian weakness of the will,[21] and to explicitly situating his ascent within a classical framework that goes back and forth between citations of ancient texts, a confessional commentary, and biblical references, Petrarch displays his initial vacillation between classical and contemporary settings, between literary and amorous objectives, and between humanistic and spiritual registers, to again highlight his decisive turn towards a paradoxically comforting yet irrecuperable past.[22]

20 Petrarch, "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux," 42.

21 Petrarch's reliance upon and renegotiation of Augustine is the matter of a much larger and important debate. See, especially Barolini, "Petrarch at the Crossroads," 26-27; Wilkins, "On Petrarch's Ad Seipsum and I'vo Pensando," 88-91. In "Petrarcas Augustinismus und die Ecriture der Ventoux-Epistel," p.51, Andreas Kablitz calls Petrarch's inclination towards sin despite his recognition of the sin "das typisch Augustinische Konzept der Schwäche des perversen Willens, der wider besseres Wissen das als solches erkannte Unrecht geschehen lassen muß." (the typical Augustinian concept of the weakness of the perverse will, which, contrary to better judgment, must allow the wrong recognized as such to take place).

22 Although Petrarch is frequently recognized as a poet of contradiction, as a thinker whose Weltanschauung is defined by binary relationships whose poles are constantly renegotiated, many critics, such as Carolyn Chiapelli, read the Ascent of Mont Ventoux and Petrarch's comments in the Secretum as evidence of a definitive move towards conversion, an acknowledgement "that although he may wander in uncertain ways, he knows that there is One Way to eternal peace." Chiapelli, "The Motif of Confession in Petrarch's 'Mt. Ventoux," 131. Others, like Giuseppe Billanovich, Robert Durling, Bortolo Martinelli, Ross Knecht, and Carlo Segrè, maintain that the appearance of conversion models something else entirely, from an allegorical strategy, a philosophical argument, and a "hermeneutic story" that is "at once a narration and a conversion" (Martinelli 57, translation mine) to a self-interrogation or artificial "charade," in which Petrarch ostentatiously showcases his profound engagement with literary models. See, for example Billanovich's Petrarca e il Ventoso, 193-95; Durling's "Il Petrarca, il Ventoso e la possibilità dell'allegoria"; Martinelli's "Petrarca e l'epistola del Ventoso," and Segrè's "Il Secretum del Petrarca e le Confessioni di Sant'Agostino." I follow Donald Beecher in "Petrarch's 'Conversion' on Mont Ventoux and the Patterns of Religious Experience," who explains that Petrarch operates by "incorporating the schema of conversion into the momentary fluxions of life whereby the best of both worlds might form a kind of dyad between the vita contemplativa and the vita activa." This fraught relationship then manifests itself in the apposition between Petrarch's acknowledgment of his religious-oriented duty to spiritualize the mind in keeping with Christian tradition" and his "deeply-held commitment to the worlds of erotic desire, statesmanship and fame," p.69. However, I read Petrarch's paradoxical orientation even more explicitly—as an intentional dramatization of his hesitation and the vacillating desires that simultaneously models an alignment with conversion narratives and a preference for the rhetorical strategies that undermine them.

Undermining the distance he claims to want to put between himself and the object of his poetry and affections, in "The Ascent of Mont Ventoux" Petrarch expresses his bewilderment upon realizing that he cannot redirect his amorous attentions by suggestively quoting Ovid's "Odero, si potero; si non, invitus amabo," ("Hate I shall, if I can; if I can't, I shall love though not willing," as Hans Nachod offers in his translation, or "I will hate if I am able to; if not, I will love against my will" as I see it) from Book III of the *Amores* (11.35).[23] Ovid's quote itself hearkens back to Catullus' "Odi et amo" (I hate and I love, or I loathe and I lust[24]) from *Carmina* 85, wherein the late Latin poet describes the starkly conflicting feelings born of the torturous snare of love.[25] As seen in "I'vo pensando," by circumscribing the spiritual transformation he gestures towards in "The Ascent of Mont Ventoux" in this fashion, Petrarch is anchoring his admission of uncontrollable desires to classical intertexts that detract from and weaken his earlier claims of craving liberation and salvation.

Throughout I'vo pensando," for example, Petrarch repeats words that emphasize grasping and attempting to cling to what he desires ("prendi, […] "prendi," and "stringilo or che puoi"—essentially, "seize it" or "grab on," and "cling to it now, while you can"). Even

23 As L.P. Wilkinson suggests in Ovid Recalled, p.32, Ovid's Amores III can be read as a "rhetorical expansion of Catullus' Odi et amo."

24 Catullus' elegiac couplet reads: "Odi et amo. quare id faciam fortasse requiris? / nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior" (I hate and I love. Perhaps you ask why I do this? I do not know, but I feel it happening, and I am tormented) (vv. 1-2, 94). In "The Meaning of 'Odi et amo' in Catullus 85," Brian Arkins take rightful umbrage with the lack of nuance that "odi et amo" are commonly given. While I disagree with Arkins that the translation "I hate and I love" is "wrong," I do think believe greater attention both to context (many of the poems that surround 85 are more suggestive of the pull of attraction, revulsion, and continued desire despite the knowledge of harm, for example) and the semantic aperture of this pair of contrasts is necessary. John Nicholson, in "Chiasmus in Catullus 85" aptly calls attention to the poem's chiastic structure and the crescendo effect of "excrucior," which situates "being torn in two opposite directions" at the literal crux of the poem. It is the "climactic metaphor" that "stands as a symbol of the emotional paradox inherent in the simultaneous expression of love and hate," 45. I would add that it is also the dramatization of confusion and hesitation, particularly given the rhetorical question that opens the poem and the state of confusion that "nescio" reveals. As such, "odi and amo," can be read even more closely to Petrarch's confused state; a "simultaneous expression" of being drawn to, turning away from, and inclining towards what one relentlessly both desires and reviles.

25 In its entirety, modelling the type of dramatic transformation from activity to passivity and agency to victimhood that Petrarch takes up in the initial poems that detail the negative effects of his innamoramento—in the second sonnet he famously depersonalizes his capacity for defense by blaming his too susceptible heart; in the third, he describes himself as being caught both unawares and against his will: "[…] i 'fui preso, et non me ne guardai" ("[…] I was taken, and I did not defend myself against it") (Rvf 3, v.3; Durling 38).

when his thoughts criticize him for his indulgent sin, Petrarch frequently recurs to these *carpe diem* and *vanitas* topoi to maximize a certain phenomenological and material importance that surpasses their religious potential. This allows him to contextualize his awareness of the fragility of the body and catalyze his desire to take advantage of what time he has left by writing and proving his love for Laura. "I'vo pensando," therefore, not only offers a much overlooked explanation for the apparent turn towards God in the first and last poems in the *Rvf*; it holds the interpretive key that allows readers to parse what seems to be the abandonment of poetry for the sake of the soul.

In an interesting departure from the *Rvf*'s first sonnets, which situate the misguided poet's scopophilic eye at the origin of the "primo giovanile errore" that leads to his problematic *innamoramento*, the troubles encountered in "I'vo pensando" are not the result of any decisive action or definitive passion, but of a lengthy meditation. Not only does the poet emphasize that he goes (on) thinking, but the use of the preposition "in" doubles the attention given to trajectory, orientation and spatialization, since "nel penser" is suggestive both of the act of thinking ("nel" as during, as a process) and the interiorized state of being in thought ("nel" as in or within) that "frequently leads" the poet to other thoughts, metonymically rendered as "altro lagrimar."

Caught in a tortuously intercalated order of operations, and by the "nel" that confines the poet to a temporal and spatial prison, the poet's meditative trajectory leads him astray (and away from God) precisely because there is no real trajectory. It is not only that his introspection will never cease until his death; as he lives, each thought will continuously cause deviation and propel him ill-advisedly towards his earthly love. Going from merely "vedendo ogni giorno il fin più presso" (seeing the end coming closer every day) (*Rvf* 264, v.5) to morbidly believing that his end has already arrived: "del mio stato tremo, / […] et son forse a l'estremo" (I fear my state, […] and I am perhaps at my end) (*Rvf* 264, vv.17-18), Petrarch's wandering

"penser" has confounded him spatially and temporally, disorienting, and fomenting his awareness of the passage of time, the disintegration of the body, and the evanescence of life.

Describing himself as pushed and pulled in different directions, once his new desire for integrity finally does come, it unfortunately arrives too late. Recalling Tantalus, the condemned king of Greek mythology, Petrarch transfers the *spargamos* topos to descriptions of his own inability to grasp anything properly: "pavento / adunar sempre quel ch'un'ora sgombre" ("since I fear to be always gathering what one hour will scatter" (*Rvf* 264, vv.70-72; Durling 429). He transfers what he elsewhere intimated were some of the positive outcomes of scattering and diffusion—the transmission of his words and the diffusion of his message and his name—and recasts them in a violent and punitive key. Indeed, as he is left without any type of authorial and identitary integrity since time continues to confound his desires, in "I'vo pensando" Petrarch is only successful in scattering his sighs, which recalls the opening sonnet's scattered rhymes and recognition of the futility of his many years of pain and suffering. On the wrong path at the wrong time, and with the wrong type of longings in his mind, he is incapable of successful possession. Though he turns towards Laura, in a pessimistic response to his earlier *adynaton* about embracing and controlling wind, both the reach of his poetic *enterprise* and his desire for seizure are impossible despite his best efforts: "nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio" ("I grasp nothing and embrace all the world") (*Rvf* 134, v.4; Durling 272). He is not able to reach what he desires.

Even being conscious of his folly and the risks of loving an unstable body he knows can never last and whose end he proleptically rehearses and speeds along by way of a conscious process of poetic fragmentation, the poet knows just how dedicated he is to the "mortal cosa" he continues to love more than God. Instead of abandoning Laura, as the first and last poems of the *Rvf* initially suggest, "I'vo pensando" can be read as the confession that what the poet subverts and finally abandons is actually the "spazio" reserved for him in Heaven. His abandonment of his purported spiritual enterprise

causes him to brazenly flout and "bargain" with Death ("ch'a patteggiar n'ardisce con la Morte" (*Rvf* 264, v.126) since his pleasure in loving Laura is so great:

> co la morte a lato
>
> cerco del viver mio novo consiglio,
> et veggio 'l meglio, et al peggior m'appiglio. (*Rvf* 264, vv.127-36)
>
> (with death by my side,
> I seek new guidance for my life:
> and I see better things, and I cling to the worst.)

> Instead of avoiding, rejecting, or distancing himself from his "vain hopes and futile suffering" (*Rvf* 1, v.6), Petrarch admits in the envoy of "I'vo pensando" that he has specifically gone in search of the fragmented, vain things that define and constitute his "rime sparse," even though he knows they will cause his spiritual perdition.

Although Petrarch realizes that his relationship with Laura is nothing but vanity, and although he hears his admonishing thoughts and sees the benefits of "[i]l meglio"—*grosso modo*, "of better things"—he cannot resist the impulses that manifest themselves as a perverse fidelity for the decaying things that scatter and disintegrate with time. He is aware of the true life, that is, of the "vera vita" and the manifold felicities of salvation, but he prefers fragmentation and the disintegration that anticipates death. The perfidious nature of the love of vanity that prevents him from doing what he believes is right is effectively conveyed by his citation in the last line of his canzone of the famous admission of culpability and indulgence of Ovid's Medea from book VII of the *Metamorphoses*, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor" (VII.20). Though Petrarch is aware of a good and safe trajectory, he chooses to embark upon the riskier path: "et veggio il meglio, et al peggio m'appiglio" (I see better things and I cling to the worst) (*Rvf* 366, v.136). Though he sees positive, surer, and better things, as he explains, he prefers fragmentation, the ineffable, and decay. He prefers to follow, chase and grasp for the worse.

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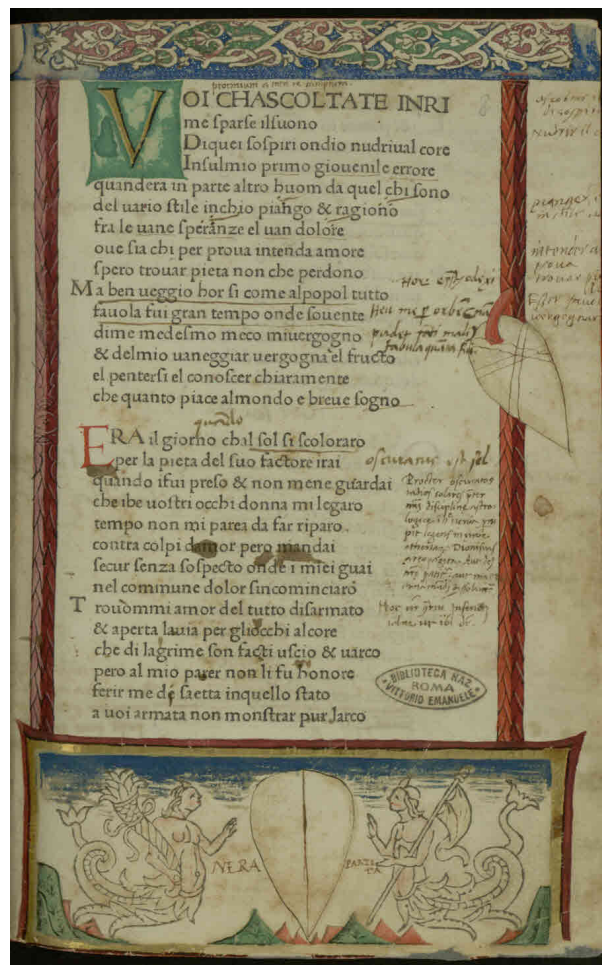
Page from Canzoniere, 1470

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Anna Harrison

"Where Have You Vanished?"

Aelred of Rievaulx's Lamentation on the Death of Simon

Anna Harrison

Loyola Marymount University

Ĭn *his lamentation on the death of his friend, Simon, Aelred responds to a centuries-long suspicion about grief by mounting an apology for mourning that is in keeping with a larger Cistercian trend. Aelred's chief preoccupation in the lamentation is, however, to emphasize the productivity of grief, both for the living and for the dead. Aelred associates the desire to reunite with the beloved dead with stimulating the mourner's desire for heaven as location for the longed-for reunion, and he conceives of the pain associated with bereavement as payment for the sins of the deceased.*

"Where have you gone? Where have you vanished? What shall I do? Where shall I turn?"[1] In these words, we are privy to a long-ago ache, an exclamation of bewilderment, fear, and hurt that the twelfth-century Englishman Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-67) penned, lately bereaved at the death of his "sweetest friend" and fellow monk, Simon.[2] Within Aelred's autobiographically-inflected treatise on the Cistercian life, *The Mirror of Charity,* we find a chapter given over to the author's anguish over his friend's death.[3] Aelred was in his early thirties and had been at the foundation of Rievaulx, in

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1 To Gil Klein, for his patience with tears as well as with medieval texts and their modern readers.

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Aelred, *Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:109, 61: "Quo abisti, quo recessisti? Quid faciam? Quo me vertam?"

2 Aelred, *Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:103, 59: "dulcissimus amicus." There is a large body of literature on Aelred's relationship with Simon, which figures prominently in John Boswell's groundbreaking study on homosexual desire, love, and sex in the Western Christian Middle Ages; Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance*, 221-26. My consideration of Aelred's grief over Simon's death does not depend on whether or not we characterize Aelred as gay or his feelings toward Simon as homoerotic.

3 The *Mirror* is a composite work, different portions of which Aelred wrote at different times and which he seems to have compiled into a single whole during the first half of the 1140s and at the request of Bernard of Clairvaux. For the work's composition, see: Wilmart, "L'instigateur du *Speculum Caritatis*," 371-95; Roby, "Introduction," 9; Dumont, "Introduction," 28, 50, and 55-63; McGuire, *Brother and Lover*, 63; Dutton, "Cistercian Laments," 26-31.

York, for almost a decade when, in the early 1140s, Simon died, occasioning one of the most delicate and decisive expressions of loss in the medieval monastic tradition. Consisting of a little over eight printed pages and comprising the final section of the first of the *Mirror's* three books, the lamentation takes its place in an established literary tradition that goes back at least to the fourth-century Bishop Ambrose of Milan's grief-filled response to the death of his brother Satyrus, a genre that Aelred would have known at least in the form of the exquisite defense of grief that his Cistercian contemporary, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1150) – that towering twelfth-century intellect – composed on the occasion of his own brother's death.[4]

In his lamentation, Aelred responds to a centuries-long suspicion about grief that we find in late antique Mediterranean and medieval western Christian contexts, mounting an apology for mourning that is in keeping with a larger Cistercian trend.[5] Aelred's chief preoccupation in the lamentation is, however, other. It is to emphasize the *productivity of grief* – both for the living and for the dead. I argue, first, that Aelred associates his desire to reunite with his beloved with stimulating Aelred's own desire for heaven as location for the longed-for reunion, a desire that that pushes Aelred to cultivate the holiness that is progress toward God and concomitant with salvation. I then argue that Aelred conceives of the pain associated with his bereavement as payment for the sins of his dead friend, and in this way benefits Simon; specifically, Aelred regards his grief as launching Simon into heaven.

Aelred dedicates a portion of the lamentation to defending his grief in light of the inherited assumption that grief betrays despair over

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4 Hoste, "Monastic Planctus," 385-98, considers the range of sources that may have influenced Aelred, and he compares side-by-side passages from the *Mirror* with Bernard's sermon on the death of his brother, Gerard. Dutton also reviews parallels between Aelred's lamentation and Bernard's ("Cistercian Laments," 4,), which seems to have been Aelred's immediate source; McGuire, *Difficult Saint*, 144. The *Mirror* is Aelred's first literary work (Dumont, "Introduction," 32), and Bernard's sermon on Gerard may have been among the first works Aelred read upon entering the monastic life (Hoste, "Monastic Planctus," 396).

5 Dutton, "Cistercian Laments"; Harrison, "'Jesus Wept,'" 433-67. Aelred's lamentation is one of several that men in the Cistercian order produced in the twelfth century, including that which Gilbert of Hoyland wrote when Aelred died, and which are reflective of the period's preoccupation with emotion, interiority, self-scrutiny, and friendship.

the eternal fate of deceased and/or that it is a testament to disbelief in the immortality of the soul and resurrection of the body, claims of paramount importance to medieval Christians. Aelred insists both that his sorrow is not a sign of despair over his friend's place in the afterlife and that his tears are not a mark of faithlessness. He pronounces to the contrary: he rejoices, he declares, that God has transferred Simon from death to life, from labor to rest, from misery to blessedness.[6] Simon has been freed from the fetters of the flesh, so that his soul flies upward, toward Christ's embrace; Aelred is confident, too, that Simon's body, now dead, will rise again on the last day. While his love for Simon fuels Aelred's craving for the renewed presence of his friend, reason, Aelred writes, knows better.

Taking as one of his several models for mourning the biblical figure of Rachel (Mt 2:18), on whose grief over her children, among the dead in the slaughter of the innocents, he elaborates, Aelred tells us that he weeps for Simon because he is attached to Simon, just as Rachel was attached to her children. And just as Rachel would not have her children brought back from the dead and subject once more to life's woes, so, too, and on the same account, Aelred does not wish for Simon to be returned to him.[7] And yet, as Aelred reminds us, citing the Gospel passage, "Rachel weeping for her children refused to be consoled" (Mt 2:18),[8] underscoring the depth of her distress – and his. "I grieve for my most beloved friend, he who was one heart with me, who has been snatched from me," Aelred explains, "*and* I rejoice that he has been taken up…."[9] Aelred does not demand of himself that his faith in his friend's celestial bliss quash his own sense of loss, or that reason subdue emotion. Aelred admits the force both of his sorrow and of Simon's joy, dissolving the tension between the uneven emotions on the basis of his love

6 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:103, 59.

7 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:105, 60, and see 1:34:104, 59-60.

8 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:105, 60: "Rachel plorans filios suos noluit consolari."

9 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:106, 60: "Doleo dilectissimum meum, unicordem meum mihi ereptum, eaudeo eum in aeterna tabernacula assumptum."

for his friend. Asserting Christ's tearstained sorrow over the death of Lazarus was likewise animated by such love, Aelred claims it as authorization for his own lament. "How he loved him," announces Aelred, quoting from the account in John's Gospel of Jesus' weeping over the death of his friend, Lazarus (Jn 11:35).[10]

Addressing his fellow monks, who are among the *Mirror's* intended audience,[11] Aelred perceives, so he says, their astonishment at his tears, and he cries out: "You are even more astonished that Aelred goes on living without Simon,"[12] just has Aelred wondered that, as he discloses, Simon's "soul that was one with mine could, without mine, cast off the chains of the body,"[13] alluding to the strength of bond between the two men that must have been well-known among their companions in the monastery and to which Aelred does not hesitate to give voice, recalling aspects of their relationship as he lingers on the intensity of his grief and explores its psychology. "I loved you because you received me into friendship from the beginning of my conversion," Aelred confesses, turning his words now to Simon.[14] And he reminisces that it was upon his arrival at the monastery of Rievaulx that he, then in his mid-twenties, met the man with whom he formed a fast and enduring friendship, the basis of which was Aelred's admiration of Simon's youthful conversion to the monastic life and perseverance in its rugged demands. Aelred enumerates the virtues Simon possessed – each of which calls to

10 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:112, 63: "Quomodo amabat eum." Aelred concedes that at least an aspect our attachment (*affectus*) to one another, or affection for another, is a weakness, one that Jesus takes on deliberately when he wishes to do so but which does not overcome him as it does us. "Jesus wept" (John 11:35) when his friend Lazarus died, but he did so not because sorrow overwhelmed him but for our benefit, to give us leave to weep without concern. For Bernard's sense of Jesus as model mourner, see Harrison, "'Jesus Wept.'"

11 Dumont, "Introduction," 50.

12 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:98, 57: "Quis enim non miretur Aelredum sine Simone vivere."

13 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:112, 63: "Mirabar animam illam quae cum mea una erat, sine mea corporis exui posse compedibus."

14 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 109, 61: "Dilexi te, qui me ab ipso intio conversionis meae in amicitaiam suscepisti."

mind qualities especially prized in late medieval monastic circles and all of which, Aelred contends, served to correct his own short-comings. Aelred notes Simon's humility (which blunted Aelred's pride), his tranquility (which calmed Aelred's restlessness), and his seriousness (which checked Aelred's levity). The rule of their order limited conversation, but "his face spoke to me," Aelred declares, remarking on Simon's appearance (modest), his gait (mature), and his silence (without resentment).[15] Portraying Simon as friend, mentor, and model, Aelred praises the monk as commanding imitation.

Simon's death was sudden, Aelred was not at the bedside, and as he recounts, his initial reaction to learning Simon had died was one of incredulity. He recalls in writing that later, when gazing at Simon's dead body, the sense of unreality persisted: "my mind was in such a stupor that even when his body was at last naked for washing, I did not believe he had passed on."[16] Continuing to examine his response to Simon's death, Aelred wonders why he went so long (he does not relate how long) without weeping and concludes that exactly the intimacy of their friendship and the hard blow of the loss rendered this death, for a time, inconceivable. When grief-filled emotion finally came, Aelred begged pity (Jb 19:21) from the monks' in his charge.[17]

> What a marvel that I am said to live, when such a great part of my life, so sweet a solace for my pilgrimage … has been taken away from me. It is as if I had been eviscerated, as if my unhappy soul torn were to pieces. And am I said to be alive? O miserable life, O suffering life, to live without Simon![18]

Giving free reign to tears of desolation, Aelred inserts himself in a line of Old Testament mourners. Jacob wept for his son, Joseph

15 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:107, 60: ""Loquebatur mihi aspectus eius."

16 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:112, 63: "Tantus quippe stupor mentem invaserat meam, ut etiam nudatis iam ad lavacrum membris, transisse non crederem."

17 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 98, 57.

18 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:104, 59: "Mirum tamen, si vivere dicendus sum, cui ablata est tanta portio vitae meae, tam dulce solatium peregrenationis meae …." Quasi auulsa sunt viscera mea, quasi dilaniata infelix anima mea. Et vivere dicor?O miserum vivere, o dolendum vivere, sine Simone vivere.

wept for his father, David wept for Jonathan; Simon alone was all these to Aelred.

> Weep, then, wretched man, for your dearest father, weep for your most loving son, weep for your sweetest friend. Let waterfalls burst from your wretched head; *let your eyes bring forth tears day and night* (Jer 9:18). Weep, I say, not because he was taken up but because you were left behind.[19]

Poignant reminders of their shared past pepper the text – "How sweet it was to live together"[20] – as do fantasies of a common future – "How sweet it would be to return together to the homeland."[21]

Tightly woven through Aelred's foray into the intricacies of his grief is an insistence – familiar from much late medieval religious literature – that pain does not go to waste, a determined avowal of the meaningfulness of the varied sufferings that accompany each of us throughout our life.[22] The pain of his bereavement, to Aelred, *must* have meaning; it cannot have been purposeless. A monk whose life's commitment was to work towards his own salvation and that of others, especially his brothers, Aelred understands his grief as forwarding Simon's and his own soul's redemption.

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Aelred's literary excursion through his reaction to Simon's death suggests that a desire to reunite with his friend energizes the mourner's already established determination to imitate aspects of Simon's life. "Here now, O Lord, I shall follow in his footsteps so that in you I may enjoy his company," [23] Aelred pledges, newly recommitted

19 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 104, 59: "Plora, ergo, miser carissimum patrem tuum, plora amantissimum filium tuum, plora dulcisimum amicum tuum. Rumpantur cataractae miseri capitis, deducant oculi lacrimas per diem et noctem. Plora, inquam, non quia ille assumptus, sed qui tu relictus.

20 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:98, 57: "Quam dulcis fuit simul vivere."

21 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:98, 57: "Quam dulce foret simul in patriam redire."

22 The most insightful discussion of the role of one person's pain in easing the suffering of another is Bynum, *Holy Feast*. For the power of one's pain to assuage the torment and speed the release of souls in purgatory, see Newman, "On the Threshold of the Dead," 108-36 .

23 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:107, 60: "Sequar hic, Domine, itinera eius, ut in te fruar consortio eius." As Brian Patrick McGuire (*Brother and Lover*, 65) has observed, Aelred's experience of Simon's death seems to have precipitated a resurgence of commitment on his part to the monastic life.

to modeling himself after his mentor in the wake of Simon's death. This is because Aelred knows that the reunion with Simon for which he longs can only take place in heaven; he must, therefore, become worthy of beatitude, by becoming more like his friend, if he is to rejoin his friend. Grief, as Aelred tells it, is productive because it is movement toward salvation. The march heavenward as Aelred paints it is *not* in this instance sustained by a yearning for God but a pining for the other who is beloved.[24] And yet, this longing *will* propel Aelred toward heaven, he is confident – and thus bring him closer to God. We see here a notion that will contribute to among Aelred's most famous formulations, that "he who dwells in friendship dwells in God, and God in him,"[25] which we find in his *Spiritual Friendship*, written probably toward the end of Aelred's life,[26] and years after the death of Simon. In this later work, Aelred considers true friendships formed in the monastery to argue that there is no conflict between love of friends and love of God, since God is the source of the love by which we love our friends;[27] and, in a celebrated dictum, proclaims that "friend cleaving to friend in the spirit of Christ is made one heart and one soul with Christ."[28] There is a close connection between the lamentation and *Spiritual Friendship* on another account. In *Spiritual Friendship*, Aelred associates love between friends in the here-and-now with the love the saints have for one another in heaven. Friendship on earth is a foretaste of

24 If we consider the *Mirror* in light of Aelred's claim in *Spiritual Friendship* that between human and divine love there is no substantial difference but only a difference of degree (Aelred, *Spir. Amicitia*, 3:87), the divide between heaven and earth, desire for Simon and desire for heaven, becomes even less sharp. See Dumont, "Introduction," 51, for parallels between *Spiritual Friendship* and book 1 of the *Mirror* with regard to their consideration of human and divine love. The lamentation, according to Dumont, is "proof that it is possible for true charity, very human charity, to exist in a cloister," and in this way illustrates the *Mirror's* larger focus on conforming human love to divine love; ibid.

25 Aelred, *De Spir. Amicitia*, 1:70, 301: "Qui manet in amicitia, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo" (1 Jn 4:16).

26 Dumont, "Introduction," 27.

27 Aelred, *De Spir. Amicitia*, 2:20, 306; Roby, "Introduction," 20.

28 Aelred, *De Spir. Amicitia*, 2:21, 306: "Amicus in spiritu Christi adhaerens amico, efficitur cum eo *cor unum et anima una*" (Acts 4:32).

the experience of the saints, who enjoy perfect friendships among themselves. [29]   In the *Mirror,* Aelred calls out to Simon, applying to his friend a quotation from the Gospel of Matthew.

> I sent on ahead my first fruits, sent on my treasure, sent on no small part of myself. Let what remains of me follow after you. *Where my treasure is, there let my heart be also* (Mt 6:21).[30]

My point is this: because, as Aelred believed, his love had joined him in one heart with his beloved, because Simon's soul had become a part of his own soul,[31] Aelred can in some sense claim that his love for his friend means *he himself* already resides in heaven, and, therefore, his love for Simon really already *is* that of saint for saint – or, a participation in the celestial love the blessed enjoy. Perhaps exactly his grief-soaked love over Simon's death was the crucible in which Aelred forged his confidence in the power of friends to draw each other heavenward, toward God.[32] But this is a question for another time.

In any case, it is not merely *his* salvation that Aelred believes his grief advances but also Simon's. "Weep, I say … because you were left," Aelred instructs himself, and then he tells us that his tears are a sacrifice he offers to Christ on Simon's behalf, payment for the sin with which Simon may have left this life. "Either pardon [his sins] or impute them to me," Aelred entreats God.[33] "*Me*, let *me* be struck, let *me* be scourged. I will pay for everything. I ask only that you do not hide your blessed face from him, take away your sweetness, or

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29 Aelred, *De Spir. Amicitia*, 3:79, 333-34; Roby, "Introduction," 19-20.

30 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:106, 60: "Praemisi primitias meas, praemisi thesaurum meum, praemisi non modicum mei portionem. Sequatur ad te quo mei restat. Ubi est theasurus meus, ibi sit et cor meum."

31 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:106, 60.

32 Anselm Hoste noticed decades ago that Aelred elaborates themes in his lamentation on Simon that he will develop in later writings; "Monastic Planctus," 397. Aelred remembers Simon's death in the last portion of book three of his *Spiritual Friendship*; *De Spir. amicitia*, 3:119, 345. Lefler, *Theologizing Friendship*, calls these last passages of *Spiritual Friendship* "the crowning moment of his [Aelred's] whole theological enterprise."

33 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:113, 64: "aut ignosce, aut mihi imputa."

delay your caring consolation."[34]   Aelred's plea depends on the late medieval Christian understanding of redemption. Christ paid on the cross the debt for original sin, and baptism was participation in this payment, which washed the soul clean of the original debt. But during the course of a lifetime, a baptized Christian accumulated new debt for sinful works committed and for works omitted, for sinful feelings and for sinful thoughts. The late medieval priest might offer the contrite person God's forgiveness in the context of confession, and the larger penitential system provided a way for the sinner to pay his debt through the taking on of penalty due to sin. But death cuts short the possibility of making reparation for what the soul owes to God. Because he is just, Christ does not waive the payment that is due to him from the soul who dies indebted. Because he is merciful, he does not consign all sinners to eternal suffering. Sinful souls destined for salvation pass through a period in purgatory, where God purifies and exacts payment through punishment. All of purgatory's inhabitants will eventually wend their way to heaven; it is a matter of how long and how acute the suffering they must first endure.

Aelred, sure that Simon will experience eternal felicity is, nevertheless, unsure that this joy will be Simon's immediately following death. For however holy Simon's life, Aelred erred on the side of cautious uncertainty when it came to his friend's post-mortem state. Exactly this uncertainty carved out a space in which Aelred might play a determining role in his friend's salvation, allowing him to assert his continuing importance to the man whom he treasured and over whom he wept. The Christian God of the late Middle Ages did not care *who* paid what the sinner owed as long as payment was made. This is the larger context within which medieval people offered to God their own suffering as payment on behalf of sinners languishing in purgatory, at a distance from Christ. This bald assertion of one person's ability to substitute her sufferings for another's is testimony to our period's confidence in the intimate relationality

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34 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 113, 64: "Ego, ego percutiar, ego flageller, ego totum pendam; tantum, quaesco, ne illi abscondas beatam faciem tuam ne illi subtrahas duclcedinem tuam ne illi differas piam consolationem tuam."

of human beings known as the communion of saints. Aelred's pain, powered by love and joined to his own confidence in God's mercy, is payment for any debt Simon may have left unsettled. Although he does not explicitly say so, his offering seems to Aelred to have secured the intended result.

Directly after Aelred offers God the sacrifice of his tears and in a meditative leap through time and space, Aelred arrives at Simon's bedside, taking up in his imagination a proximity to his dying friend that was denied him in reality. As Simon's death approaches, Aelred hears his beloved cry out "Mercy! Mercy!"[35] and then Aelred exclaims:

> What is this I see, my Lord? As if with my own eyes, surely, I seem to see … [Simon] … freed by ineffable joy, absorbed into the immense sea of divine mercy…. his soul, washed in the fountain of divine mercy, put down the weight of sin. ….[36]

Although Aelred does not make plain the claim, it seems evident that he attributes to his watery grief the triggering of God's mercy, which, washing over Simon, loosened from him any stain of sin, freeing him into the joy of eternity.

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Aelred knew that his were not the only tears that fell for Simon, or so he says. "Bear patiently with my tears, my sobs, the groaning in my chest,"[37] he implores his brothers and then later observes, "Why do I blush? Do I weep alone? Look at how many tears, how many sobs, how many sighs surround me!"[38] remarking on the sorrow that overran their household when Simon died. Convinced of their com-

35 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 113, 64: "Misericordiam, misericordiam."

36 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34: 114, 64: "Quid est quod inueor, mi Domine? Videor mihi certe quasi oculis cernere … ineffabili gaudio resolutam, dum cerneret pecata sua, immense hoc pelago divinae miserationis absorpta…. Libet intueri animam illam, fonte divinae misericordiae dilutam, deposito pondere peccatorum…."

37 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:98, 57: "Patienter ergo ferte lacrimas meas, gemitum meum, rugitum pectoris mei."

38 Aelred, *De Spec. Caritatis*, 1:34:112, 157. "Quid erubesco? An solus ploro? Ecce quot sunt undique lacrimae, quot gemitus, quot suspiria!"

mon need and of the value of his insights to his community – to all his readers – Aelred offers his understanding of his bereavement so that they can make it their own, shaking off whatever hold fear that faith and grief are incompatible may have on them and sure, too, of the meaningfulness of their heartache.[39]

Let me conclude. Grief has a history. When Alered brandished his ability to reconcile faith with grief he was in continuity with Bernard of Clarvaux's lamentation on Gerard. But Aelred is more comfortable in his ability to hold together both faith and grief than was Bernard. Perhaps liberated, at least in part, by the older man's sermon, Aelred's justification for mourning is less anxious, although it is still necessary. With his assertion of the worth to self and other of the grief associated with bereavement Aelred is, however, in territory largely uncharted by his Cistercian predecessor. My work in thirteenth-century sources suggest that this was a notion that took root and flowered in the monastic context of the century following his own.[40]

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In the writings of this long-departed monk is an insistence on the value to self and other of grief that is starkly at odds with a modern penchant to diminish grief's value and mute its expression, which sometimes shows itself in that banal retort to tears shed for the newly deceased, "she's better off now." While we may reject Aelred's declaration of the salvific power of mourning, his assertion may be, nonetheless, an impetus to those of us who have ourselves lost much to our too long, too hard grief to give up on the search for some redemptive meaning in our own tears.

39 For Aelred's sense of shared sentiment among members of the monastic community, see Dumont, "Personalism in Community." For Aelred's sense of himself as model to the monks to whom he was abbot as well as to his readers and his eagerness to communicate his experiences to others, see Dumont, "Introduction," 20 and 40.

40 Harrison, "Joy of the Saints."

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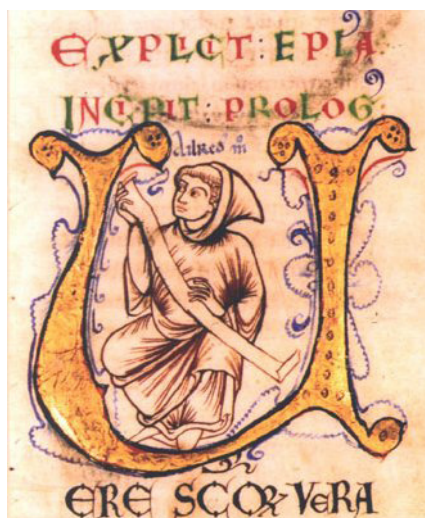
De Speculo Caritatis (ca. 1140)

Texts and Teaching

Strategies for Addressing Student Learning Objectives
in the Renaissance and Reformation Classroom:
Tone, Historical Context, and Kinetic Learners

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£ike other higher education institutions, Colorado Mesa University has fully embraced modern assessment goals and strategies, especially SLOs (Student Learning Objectives). In HIST 350, Renaissance and Reformation, I focus on two: use of primary sources and historical context. Meeting these objectives with aural and visual learners is met using traditional PowerPoint, laden with images of art and architecture. What about kinetic learners? How does one comprise their learning strengths? When analyzing documents, discerning tone is especially challenging, given our social media age. One strategy is to have students work in groups of two, taking turns reading each other's emotions. Through this kinetic exercise, millennials begin to link tone in documents, with both raw and hidden human emotions. To explore historical context, students work in small groups to create a project based on one of fifteen historical characters from Theodore Rabb's seminal Renaissance Lives: Portraits of an Age, which they in turn present to the entire class. Their goal is to connect these individuals to a wider, and more complex, historical context. Additionally, kinetic learners are encouraged to consider creating a skit to discern the ways, which individuals both reflected and initiated aspects of European society during the Renaissance and Reformation. [1]

On the first day teaching HIST 101, *Western Civilizations*, *Ancient to 1500* at Colorado Mesa University (CMU), I always begin by displaying Edvard Munch's popular expressionist painting, *The Scream*, first unveiled to the public in 1895. For those unfamiliar with the piece, Munch's *Scream* is delicious and angsty: it uses

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1 This piece was presented as part of a panel titled "Pedagogical Innovations in Teaching the Renaissance and Reformation," for the 49th annual Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association, held at Colorado Mesa University in Grand Junction, Colorado. My sincere thanks to my fellow panelists and to our audience members for comments and critique made during and after the session

sheer, twisting lines to depict an androgynous, skeletal human figure holding his/her hands against the sides of the face. The work conveys the horrors of modern life, keenly felt by many expressionist artists during the tense decades before the Great War. I introduce undergraduates to *The Scream* as a type of post-modern olive branch: my message is that, while there is no balm for the shock of learning that history is *not* reading a textbook chapter, memorizing dates and facts, and then regurgitating it all on a worksheet (as some of my students describe their learning in high school), I feel their pain. Like the young Macaulay Culkin in the movie *Home Alone,* however, one must strive to deal directly with the true nature of history, once the screaming ends.

My academic employer, Colorado Mesa University, is a relatively small but growing campus located on the Western Slope of Colorado, in Grand Junction. Our student population of just over 11,000 is drawn not only from a 14-county service region based in western Colorado, but also includes students from 47 states and some 37 countries. While our campus community grows continually more diverse, with some 24% from diverse populations, the bulk of our students (47% female and 53% male) originate from the surrounding Grand Valley, an agricultural expanse that specializes in wine and fruit production.[2] CMU is primarily a teaching university, which exemplifies the role of the "teacher-scholar model" to meet our Institutional and Statutory Missions.[3] Thankfully, class sizes are

2 Approximately 1/4 of our students are non-traditional, and about 75% receive some level of financial aid or scholarship money. Most of the student body is local, but because of our sports program, which is generally competitive at the Division II level, we also attract an increasing number of out-of-state students looking for an educational bargain. Other specific details about the campus and the current attendance and population data are found the CMU Website, "About Colorado Mesa University," http://www.coloradomesa.edu/about/index.html.

3 Implied by our mission, as a regional education provider, we matriculate a wide range of students, a significant number of whom are required to take remedial classes in English and math. At CMU, the "teacher-scholar model" follows the definition set by Ernest Boyer, which in effect blurs the traditional distinctions between teaching, advising, service, and scholarship. According to the CMU Teacher-Scholar statement, "Teacher-scholars engage in scholarship when they contribute to an "on-going conversation within and across disciplines, building on and responding to what others have discovered." For further details about Boyer's teacher-scholar method, see Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*.

relatively manageable, with upper division history courses such as *Renaissance and Reformation* topped at fifteen; our Essential Learning courses, such as *Western Civilization,* currently are capped at 55.

As the early modern European historian at CMU, I realize it is a significant challenge to uncover the "true nature of history" for my students when teaching the upper-division HIST 350, *Renaissance and Reformation*. How does one focus on both historical research and discourse, while striking the correct balance between the Renaissance and the Reformation; how much of each historical context should one cover? Too narrow, or too deep of a focus, each presents discipline specific problems.[4] At CMU, both of these crucial and expansive movements are contained in the HIST 350 syllabus.

A second, more difficult question, however, is how to teach students of the early modern period to analyze primary sources, given the peculiar challenges of archaic, era-specific language, and how many in our society negotiate primarily within a limited lexicon of 140 characters. Perhaps most importantly, there is the issue of learner types: what strategies are possible, not only for aural and visual learners, but also for kinetic learners, those who learn best through touch and movement? Indeed, sometimes I feel that I, too, experience the angst of *The Scream* as I struggle to include learning opportunities for all three types. Here, I will focus mainly on the strategies I have used to connect students to primary sources and historical context, looking especially at approaches that focus on the kinetic learner. These tactics grew out of David Kolb's *Learning Styles Inventory* (LSI) and the Student Learning Objectives, or SLOs that my discipline adopted between 2012 and 2014. Through Kolb's original LSI and program-level SLOs, I have developed several projects and assignments that enliven the study of the early modern era for post-modern students.

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4 The main text I use for this course to cover the basic content is Zophy, *A Short History of Renaissance and Reformation Europe*.

Key to my approach of teaching HIST 350, grounded in the training that I received in the Graduate Teacher Program at CU Boulder, is the use of David Kolb's *Learning Styles Inventory*, as a strategy for addressing different learning styles; it provides a powerful tool to discuss the process of learning and teaching. Kolb's *Inventory,* based on experiential learning theory, was developed through research that began in 1971 and was first published in 1984. During the 1990s, when I was in training, we used mainly the initial versions of the LSI; today, academic institutions can purchase a more comprehensive and expanded version four.[5]

Briefly, the LSI positively correlates teaching styles with the learning styles of our students. Once we understand how our students learn, we can more easily adjust our teaching styles, assignments, instructions, presentations, and grading to a broad range of student learning strategies. In the original version of LSI (*see Figure 1*) there are two main learning strategies, Concrete Experience and Abstract Conceptualization, divided among four learning styles (I-IV): active, reflective, experimentation, and observation.[6] Concrete Experiences, for example, include people who are "impatient" and like to "get things done," as an active learning style, while a Reflective Concrete Experience comprises those who are imaginative and empathetic and who try to understand problems and enjoy brainstorming.[7] A teacher trying to engage an Active, Concrete Experience learner would need to understand that this student learns by trial and error and by making mistakes and is motivated by producing a finished product. The best way to reach this learner type is to encourage them actively to "do something" and/or use modeling.[8]

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5 Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual*, 17-22. For version 4 of the KLSI see: Hay Group KLSI, http://haygroup.com.

6 Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 19. The current Version 4 uses nine learning style types (Initiating, Experiencing, Imagining, Reflecting, Analyzing, Thinking, Deciding, Acting, and Balancing); I tend to think this is overkill, and have found that the original version continues to work well as a method of understanding student's unique learning preferences.

7 Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 19.

8 Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 19.

My teaching goal is to connect to at least three quadrants of the LSI by creating assignments or learning situations that spark engagement at both the Concrete and Abstract levels. Writing analytic papers, for example, addresses learning strategies mainly (though not exclusively) in the reflective quadrant (*see Figure 2*), while discussion could help to reach some additional students in Quadrant III (*see Figure 3*).[9] Could I, however, do more to access Quadrants IV and I? Was there, for example, a way that I could guide students to some kind of hands-on activity, one that would allow them to define facts orally, and then to theorize? (*see Figure 3*)[10] And what about those students who prefer "doing" to theorizing in quadrant one? How could I reach them?

One way to involve kinetic learners is to embrace Mr. Miyagi's style of teaching in the original Reagan-era drama, *Karate Kid*.[11] In one memorable scene, "Daniel-san" is tricked into waxing Mr. Miyagi's car (and painting his fence) using the appropriate movements while saying "wax-on", "wax-off"; it was a way for the Sensei's student to learn an overarching concept (i.e. how to fight) by teaching him the parts; a metaphor for learning in both quadrant's one and four.[12] What tangible strategy could I develop to "teach the parts"?

The result was several hands-on assignments to fulfill this mission of learning. One that I have not used for several years, mainly due to time constraints and resulting mess, is the *Sistine Chapel Exercise.* When I first developed this assignment, students were given a set of analytical questions, which asked them to define aspects of Renaissance painting (such as perspective, the creation of realistic human bodies, and *chiaroscuro*) and then theorize how Michelangelo

9 Quadrant II is Figure 2, Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 21; Quadrant IV is Figure 4, Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 22.

10 Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual*, #18 in Quadrant IV, 22.

11 *Karate Kid,* directed by John G. Avildsen, Columbia Pictures, 1984.

12 I am most grateful to my CMU colleague of modern European history, Dr. Adam Rosenbaum, for pointing out to me this metaphor for teaching during one of our conversations about classroom strategies.

might have used these elements in painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. During lecture, I discussed humanism and the use of fresco, tempera, and oil in Renaissance work; now I asked them to connect *The Creation of Adam* to humanistic learning and values. As part of our discussion, they investigated how the *Creation of Adam* could be seen as inquiry into the nature of humanity and an affirmation of the human spirit. Yet, something was missing…the kinetic aspect of the exercise. In the end, it was a daily cartoon by John McPherson that inspired me. McPherson's comic strip *Close to Home* for March 31, 2002 had been sitting on my office wall for ages. Its subject was "Michelangelo, Age Six," who is busy painting snakes and cats on his bedroom ceiling, while one of his parents wryly comments, "We never should have got him those bunk beds."[13] What if I provided each student with paper, pencils, paints, and smocks, and, having them lie on the floor, flat under the long seminar tables, have them attempt to draw or paint their own "Renaissance" image. When one young woman yelped when drops of paint hit her face, I asked the class to consider how and why Michelangelo took on the project of the Sistine Chapel. While the post-discussion analysis was fruitful, it was also very messy, which did not endear me to facilities management.

The second kinetic exercise that I adopted for HIST 350 is the *Renaissance Lives* Group Project, which I designed to access all four of Kolb's Quadrants. For this assignment, students read specific chapters from Theodore K. Rabb's 1993 book, *Renaissance Lives: Portraits of an Age,* which he used to recover and mirror a form of Renaissance writing, by examining the lives of the people who lived during that era.[14] As Rabb noted, "To suggest that a single human life can represent an age, or that a few individuals might distill a whole era, is to indulge in another of the favorite conceits

13 I had an original copy of the cartoon taped to my office wall, but it may be accessed electronically. See McPherson, *Close to Home,* Universal Press Syndicate, 3/31/2002.

14 Rabb, *Renaissance Lives*.

of the Renaissance—a fondness for the microcosm."[15] Originally, *Renaissance Lives* was the companion piece for a PBS series; its chapters adopted an expansive and somewhat loose chronology of the Renaissance, stretching from the mid-14th to the mid-17th centuries.

In the assignment directions (*see Figure 4*), students are required to work in small groups and pick one of several pivotal individuals, ranging from Petrarch to Artemesia Gentileschi. In their presentation, the groups must comment on a range of analytical questions, the most important of which, asks them to consider historical context: what attributes of the Renaissance did your historical figure reflect? Although I leave it open for the group to create any type of presentation they want (as long as they keep to the ten minute limit), I strongly suggest that they be as creative as possible (and indeed, creativity is worth some 30% of the final project grade). Over the years, *Ren/Ref* students have designed a wide variety of projects: one group constructed a gatefold pamphlet, designed to look like a typical sixteenth-century publication, which I handed out to the class. In 2012, one particularly creative group authored and performed a rap song about the art of Albrecht Dürer. Typically then, the exercise engages all four learning types because the assignment helps students "choose among alternatives by identifying what is truly most interesting, most important, most useful" (Quadrant I, #10); has them tell me "what they have read, learned, or studied" (Quadrant II, #13); is devised as a fun way to do things, using "humor, food, movement" (Quadrant III, #3); and is a collaborative activity (Quadrant IV, #4).[16]

Sometimes, the *Renaissance Lives* exercise will draw students into using three or all four quadrants of the LSI in a very unique and unexpected way. For example, when I taught the course in fall 2015, one group created a skit about Artemesia Gentileschi, where one of the male students took on the role of the eponymous artist.

15 Rabb, *Renaissance Lives,* IX.

16 See Figures 2-3, Graduate Teacher Program, *Lead Graduate Teacher Manual,* 21-22.

The group's interesting gender choice allowed for us, as a class, to discuss in greater depth the issue of self-fashioning; indeed it dovetailed nicely with lecture material about the sixteenth-century Venetian poet and courtesan, Veronica Franco, whose writings were an exercise in early modern self-fashioning.[17] Here, the students imagined a solution to the notion of gender identity through imagination and empathy; explained through their skit what they had learned, and gained hands-on experience with the ideas presented in lecture and in Rabb's text, by devising a fun way to get the project done by building a collaborative activity, hitting three of the four LSI quadrants.

Finally, I want to address, how program assessment contributes to the creation of innovative teaching strategies in HIST 350. As with many universities nation-wide, Colorado Mesa has adopted program and course assessment strategies based on curriculum mapping and the development of Student Learning Objectives, or SLOs. In some respects, CMU came late to the game; but over time, the History discipline has made great strides forward.[18] Since 2012 our six program SLOs, aligned with the campus SLOs are (*see Figure 5*): formulate the relationships of cause and effect; assess the importance of historical context; critically analyze an argument based on secondary sources; critically analyze primary sources; formulate a clear and persuasive argument based on evidence; and construct a clear thesis with strong topic sentences. As established by our curriculum map, I assess HIST 350 on SLO #4: critically analyze primary sources.

17 See for example, Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan*; Franco, *Selected Poems and Letters*.

18 As an institution, we were negatively critiqued for our slow adoption of program assessment during the past two Higher Learning Commission accreditation studies; the History discipline was also moderately chastised on assessment during our last program review in 2010/11. As a result of my serving on the Faculty Senate Program Review Committee for three years (2012-2015), the History Discipline now stands as a model for assessment at CMU; we served as an example of improvement for the HLC mini-review during fall 2017. On the CMU Assessment homepage, the History discipline was honored as a top program following best practices. See: "The Spotlight on Assessment", http://www.coloradomesa.edu/assessment/

When I teach HIST 350, my goal is to meet the SLO objective, while still focusing on Kolb's LSI. Again, the key is how to reach kinetic learners; I can meet the objective for visual and aural learners through class discussion and the use of PPT slides, but how does one build a collaborative activity that accentuates experimentation and reflection? I've struggled with this problem the past two times I have taught the course (2012 and 2015), finding that students regularly misread documents, especially in regards to tone. As Ane Lintvedt identified in "Teaching Students to Interpret Documents"*,* students taking the Advanced Placement Exam, writing on the DBQ (Document Based Question) "regularly missed the meaning of documents in which sarcasm, irony, or rhetorical questions were used".[19] Students also "often failed to 'read between the lines': they missed implied information."[20] Since Lintvedt wrote in 2004, the problems associated with interpreting primary source documents have only expanded with the advent of various social media, such as twitter, snapchat, etc., embraced by all social groups, including the millennials and the so-called post-millennials (Gen-Zed).[21]

Since 2015, I have dealt with the challenges inherent in primary source analysis only at the essential learning level, especially in both halves of *Western Civilization* (HIST 101 and 102) and in our *Historical Research and Methods* course (HIST 202). In HIST 102 (1500-present) students analyze a document from the Duc de Saint Simon's *Memoirs*, titled "Vanity Was His Ruin," (*see Figure 6*), working in groups of 3-5. I identified this as an effective document to use, due to its strong tone, which drips with condescension and sarcasm. For the first several years, when I used "Vanity", I was surprised by how many groups simply took the Duc at his word, believing that he supported the king, "because he was an aristocrat." Of course, nothing could be further from the truth.

19 Lintvedt, "Teaching Students to Interpret Documents."

20 Lintvedt, "Teaching Students to Interpret Documents."

21 Even when we consider the use of e-mail, in popular use since the mid-to-late 1990s, there is often a problem associated with correctly communicating emotion and tone, hence the development of emojis.

This past year, I went back to the drawing board, refocusing on Kalb's LSI as a way to meet the SLO objective for analyzing a primary source. Anecdotally, during discussion analyzing paintings in both upper and lower division courses I found more often than not that misidentified the emotions on human faces. What I realized was that students today are so used to communicating by screen, through sterile e-mail, text-messages, and instant messaging, that increasingly they struggle to recognize simple human emotions. Without that basic skill, how could they be expected to recognize emotion – tone in documents?

As a result, I designed an exercise to develop one's ability to discern tone in documents (*see Figure 7*), applying it during the first half of the document analysis of "Vanity was his Ruin." I do not hand out this exercise; this is simply the set of instructions meant for my own use. After trying out this exercise twice (in four different sections of HIST 102), I have found that more than half of the small groups correctly identify the condescending and haughty tone in the St. Simon document. My hope is to apply the new strategies that I have developed here when next I teach *Ren/Ref* in 2020.

In conclusion, by utilizing the pedagogy embedded in Kolb's LSI, and embracing the History discipline's SLOs, my HIST 350 and 102 students have opportunities to develop skills in analyzing primary and secondary sources, while accentuating their individual styles of learning. By the end of the semester, my hope is that they feel less overwhelmed about the skills needed to think historically, and recognize, through collaboration and kinetic exercises, the importance of the Renaissance and Reformation to modern discourse.

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Figure 1

Characteristics of Quadrants in Kolb Learning Styles Inventory [1]

Concrete Experience

Strengths:	Gets things done, Takes leadership role	Strengths:	Likes brainstorming, Understands problems
Traits:	Prefers doing to theorizing	Traits:	Imaginative, Empathic
	Impatient		likes personal involvement
Asks:	What can this become?	Asks:	Why or why not?
Seeks:	To produce a product	Seeks:	Meaning
Goal:	To make things happen	Goal:	To be self-involved in important issues
Likes:	One-on-one relationship	Likes:	Personally involved teacher
Learns by:	Trial-and-error, making mistakes	Learns by:	Listening, absorbing, discussing
Motivated by:	Finished product	Motivated by:	Curiosity, passion
Teaches by:	Encouraging students to do, modeling	Teaches by:	Motivating students to find own purpose, goal
Weakness:	Does meaningless activities	Weakness:	Paralyzed by alternatives
	Is impatient		Generates too many possibilities

Active   **Reflective**

Experimentation   **Observation**

Strengths:	Questions	Strengths:	Creates models
	Solves problems		Plans
Traits:	Efficient	Traits:	Organized and rational
	Prefers things to people		Prefers concepts to people
	Questions everything		Prefers theory to facts
			Amasses knowledge
Asks:	How does this work?	Asks:	What are the facts?
Seeks:	Usability & application	Seeks:	Facts and expertise
Goal:	To identify boundaries	Goal:	To achieve
Likes:	Teacher who allows questions/testing	Likes:	Expert teacher
Learns by:	Trying & making mistakes, Hands on experience	Learns by:	Listening, reading, organizing, writing
Motivated by:	Problems, questions	Motivated by:	Expertise, mastery
Teaches by:	Questioning and encouraging	Teaches by:	Telling & giving information
Weakness:	Solves wrong problem	Weakness:	Forgets practical application
	Resents being given answer		Critical

Abstract Conceptualization

[1] Adapted from Kolb, David A. *Learning Styles Inventory,* McBer and Company, 1976. Revised 1985.

Figure 2

Teaching Strategies for Kolb Learning Styles

Teaching Strategies for Quadrant I   (CE/RO)

Quadrant I =   ♥

The teacher must motivate QI students to care about what they have to learn and explain to them why they have to learn it. The teacher also neeeds to help these students select, focus on, and finish tasks because they tend to generate too many alternatives.

1.   Explain what you are doing and why. Give the student positive oral feedback, positive nonverbal feedback, and positive written feedback.
2.   Ask the student how this problem/issue relates to their personal life.
3.   Ask the student why it is so.
4.   Ask the student what the idea, concept, material means.
5.   Ask the student what important issues are similar.
6.   Talk to the student, explain, and allow the student to listen, take notes, and reflect.
7.   Stop and ask the student to go over their notes.
8.   Ask the student to explain what they understand.
9.   Ask the student to identify their reasons for taking the class, for proceeding in a certain direction.
10.   Help the student choose among alternatives by identifying what is truly most interesting, most important, most useful.
11.   Have the student brainstorm ideas.
12.   Show interest in the student as a person.
13.   Ask the student to define the problem.
14.   Make your written feedback directed, clear, and purposeful.
15.   Ask the student to imagine a solution.
16.   Ask the student how they feel about the class, book, method, problem.

Teaching Strategies for Quadrant II   (RO/AC)

Quadrant II: $E=mc^2$

Introduce yourself as an expert and explain why you are an expert (degrees, etc.) Acknowledge that they are excellent students and that you expect them to perform up to their ability. Give them well organized, written material (syllabi, sample tests, etc.) and clearly describe the parameters of the class to them.

1.   Ask the student to do research to discover what experts think.
2.   Keep students attending to practical issues and problems.
3.   Ask the student to critique the information.
4.   Ask the student to collect data.
5.   Help the student identify and address important concepts.
6.   Don't try to convince them that they **feel**; ask "What do you **think**?"
7.   Ask the student: "What is happening?" "What is related to what?"
8.   Help the student create a model, a framework, a critical grid, or a cognitive map of the material you are working on.
9.   Help the student develop a theory about the problem.
10.   Help the student plan their schedule for study day by day and over the semester.
11.   Recognize the student when they create a clear model, makes a workable critique, can quote from experts.
12.   Communicate to the student your level of expertise.
13.   Have the student tell you what they have read, learned, and/or studied.
14.   Give the student feedback in numbers, percentages, charts, and data comparisons.
15.   Ask the student if they are satisfied with their level of work.
16.   Help the student define the problem.

Figure 3

Teaching Strategies for Quadrant III   (AC/AE)

Quadrant III = **????**

These students learn by asking questions and problem-solving. Teachers have to allow time for questions and provide opportunities for them to try out solutions to problems. Teachers must also allow time for practice, and trial and error because these students learn from making and correcting mistakes.

1. Help the student to clarify 'fuzzy' ideas by writing out what they think they have learned.
2. Ask the student what you are dealing with and how it would work in real life.
3. Devise fun ways to do things; use humor, food, movement.
4. Give the student theories to test.
5. Redirect the student if they get off on the wrong track and tell them they got off track.
6. Provide support that lets the student know that they can do it.
7. Provide the student with hands-on experience.
8. Have the student analyze the problem.
9. Have the student try on their own, then coach them when they need more information.
10. Provide ideas for extra reading.
11. Allow and expect the student to question and analyze everything you say and do, but understand that the student is simply trying to figure out what is going on and how to learn it.
12. Encourage the student to check in with you by phone or by e-mail, if you have regular office hours.
13. Ask the student to summarize, **orally**, what the issues are.
14. Show the student where the necessary information is **in the book**.
15. Listen and guide, but let the student do the talking because they think and figure things out as they talk.
16. Have the student devise a practical application for an idea.
17. Present the student with a problem.

Teaching Strategies for Quadrant IV   (AE/CE)

Quadrant IV = 🎁

These learners are motivated by knowing they will produce a product - mechanical, written, musical, artistic or simply tangible - and are impatient to "get to work." Teachers need to provide clear guidelines and deadlines, and be willing to coach them one-on-one, and help get them started.

1. Clarify your class process each day and throughout the semester.
2. Help the student focus so they don't waste time on meaningless activity.
3. Organize visually your board work, hand outs, and tests so they are clear, concise and visually easy to read.
4. Build in collaborative activities.
5. Have the student go to the board and show you what they mean by writing out or drawing the concept.
6. Allow students to tape lectures and replay the lecture later.
7. Let the student be a group leader the first day.
8. Use colored pens, markers, or chalk to help students organize material.
9. Provide blocks, cubes, molecules, etc. for manipulation.
10. Puzzles! Mysteries! How-tos! (These students are good with process.) If you need something to be researched, etc., ask these students to help you.
11. Provide the student with a mystery setup and let the student discover hidden facts and possibilities.
12. Change your usual presentative format. For example, ask questions about the material first.
13. Give the student sample problems or worksheets to work through immediately. Then go over their weak spots.
14. Give students work that goes a bit beyond the level at which the class is working and have them puzzle out solutions or research problems.
15. Let students work through any hands-on activities without using the guide sheet, manual, or text book first.
16. Make sure that all your activities are designed to match the student's course material.
17. Let the student explain the problem and tell you or show you what they need to do.
18. Have the student provide facts, define facts orally, and then move to theorizing.

Figure 4

Instructions for *Renaissance Lives* Group Project
HIST 350

This semester you will work in small groups, outside of class time, in order to develop and organize a presentation on one of the following individuals in Theodore Rabb's *Renaissance Lives*: Petrarch; Jan Hus; Titian; Dürer; Platter; Teresa of Avila; de Montaigne; or Raleigh. You will then present your project to the entire class on the designated week in the syllabus. Each group should cover a different individual.

Your objective is to present to your classmates a clear investigation of one of the various Renaissance lives portrayed by Rabb. Each group member must read the Foreword, the chapter on Gentileschi, and their own particular chapter.

You will also want to think about the following questions when you design your presentation: what does this chapter add to our understanding of people who lived during the Renaissance? What aspect or aspects of the Renaissance does this person or persons reflect? What sets these men and women apart from their society? Should society most value the extraordinary or those who follow the crowd? Finally, be sure to put your historical character into the context of his or her era. What attributes of the Renaissance did your historical character reflect? Why was this a significant Renaissance Life?

Your presentation can be in **any** format you wish. You most certainly could offer a run-of-the-mill Power Point, but you could also write poetry, perform a skit, or present a museum board or collage. You can even perform a rap song. Each presentation should **only last 10 minutes.**

I will grade each group under the following guidelines: accuracy of information presented, 30%, creativity of the project, 30%, and analysis of the chapter (i.e. how you analyze the particular person's life in the context of events/movements of the period) 40%.

Figure 5

Student Learning Objectives for History Discipline Program
Aligned with the CMU Institution-Wide SLOs
Final Draft, with spring semester syllabi 2013

Upon completion of this History course, students should be able to do the following:

Specialized Knowledge/Applied Learning:
formulate the relationships of cause and effect

assess the importance of historical context

Intellectual Skills/Critical thinking:
critically analyze an argument based on secondary sources

critically analyze primary sources

Intellectual Skills/Communication fluency:
formulate a clear and persuasive argument based on evidence

construct a clear thesis with strong topic sentences

Lower Division SLO Assessment, Syllabus statement, spring 2013:

Every course at CMU is assessed in order to measure student learning and gauge success. As a campus, we determine student learning outcomes at both the institutional and program level. Upon completion of a baccalaureate degree CMU students will be able to make and defend assertions about a specialized topic in an extended well-organized document and be able to formulate conclusions (Communication Fluency). Upon completion of HIST 101, students should be able to formulate a clear and persuasive argument based on evidence.

Upper Division SLO Assessment, Syllabus statement, spring 2013:

Every course at CMU is assessed in order to measure student learning and gauge success. As a campus, we determine student learning outcomes at both the institutional and program level. Upon completion of a baccalaureate degree CMU students will be able to identify assumptions, evaluate hypotheses or alternative views, articulate implications, and formulate conclusions (Critical thinking). Upon completion of HIST 310, students should be able to critically analyze an argument based on secondary sources.

Approved at History discipline meeting, 12/4/12

Figure 6

Primary Source Group Exercise
Western Civilization 102

To think historically, one must analyze primary source documents.   It is from documents that we gain insight into how people lived in the past. In this exercise, you and your group will analyze a primary source from 17th-century France, evaluating its validity, and trying to understand its perspectives or points of view (POV) about Louis XIV and absolutism.

Part One: To do at home, before our discussion
Using the document *Vanity was His Ruin*, from *SPSP* #1, prepare the following questions on your own. Then, be ready to discuss your answers with our entire class:

1. What kind or type of document is it?
2. Who wrote the document? Is it a specific person or someone whose identity you can merely infer from its context (for example, a traveler writing home)? If it is a specific person, what do you know about the background of the person? What aspects of life, education, etc. helped to form her/his point of view?
3. What can the document tell us about the individual who produced it and the society from which she or he came?
4. What point or points of view does the document reflect and what is its tone? What can the document tell us about the individual who produced it and the society from which she or he came?
4. What point or points of view does the document reflect and what is its tone?
5. For whom and why was the document written? Who was, or might have been, the intended audience?
6. When and where was it written? Were these recollections written down years after the events, or while they were taking place?

Part Two: To do with your small group, in class
Once we cover the above questions as a class, you will be put into small groups to think about these more difficult issues and discuss them together.

1. Can I believe everything in this document, why or why not? What about the person's background or point of view would allow me to trust or question its validity? Given what you know about the historical context (the social and political developments of the period) why should we be suspicious about what the Duke said about the king's abilities and personality? Provide some **specific** examples from the document that reflects why you believe the Duke, why you don't, or both.
2. Given how you analyzed the document, do you believe that Louis XIV was a strong, competent monarch, why or why not?
3. Formulate at least two possible research questions that this source is capable of answering.

When your group has finished its analysis, all together **write your responses to part two of the exercise only**. Add to your statements a list of your group members and turn it in to Dr. Patarino.

Figure 7

Primary Source Exercise: Discerning Tone in a Document
HIST 102

Tone is the most difficult element for many students to discern from a document. It is also difficult for historians, since it often means reading between the lines.

Tone Activity for Kinetic Learners
1. Have students break up into pairs. Each should practice communicating two different specific emotions to their partner; their partner must guess the emotion.
2. Afterwards, have students volunteer what some of the emotions expressed were. And, ask how successful each one was in discerning the various emotions. Which ones were the easiest to identify? Which were the hardest?
3. Finally, discuss how could these emotions find their way into documents. What language would express anger? Sadness? Sarcasm?

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Woodcut: Elizabethan Schoolroom

Reacting to the Past and Subversive play:

Pushing Boundaries in Pedagogy

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This piece examines the Reacting to the Past role-playing pedagogy in light of subversive play. Subversive play can allow the students an opportunity to explore ideas and roles outside of their social norms and realities. Designed to produce an emotional reaction, it increases the tension between the "rules" of society and the classroom and those of the game. Reacting to the Past asks students to inhabit a role and speak, write, and influence through critical analysis of primary documents and persuasive speeches. Through Immersive Dynamics, this gamified pedagogy allows players to discover new perspectives by seeing an event though another's eyes. By examining my experience teaching three historical Reacting to the Past games, this paper illustrates the educational and social benefits of this pedagogy and of subversive play.

I sat in the corner of the classroom, watching the action on the edge of my seat. Would the Council of Acre accept the validity of a letter purportedly sent by Nur ad-Din to his agent, and would they vote to attack Damascus? Joe[1] was playing Muhammad al-Sultan, emir of Shayzar of Damascus, an actual historical figure but one who would not have attended the War Council at Acre in 1148. A member of the Eastern Allies faction, he had been invited to the War Council by Queen Melisande of Jerusalem as a trusted ally. One of Joe's secret objectives was to betray his faction and compromise Damascus by becoming a spy for Nur ad-Din, the leader of Edessa.[2] Joe had to convince everyone at the Council that he was protecting Damas-

1 Names have been changed. This piece was presented as part of a panel titled "Pedagogical Innovations in Teaching the Renaissance and Reformation" at the 49th annual Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association conference, held at Colorado Mesa University in Grand Junction, Colorado in June of 2017.

2 The city of Edessa fell to the Muslims in 1144.

cus's interests, all the while trying to get it to target that city in their next Crusade. Despite the unlikelihood that they would be duped, a quick glance between Joe and myself expressed disbelief: they were buying it. The vote: Damascus.

Reacting to the Past, a role-playing pedagogy created by Mark C. Carnes, helps students recognize the contingency of history and the importance of individual actions, motives, and discourse, that history's path is not determined.[3] Students playing a particular "game" learn to read and utilize primary sources effectively and, most importantly here, to argue persuasively within a given role in order to influence other characters and convince those characters of their own positions. Each *Reacting to the Past* game divides players into groups called factions. The remainder of the students are Indeterminates, those who may be convinced, cajoled, and bribed to vote with one faction or another, leading to a victory. The members of the factions, therefore, must make cogent arguments in speeches to sway the Indeterminates, who often do not realize the power they hold. Working together in these groups, students have both individual and collective objectives to meet by learning about history, reading, writing, and speaking and finally by colluding and manipulating; in short, through subversion.

Reacting to the Past role-playing games allow students to enter the world of subversive play "spent in the borderlands between the normative systems and the edges."[4] Subversive play can allow the players, in this case the students, to explore ideas and roles outside of their social norms and realities. Designed to produce an emotional reaction and to prompt them to "consider an issue, thought or concept in a new and creative way," it increases the tension between the "rules" of society and the classroom and those of the game.[5] For a

3 Mark C. Carnes developed *Reacting to the Past* at Barnard College in 2005 to offer students a new way to learn about history, philosophy, religion, art, and science.

4 Cox, "Digital Ephemera," https://videlais.com/2011/08/26/subversive-play/

5 Cox, "Digital Ephemera," https://videlais.com/2011/08/26/subversive-play/

group of students on the verge of adulthood, especially those who have been taught to follow society's rules, subversion is not only beneficial, but also vital for them to develop their own identities.

By definition, subversive play worlds exist "outside the boundaries of everyday life," limited in time and place/space.[6] College classrooms, however, are regulated and supervised by faculty and other college authorities, so how subversive can a game be in this case? Carnes suggests that "subversive play worlds do not destroy hierarchy, authority, and order; they depend on it."[7] There would in fact be nothing to subvert without clearly identifiable authority in the form of rules, systems of belief, class hierarchy, and social convention. Students understand that *Reacting to the Past* games have been created by scholars, are overseen by instructors, and are underpinned by scholarship, yet they "transform the class into their own subversive play world, and when they do, the walls of authority seem to dissolve."[8] When this happens, they can and do challenge the notion that historical action is outside of themselves, a long-ago series of predetermined events that affect them little, if at all.

Historical context is vital to understanding the unfolding of actions in the past, and *Reacting to the Past* games, unlike historical simulations and reenactments involving a simulacrum of a historical event, afford the understanding that a person in a given situation may vary their actions in a different setting. In *The Idea of History*, R.G. Collingwood argued that historical figures are knowable only through their words, as we read and "rethink" their thoughts."[9] Just as a place like Disneyland, for example, is "hyper realistic," that is present simultaneously as "absolutely realistic and absolutely fantastic," *Reacting to the Past* role-playing is both built upon the underlying historical framework *and* make believe: both archival

6 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 64.

7 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 64.

8 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 65.

9 Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 297.

research *and* Dungeons and Dragons.[10] Fast and intense, this pedagogy does not always allow full understanding of historical content, an insurmountable issue for many professors that leaves them opposed to Role Playing Games. Critics accuse *Reacting to the Past* of misrepresenting the historical past, saying that they "constitute an offense against the values of the historical profession."[11] However, as Carnes has said: "History is a smorgasbord of plausible 'what-ifs' . . . describing 'what happened' and why ignores the contingency of the past."[12] History is messy, a valuable lesson in itself.

"Gamification" refers to "the use of game design elements in non-game contexts" to make systems or processes "more fun and engaging."[13] Usually used in software engineering and educational processes like the use of clickers or apps, gamification can also be used in other education platforms, such as Role-Playing Games (RPGs). Gamification Effectiveness Theory posits that the framework relies on four main drivers of effectiveness: Intrinsic Motivation, Extrinsic Motivation, Game Mechanics, and Immersive Dynamics.[14] The more than forty *Reacting to the Past* games currently in use explore, history, science, art history, human rights, and political science through gamification using all of these drivers, but especially Immersive Dynamics, which enable a player's immersion into the gamified system or activity. In these games, students embody roles, sometimes of actual historical figures and other times composites. Using primary and secondary source documents provided by the instructor as well as their own outside research, they role-play as their character through a given set of circumstances. This methodology of teaching history emphasizing active learning and

10 Eco, *Travels in Hyper Reality*, 43.

11 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 249.

12 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 257. See also Thomas Andrews and Flannery Burke, "What Does It Mean to Think Historically?" *Perspectives*, American Historical Association, Jan. 2007.

13 Amir and Ralph, "Proposing a Theory of Gamification Effectiveness," 626-627.

14 Amir and Ralph, "Proposing a Theory of Gamification Effectiveness," 627.

engagement is a form of "flipped classroom," in which students get most of their historical content outside of class and then spend the class period "speaking, plotting, writing, conferring, and negotiating with their fellow students."[15] The majority of the class meetings are mostly or entirely student driven, with the instructor silently ensconced in a corner of the room, largely forgotten.

I taught my first *Reacting to the Past* course in the Honors College at the University of Utah in 2017 as a semester-long *Intellectual Traditions* course dedicated to the pedagogy. We played three medieval historical games: *Constantine and the Council of Nicaea: Defining Orthodoxy and Heresy in Christianity, 325 C.E.*, *The Second Crusade: the War Council of Acre, 1148*, and *Il Duomo di Santa Maria del Fiori, 1418*. Each of the games begins with 1-2 weeks of lecture on historical background, engaging with primary sources individually and with other students, and "set up" of the game's situation and rules. Games always begin with a liminal event in order to establish a sense of impending change and uncertainty, allowing students to change the historical narrative in a way that allows them to see that history is not predetermined or "set in stone." This aspect in particular drew me to this pedagogy, as I have recognized student's tendency to see history as stagnant and part of a larger "plan." In *Reacting to the Past* games, most students recognize that their role sheets and the historical background in their Game Manuals provide them with the bare minimum of information needed to be successful in the game. They know that they must do additional research, and read and re-read the historical documents for clues as to how their characters might act, regardless of how they did act in history. They discover what else was happening at that time and place, and then make decisions based on that contextual information. Some roles are so brief that students are required to flesh them out by naming their personas and developing biographical details, and this immersion into character can get into their heads. One student surveyed said: "I had to double check my thoughts-are they my thoughts or

15 Olwell and Stevens, "'I Had to Double Check My Thoughts'," 568.

my character's thoughts?"[16] If teaching historical thinking is one of our primary goals as educators, this seems a promising start.

The most difficult game we played was also the first: *Constantine and the Council of Nicaea, 325*. Students had to learn both the rules and structures of *Reacting to the Past*, as well as the many facets of early Christian doctrine, determine what ideas fourth-century Christians considered most important and why, and strive to understand the episcopal authority of metropolitan bishops, and women's roles in the late Roman social and religious hierarchy. This proved relatively challenging, especially since, as in traditional medieval history classes, students are not particularly knowledgeable or comfortable with learning about religion, particularly one not their own. The game is especially designed to create a Creed and the bulk of the class sessions tackled that issue, students wrangling over excruciatingly detailed word choice, each faction and Indeterminate player adding their own perspectives. The ensuing debate was often heated, as religious debates have historically been, allowing students to understand history on an emotional, as well as an intellectual level. Students recognized that corporate Christianity did not emerge as a monolithic doctrine out of a vacuum, but rather that it took centuries of this kind of discussion and disputation, local and ecumenical Church councils, letters and treatises, to come to the agreed upon Creed. Using multiple versions of scripture, as well as the Gnostic Gospels, canons, and letters, students wrote three historical papers on an idea, such as the nature of the trinity, for which their role advocated, and then used those papers to inform the speeches they gave in class. When they finished the game, the student playing Bishop Ossius of Cordoba, who presided over the Council, wrote the final Creed upon which they had agreed on a scroll she had bought at a stationary story and the bishops signed it.[17] Not all bishops agreed to sign and one, Acesius the Novatianist, walked out of the Council, forfeiting all of his victory points and losing the game. Students who signed the Creed received points (if it made sense in their roles).

16 Olwell and Stevens, " I Had to Double Check My Thoughts," 568.

17 I hung the scroll in the classroom as we left that day and it was stolen, perhaps a testament to its beauty and "coolness" quotient.

The students who achieved the greatest number of their objectives won the game. The winner received five extra credit points in the class, not enough to change their grades, but providing enough extra incentive to give convincing speeches. Likewise, losing a game did not affect their grades, further removing a barrier to subversion.

As the game progressed, so did their willingness to play outside the rules. Shyness and self-consciousness evaporated, as did the fear of saying something incorrect and the overall fear of failing. Rather, it helped to bolster their inventiveness and creativity, both essential qualities of a good historian and thinker. Because this class is only one option to fulfill their Core Honors requirement, students self-select, and are therefore naturally more willing to "buy in". Over time they cared less about their grades, and instead thrived on the competition and collaboration. Students became fully immersed in the game in exciting ways, by wearing costumes, bringing props, posting messages (physically and electronically), and getting wholly into character during debates. They made and brought relics to class, created banners, and produced documents they had researched, such as contracts and commissions. By requesting that they include me on all email correspondence and by reading the electronic discussion board where they posted information, speeches, and rebuttals, I was able to peer into this subversive realm outside of class as well, where a large part of the game play occurs. It allowed me to better assess the amount and type of work in which each student was engaging. Students held meetings on evenings and weekends and spoke to each other outside of class about the game often. I even observed them referring to each other by their character names in other classes and contexts, further indicative of the tight-knit and inclusive community that *Reacting to the Past* fosters.

From the perspective of Social Capital theory, the classroom community created in *Reacting to the Past* games constructs a network that provides students with societal value, while also "facilitating the circulation of resources, particularly new information and ideas, contributing to their academic performance."[18] I switched up the

18 Webb and Engar, "Exploring Classroom Community," 13.

factions in subsequent games so that former adversaries were now allies and vice versa. They were therefore able to continue to expand that network throughout the semester. In several studies done about *Reacting to the Past* students stated that by playing a game they developed skills in oral argument, critical thinking, strategizing, writing, and teamwork and that the experience helped with overcoming anxiety. The enjoyed the approach and felt that it contributed positively to their learning.[19] Students also reported higher self-esteem, an increase in empathy, and enhanced verbal and rhetorical skills.[20]

In the second game, *The Second Crusade and the War Council of Acre, 1148*, the focus shifted to twelfth-century politics in Europe and the Middle East. Besides the Indeterminates, students group into several factions: French, German, Jerusalem and Eastern Allies, which included the military monastic orders and diplomats from Damascus. They engaged in three debates: how can we justify this Crusade, which city will we target, and who will lead it? Presided over by Patriarch Fulcher of Chartres, each student read and utilized sources written by St. Augustine on Just War theory, Otto of Freising's *Histories*, Usamah Ibn Minqidh's autobiography, Pope Eugenius III's *Quantam praedecessores*, and other works to effectively argue for their interests and sway the Indeterminates to vote with their factions. They also collected "relics" of varying point values given for effective speeches, keeping them in their homemade reliquaries. Finally, the student playing Fulcher was responsible for creating the True Cross, to be respected above all else.

In the *Reacting to the Past* pedagogy, while students run the game, the Gamemaster/instructor still has the ability to intervene, some-

19 Albright, "Harnessing Student's Competitive Spirit," 374.

20 Reacting to the Past/Reacting Consortium, Barnard College, http://Reacting.Barnard.edu. In a 2013 survey of RTTP Faculty 96% found it to be "Very Effective" or "Effective" in producing student learning of content and skills in Critical Thinking, 99% in Teamwork, 95% in Problem Solving, and 98% in Oral Communication. Furthermore, 98% found it to be Very Effective or Effective in Providing Academic Challenges, 96% in Connecting Knowledge with Choices and Actions, and 91% for Developing Students' Ability to Apply Learning to Complex Problems. But only 88% did so in Knowledge of Content, and the lack of time to go into depth on content is a major obstacle for some instructors.

times literally as a god. Students cannot use anachronistic informa-tion, so the Gamemaster must point out when they are using evi-dence from a document that did not yet exist or referring to an event that had not yet occurred. Gamemasters need not be experts in the period, but of course must provide accurate historical context in the introductory "set up." Students can and do challenge the rules of the game and the Gamemaster must decide if they have made a plausible case. At the end of each game the Gamemaster holds a Postmortem, a session that explains the ways in which the game diverged from history. It also allows students to debrief and tell secrets, explain actions in the game and mend fences, all over snacks and a party atmosphere. This session is vital to set things "straight" and diffuse tensions. In the *Second Crusade* game, for example, some students became too involved in the tension, becoming so immersed in the game that they began to take other's actions too personally. One stu-dent in particular became extremely involved in the game, sending me daily emails about historical context and strategy and she took the betrayal of her character by another to heart. Perhaps because of the intense nature of her role, or because some people are especially susceptible to Immersive Dynamics, she could not separate actions in the game from actions "in real life," perhaps a drawback to this kind of pedagogy for some. The Postmortem ameliorated some of her feelings of betrayal but I'm not entirely convinced that she ever forgave her former friend.

Whereas the first two games focused on the complicated religious and political motives and events reflecting medieval ideas, the third game grapples with the paradigm shift surrounding Renais-sance Humanism and its innovations. In *Il Duomo di Santa Mari-adel Fiori, 1418* players compete to design the dome of the Floren-tine cathedral. Factions are led by Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and della Querca, each jockeying for a chance to design and construct one of the pre-eminent domed cathedrals of the Italian Renaissance. Here my engineering students could shine, as the factions were not only required to design, but also to build and present a "proof of concept"

model to the Indeterminates. These models had to illustrate the factions' detailed plans and answer questions about everything from supply lines to how the designs reflected Humanist values. One especially thorny problem they had to solve, for example, was how to transport the workers a distance of 70 feet up to and down from the worksite. They also researched cranes, levers, and other construction innovations used in this competition, examining schematics and videos illustrating Renaissance engineering and techniques, as well as images of classical domes. Using historical documents written by contemporary engineers such as Vitruvius and Vergarius, and Renaissance writers like Bruni and Dati students had to decide on the best building ideas and practices, all the while harmonizing those concepts with Humanism. The game opened with a liminal event, a procession through the streets of Florence (around our building) on the Feast of San Giovanni, the patron saint of the city. They marched with *palios* and banners they created, reflecting the trade guilds to which they belonged, and carried candles, parading to the sound of characters playing musical instruments. In the course of the game, students came to understand that Renaissance Italian society consisted of multiple intersecting roles: familial, guild, neighborhood, religious, political, and economic. Just as each one of them occupies multiple roles in their lives (student, child, parent, employee, etc.), so too did the characters they were embodying. In this game, as in history, Brunelleschi's design won the competition and he received the commission.

Students grapple with ideas differently because they are trying out strategies, historical factors and human motives in a very tangible way. Players immerse themselves in history in a novel process, one that differs from lecture-based classes in its use of space, objects, and time. Students learn leadership skills, networking and teamwork, logic and argumentation, ethics, and public speaking and, perhaps most importantly, empathy. Anthropologist Victor Turner's "anti-structural function" of liminality argues that by subverting cultural and historical rules with persuasive social inversions, a new identity

and social reality is forged.[21] This new identity can help students understand new class, race, and gender perspectives, as well as human nature. By playing historical characters of a different gender, for example, they might perceive the issues differently, and perhaps carry that new understanding to other areas of their lives. They learn to see things differently because they are able to "reskin" themselves and try on other historical personas.

Reskinning refers to taking on a new role, pushing the boundaries of society and the world, and engaging in subversive play, allowing the player to change the "narrative of the game world as it exists for them, rewriting"; itself a subversive act.[22] By engaging the concepts behind subversive play, including exploration of boundaries and encouraging rebellion, *Reacting to the Past* pedagogy is particularly effective at allowing students to develop empathy, network and build connections, and understand both history and culture through liminal inversions of gender, class, age, race, time, and space. By subverting students' norms, educators can help them better engage intimately with history in a simulacrum of a simulacrum of the past.

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21 Carnes, *Minds on Fire*, 44. See, for example, Victor Turner's *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. 1969.

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