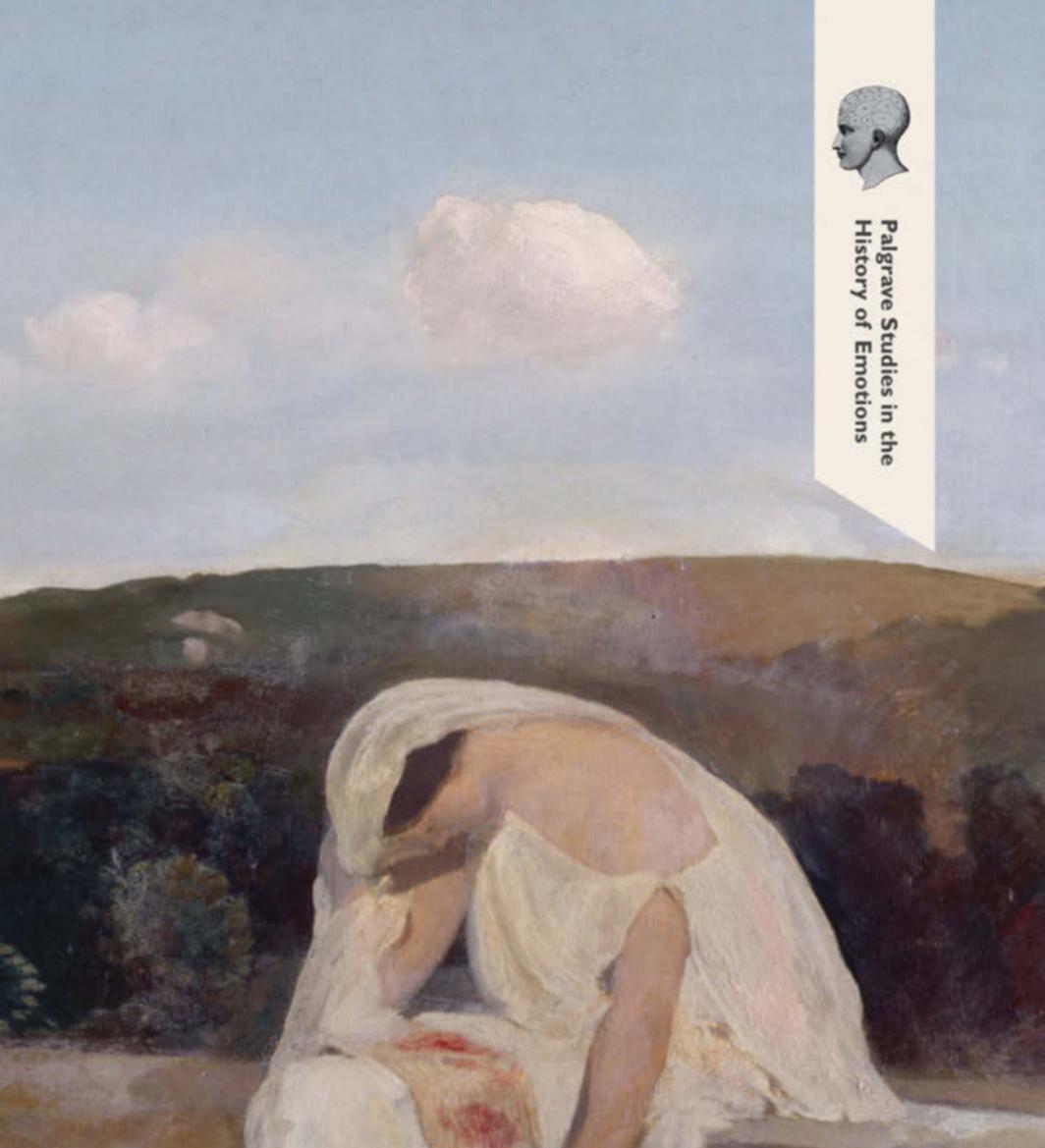




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History of Emotions



Emotions and War

Medieval to Romantic Literature

EDITED BY
STEPHANIE DOWNES
ANDREW LYNCH
KATRINA O'LOUGHLIN



Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature

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Emotions and War

Medieval to Romantic Literature

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Stephanie Downes

Andrew Lynch

and

Katrina O'Loughlin

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Introduction – War as Emotion: Cultural Fields of Conflict and Feeling

Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin

The word 'emotion', first used in France in the fifteenth century to denote political or social upheaval, was also commonly linked to physical violence. Nicole Hochner observes that in the 1429 *Chronique du Bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, 'l'esmotion du duc de Bretagne' (the 'emotion' of the Duke of Brittany), leads directly to a siege of the French town of Troyes. The *OED* puts the earliest reference to 'emotiones' in English over a century later, in 1562, where it was also used to describe manifestations of social unrest: 'the great tumultes and *emotiones* that were in Fraunce between the king and the nobilite.'¹ During the reign of Elizabeth I the term entered English vocabulary in this triangulation of the French, Italian, and English languages as a description of – and an explanation for – escalating conflict, most frequently in historical accounts. Throughout history emotions have not just started wars, but been firmly entrenched within them, and are a heightened condition of their narrative aftermath. The history of emotions must necessarily therefore take this long written history of war and violent conflict into account.

As a relatively new critical field, the study of past emotions has mirrored this cultural intertwining of violence and feeling, by developing over the course of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries often specifically in relation to moments of violent encounter and social disorder in the history of Western civilization. Concentrating on the very recent past, the work of Peter N. Stearns, for example, has explored the role of emotions in American society up to and including the present, in his analysis of the culture of fear in America post-2001.² Focussing on Europe and European relations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ute Frevert has explored the gendered emotional politics of duelling in *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel*.³ Frevert's more recent work extends forward to study the impact of these aristocratic attitudes on international relations during wartime in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the First World War.⁴ Elsewhere Frevert has observed more

generally that while emotions may assist social cohesion – as suggested by Barbara H. Rosenwein in her description of an ‘emotional community’ – emotions also ‘provoke conflicts and give rise to enduring antagonisms.’⁵ William M. Reddy’s 2001 ‘framework’ for the history of emotion, *The Navigation of Feeling*, builds its approach to the study of past ‘emotional regimes’ on the example of Revolutionary France.⁶ Rosenwein’s exploration of certain emotional communities in the early medieval period considers moments of tense political negotiation among medieval royalty, aristocracy, and religious orders, often around potential or actual conflict. Her epigraph, drawn from Cicero, asks a direct question about the aftermath of the emotions of war: ‘This warrior irascibility of yours; when it has come back home, what is it like with your wife, children, and slaves? Do you think that it’s useful there, too?’ There is much to consider from this quotation about the uses and consequences of emotion(s) in wartime, especially anger, a common motivator to war in the medieval period;⁷ about the appropriateness of certain emotions to wartime; and the place of war’s emotions after fighting has ceased. There is the more specific question of the nature of the warrior’s ‘irascibility’ – his perceived ‘anger’ (*ira*) – as a necessary component of war in many medieval narratives, but ill-suited to domestic life. What these highly influential studies in the field of the history of emotions show is that the field is deeply rooted in historical interpretations of social and political conflict, reading emotions in vastly different historical periods as performance, motivation, regime, and practice. However, none of these wide-ranging and influential analyses of emotion in past times of war and conflict has foregrounded the question of war’s particular emotions and how the historical record has kept and treated them.

Literary texts record, remember, and recreate war’s emotions in a number of different ways. Whether narrated by an eye-witness, an onlooker, or one who contemplates conflict in the past, this re-remembering of war is achieved through a wide range of literary genres, from narrative poem to lyric, and from personal letter to tomb inscription. Given the experiential and expressive density of battle, it perhaps seems ambitious to create a publication which explores the emotions of war in texts ranging from the Middle Ages to the era of Romanticism, and in forms ranging from medieval chivalric biography to war correspondence in *The Times*; but the unique co-evolution of the language of emotion and violent upheaval warrants such an approach. Literature itself, as Frevert has noted, plays a practical role in the cultivation of emotions such as empathy and compassion in modern warfare, from poetry written about war, to novels and novellas that offer inspirational accounts of bravery, humanity, and sacrifice on the field of battle.⁸ Equally, actual war experience has its impact on both the literary production of emotions and on how the emotional life itself is conceived and structured as part of human identity.⁹ Basic cultural concepts of what the emotions are and where they reside in human identity have been

deeply related to participation in literary culture. Literary production and the historical experience of war interact powerfully in the creation of the emotional and cognitive resources with which lives are lived, beyond traditional notions of war literature as pre- or post-experiential 'propaganda' or 'reportage'. Our project considers the different emotional circumstances of and within individual wars. However, we are also deliberately attuned to war's emotions as historical experiences whose production is bound up in variable cultural practices, including the forms of writing themselves.

Our collection aims to address a significant absence in the study of literary representations of – and responses to – war in European history: while emotions in war writing from particular periods have received important analyses, and there are significant broader studies of related topics such as courage and trauma from various methodological angles, long-range studies of war in literature are relatively rare, and those that do exist have not always given much consideration to the role and representations of emotions in this literature.¹⁰ Existing interdisciplinary and cross-period studies of the history of emotions have often been linked to violent conflict, but have not always paid attention to the emotions of war.¹¹ Recapturing past emotions, in or across any historical period, is, as many have pointed out in recent years, an exercise fraught with particular difficulty: there are problems of linguistic, cultural and psychological difference to be negotiated; and the risk of anachronism, of a scholarship based on assumption rather than actuality, is high. In taking a long historical view of war and emotion, this volume accepts both the challenge and the complexity of the subject, tracing the contours of largely uncharted terrain.

Jan Plamper has recently argued that 'we must recognise ... that the conventions belonging to the discipline of history require us to privilege the cultural and temporal dimension of the emotions. And emotions display, in actuality, many singularities specific to the historical periods under consideration.' Plamper points out, for instance, that the *acedia* suffered – or rather, practised as a 'sin' – by medieval monks is today a 'lost' emotion: modern 'apathy', 'depression', and 'melancholy' have none of *acedia*'s symptomatic fever, limb pains and distaste for prayer.¹² Plamper links his observations on the embodiment of emotion with Monique Scheer's idea of emotions as 'practices' of bodies which are themselves to be understood as 'socially situated, adaptive, trained, plastic, and thus historical.'¹³ The written emotions of war analysed in this volume are readily recalled when Scheer speaks of the necessity to acknowledge 'the mutual embeddedness of minds, bodies, and social relations in order to historicize the body and its contributions to the learned experience of emotion,'¹⁴ In the terms Scheer takes from Pierre Bourdieu, war inculcates a new *habitus* of emotional practice – and disrupts former practices – through the extraordinary demands that it makes of the body and mind, yet the particular nature of the *habitus* remains directly related to the social circumstances and cultural modes – and one might add,

the technologies – within which it is learned and practised as an ‘experience’. This experience is ‘[l]ike all practices ... simultaneously spontaneous and conventional.’¹⁵ In this process, utterance and writing hold an important place:

According to the embodied account of experience, there are no thoughts and feelings that are not manifested in bodily processes, actions, in spoken or written words, or supported by material objects. It is their materiality that makes them available to the senses and to memory.¹⁶

Following the logic of Scheer’s view, writing is not simply *about* the historical and bodily emotional experience of war, but *of* it.

The experience of war laid out in this volume extends both temporally through the Middle Ages, early modernity, and the age of Romanticism, and geographically, across Europe, and into the New World. It is a necessarily broad – and simultaneously limited – account of the emotions of war in the West, which anticipates the recent past without addressing it directly. The preponderance of essays here on the Middle Ages shows the roots of modern attitudes to warfare in Europe in that period, rather than the Renaissance, and continues the discussions begun by various historians about the importance of pre-modern times – and the Middle Ages in particular – in developing a narrative of the history of feeling in the European world (which at times seems coterminous with the history of Europe itself).¹⁷ At the other end of the volume, the eighteenth century – the ‘era of sensibility’ and Romanticism – has long featured in the critical literature as a climax in the cultural fascination in many parts of the Occident with human feeling.¹⁸ Mary Favret and David Bell focus on the same historical moment, identifying the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as the first ‘modern’ global wars.¹⁹ Attending this change in geography and scale is a critical shift in the experience and understanding of war, such that British Romanticism is itself, Favret argues, ‘a wartime phenomenon’.²⁰ While the Romantic period thus represents a natural ‘endpoint’ for the volume as the apparent inauguration of a new epoch of modern war, it also invokes the peculiar historicity and historical continuities of war. The following essays reveal, for example, that there is almost always an acute and self-conscious modernity accompanying war, a repeated sense of war as precipice, limit experience, and limen of a new age. But time can just as easily dissolve or collapse when we, as readers, become immersed in war’s literatures and histories: these are past but proximate emotions. The porous temporality of war described by Favret – ‘the vestiges of an unlimited present’ – is thus both a ‘modern’ and pre-modern characteristic of violent conflict. War is both a moment in history and history itself, a seismic rupture in knowledge, feeling, and experience. This symbiotic relationship between war, emotion, and history, the ‘melee of temporal synchronies that [result] ... not in the end of history but its reopening,’²¹ is described by multiple essays in this volume and wrought

in the cover image of Charles Henry Sims' *Clio and the Children* (1913 and 1915). As the Muse of History, Clio grieves to tell the story of war to the children; it is perhaps even beyond her powers of representation. Sims (later traumatized by his appointment as an official war artist in 1918) paints the open – or reopened – wounds of her grief as bleeding in her lap.

The emphasis of the collection within this *longue durée* of the medieval to the modern is on war literature, or military conflict and its relationship to writing; on texts written in response to or as a record of war; on texts that were shaped by war, or that sought, themselves, to influence it; and on those that hoped to avoid it. It is a tentative history of wars' fields and war 'time' in literature. As in many other critical volumes about war, the essays grouped here are simultaneously engaged in peace, as war's antithesis, absence, or complement. A desire for peace is expressed within very varied imaginative forms: from medieval Christian ideas of heaven (Andrew Lynch); medieval poetry about love (Stephanie Downes); clerly humanist aversion from bloodshed (Andrew Hiscock); neo-classical pastoral and georgic utopianism (Diana G. Barnes and Katrina O'Loughlin); to personal sympathy for the individual 'grievable lives' of wartime combatants (Neil Ramsey). Some essays in this volume deal with texts about specific military engagements – Abigail Williams's discussion of politicized poetic glorifications of the Duke of Marlborough is one example; other essays consider texts that take a long retrospective look at historical conflicts. It seems clear, however, that all writing about the emotions of past wars manages, at least in part, to engage with those of the present. This may occur because of a particular authorial insight and intention: James Simpson's chapter on Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* suggests that, around 1420, a 'prescient' poet models for his royal and warlike English addressees the disastrous outcome of failure to listen to prudential counsel against war:

If these societies of the past were destroyed for want of philosophical reflection, the work presents itself as saying, then *contemporary* readers might be able to avoid the same mistakes by attending to this very work, and to the prudential voice of its author and translator (114).

But beyond this urgency of warning is an atmosphere of foreboding, or perennial imminence attached to the experience of war: a sense of the cyclical, perhaps inevitable, return of conflict that plagues even the 'peace'. One might argue that historical war writing also takes on contemporary resonance because war writers endow both the actors and the action in the field of war with an emotional range determined by, or at least closely related to, the literary forms in which they speak to their contemporary audiences. These forms speak in turn of the cultural contexts in which they are generated and uttered, including current emotional lexicons and regimes. For that reason, and also simply because the experience of war has recurred so often

and reverberated so widely, war literature provides emotional linkages across widely separated historical eras. So Diana G. Barnes, in her essay on Andrew Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House', written in the wake of the English Civil War, sees the poet 'drawn to forms of art that stoically govern the dangerous emotions of pity, fear, sorrow and vainglory unleashed by war', while T. S. Eliot, writing on Marvell in the wake of the First World War, is appreciative of the poem's 'bright hard precision' of emotion, but fearful of moments when it may seem that its fancy eludes rational restraint. Acts of reading, including readings of the past, are themselves historically implicated and emotionally connected affairs, in which the notionally-fixed boundaries between past and present tend to disband, and perhaps especially so in the highly affective atmosphere of war. This amplification of emotional intensity accompanying war can cause a misleading recruitment of history for modern agendas: in France, for instance, the far-right, anti-immigration Front National claims Joan of Arc in this way. Nevertheless, long-range appeals and vocabularies of this kind are not solely a function of conscious propaganda. The clear evidence from studies in this volume and elsewhere is that readers of all kinds respond to war literature of the past in their own emotional idioms: their reading of past literature both forms, and is formed by, their contemporary emotional understandings of war – how they 'feel' about it in the here and now.²² European literature, like history, seems fundamentally emotionally entangled in war. As Mary Favret suggests:

If we take wartime less as an object of cognition bounded by dates – a period – and more as an affecting experience which resonates beyond the here and now, then wartime literature becomes an attempt to trace and give shape to such affect, to register its wayward power.²³

There are, of course, potential problems in asserting a meaningful continuity in the emotional life associated with Europe's wars over the long period that our contributors cover. For one thing, the organization, technology, and material circumstances of war changed so much from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries that some forms of the emotional life depicted in medieval and early modern war writing might seem thoroughly superseded even well before the end of that time-span. It is much more difficult now, for instance, to write about modern warfare as if it were practically centred on the astounding deeds of individual heroes. Even if such a mode could be adopted, many modern readers would not sympathize with the simple confessional attitude developed in the *Song of Roland* – 'paiens unt tort et chrestiens unt dreit' (v. 1015) – or with its zest for the slaughter of opponents. We must therefore acknowledge those major cultural changes that render naïve retrospective attempts to claim medieval and early modern writers as honorary secular moderns, as if they could speak for the war experience of the last two centuries. By the same token, it should not be assumed

that earlier war literature simply forces depictions of war's emotions into the narrative matrices of male chivalric glory in the 'field': victory, honour, and reputation, whether personal or national. The widespread condemnation of war's social destructiveness by earlier clerkly and humanist writers is often overlooked, including a deep concern for the plight of non-combatants; persistent associations of war with motives of pride, anger, envy, covetousness, and even madness; and the many textual references to fear, horror, and guilt in war.²⁴ Modern studies of chivalric literature often stage themselves as consciously revisionist projects seeking to counter the image of medieval military masculinity with the supposedly suppressed realities of medieval war practice.²⁵ This method of historicist critique has been valuably informative, but such an approach can also neglect what particular medieval war texts reveal about their own emotional complexity, including a capacity for critique of dominant chivalric discourse through their depiction and evocation of non-compliant emotions. As Simon Meecham-Jones's essay on *Troilus and Criseyde* argues, in the context of modern critiques based on ideas of masculinity, appeals to 'the rhetoric of absence' in analysing medieval literature may restrict understanding of emotional character and agency in particular instances by assuming the existence of a privileged single version of 'manhood' in the text (or the culture that it stems from) that implies an equally ideal counter-version. In Meecham-Jones's words 'it becomes uncomfortably clear how expected concepts of "masculinity" risk imposing unhelpfully rigid interpretative grids onto our readings of the past' (82).

The wider point here is that insisting on a necessary radical antagonism between past and contemporary cultural attitudes to war can be as unhelpful as ahistorical 'blind modernism.'²⁶ War literature is, indeed, often a casualty of both those extremes. The tendency of Victorian culture to idealize war as moral struggle, and to give this idealism a medievalist form (as in Tennyson's Arthurian *Idylls of the King*), helped bring about a popular consensus in reaction against 'the knight in shining armour.'²⁷ Medieval warfare was perceived throughout the nineteenth century as an undisciplined, semi-theatrical affair which had become highly anachronistic in the new era of gunpowder, superior infantry tactics, increasing military professionalism, and the establishment of standing armies under the control of centralized nation states.²⁸ Accordingly, the medieval 'emotional regime' of war, to use the phrase coined by Reddy to describe civil conflict in eighteenth-century France, also seemed either outmoded or unstable in modernity.²⁹ The image of heavy French cavalry stuck in the mud of Agincourt and picked off by mobile archers has been written and read as a harbinger of modern war realism and a bathetic end of chivalric fantasy. Mark Twain's satirical invention of 1889 that knights in armour had to be hoisted onto their horses by cranes was reprised as history in Lawrence Olivier's 1944 film of Shakespeare's *Henry V*.³⁰ In the film's emotional tactics, both the Church and the French (only

French knights need the cranes) are alienated as ‘medieval’: devious, effete, and outmoded. The secular English hero is, by contrast, made fully accessible to the cinema audience. Olivier’s film is a suggestive example of how the modern emotional management of history has distinguished the acceptable from the unwanted, and particularly around the site of war: the medieval heritage of war glory is claimed, but the king can be ‘ours’ only because he is not really ‘medieval’. In the process, the nature of Shakespearean drama as an element of continuity between medieval and modern war emotions is occluded even while it is exploited. And yet, as Peter Sherlock’s discussion of glory in early modern memorial and commemorative poetry shows, the medieval can also be redeployed in posthumous reference to Philip Sidney as that ‘thrice renowned Knight.’ Sherlock’s essay opens with the example of an early-eighteenth-century funerary battlefield monument, erected to another aristocratic fighter, which simultaneously ‘lamented the untimely death of a warrior on the battlefield, while glorifying the cause in which he perished (169).’ In this medievalising movement, the language of military ‘glory’ overrides the immediate trauma of death in war through its investment in a separate emotional economy understood as both ancient and monumentally enduring.

Previous scholarship that has connected medieval and modern emotions of war has usually done so with reference to an ideological ‘revival’ of the values of medieval Christian ‘chivalry’ as a model of duty and behaviour for modern gentlemen from the mid-eighteenth century. Chivalry, in this account, re-emerges as a lofty and affective ideal for youth to emulate under the condition of war, and a wider foundation for national identity and ‘heritage’ (a point to which we will return). The classic and best-known study in this area remains Marc Girouard’s *The Return to Camelot*; many others have followed, establishing ‘Medievalism studies’ as an important field of research.³¹ Our project here is different, in that we find strong lines of continuity from the medieval throughout the early modern in the emotional situations, preoccupations, and expressive thematics of war writing. The Middle Ages is nevertheless a good starting place for a critical retrospective on war and emotion, if only because modern cultural attitudes to the nature of war – its lack of humanity or concern for human feeling (war as ‘machine’) – relate in part to associations of war with the retrograde past: war as regression rather than progression. Our collection deliberately stops short of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet the legacy of modern wars underpins each of the essays in this collection, as they call forth the landscapes and battlefields of European history. We do not go so far as Doc Peret, cited by McLoughlin, who claims that ‘the *feel* of war is the same ... the emotions are the same, the same fundamental stuff is seen and remembered. ... I’ll wager that troops at Hastings or the Bulge had the same problem.’³² By contrast, a large part of our brief in this volume is to articulate those specific differences that varieties in genre and literary form

make to the written 'feel' of war. Yet the fact that claims like Peret's can be made at all suggests that such differences are by no means absolute: those changing forms of utterance that we trace across the volume also share emotional resonances, and are participants in a continuing cultural conversation. In assessing the emotional cast of war, both writers and readers still seem partly willing to know the past by the present and the present by the past, however much they otherwise define modernity in opposition to bygone eras. Something of that impulse toward the long view arises from shallow propagandist retrospection, as when Charles Dickens likens the spirit of the 'tough Britons' resisting Julius Caesar to that of the troops who fought against Napoleon.³³ But it also seems evident that European writing over many centuries maintains a series of recurring thematic clusters that powerfully organize thoughts and feelings about war. Feeling, like thinking, is deeply embedded in the languages of response available to us, and these have complex and changeable histories.

One of the most visible of these clusters – or emotional vocabularies – of war to emerge from the research united here is a persistent preoccupation with the relation of gentility and masculinity to war service. Within medieval texts, this relationship has often been discussed by scholars under the banner of 'courtliness', located in chivalric and didactic works, and often focussed especially on the socializing aspects of war. Of special significance are codes of 'proper' courtly behaviour toward fellow fighters and other knights, known or unknown: medieval romance literature is full of examples of the dire consequences of failing to recognize a friend from a foe, and is equally insistent on the advantages of containing rather than exhibiting aggression towards such opponents. The emotional etiquette of the conduct of war remains visible through to the late eighteenth century, where the complex courtesies attending conflict within communities (such as republicans and loyalists living side by side in the American War for Independence), and regardless of gender, are made palpable in written accounts. These 'proper' forms continue to have reverberations in modern warfare where the conduct of soldiers is heavily scrutinized, and can (as in the case of Abu Ghraib) become a critical component of the moral defensibility of specific conflicts or troop deployments. The heavy and unbalanced emphasis on chivalric chronicles and romances in the 'medieval revival' period came about largely because these re-discovered literary forms resonated with a persistent conviction that war was the test of true manhood, a view which had never needed any 'revival' in substance. The configuration of war as a trial of masculinity is present, explicitly or implicitly, in accounts of military psychology over many centuries: 'Nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy' ('Now it may be known who is brave', line 215) cries a young warrior in the late tenth-century *Battle of Maldon*.³⁴ In the fifteenth-century English literary context, Thomas Malory's noble youngster Gareth wonders if he could ever withstand a proven knight.³⁵ For the modern military historian John

Keegan, 'How would I behave in a battle?' is still the 'central question' 'for a young man training to be a professional soldier.'³⁶

Finding and interpreting the expressive emotional forms of behaviour in battle (rather than 'war') is a more difficult matter, even if attention is restricted to the feelings of individual combatants. One of the advantages of taking war literature (more generally) rather than military correspondence, or most military history, as a site of soldiers' emotions is that while combatants know best what war feels like to its fighters – what emotions war arouses in them experientially – soldiers have usually also been trained to restrain their emotional reactions, as far as possible, by conforming to a set of shared routines. The inculcation of emotional restraint in combatants is another important form of historical continuity captured by these essays: Aristotle taught the importance of habituating soldiers to act in the necessary way despite the presence of potentially overwhelming fear.³⁷ Vegetius, a major influence on medieval and early modern thinking about military practice, also advocated 'instruction in the rules, so to speak, of war, toughening in daily exercises, [and] prior acquaintance in field-practice with all possible eventualities in war and battle.'³⁸ Such training – formal or informal – encouraged conformation to a set of prescribed emotional and behavioural norms in the field of battle, and extended by way of other literatures to non-combatants and the broader communities caught up in war. Manuals about appropriate behaviour and etiquette for a knight were widely read in Europe throughout the pre-modern era: from Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*, printed by Caxton in 1489 as the *Boke of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye*, to later Elizabethan 'courtesy literature' based on Italian models, and well beyond.³⁹ John Keegan's views on modern war are remarkably similar to those expressed by Vegetius and his redactors, and apply especially to 'appropriate' or desirable forms of emotional expression. Keegan suggests that since war is 'an already highly emotive subject', the practical need for soldiers is to make battle less subject to emotional influence by learning

to describe events and situations in terms of an instantly recognizable and universally comprehensive vocabulary, and to arrange what he has to say about them into a highly formalized sequence of 'observations', 'conclusions' and 'intentions.'⁴⁰

Under these emotionally constrained conditions, soldiers (and especially the class of officers who have tended to dominate war writing by combatants) cannot be expected to 'tell it like it is', even supposing they were able. In these highly circumscribed experiences and representations of the emotions of war we encounter yet another continuing contradiction: although war itself is often understood as a chaotic collapse of normal order, and experienced as a matter beyond utterance, the armies that fight it espouse forms of discipline that effectively extend beyond action to the written and spoken

word, and which are perhaps more easily maintained in these discursive forms than in the battlefield itself.

War accounts written 'outside the field' by non-combatants are often – and often rightly – suspected of naive or propagandistic attributions of emotion, or formulaic reductivism in the depiction of battle. Yet combatants themselves are not immune from similar pressures to circumscribe their own responses. Despite (and also because of) the uniquely intense and immediate status of war as 'personal experience', involvement in it is often experienced as both incommunicable and radically pre-textualized, to such an extent that narrative tropes and forms may be consciously or unconsciously imposed on personal feelings. McLoughlin highlights these forms of emotional preconfiguration in *Authoring War* with a compelling opening reference to Tolstoy's *War and Peace*: Nikolai Rostov, '[u]nable ... to convey his own truth about war, ... yields to a "stronger", more established version of belligerent events.'⁴¹ As McLoughlin goes on to suggest (and her words are directly relevant to the emotions – the 'gut feeling' – of war), the experience of conflict both 'resists' and 'demands' representation,⁴² and it perplexes long-range historical understanding with the difficult mixture of likeness and unlikeness between different wars that the representations propose.⁴³

For all these necessary caveats, we judge that this collection shows how literature retains a particular power to take emotional understanding of war beyond the limits and disguises of 'official' languages, whether these take the form of chivalric glory, national propaganda or military dispatches. Literature seems to provide both rich form and exceptionality to the 'story' of war. Literary treatments of conflict also broaden the viewpoint, looking beyond goal-oriented strategies of the 'field' to include civilians, onlookers and society at large in war's ongoing emotional effects.⁴⁴ Among these broader cultural affects, the thematic relation of war to ideas of 'The Land' and its seasons is surpassingly long-lived: from the medieval through Romantic periods, war can be read – must be read – in the natural world. The potent human glory of war has always been liable to contestation by a sense of war's sterile and destructive impact, as registered, among other things, by recurring tropes of environment, agriculture and embodied nationhood. The medieval and early modern world was a fallen world, and bore many marks of its fall across its natural landscapes. This terrain is often expressed anthropomorphically in terms of strife and conflict, and seasonally through growth and decline, within a persistent tradition of personification-allegory going back to classical times. Chaucer, for instance, took from the *Roman de la Rose* the conceit of the earth as oppressed or besieged by Winter: 'the poverttee/ That wynter, thorgh hys colde morwes/ Had mad hyt suffre, and his sorwes.'⁴⁵ Summer, in the *Parlement of Foules*, has 'driven away the longe nyghtes blake', as if relieving such a siege.⁴⁶ Here the earth, like a medieval town or region, follows the fortunes of its warring lords. The mid-fifteenth century English translation of Alain Chartier's *Quadriologue Invectif* (discussed

by Catherine Nall in this collection), elaborately personifies and vocalizes the sufferings of 'The Land' in wartime. Earth, with its beasts, plants, fruits and seeds, is pictured on the lowest portion of The Land's mantle, indicating its humble status as the workplace of the third estate, but also its elementary position in ideas of the common good. This lower part of the mantle is horribly defaced by war and civil division,

that in diurse placis ... the treys and seedis semyd as thei had ben pul-
lid vp by the rootis, casten hiddir and thiddir vppon hepis that no man
cowde vndirstonde non ordynauce ne fruyte growyng.⁴⁷

In the same affective vein, 'The People' (the third estate) is represented as an oppressed peasant: metonymic for the wasted and infertile landscape of war, he sees 'non othir exploit in the warres of this realme but onely londes forwildid and contreis disenhabited.'⁴⁸ Against this hurt and sterility, peace is asserted as a space of potential within human political culture in which the agricultural year can re-assume its cycle uninterrupted, and the world be restored to fruitfulness. Whereas in the discourse of glory and conquest war contributes to the enrichment of the land, in the georgic tradition – through emphasis on its damage to land and agriculture alike – war becomes a deadly 'winter', a 'siege' of Nature from which only peace, like the onset of summer, can bring relief. Essays in this volume, from Andrew Lynch's discussion of peace in Lazamon's thirteenth-century *Brut* to Katrina O'Loughlin's study of an onlooker in the incipient American War of Independence, return repeatedly to the land as an emotional register of war's broader effects. For Lazamon peace is a deeply desired goal yet an unspeakable historiographical matter, since it is a time taken out of earthly time, where 'nothing happens' in the terms of ambitious regnal careers. Yet if there are earthly activities whose record can evoke the feeling of the 'king's peace' for Lazamon, they are centred on the undisturbed cycle of agricultural life which embraces all – 'He made a concord and settled it with oaths so that every churl at the plough had peace like the king himself (52).' War as a form of scarring or disfigurement on the face of the land takes on an additional commercial and imperial urgency in the eighteenth century. In Janet Schaw's *Journal of 1775*, America is made 'a dreary Waste of white barren sand, and melancholy nodding pines' by the warring desires of its colonial inhabitants. Here, as elsewhere, landscape does the emotional work of fear and alienation, vividly evoking a post-lapsarian state of conflict. O'Loughlin draws out this pathetic fallacy in her analysis of Schaw's account, observing that 'it is not only Schaw, but the land itself, which is lonely, oppressed, and anxious; the referent of this sullen scene and heart is the enormous burden of war (218–9).'

Schaw, O'Loughlin notes, 'draws on long-established literary, classical, and biblical traditions to mediate the prospect and emotional violence of armed conflict' in her writing (219). One aspect of this representative continuity

is that early modern literary tradition prolonged both classical and medieval emphases on war's indivisible and affective relation to nature and cultivation. The opening lines of Shakespeare's *Henry I, Part 1* speak of the 'soil' forced to drink 'her own children's blood' in civil war, and of 'fields' 'chanel[led]' by 'trenching war' rather than the productive plough. A century later, Dryden, in his translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, like medieval chroniclers, finds 'prophets' of conflict not only in these furrowed landscapes, but in 'the skies':

The sun reveals the secrets of the sky;
 And who dare give the source of light the lye?
 The change of empires often he declares,
 Fierce tumult, hidden treasons, open wars (I. 624–27)

In this widespread literary topos, the landscape and weather not only portend war, but register war itself as a terrible perversion of peace that darkens the skies, turning industry into idleness and plenty into dearth:⁴⁹

The peaceful Peasant to the Wars is prest;
 The Fields lie fallow in inglorious Rest:
 The Plain no Pasture to the Stock affords,
 The crooked Scythes are straightened into Swords. (I. 681–84)

The '*land* as a physical and tangible resource' and site of familiar experience, is transformed into 'landscape', a 'place of emotion' and reconfigured affective experience, as described by John Urry.⁵⁰ The 'inglorious' and inactive agricultural 'fields' of Dryden's wartime vision slyly contest the traditional pre-eminence of glorious deeds done in the 'field' of battle; Andrew Marvell's ode on Cromwell, for instance, refers instead – perhaps with some irony – to the 'inglorious arts of peace.'⁵¹ Similarly, Dryden makes the 'straighten[ing]' of scythes into swords suggest both a perversion of good tools into bloodied weapons or a sharp cut made on the face of the landscape, and a breaking of the scriptural promise of Isaiah 2.4: 'they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' Moreover, although in Virgil these scars are largely the outcome of civil wars following the assassination of Julius Caesar, in Dryden's contemporary context they seem to refer more broadly to war's damage to life on earth – 'the World below' (I. 677) – 'Where impious Arms from ev'ry part resound' (I. 679) and 'Perfidious Mars' 'o'er the wasted World in Triumph rides' (I. 688–90).⁵² There is little room left in this vision for the commonplace literary distinction between healthy foreign wars and hurtful conflicts at home which can be found in English writing from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Swift: 'War therefore is necessary to purge the Body Politick of gross humours. Wise

princes find it necessary to have wars abroad to keep peace at home.⁵³ For Dryden the absence of agricultural labourers sent abroad as soldiers is a conspicuous feature of these denuded landscapes, and fields of waste anywhere reveal war *per se* as a form of treachery to Nature and the earth.

The layered 'field' of battle evoked in Pope's *Windsor-Forest* – 'Chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd', has more lately become the less glorious (but still vividly multi-dimensional) war 'zone'.⁵⁴ Both capture the historical compression of war representation and seem equally to epitomize Scheer's observation that '[h]ardly any other aspect of everyday experience can so profoundly unsettle th[e] seemingly obvious distinction between *inner* and *outer* as the emotions. They seem to arise "inside" us as well as to come from the "outside".'⁵⁵ Much war literature can be read as an attempt to articulate these complex relations between the bodily and mental 'feelings' of people involved – experiences in and across the skin – and then to negotiate intelligibly between these feelings and the actions which the people perform and suffer. The emotional life of war can be read as expressive of its individual participants or larger groups, but also as an expression of the affective terrain of war itself. Lindsay Diggelmann's essay on the *History of William Marshal* shows how the emotional interests of the story surprisingly extend beyond its chivalric protagonist in ripples of feeling across contingent fields. William displays pity in helping a townswoman of Le Mans whose house is fired in the siege conducted by his own side under Henry II. As Diggelmann points out, this emotional response is designed to distinguish William favourably from Henry's 'violent and excessive' actions, but something else happens as well: William is suddenly overcome by smoke from the fire. His conscious performance of nobility as an onlooker is briefly compromised by his own involuntary submission to war's bodily effects, causing him a different kind of distress, yet one inseparably bound up in the same situation and language. He cannot act in a way that stays outside the 'field' of war, just as the *History's* record of his various 'feelings' – *pitos*, *dolenz*, *angoissos*, *grief* – can not keep separate 'inner' from 'outer' or 'body' from 'mind', much as in Scheer's theory of emotion as a bodily practice, discussed above. Diggelmann shows here and elsewhere how the exceptional privilege of emotional agency that war literature often grants to certain participants may not exclude other centres of emotional attraction: in this case, what he calls the 'toll of warfare on ordinary people' is also made apparent in the written field of war.

Catherine Nall's discussion of William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse* (completed 1475), deals with similarly complex emotional strategies in a different literary genre, the rhetorical treatise. In his *Boke*, Worcester overtly offers to console and encourage a whole nation grieving over its loss of power in France. Emotions such as 'pity' – for abandoned subjects and unrewarded soldiers – are placed front and centre in this context, 'but in order to advance a specific political agenda' (121). Nall shows that the affective language of this war

discourse is, as so often, also 'coercive'. Telling a reader what to *feel* is a way of telling them what to *do*: 'it is implied that if readers do not respond in the appropriate way, with renewed courage, it must be because they lack nobility', Nall explains. Medieval and early modern military narratives frequently nominate the feelings that will identify audiences as properly loyal to the aims of the noble heroes in this way: no one reading *King Horn* can be in any doubt of where sympathies should properly lie. The English text tells us directly, '*Al folk hem mighte rewe/ That loveden hem so trewe.*'⁵⁶ At the individual level, Shakespeare's Hamlet shows he has thoroughly internalized the normative relation of noble emotion to action when he states he must be 'a rogue and peasant slave', lacking both pity and courage, because he has not yet taken revenge on Claudius.⁵⁷ Highly conscious of his status as a gentleman, Hamlet is emotionally inhibited from understanding in any more positive way why he is hesitating. In each of these cases, the supposedly natural and spontaneous quality of emotions empowers their operation as a coercive ideological force, and denies legitimacy to contrary impulses. At a communal level, similarly powerful accusations of cowardice, aimed at those opposing wars, can be found in classical, medieval, and modern literature right through to modern times. In Statius' *Thebaid*, when the priest Amphiarus speaks against war on Thebes,

[s]urrounded by a noisy crowd, Capaneus assails Amphiarus in his house with an accusation of *ignavia* [cowardice] ... to him the only deity is *virtus et ensis*, martial valour and cold steel ... Amphiarus is a coward and a fraud, and Capaneus threatens him with violence. His clamorous rhetoric carries the crowd with it.⁵⁸

At Boston in 1966,

[p]eople on the sidewalks ... yelled 'coward' and 'maggot' as the [anti-war] demonstrators walked by. One heckler walked up to the group with a live chicken and broke its neck in a less-than-subtle warning.⁵⁹

These 'clamorous' exhortations function as cultural injunctions, framing and coercing response through their sheer emotional force. For those arraigned against war, the strategies are closely aligned: laments for lost youth, tales of carnage amongst civilians, and the plight of widows, orphans, and bereaved lovers are similarly long-lived literary topics, from classical literature onwards. So, too, atrocity propaganda: the bayoneted babies of anti-German publicity in the First World War recall the emotional force of the Slaughter of the Innocents by Herod's soldiers in medieval mystery plays. The extraordinary persistence over time of such affective emotional vocabularies in both literature and life suggests that despite huge historical changes in technology, culture, and social organization, enduring features of

human experience rest embedded in the *emotional* landscape of war, and are revealed in the various ways people speak and write about military conflict.

As we have seen, the field of battle itself remains a potent locale for both the experience and expression of emotion in many of the essays collected here, whether describing actual fighting (e.g. Diggelmann, Lynch, Bellis, Williams), through ethical invocations or inversions of war (Nall, Hiscock), through later literary treatment of its casualties (Sherlock) or by suggesting referred effects and metaphorical extensions (Barnes, O'Loughlin). These dramas of proximity recur across the texts collected here, whether that proximity is gauged as physical immediacy to the scene of war, or a special intimacy with its history and affects. Some evocations of the 'field' treat it as a sublime space for the imposition of heroic power. Abigail Williams's essay on early eighteenth-century panegyric war poetry shows how writers like Addison and Prior 'substitut[e] an iconic portrait of a particular person or scene for a broader account of the historical process', in the manner of contemporary history painters. Through 'aesthetically controlled images of chaos and destruction which emphasised the ultimate prowess of the military leader', these poems attempt an emotional conversion of the carnage of battle into an assertion of the hero's Providential mastery of historical events. It is a frequent strategy in war writing, but there is an equally strong poetic legacy which emphatically denies any Providential control in the conduct of war. Looking back to classical literature, James Simpson recalls that in Statius's fifth-century *Thebaid* Jove attempts to prohibit the deities from watching the battle for fear of emotional contagion: the celestial gods, even the gods of war, avert their eyes; the infernal gods look on, relishing that the deeds of man are more atrocious than their own (101). The act of violence is humanity's alone, although its emotional affects spiral out across the cosmos. The issue of spectatorship raised in the *Thebaid* reminds us also of the profound *absence* of many witnesses to war: the terrible dangers of seeing and feeling, the loss of experience or account, and of the act of war as a thing that may ultimately defy record in image or in word.

One of the mysteries of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* is to locate war's proximate 'subject', to know who owns the voice which says 'I saw' the military atrocities described in its Temple of Mars. Who 'sees' war in writing, and how? Like the 'combatant' (who is actually 'at war' in war) the narrative subject of war slips frequently across the boundaries of in/direct experience. Joanna Bellis's subtle examination of the Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince* shows the problematical status of eyewitness testimony about war within a supposedly stable and trustworthy historical genre that is actually 'complemented' by literary strategies and tropes from romance fiction. In that complex situation of utterance, she suggests that the role of this 'eyewitness' is sometimes actually to guide the reader past the unpleasant sights that he says someone present 'might have seen' in the field. This narrative deflection is not simply a case of chivalric fiction cloaking war's true violence. The Black Prince can be written as the praiseworthy figure he is precisely *because*

the occasional presence of extreme violence in his war story ‘draws the horror into the realm of nostalgic fantasy’ and confers a legendary status on him. In a move that relates to Lynch’s analysis of Lažamon’s ‘formulaic’ battle poetics, Bellis conjectures that the familiar formulae of romance might actually have intensified, not dulled, the emotional effects of war narrative for readers, but here in ways that excused the eyewitness from expressing ‘complex [...] personal emotions’ (142). Bellis’s study exemplifies what many of the essays in our collection observe: in war literature emotions are variously attributed to and distributed amongst events, narrators, actors and readers, but they are principally negotiated in and through the forms of writing.

Discussing a very different war genre, Neil Ramsey’s concluding essay on Henry Crabb Robinson, ‘the first journalist employed to report on war’, suggests that this writer’s lack of direct information and ‘failure to specifically witness acts of violence’ can be associated with an ability to suggest ‘alternative forms of wartime experience, historical agency and participation’. Robinson’s distance from battle allows readers, Ramsey argues, to ‘reconceptualise a life at war’. Like his near contemporary Janet Schaw, Robinson’s is a wartime experience marked by ‘apprehension’, ‘uncertainty and obscurity’ rather than by action and clear ‘intelligence.’ This form of experience – at once proximate and remote, and one which Mary Favret connects specifically with Romantic ‘wartime’ – frames the war and Robinson’s own role as writer within a ‘structure of feeling’, which lacks the temporal and causal coherence that the media context of ‘news’ images normally both promises and disallows. It is by *not* ‘taking us there’ that the war correspondent Henry Crabb Robinson effectively communicates the emotional state of war he knew.

Diana Barnes also identifies Andrew Marvell’s poem to parliamentary war hero, Sir Thomas Fairfax, as resisting any direct description of martial action in the field. ‘Marvell’s primary aim’, Barnes argues, ‘was not to document the pain caused by war in sympathetic terms, but to intervene in its *management*.’ A similar cause and effect may be noted in Catherine Nall’s essay on the *Boke of Noblesse*, a military compendium which images the battlefields to come as it reflects on those of the past in the Anglo-French conflicts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The poetry of Charles d’Orléans, discussed here by Stephanie Downes, also recalls the French battlefields of the Hundred Years War: although taken captive on the field of Agincourt, Charles nowhere alludes to the Anglo-French conflict in his verse, even if references to war pervade both his French and English lyrics. Charles, a prisoner of war, held captive in England, yearns for the land of his birth, which is also the land of his inheritance:

En regardant vers le pais de France,
 Un jour m’avint a Dovre sur la mer
 Qu’il me souvint de la douce plaisance
 Que souloye ou dit pais trouver.⁶⁰

[While gazing towards the country of France
 One day at Dover by the sea
 I recalled the sweet pleasure
 I used to find in that country.]

Moments of nostalgia like these during or after wartime are often moments of deep reflection in the literature explored throughout the essays in this volume, whether on country or on feelings themselves, or as here, *la douce plaisance* of the past. A sense of the importance of 'land' or *patria* is evident throughout many of the texts discussed here, from the earliest medieval writings to twentieth-century cinema, but the chronological arrangement of the essays and topics explored shows more decisively the burgeoning of an undeniably, but not exclusively, Romantic and post-Romantic obsession in the literature of war: that is patriotism, or the particular association of land with nation, as well as with race, language, and culture.

In Andrew Hiscock's study of sixteenth-century humanist attitudes to war, the field of battle is rendered intensely philosophical rather than literally described; life itself is seen as 'nothing else but a warfare ... where all is black and cold, all naturally conflicting and opposed'. In this intellectual tradition, a reaction to almost constant European warfare, medical and philosophical writings of many descriptions are called on to supply rational antidotes to the passions that breed aggression, and so prevent war in its inception, as an individual and social disaster, contrary to Christ. Yet such views were always liable to be frustrated by pro-war arguments latent within Christian tradition, not least because of fear of invasion by 'the Turk.' Most worryingly, humanist confidence in healthy bodily and mental function as the foundation of ethical action was always susceptible to erosion, not only by these continuing states of conflict, but by inevitable bodily illness and decay, leaving 'the body ... under siege *within and without* from noxious influences (164).' Hiscock's main subject, Erasmus, seems caught between a total emotional rejection of war and the fear that war represents his default condition as a human being.

The editors of a recent collection of essays about the many representations of war in contemporary popular culture write of war 'today' as 'both a cruel and lethal theater of death', but also, 'something else':

an exciting, dramatic, heroic or tragic narrative to be turned into film, television shows, computer games, new stories, re-enactment plays, and banal militainment, and to be used for national, political, and commercial purposes as propaganda, as sites of resistance and opposition, and as 'pure' entertainment providing spectacles of sublime beauty, intense joy, and larger-than-life heroes.⁶¹

Many of these evocative characteristics of war, here specifically associated with modern 'militainment', may in fact also be found in the war writing

of the pre-modern era. Here too, war is exciting, dramatic, heroic or tragic, often all at once; its purpose may also be national, political, or propagandistic; and the various celebrations of war – its ‘sublime beauty’ or ‘intense joy’ – are often the purview of its larger-than-real-life heroes: Arthur, William Marshal, or the Black Prince. Contemporary representations of war are the ever-immediate ‘present’ of the historical narrative explored in this book. On the one hand, our aim in *Emotions and War* is to try to get as far away from modern assumptions about the emotions of war as possible, to ‘explode’ them, as it were, in order to reveal the multifarious historical emotions and emotional histories of war. On the other, we wish to evoke the continuity of the past with the present, the ‘unsettling chronology’ of war elaborated by Favret. The ‘war on terror’ is as improbable now as any time in history. But war *as* terror, war *as* emotion, is the metaphor that sustains the studies in this book, and does more justice – we feel – to representing the place of war in the literary record, whether in the present, or the past.

Notes

1. We are indebted to Philippa Maddern’s work on children’s experiences of emotion in late medieval and early modern England for these references. Both examples are cited in Philippa Maddern, ‘How Children Were Supposed to Feel; How Children Felt’, in *Childhood and Emotion Across Cultures, 1450–1800*, ed. Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 121–40, at 121.
2. Peter N. Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (London: Routledge, 2006). See also *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1989); and *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). With Carol Z. Stearns, see, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America’s History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); and ‘Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards’, *American Historical Review*, 90.4 (1985), 813–36.
3. Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel*, trans. Anthony Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For another perspective on the impact of emotion on politics in the early nineteenth century, see Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); and ‘Emotion and Political Change’, in *Doing Emotions History*, ed. Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 163–83.
4. Ute Frevert, ‘Wartime Emotions: Honour, Shame, and the Ecstasy of Sacrifice’, in *The International Encyclopedia of the First World War Online*. Accessed 16 December, 2014. http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/wartime_emotions_honour_shame_and_the_ecstasy_of_sacrifice/2014-10-08.
5. Ute Frevert, ‘Defining Emotions: Concepts and Debates over Three Centuries’, in *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*, ed. Ute Frevert et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–31, at 5.
6. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

7. See Gerd Althoff, 'Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger' and Stephen D. White, 'The Politics of Anger', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 59–74 and 127–52.
8. Frevert, 'Wartime Emotions'. The contribution by Catherine Nall to this collection provides a medieval example.
9. Monique Scheer, 'Topographies of Emotion', in *Emotional Lexicons*, ed. Frevert et al., 32–61, at 37, gives as an example 'the discovery of the inside as a refuge during the Nazi era (as in the concept of "inner emigration") and a return to "inner values" as a reaction to the experience of dictatorship and war'.
10. There are two significant exceptions: the recent *War and Literature*, ed. Laura Ashe and Ian Patterson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2014), which ranges chronologically from the twelfth to the twentieth century. A number of contributions consider various emotions of war and emotional genres of war writing, and the capacity of literary text to represent war's emotions; for example, Susan A. Throop, 'Acts of Vengeance, Acts of Love: Crusading Violence in the Twelfth Century', 3–20, Katie L. Walter, 'Peril Flight and the Sad Man: Medieval Theories of the Body in Battle', 21–40, Joanna Bellis, "'The Reader myghte lamente": The Sieges of Calais (1346) and Rouen (1418) in Chronicle, Poem and Play', 84–106, Mary A. Favret, 'A Feeling for Numbers: Representing the Scale of the War Dead', 185–204, and Rachel Galvin, 'The Guilt of the Noncombatant and W. H. Auden's "Journal of an Airman"', 205–27; and Kate McLoughlin, *Authoring War: The Literary Representation of War from the Iliad to Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), but its stated bias, in distinction from ours, is towards 'the war representation ... of twentieth-century Britain and America', 20. For a synchronic study of literature and war in the Middle Ages, see *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux, and Neil Thomas (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004). For perspectives on the eighteenth century, see Mary A. Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), and Nicole Eustace's *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). Emotions in modern warfare are treated within studies by Stanley Rachman, *Fear and Courage*, 2nd edn (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1990) and Joanna Bourke, 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing About Emotion in Modern History', *History Workshop Journal*, 55 (2003): 111–33.
11. A notable exception is the recent work on modern manifestations of fear, especially after the events of 2001. Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago, 2005); Stearns, *American Fear*; Jan Plamper and Benjamin Lazier (eds), *Fear: Across the Disciplines* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).
12. Jan Plamper, 'L'histoire des émotions', *À quoi pensent les historiens? Faire de l'histoire au xxi^e siècle*, ed. Christophe Granger (Paris: Éditions Autremont, 2013), 225–40, at 231.
13. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, 51.2 (2012): 193–220, at 193.
14. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 199.
15. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 205.
16. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' 219.
17. See, in particular, the work of Barbara H. Rosenwein, in *Emotional Communities and Anger's Past*, and in several essays, 'Worrying about Emotions in History',

- American Historical Review*, 107 (2002): 821–45, ‘Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions’, *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions*, 1 (2010): 1–32, ‘Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions’, *History Compass*, 8.8 (2010): 828–42, and ‘Theories of Change in the History of Emotions’, in *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800*, ed. Jonas Liliequist (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 7–20. See also the recent publication by William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and the introduction, by Stephanie Trigg, to a special issue of *Exemplaria* on ‘Premodern Emotions’, ‘Emotional Histories – Beyond the Personalization of the Past and the Abstraction of Affect Theory’, *Exemplaria*, 26.1 (2014): 3–15.
18. For a discussion of vocabularies related to the emotions in French, German and English from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century, see *Emotional Lexicons*, Frevert et al.
 19. Favret, *War at a Distance*; David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007).
 20. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 9.
 21. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 32.
 22. The epigraph to McLoughlin’s monograph is from Tim O’Brien’s *The Things They Carried* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990): ‘If at the end of a war story you feel uplifted, or you feel that some small bit of rectitude has been salvaged from the larger waste, then you have been made the victim of a very old and very terrible lie.’
 23. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 11.
 24. See, for example: John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck, 3 vols (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000–2004), Book 3, lines 2251–304 and Book 4, lines 1648–82; Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), lines 5020–439; Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of English Pacifist Ideas, 1340–1560* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 147–95: ‘Chapter 5, ‘Humanism, War and an Emerging Peace Ethic’; essays in this collection by James Simpson and Andrew Hiscock.
 25. See, for example, Terry Jones, *Chaucer’s Knight: Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (London: Weidenfeld, 1980); or, Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): ‘the most compelling reason to avoid romanticizing chivalry is that taking a view through rose-coloured lenses distorts and essentially trivializes this extraordinarily powerful force in early European history’, 3.
 26. Paul Zumthor, ‘Comments on H. R. Jauss’ Article’, *New Literary History*, 10.2 (1979): 367–76, at 370.
 27. The revised conclusion of the 1856 edition of Tennyson’s *Maud* is an example: ‘I have felt with my native land, I am one with my kind,/ I embrace the purpose of God, and the doom assign’d.’
 28. Sean McGlynn, ‘The Myths of Medieval Warfare’, *History Today*, 44.1 (1994): 28–34.
 29. See Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.
 30. See Paul B. Newman, *Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001), 191–2.
 31. Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1981); and Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). Ute

- Frevert has written about 'chivalry' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wars, as a gendered, emotional, motivational concept, closely linked with masculine ideals of honour, especially patriotic, and accusations of shame, especially that associated with deserters, those who refused to fight, and prisoners of war. See 'Wartime Emotions'.
32. Tim O'Brien, *Going After Cacciato* (London: Flamingo, 1988), 190–91. Cited in McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, 14.
 33. Charles Dickens, *A Child's History of England, Vol 1: England from the Ancient Times to the Death of King John* (London: Charles Bradbury and Evans, 1852), Chapter 1.
 34. The line may also possibly mean 'Now the one who is brave can make it known.'
 35. 'Hope ye so that I may ony whyle stonde a preved knyght?' Malory, *Complete Works*, ed. Eugene Vinaver (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), Book VII, Chapter 5, at 181, line 25.
 36. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (London: Pimlico, 1991), 18.
 37. See Etienne Smoes, *Le Courage chez les Grecs, d'Homère à Aristote* (Brussels: Ousia, 1995), 70–71. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics Books II–IV*, ed. and trans. C. C. W. Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), Book II.2.
 38. Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Discipline*, ed. and trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1996), 3.
 39. See Jane Grogan, *Exemplary Spenser: Visual and Poetic Pedagogy in The Faerie Queene* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 137–76.
 40. Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, 20–21.
 41. Kate McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, 2.
 42. McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, 4, 7.
 43. McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, 10–16.
 44. For a recent attempt to reconstruct 'a woman's perspective on war' in the later Middle Ages, see Angus J. Kennedy, 'Christine de Pizan's *Epistre à la reine*: A Woman's Perspective on War and Peace?' in *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature, 800–1800*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Nadia Margolis, *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 8 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 395–424.
 45. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchess*, lines 410–12, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 46. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Parlement of Foules*, line 682, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 47. M. S. Blayney (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de l'Esperance and Le Quadrilogue Invectif*. EETS os 270, 281. 2 vols. (1974, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), vol. 1, 146.
 48. Blayney, vol. 1, 168.
 49. For the portentous role of landscape and atmosphere in the wars of the late eighteenth century see Mary Favret's 'War in the Air', *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly*, 65.4 (2004): 531–59.
 50. John Urry, 'The Place of Emotions within Place', in *Emotional Geographies*, ed. Joyce Davidson, Mick Smith, and Liz Bondi (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 77–83.
 51. 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland', *Andrew Marvell. The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 55, line 10.
 52. *The Works of John Dryden. Poems*, Vol. 5. *The Works of Virgil in English*, ed. William Frost and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); *Georgics*, Book 1.

53. Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 305.
54. McLoughlin, see 'Zones', 83–106.
55. Scheer, 'Topographies of Emotion', 32.
56. 'All people who loved them loyally would feel sorrow for their sake'; *King Horn*, lines 1535–6, in *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelston*, ed. Ronald B. Herzman, Graham Drake, and Eve Salisbury (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997). Emphasis added.
57. *Hamlet*, II.2.520.
58. David Vessey, *Status and the Thebaid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 157–58.
59. Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 23.
60. *Poetry of Charles d'Orléans and His Circle: A Critical Edition of BnF MS. Fr. 25458, Charles d'Orléans's Personal Manuscript*, ed. John Fox and Mary-Jo Arn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 258–59.
61. Rikke Schubart, 'Introduction', *War Isn't Hell, It's Entertainment: Essays on Visual Media and the Representation of Conflict*, eds. Rikke Schubart, Fabian Virchow, Debra White-Stanley and Tanja Thomas (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009), 4.

1

Emotional Responses to Medieval Warfare in the *History of William Marshal*

Lindsay Diggelmann

'... so great were the misdeeds done/ that arrogance, envy,
and overweening pride,
ever wont to sow discord,/ would not accept peace'.

History of William Marshal, lines 8061–4.

The early thirteenth-century French text known as the *History of William Marshal* tells the story of its eponymous hero's lengthy career in the service of the first Plantagenet monarchs. Set against the background of ongoing conflicts between the Capetian king Philip II of France and his great rivals, Henry II of England and his sons Richard and John, the poem is an invaluable source for the political and cultural history of the period. Warfare, both serious and recreational, forms a central motif as William Marshal develops into a figure of unmatched chivalric prowess. While his skills on the battlefield and on the tournament circuit are duly celebrated, the poem offers a far more complex picture of medieval warfare and its emotional repercussions than simple hero-worship would allow. As the brief quote above suggests, the habitual conflicts of a ruling elite that viewed warfare as its very *raison d'être* gave rise to serious moral questions for contemporary observers. The absence of peace and the advent of war could be construed as a direct result of emotional excess (envy, pride), while military successes and failures could be shown as both reflecting and bringing forth emotional crises on the part of participants. Here I examine several episodes of warfare in the *History*, reaching back as far as the reign of King Stephen in the 1140s, in order to demonstrate how frequently and effectively the poem's author makes use of the language of emotions. He does this for several reasons: to develop and intensify the characterizations of several of his protagonists, presenting them as susceptible to powerful and often destabilising bursts of anger, joy, grief or shame; to demonstrate, by contrast, a more sympathetic view on the possibility of emotional empathy acting to soften the harsh edges of a dominant warrior culture; and to comment on the devastating impact of warfare on those not able to defend themselves. Furthermore, the frequent

focus on royal affairs allows the poem to offer a complex assessment of the emotions of kings, especially in times of war, which enhances our ability to understand how royal figures both behaved and were expected to behave by those who witnessed their actions.

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Striguil, was born around 1147 and served the early Plantagenet monarchs, spending the last years of his career before his death in 1219 acting as regent for the young Henry III. We know more of his life than we do of most of his peers because of the survival of a lengthy biographical poem, the *History of William Marshal*. The text, which was rediscovered only in the late nineteenth century, appears from internal evidence to have been composed in the mid-1220s by an author who names himself as John, but about whom we know very little else. He wrote under the patronage or encouragement of William Marshal's eldest son (also William) and of John of Earley, one of the elder William's closest confidantes. These two, along with other members of William Marshal's household, are likely to have supplied many of the anecdotes and biographical details that fill the poem's more than 19,000 lines. The poem itself is virtually unique as a secular biography celebrating a life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹ It was written in a French dialect which suggests its author was from Poitou or the Touraine, but it was probably composed in England. The sole surviving manuscript, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, was edited and published in the 1890s by the French scholar Paul Meyer. The availability of the poem in Meyer's edition prompted several modern scholarly accounts of the life and times of the man often referred to simply as 'the Marshal'.² More recently, publication of a splendid three-volume edition, translation and commentary by the Anglo-Norman Text Society has opened the poem up to newer scholarly audiences and approaches.³

Alongside recognition of its great value as a source of information about the affairs of the reigns of Stephen (r. 1135–54), Henry II (r. 1154–89) and the latter's sons, Richard the Lionheart (r. 1189–99) and John (r. 1199–1216), criticism of the poem has tended to focus on its portrayal of emerging chivalric society in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. So insistent was this emphasis on chivalry and the tournament that John Gillingham felt obliged to point out some years ago that historians have tended to neglect its usefulness as a source on the practice of actual warfare. This is despite the fact that the text devotes more than twice as much space to descriptions of warfare as it does to the many tournaments of the Marshal's youth.⁴ Nonetheless the tournament circuit is an important feature of the poem's early phases, often showing the young knight accompanying Henry II's eldest son, Henry 'the Young King', a key figure in the first half of the poem.⁵ The extensive Plantagenet lands in France, gained through the elder Henry's Norman and Angevin inheritance as well as his marriage in 1152 to the redoubtable Eleanor of Aquitaine, meant that the English royal house was

vastly more powerful and prestigious than its French counterparts for most of the period in question.⁶ Only from the middle of the reign of Philip II 'Augustus' (r. 1180–1223) did the Capetian royal house begin to challenge the *status quo* successfully, recapturing many of the Plantagenet continental dominions, notably Normandy in 1204. The *History* offers a detailed portrayal of the entire period and the on-going warfare between the English and French dynasties.

Several scholars have examined the links between the *History* and early Arthurian romance. Larry D. Benson set the tone with an examination of tournament scenes in the *History* and in four of the five romances composed by Chrétien de Troyes in the late twelfth century, noting the similarities between the fictional and (more-or-less) historical accounts.⁷ Richard Kaeuper chose to compare the figure of William Marshal with the Lancelot of the early thirteenth-century Vulgate Cycle, emphasizing similar approaches to the themes of chivalric prowess and piety.⁸ Laura Ashe has perceptively argued that the model of chivalry visible in both the *History* and the romances, with its dependence on *largesse* (generosity), was essentially applicable to men in the service of others and raised practical difficulties for the kings to whom they professed loyalty. Henry the Young King represents the greatest example of a monarch whose need to dispense *largesse* as a reward to men who had proved themselves by fighting for him far outweighed his ability to pay for it.⁹ All of these studies therefore examine the social reality of aristocratic warfare and its literary representation, finding in the *History of William Marshal* ample evidence for an emerging ideology of chivalry that could be located not just in imaginative literature but also in identifiable historical situations.¹⁰

Little attention has been paid, however, to the function of emotions within the *History* and especially to the important role of emotional language in the poem's frequent descriptions of military encounters, both recreational and serious. While the possibility of a more thorough study encompassing the entire poem most certainly exists, in the current limited context I have found it useful to focus on several representative episodes in order to examine closely the ways in which the poet uses the language of emotions to enhance his portrait of military affairs. These examples relate both to important individuals within the narrative (the Marshal himself; the kings whom he served and against whom he fought) and, at times, to anonymous bystanders who feature only briefly as their lives intersect with the conflicts and campaigns of the mighty. The poem does not neglect the impact of warfare on ordinary people, though this is far from being its central concern. With regard to the emotional lives of all these figures, several consistent themes are apparent. Contrasting emotional standpoints can enhance the depiction of combatants in mock warfare (tournaments) and real warfare, heightening the contrast between opposing sides. Yet conflicting emotions are also apparent among allies, as jealousy and anger erupt amidst the intensity and uncertainty of military encounters. Furthermore,

the joy of victory and the disappointment of defeat are seldom presented in a straightforward manner. The poet emphasizes joyfulness in a variety of ways: to demonstrate how pleasure in victory can mask inadequacies of leadership; how cheerful arrogance and over-confidence can lead to defeat; or how overwhelming relief can be the joyful response of innocents when potentially destructive conflict is avoided. Time and again the poet proves adept at employing the language of emotions to add depth and complexity to his portraits of the contemporary military caste and to comment eloquently upon the trials and triumphs of their violent pursuits.

This complexity begins to suggest why the *History* provides such a rich seam for those interested in discovering more about emotions in the medieval period. Among the most pressing issues for scholars of historical emotions is the difficulty of terminology and interpretation of the meanings associated with 'emotion words' across languages and cultures. This is connected to the necessity of accepting that what we are inevitably studying are the mediated representations of actual non-verbal responses to external stimuli. As Barbara Rosenwein, doyenne of the field, commented in a recent 'Conversation' between leading scholars in the December 2012 edition of the *American Historical Review*, '[t]he ways in which emotions are expressed are, in fact, our only pathway to them'.¹¹ Even so, the very use of emotion words and the naming of otherwise unarticulated mental processes may in fact shape and influence the associated feeling, as Richard Barton has pointed out in the twelfth-century context.¹² Insofar as the author of the *History* presents to us a range of meanings for a concept such as joyfulness (as I noted above and will explore more fully below) his work should remind us that the medieval presentation of emotions and the appreciation of the relationship between literary formulation and underlying reality could be just as fraught and contingent as our own. Thus we should avoid the temptation to assign any one emotional regime to an historical time or place. Even Rosenwein's now well-explored 'emotional communities' may understate the extent of diversity and differentiation within particular settings.¹³ Certainly, one might identify obvious communities of feeling within the poem's networks of association: Anglo-Norman and French aristocrats, for example, can easily be placed in opposition because of their emotional responses to specific moments of conflict, as we will see. Yet even within these groups it is difficult to assign consistent or monolithic interpretations of feeling and behaviour to all of their members.

As a further example of the poem's rich emotional landscape, the numerous descriptions of royal involvement in military affairs chime harmoniously with my interest in representations of 'emotional kingship' during the Anglo-Norman period. By this I mean both the public performance of emotional behaviour, whether genuine or feigned, and the set of expectations about how royal figures should (or should not) behave in emotional ways, as reflected in contemporary historical and literary texts.¹⁴ The portrayal of

King Stephen, during whose reign William Marshal was born, exemplifies the poet's ability to use passages of emotionally intense text as a means of conveying the varying fortunes and uncertainties of a leader at war. Stephen's reign was marked by a lengthy civil conflict against his cousin Matilda, whose son would eventually succeed to the throne as Henry II.¹⁵ In 1152 Stephen besieged the castle of Newbury, held by supporters of William's father John Marshal. In the poem's rendition of events the king's emotions shift during the course of the siege, both reflecting and influencing the military outcome. His anger is at first inspiring:

The King directed his anger [*s'en ira*] against their side/ and he swore by
the birth of Christ:

'I'll be sure to take my revenge on the low villains/ they will all fall into
my hands.

Now, to arms, my valiant squires,/ my valiant men-at-arms and archers!' ...

You should have seen those squires/ start to clamber with great daring
over the ditches and up the embankments. (lines 427–32, 437–9)¹⁶

Shortly afterwards, the king is 'greatly troubled' (*molt angoisous*, line 456) when the assault stalls. Stephen's anger takes a different tone and reflects his inability to bring the siege to a rapid conclusion. After young William, then aged about five, is handed over to the king's keeping as a hostage, the boy's father quips (in one of the poem's most famous episodes):

... that he did not care/ about the child, since he still had
the anvils and hammers/ to produce finer ones. (lines 513–16)

This extraordinary statement has given rise to scholarly comment on the status of the Anglo-Norman family, but here I am more interested in how the king reacts.¹⁷ Stephen's bluff has been called; his hostage ploy appears unlikely to scare the Marshal's father into surrender, and his emotional response is now indicative of futility, unreasonable cold-heartedness, and political ineptitude:

When the king heard of this reaction,/ he was furious.

He ordered the child to be seized/ and taken to the gallows for hanging ...
(lines 517–20)

Inability to bring the siege to its desired rapid close affects not just the combatants but also those ordinary people whose lives have been disrupted by warfare. The poet makes a general comment on the emotional and material repercussions of the siege:

... this savage war ... was ravaging the land/ and causing death and
destruction.

All joy had melted away,/ all gains had turned into losses,
 all wealth had been reduced to poverty;/ for when poor people have no
 resources to draw on
 and no means to pay their rents,/ they are forced to abandon the land
 and seek their livelihood elsewhere. (lines 659–68)

Shortly after, the poem shows Stephen's career coming to a shameful end in 'great humiliation' (line 682) as a result of his capture. In fact his disastrous captivity had taken place 11 years earlier after the Battle of Lincoln in 1141. The author may have got his chronology wrong (perhaps not surprising since the events in this early part of the text had occurred 70 or more years before they were recorded here) but the emotional tone he establishes for Stephen's demise is suitable for a monarch whose military exploits began with promise but soon proved to be disappointing. Yet it is not all bad for Stephen. In a touching vignette with his young hostage, Stephen is moved to laughter by his captive's charm and naïveté, promising to spare the child from his threatened fate. The poet introduces a more human note into a story of warfare and high politics, showing Stephen as a king who failed, but as a man whose emotions were recognizably human and complex, perhaps with more paternal feeling towards the young hostage than the boy's own father could muster.

Much of the early part of the *History* is devoted to the Marshal's activities on the tournament circuit, especially as a companion of Henry the Young King. It is important to bear in mind that the tournament in its earliest manifestations was much more of a group activity than the later, more romanticized combat of two jousting individuals facing one another in the lists. In the twelfth century, tournaments were more obviously a version of war-for-fun, with armed groups rushing at each other in an open, lightly supervised *mêlée*, after which weaker opponents could be picked off and captured for honour, glory and considerable bounty.¹⁸ Typical is this description in the *History*, recounting a tournament near Compiègne in 1182:

And when the King [i.e. young Henry] joined the fray,/ the combat grew
 fiercer
 where he was, as it was sure to do,/ for the King performed with such
 vigour
 that his boldness and valour/ his skill and his speed
 gave pleasure to many, and his men performed so well
 that all the others, on all sides,/ fell silent as a result of their exploits.
 And yet it was the Marshal/ who they said was the marvel,
 and everyone was astonished/ by the incredible feats performed by him,
 by which he gave pleasure to all his friends./ But he gave no pleasure to
 all those who,
 out of jealousy, had embroiled him in strife. (lines 5544–60)

Here the emotional impact of mock warfare in the tournament resembles nothing so much as the modern professional sports world, where onlookers gain intense personal satisfaction (or disappointment) through their vicarious emotional association with the participating athletes. Typically of contemporary accounts, the Young King is presented as a sort of twelfth-century pin-up boy, a quarterback for his age. What is notable in this instance, however, is the way in which the poet, while paying due respect to the Young King's formidable prowess and reputation, presents William Marshal as the focus of even closer emotional attachment on the part of those on either side. His 'incredible feats' bring 'pleasure to his friends', but intensify the already prevalent jealousy among those who wish to see him fail. This is one of several occasions on which the poet cites envy as the primary emotional response of the Marshal's detractors.¹⁹ Nor is grief entirely absent from the emotional repertoire of the tournament field: in a form of zero-sum game, the joy of success for one side necessitates the imposition of grief on the defeated. In an earlier example, the Marshal is spurred to action by the generous praise of his peers:

The Marshal heard them perfectly well/ and was overjoyed at heart.
 It is very true that joy and happiness/ enhance a man's capacity and
 prowess.
 Then he put his helmet back on his head./ Never mind who was to grieve
 and suffer as a result,
 he launched himself once more into the tournament,/ where he performed
 so prodigiously
 that everyone marvelled/ at the strength and amazing ability
 that enabled him to smash through the throng. (lines 1483–93)

Thus the joy of success, at face value a positive emotional state, is either contrasted with the emotional burden actively imposed on others (as with the grief in the second example) or presented as a direct retort to rivals (in the first quotation), a thumbing-of-the-nose at the jealousy of those who do not choose to revel in the Marshal's victories. Despite the approving tone towards the Marshal, this emotional contrast between winners and losers carries a hint of caution. Military glory achieved through prowess risks arrogance or indifference to the suffering of victims: joy is not as straightforward as it may first appear.

An even more problematic joy is evident elsewhere. Although the poem's attitude to its key figures often leans to the adulatory, it is not beyond showing them in difficulties or moments of weakness. Despite the Young King's prowess, for example, he is shown enduring a slump in form on the tournament circuit during 1176–77. Shame and humiliation replace the joys of victory:

But things so turned out for the King/ that he never came to a single
 tournament site

without being humiliated and ill-used,/ his men being captured and
ill-treated
and sent on their way by force. (lines 2567–71)

When a party of Anglo-Normans arrives at the scene of a tournament ready to take on a group of French knights, the usual emotional relationships are reversed. Joy and shame take on very different overtones in the unfamiliar context of repeated failure. The prospect of 'national' humiliation for the Anglo-Norman side prompts a reaction:²⁰

And when the French saw them,/ they gave way to such a show of joy
as if they had already captured them all,/ because they had become accus-
tomed to do so.

Those who were with the young King/ came together to deliberate.

One said: 'Why is it that we lose our reputation?/ It is a fact that we are
made of flesh and bones

just as the French are./ May the Lord our God bring great shame
upon those who, this day, allow themselves to be taken/ without putting
up a defence!' (lines 2581–92)

Joy may be contrasted with shame, but this time the joy of the waiting French carries negative connotations, revealing their smugness and over-confidence, whereas the shame of the Anglo-Norman side contains a cathartic and restorative quality that reinvigorates their prowess. The subsequent victory over the French is as predictable as it is emotionally satisfying for the Young King's entourage. The more obviously problematic joy of the arrogant French helps to establish a range of possible meanings for the emotions on display in tournament episodes, signalling to readers that we should be cautious about taking any of the poem's many emotional episodes at face value.

Such concerns are easily transferred from the tournament field to the realm of genuine warfare, especially in the numerous scenes devoted to William Marshal's military career. An early skirmish shows how a sudden burst of emotion (in this case grief over the death of the Marshal's uncle) can enhance prowess, just as the shame of potential failure could have a galvanizing effect in the previous example:

When the Marshal saw/ the blow delivered that killed his uncle,
he almost went out of his mind in his grief,/ because he was unable to
reach in good time
the man who had killed him;/ he would have gladly avenged his death.
He did not wait until he was fully armed./ With only his hauberk on, but
otherwise unarmed,
he launched himself into a violent attack./ With the lance he held in his
hand

he went to engage the first of them/ and knocked him off his horse.
He was bent on exacting violent revenge;/ never was a starving lion
so savage towards its prey. (lines 1653–67)

Another significant moment comes from 1197, amidst ongoing conflict between the Plantagenets and Capetians in the border region between their respective territories in Normandy and the Île de France. At a siege by Richard the Lionheart's forces near Beauvais, the initial momentum of the attack stalls and numerous men receive injuries after an overloaded siege ladder breaks apart.²¹ The poet engages the reader's sympathy by describing the broken limbs and other miseries which the attackers suffer, and intensifies the sense of pathos by having his hero express a similar emotional response to the disaster. The Marshal is especially moved when he witnesses the situation of Sir Guy de la Bruyère:

Those defending the town/ had caught him with their spiked pikes
between his chin and his chest,/ so overpowering him
that he could in no way/ help himself with either hand.
The Marshal, fully armed [*trestoz armez*],/ was on the moat
and he was filled with pity and anger about/ the plight of that knight,
whom he saw in such torment,
so, fully armed [*toz armez*] as he was,/ he jumped down into the bottom
of the ditch
and climbed, I assure you,/ fully armed [*toz armez*] as he was, sword in
hand,
up the other side, and kept his footing/ until he reached the ladder
on which the knight was held/ by those who sought to kill him. (lines
11163–80)

Repetition of the phrase 'fully armed' emphasizes the physical exertion the Marshal requires to reach the stricken knight while laden with armour and weapons, thus demonstrating his prowess but, more significantly, suggesting the strength of the emotions that drive him forward in difficult and dangerous circumstances. Only once he feels such powerful pity and anger can he act so decisively.

Not only are the Marshal's actions cast in emotional terms during this episode; the poet uses the language of emotions to sum up crisply and economically the range of responses to his hero's actions by a variety of onlookers:

And when the King [Richard] saw him leap forward/ to climb the wall
and mount an attack,
he was very angry/ and wanted to do likewise, without delay,
but the high-ranking men present/ advised against this course and pre-
vented it.

Once the Marshal had entered the castle by force,/ our men were so filled
with glee
that they all shouted out as one man: 'The castle is taken, let's help him!'
Those in the castle took fright, as our men leapt up onto the battlements.
(lines 11193–204)

Richard, the consummate man of action, is roused to an anger that is, in reality, more of a burst of jealousy that someone other than himself is the focal point of martial glory. The characteristic jealousy towards William Marshal's activities is therefore noticeable even among his allies and friends.²² By contrast, lesser men among the Anglo-Norman force take courage from the Marshal's example while those inside the besieged castle succumb to fear. In the midst of a confused and complex military encounter, a variety of significant but lightly drawn emotional portraits allow the reader to participate in and make sense of the events on display by following the shifting states of mind of those in the midst of the action. Richard's subsequent joy at eventual victory in the Beauvais campaign of 1197 is matched by his opponents' jealousy, in a pattern familiar from the earlier discussion of William Marshal's activities. The capture of the bishop of Beauvais is a moment of intense feeling:

The King was full of joy,/ for I can tell you simply this,
that he was one of the men/ that he hated most in the whole world;
(lines 11281–4)

Richard remains 'full of joy and very high spirits' (line 11303) after his success, while:

The French were very jealous of him;/ however, it did them no good at all,
For not one of them was able to overcome him. (lines 11314–16)

Thus warfare is posed as an emotional battle between the contenders, one side's frame of mind influencing, reacting against and shaping the other's.

Occasionally the poem allows us a glimpse of the effect of twelfth-century warfare on ordinary people, those unfortunate enough to be caught up in the violent rivalries of their social superiors. One such moment comes from the description of the events at Le Mans in 1189, during the closing days of the reign of Henry II when the ailing monarch took desperate measures to rescue an increasingly difficult political and military position:²³

He [William Marshal] then rode forward with the King,/ who, in a violent
and excessive manner,
to tell you the truth, had set fire to/ the town outside the walls ...
They saw a woman wailing/ and weeping bitter tears,

[*Une feme virent plaingnant/ e angoissosement plorant*]

as she took her possessions out of her house/ which was all in flames.

The Marshal, a tender-hearted man,/ was saddened and troubled by the sight,

[*Li Marechal, qui ert pitos,/ en fu dolenz e angoissos*]

and told his squires to dismount/ and help her, without delay.

He himself dismounted/ and most gladly [*molt volontiers*] set about

giving her help and assistance./ He was most willing to repair

the harm done, as was his wont./ He picked up a feather quilt,

which was alight underneath,/ and the acrid fumes coming from it

caused him so much distress [*si grant grief*]/ that he had to remove his helmet

from his head, since the smoke trapped within/ was doing him harm.

(lines 8739–42, 8753–72)

This is one of the few occasions when the lengthy poem, with its relentless focus on the deeds and sentiments of the aristocratic orders, hints at the emotional impact of their activities on those at the lower levels of society. And yet even here the author uses the woman's misery as a vehicle to extol his hero's virtues, lauding his compassion and his concern for her plight. Repetition of the emotional term *angoissosement/ angoissos*, applied first to the woman and then to the Marshal, highlights the connection between them, a factor the translation perhaps underplays. The Marshal, a man of war, is shown also as a man concerned to alleviate the effects of war. This is not the only time, the text implies, that the Marshal has taken practical steps to assist those unable to defend themselves. His emotional concern for the townswoman's well-being stands in contrast to the portrayal of Henry II, who had caused the fire to be started 'in a violent and excessive manner' (line 8740). In fact this is an effective narrative device to highlight the moral decay in the waning moments of the Angevin monarch's long reign. By the first months of 1189 Henry II was a sick man whose political fortunes were crumbling as rapidly as his health.²⁴ The Marshal's efforts to help a victim of Henry's desperate tactics in setting fire to Le Mans, the very town where the king himself had been born, show him as the one person on the Anglo-Norman side able to uphold suitable standards of behaviour in the midst of war. Nor did the French perform any better, the poet implies, since King Philip 'was pleased to see the town in flames' (line 8748). The *History* makes these points powerfully and economically through the device of William Marshal's emotional connection to the woman whose house is ablaze.

Later in the poem we gain a glimpse into another side of the emotional impact of warfare when a potential episode of violence is avoided. During the campaign of 1197 which included the incident near Beauvais (referred to above) the citizens of Rouen hold fears that the king of France is approaching with the intention of setting up camp outside the city and

establishing a siege. Their dread is soothed when news arrives that help is on its way:

The burgesses and citizens,/ the highly prosperous and the moderately so,
heard of the arrival of the earls/ and were all full of joy at the news [*s'en esjoïrent*].

They immediately mounted their horses/ and, in a state of elation [*A molt grant joie*], rode to meet them. (lines 12323–8)

William Marshal reassures them that he and his colleagues will defend Rouen against any French attack:

When the burgesses heard this,/ they were overjoyed [*s'en esjoïrent*]
and profusely thanked/ the three counts and the others,
saying: 'This is most pleasing to us' ... [*Ce nos pot molt plaire*]
They entered the town,/ and I can tell you that the burgesses paid them
high honour when they saw them come,/ and gave them a rapturous
welcome. [*molt grant joie lor firent*] (lines 12363–7, 12373–6)

The repetition of words and phrases conveying the idea of joy in these brief passages is indicative of a striking intensity of emotion on the part of the burgesses. This is a joy of overwhelming relief that the horrors of siege warfare appear to have been avoided, or that at the very least capable defenders are on hand. Once again the poet's intention is to show the Marshal in a positive light, almost as a saviour figure, but in doing so he allows us to appreciate just how physically and mentally devastating warfare could have been for those without the ability to defend themselves. In this sense the emotional strategy of emphasizing the citizens' elation is just as effective as demonstrating the anguish of the woman in the burning house. In both cases, the *History* makes the toll of warfare on ordinary people readily apparent.

Although it would be rewarding to hear more of these fascinating insights into ordinary people's experience, it is true that the poem's main concern, along with the career of the Marshal himself, is with those at the top of the social ladder. Royal emotions remain in focus during episodes of warfare later in the poem, especially those involving Philip II 'Augustus' of France, on the one hand, and the Plantagenet monarchs on the other. Philip's character, as often in Anglo-Norman literature, is shown as cunning but cowardly. In this sense he is easily contrasted with Richard the Lionheart's brave but more direct methods.²⁵ The French king's inaptitude for the physical rigours of battle is exemplified by his misfortune during a confrontation at Gisors, where he has to be rescued after falling while fording a stream:

When they had pulled the king out of the water –/ he had been extremely
frightened for his life –

he declined to stay at Gisors,/ even though it had a very strong castle,
for he feared his enemies so much/ that he thought he would be besieged
inside the town; (lines 11039–44)

Although the course of events favoured the French, with Normandy and other Angevin continental holdings being recaptured by 1204, the poem takes the opportunity to emphasize the few bright spots in the early years of John's reign. Writing from the perspective of the mid-1220s, well after the conquest of Normandy as well as Philip's later decisive victory over John's allies at Bouvines in 1214, the poet might seem to be straining against the tide of history by dwelling on John's few successes.²⁶ But the text provides a very useful perspective on the political climate of the first years of the thirteenth century, when the outcome of the long rivalry was still unknown. John's success at the siege of Mirebeau in 1202 represented the highpoint of his military career, even though he squandered the political capital the victory brought him by alienating allies and probably arranging the murder of his nephew and rival for the throne, Prince Arthur.²⁷ The description of John's state of mind in the aftermath captures the essence of his fatal flaw:

King John won so much glory/ and honour that day
that the war would have been at an end,/ had it not been for ill luck
and that abiding pride of his/ which was always the cause of his
downfall.

The King was overjoyed by his achievement,/ for he had taken such valu-
able prisoners
and had so overcome and trapped/ the pride of Poitou,
Brittany and Anjou,/ that not a single one of them escaped. (lines
12105–16)

John's pride, the poet implies, blinds him to the need to take a more measured response to his victory. His joy is thus dangerous and contains the seeds of its own destruction. Furthermore, the king's emotional tone sets the standard for those around him, who display a similar excessive joy at this important but by no means overwhelming and permanent victory. When the news is brought to William Marshal and others, they respond in a similar way to the king himself:

The Marshal was overjoyed/ when he heard the news,
as were the others,/ for it was a long time since they had heard any
so welcome/ or so much to their liking. (lines 12159–64)

Considering John's earlier problematic joy and the poem's unavoidable hindsight about later less successful events, this emotional response to victory immediately takes on much darker overtones than might be apparent

at face value. Yet it also contrasts with French disappointment at defeat. Loyalty to a particular monarch involves the necessary display of similar emotions. In the French case, however, the pattern is reversed, with one of Philip's vassals, the count of Eu, expressing his disappointment before the poet turns to the king himself. The intensity of the count's humiliation and the fact that it precedes the king's both suggest that the poet is subtly trying to demonstrate that Philip is an emotional follower, rather than a leader:

Once the count of Eu had heard/ the news, which he had expected
to be of a totally different nature,/ he turned livid and looked downcast,
and nobody could get a word out of him ...
With a troubled mind, overcome and in despair,/ he lay on his back in bed;
he did not know what to do or say,/ for he had no wish to repeat to anyone
the news he had heard,/ news which was little welcome to him.
Whilst he was thus steeped in thought/ and gripped by such emotion,
letters arrived for the King of France/ relating the unfortunate news,
news which was of such a nature/ that it did not get better, indeed it
got worse
to the point where the entire army heard/ that most hateful news.
The King of France was angry,/ for never had such great misfortune
befallen him before, he said. (lines 12193–7, 12201–17)

Subsequently Philip 'made his way to France/ with grief and pain in his heart' (lines 12315–16), continuing to appear, at least so far as the poem is concerned, as a monarch buffeted by the tides of fortune rather than as a man in control of his own political and emotional destiny.

Later, John enjoyed another brief moment of military advantage over Philip when his fleet destroyed a number of French ships at the Battle of Damme (a harbour near Bruges) in May 1213. The way in which the poem presents Philip's response to this setback is especially interesting. Military defeat creates an enormous emotional burden for the French king, one to which he responds in a seemingly illogical and self-defeating way:

King Philip, out of his mind/ with rage and in a black mood,
[ors de sens/ iros e malenconiens]
had the remaining ships in his navy/ burned to cinders
in his fit of anger and depression,
[par ire e par melencolie]
and then he departed without further delay
with that great defeated army of his,/ which had been so savagely
thwarted. (lines 14641–8)

The repetition of phrases indicating anger and melancholy helps to convey the depth of Philip's despair. The depiction of the king as almost out of

control of his own emotions recalls other episodes in the poem, notably his angry and futile (from the Anglo-Norman perspective, at least) destruction of the elm tree at Gisors, a traditional meeting place between kings of France and dukes of Normandy, in 1188.²⁸ There, too, the *History* had presented Philip's anger as reflective of his poor leadership in military and diplomatic situations, and his inability to cope well with adversity. Now, in the 1213 episode, the poem sharply reinforces the earlier impression of the French monarch and contrasts the emotional states of the rival leaders. John's satisfaction with the outcome at Damme is just as plain as it had been after Mirebeau, but the tone of ominous joy remains:

When the king of England heard/ the news [of the victory], he was
overjoyed
and thanked our Lord/ for the wonderful outcome he had produced
and the honour resulting from it./ If he had responded to the Lord our
God
through righteous behaviour, he would have behaved wisely,/ but he did
not, and that was a great detriment. (lines 14659–66)

In this way the poet uses John's problematic joyfulness as a signal that all will not be well in the near future. His audience would have known very well what was to follow: the crushing defeat of John's nephew and ally, the Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, at Bouvines, and John's own troubles with his barons culminating in Magna Carta during 1215. The poem does not entirely ignore these episodes, but it brushes over them with a very light hand, preferring to focus on the achievements of its principal protagonist, William Marshal, during the troubled last years of John's reign.²⁹ Thus the king's ominous joy after Damme allows the poet to use an emotional response to military success as a signpost to his readers that, while he feels obliged to trumpet those rare moments of victory in war, he is not neglecting the fact that less positive developments will follow and that, for John, the emotional highs brought on by victory will be fleeting and ultimately hollow.

Despite a growing body of criticism the *History of William Marshal* remains a relatively under-explored source that has much to offer scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is more to be said, in particular, on its subtle explorations of medieval emotional life, not just in the context of warfare but also in other spheres of contemporary culture. In this essay I have sought to offer an initial exploration of the subject by looking at the range of emotions attributed to those involved in military and chivalric activities. What becomes clear is that the representation of emotions serves as a useful medium through which the poet can comment upon the experience of war by those at all social levels. Corresponding or contrasting emotional positions succinctly indicate the development and outcome of political and chivalric alliances and rivalries. The effect of war on those

not able to defend themselves provides a secondary but important theme, allowing the author to expand the range of intense emotional scenes that characterize the poem. Superficially negative emotions such as shame or jealousy can be effective spurs to military action, even while positive feelings and the joy of victory frequently prove problematic or are too easily squandered. In all these ways the *History* presents a criticism of contemporary mores even while it purports to offer the life story of a charismatic individual and to commemorate the emotional histories of the Anglo-Norman military elite to which he belonged.

Notes

1. On the biographical nature of the poem, including a thorough discussion of what can be known about its authorship and composition, see David Crouch, 'Writing a Biography in the Thirteenth Century: The Construction and Composition of the "History of William Marshal"', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 221–35.
2. The first among these was Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933). Also notable, especially for displaying the somewhat idiosyncratic approach of the great French historian's later work, is Georges Duby, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Faber, 1986). The best is undoubtedly David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Longman, 2002). On the manuscript history see Crouch, *William Marshal*, 3.
3. A. J. Holden, S. Gregory and D. Crouch, eds, *History of William Marshal*, 3 vols (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002–06). Quotes from the text and translation are taken from this edition.
4. John Gillingham, 'War and Chivalry in the *History of William the Marshal*', in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), 251–63, at 253. Gillingham's essay, with its devastating critique of Duby, originally appeared in *Thirteenth Century England*, 2 (1988), 1–13.
5. Henry the Young King was crowned as joint ruler with his father in 1170 but died in 1183, thus never gaining the opportunity to rule in his own right. See R. J. Smith, 'Henry II's Heir: The Acta and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170–83', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 297–326.
6. On the Plantagenet domains of the so-called 'Angevin Empire' see Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire 1154–1224*, trans. D. Crouch (Harlow: Longman, 2007); and John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd edn (London: Arnold, 2001). For William's connections to Eleanor, Evelyn Mullally, 'The Reciprocal Loyalty of Eleanor of Aquitaine and William Marshal', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, ed. B. Wheeler and J. C. Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 237–45.
7. Larry D. Benson, 'The Tournament in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes and *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*', in *Contradictions: From Beowulf to Chaucer. Selected Studies of Larry D. Benson*, ed. Theodore M. Andersson and Stephen A. Barney, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 266–93. An earlier version of the essay appeared in *Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Larry D. Benson and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1980), 1–24.

8. Richard W. Kaeuper, 'William Marshal, Lancelot, and the Issue of Chivalric Identity', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 22 (2005), 1–19.
9. Laura Ashe, 'William Marshal, Lancelot, and Arthur: Chivalry and Kingship', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 30 (2007), 19–40; comments on the Young King at 26–31.
10. On the development of chivalry as a cultural concept, see especially Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); and Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). For the military realities, Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
11. Nicole Eustace, et al., 'AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions', *American Historical Review*, 117.5 (2012), 1487–531 (quote at 1497).
12. Richard E. Barton, 'Emotions and Power in Orderic Vitalis', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33 (2010), 41–59.
13. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
14. For a fuller explanation see Lindsay Diggelmann, 'Hewing the Ancient Elm: Anger, Arborescence, and Medieval Kingship', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 40.2 (2010), 249–72, at 265–7.
15. Recent works on Stephen include Edmund King, *King Stephen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White, ed., *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).
16. There is some doubt over the text at line 427; the editors suggest a reading of *s'en ira* for the possibly corrupt *sen dirra* (Holden et al., ed., *William Marshal*, vol. 3, 59). Nonetheless the sentiments displayed by Stephen in the following lines can be construed as amounting to anger, whether or not the specific phrase is used.
17. J. C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: I. The Revolution of 1066', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32, 5th Series (1982), 193–212, at 193. More generally, on the possibility of studying emotional connections during the period see John S. Moore, 'Inside the Anglo-Norman Family: Love, Marriage, and the Family', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 28 (2005), 1–18.
18. On tournaments see Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986); David Crouch, *Tournament* (London and New York: Hambledon, 2005); and Benson, 'The Tournament...', 267, where the author notes that Chrétien and the poet of the *History* provide 'our earliest descriptions of fictional tournaments ... and our earliest descriptions of real tournaments...'
19. As also at lines 1514, 3006 and 5127.
20. On national pride as an emotion in the medieval context, see Lindsay Diggelmann, 'Gardens as "Emotional Communities": Three Medieval French Examples', *Digital Philology* 1.2 (2012), 253–67 (at 255–8).
21. The object of the siege was the castle of Milly-sur-Thérain (Holden et al., eds., *William Marshal*, vol. 3, 136, note for line 11124). On this campaign see also David Crouch, 'William Marshal and the Mercenariat', in *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 15–32, at 16–17. On Franco-Norman border conflict more generally see Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
22. On this incident see also Gillingham, 'War and Chivalry', 257–8. Gillingham suggests that Richard's reaction is a form of criticism of the Marshal's foolhardiness

- in undertaking such a risky venture, but this seems to contradict the fact that the King himself wants to get involved in the action as soon as he can.
23. On this episode see Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, 63–5. Also of interest for the relationship between the Marshal and the king is Nicholas Vincent, 'William Marshal, King Henry II and the Honour of Châteauroux', *Archives*, 25 (2000), 1–15.
 24. For the last days of Henry II's reign see Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 36–40; and W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), 621–6. Warren notes that other accounts of events at Le Mans do not implicate Henry as authorising the fire and suggest that he was dismayed at the destruction. Therefore the *History's* version seems to establish a deliberate contrast between the king's supposed indifference and the Marshal's empathy, in order to highlight the latter.
 25. Studies of Philip include Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180–1223* (London and New York: Longman, 1998); and John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). On Richard see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
 26. On the Battle of Bouvines see Georges Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990). The *History* brushes over what was, from the English perspective, a military disaster fairly briefly at lines 14787–820.
 27. For John's reign see Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 86–108; Ralph V. Turner, *King John* (London and New York: Longman, 1994); and Stephen D. Church, ed., *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999). David Crouch comments on the *History's* generally antagonistic view of John in 'Baronial Paranoia in King John's Reign', in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 45–62, at 47–8.
 28. I have commented on this incident at length elsewhere (see Diggelmann, 'Hewing the Ancient Elm'). It is worth pointing out here that a French version of the story, composed by Philip's chaplain Guillaume le Breton, contains a very different account of the events at Gisors in 1188 and their emotional repercussions, and unsurprisingly shows Philip and his emotional regime in a much more favourable light.
 29. For example, of the events of 1215 the poet says 'I must pass over in silence the war which subsequently/ broke out in England/ between the King and his barons' (lines 15031–3).

2

‘Blisse wes on londe’: The Feeling of Peace in *Lazamon’s Brut*

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Lazamon’s *Brut*, a Worcestershire poem in English of about 16,000 lines, probably dates from the early thirteenth century, but strongly recalls late Anglo-Saxon in its vocabulary, rhythms and sound patterns.¹ It is an energetic adaptation of Wace’s mid-twelfth-century *Roman de Brut*, which in turn drew its material from a version of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1136). Much of the poem’s material is about civil war, enemy invasion, foreign conquest, and violent breakdown of the social order, but Lazamon, more than Geoffrey or Wace, is also interested in peace, not just as an interlude between war episodes, but for its own sake. In a well-known speech by Gawain, amplified and deepened beyond its nature in Wace, the poem states:

for god is grið and god is frið þe freoliche þer haldeð wið.
and Godd sulf hit madeð þurh his Godd-cunde.
for grið madeð godne mon gode workes wurchen.
for alle monnen bið þa bet þat lond bið þa murgre. (lines 12456–459)

[for peace and quiet are good if they are willingly kept, and God himself made peace through his divine nature, for peace makes a good man do good deeds; because all men benefit the land is the happier.]²

My object of study here is the poetic construction of the feeling of peace in Lazamon. I start with Gawain’s speech because it brings together concisely several of the elements that matter when Lazamon introduces a peace. They include: set terms like ‘grið’ and ‘frið’ (‘peace’/‘protection’ and ‘quiet’/‘freedom from trouble’); the notion that peace must be freely ‘held’ or ‘kept’; peace as a general condition of happiness and good in the people and the ‘land’; and peace’s connection with the divine.

I say ‘the feeling of peace’ partly because that phrase, instead of ‘the emotions of peace’, does not presume that an effect such as the ‘happiness’ or ‘joy’ of peace means a particular emotional occurrence, such as

anger or elation. Those emotions are often powerfully visible in *Lazamon's* people and their speeches, and often made instrumental in the poem's narrative causality, but although *Lazamon* habitually uses terms of joy, bliss and happiness to describe the nature of peace, these differ in genesis and nature from the 'joy' within individuals that is made evident in the recounting of particular events. Although a period of peace often results from foreign conquests or successes in civil war, the elation of the winning side at a particular event in its temporal moment is made a different matter from the expansive happiness of peace itself. Rather, the happiness of peace is a poetic topic of generality and continuance, made up of a shifting cluster of motifs and effects in various combinations, occurring intermittently, and sometimes unpredictably, throughout the course of the poem in ways that are not necessarily determined by military success or driven by the seasonal cycle of war established in the Galfridian historical tradition.³

In short, *Lazamon's* peace is very much a matter of 'representation', something formally registered in the discourse of his poem, not merely to be inferred from the apparent cessation of conflict at points in the story. Its feeling of happiness is a poetic achievement, with political, social, and religious associations given further potential meaning by the varied narrative positioning of its occurrences. In medieval terms, his peace designates a 'condition' – a '[m]ode of being; the nature of something'⁴ – rather than an individual emotional event understood as something that 'moves' or is 'moved'. Peace certainly has a feeling, but it is one in most ways antithetical to such 'motions' of the mind and body. Instead, *Lazamon's* poetic representation of it provides his readers with a correlative to the ineffable experience of happiness that he attributes to those who 'dwell' in unchanging peace, which at its highest he sees as a blessed respite from desire, striving and event:

Her mon mai arede of Arðure þan king
hu he twelf 3ere seoðen wuneden here
inne griðe & inne friðe in alle uæ3ernesne.
Na man him ne faht wið no he ne makede nan un-frið,
ne mihte nauere nan man bi-þenchen of blissen
þat weoren in æi þeode mare þan i þisse,
ne mihte nauere mon-cunne nan swa muchel wunne
swa wes mid Arðure & mid his folke here. (lines 11338–345)

[Here one may read of Arthur the king, how he afterwards dwelled here twelve years in peace and prosperity, in all graciousness.⁵ No one fought against him, nor did he make war on anyone; no man could ever imagine greater happiness in any country than there was in this; nor could humankind⁶ ever imagine such great joy as there was with Arthur and his people here.]

Actually, one cannot 'read' anything like this suspended state of bliss in Wace or in Geoffrey about Arthur's 12-year peace. For them it remains entirely marked by narrative detail that testifies to the glory of conquest, the specific occasions of feasts, ceremonies, and sports, and the new cultural monuments that distinguish Arthur's peacetime court in all versions. They give no general and atemporal description of the peace *per se* as Lazamon does, who makes this 12-year happiness symbolic of the incommunicable fullness of eternal heavenly joys, beyond the dominion of time. The essence of such peace is that the people and the land are 'kept' or 'held' (protected/ arrested) in an unchanging state of 'peace and quiet', free from the onset of new temporal events. It is not the happiness of a peace associated with military glory, a cashed-up respite between campaigns and deeds of arms, but the peace of a provincial town or country parish, grateful for a period of political stability in which it is left alone, and desiring only its continuance.

Lazamon's story recurrently aspires to this heavenly and unchanging peace, in a way that puts him at odds with Wace's and Geoffrey's tendency to approve go-getting victory above all else as the core of a good story. Gawain's touching speech, quoted above, sits very isolated in Arthur's war council which busies itself planning massive vengeance on the Romans. Overall narrative emphases in the *Brut* show how embattled peace remains in the alternation of 'blisse and blunder'⁷ habitual to Galfridian history. The early reigns of Locrin and Gwendoline give a good example. Gwendoline is the daughter of the legendary Corineus, the first lord of Cornwall and companion of Brutus, the founder of Britain. She has been betrothed to Locrin, Brutus's son, but he prefers Astrild, a captive princess taken from Humber, a defeated Hun invader. So the degenerate Locrin – a precursor of Vortigern who later becomes besotted with the Saxon Rowena (lines 7166–184) – breaks the historical bond between the families of Brutus and Corineus. Locrin pretends to banish Astrild, but when Corineus dies, he brings her out of hiding, and sends Gwendoline back to Cornwall. She leads the Cornish, now enemies to the royal house, into battle and defeats Locrin, then rules strongly for 15 years, providing safety for all, and restoring peace to Cornwall and Logres. Her son Madan succeeds her.

The chronological years of peace in this period of the story greatly outnumber those troubled by war, being at least 82 to 10, but the 218 lines that cover the reigns of Locrin, Gwendoline and Madan are dominated in the time of narration by scenes of conflict, aggression and deception. Seventeen years of loving peace under Locrin and his brothers Albanach and Camber take up 18 lines, but are followed 'soon' (line 1071) by 90 lines on sudden shorter events: the destructive invasion of Humber and his defeat, Locrin's infatuation with Astrild, and Corineus' fury at his daughter's rejection. Locrin's defeat of Humber does not bring peace back to the realm since Astrild, taken as part of the dead man's 'belongings' ('æhte') (line 1114),

causes a rift with Corineus that retrospectively dishonours his old friendship with Brutus and Britain's founding history:

‘Ic liðde mid þine fader & ledde his ferde.
moni swinc, moni swæt, monine seorhfulne pleiþe
...
þolede ich on folde bi-foren Brutone.
þe wes mi deore wine mi drihliche lauerd;
þer-fore þu scalt beon feie for nes he neuer þi fader,
for 3if þu were Brutus sune ne deodest þu me nane sceome’.
(lines 1140–147)

[‘I journeyed with your father, and led his army. Much toil, much sweat, many a sorrowful combat ... I endured in the field, at the head of the Britons.⁸ He was my dear friend, my worthy lord. For this you must die, for he was never your father, for if you were Brutus's son you would not do me any shame’.]

To Locrin, Astrild is a legitimate prize of victory, whose beauty is a sufficient source of happiness in itself (lines 1113–122). To Corineus, the old wars of the Britons have created sacred bonds that are both familial and national; he is therefore appalled that Locrin thinks of rejecting his daughter to marry an ‘al-þeodisc meiden’ (‘alien girl’) whose parents are unknown (lines 1150–153). His mighty anger, in an episode of 32 lines, is the central narrative event of Locrin's reign, as *Lazamon* tells it. The two women highlight a frequent tension in the poem's view of history, with Gwendoline standing for continuity with the past, and Astrild for attraction to the changing fortunes of the present. The scandalous divisiveness of this situation is symbolised by the *Brut's* original addition to the scene: with his battle-axe Corineus shatters in pieces (‘to-sceande’) (line 1158) the rock on which Locrin is standing. Wise heads intervene, oaths are taken, but no real peace can ensue from this fundamental opposition. While Corineus lives, Locrin secretly visits Astrild in a luxurious pleasure-house, on the pretext of ‘serving his God’ (‘and his godd hure’) (line 1195). On the old man's death, he repudiates Gwendoline, and she must kill him in war to regain the land. Despite *Lazamon's* conservative tendencies, the substance of this narrative shows that the desires of the present cannot be forced to honour the past, and that, through the succession of new events, change will inevitably erode continuity. Even the apparently restorative acts of defeating an invader or reinstating a lineage will create opportunities for dangerous innovation that disturbs the peace.

A further instance of the narrative tension between a desire for stability and the story of change in *Lazamon's* narrative structure is apparent in the ensuing reign of King Ebrauc. Typically, Ebrauc's rule is preceded by a time of discord and division, and again the space occupied by narration of these conflicts is

disproportionate to the years of the reigns themselves. Madan's 40-year rule 'with honour' ('mid mensca') (line 1268) takes up only seven lines, ending with the classic mistake of dividing the kingdom between his heirs: Lazamon says dryly, 'he wende swiðe wel to don' (line 7201). By contrast, the dreadful state of Britain for 20 years under Madan's son, the brother-murdering Membriz, is given 36 lines. Membriz's rule is not much noted for actual war, but it is the very antithesis of peace, since he perverts the traditional ritual of reconciliation (*saht* and *some*, *grið* and *frið*), marking his assumption of territorial control as a disaster:

& swa he nom enne dai þat come heore drihtliche folc
 to makian saht & some bi-tuxen him & his bro[ð]er.
 A þon daie þat wes iset þa comen heo to-sumne.
 Membriz hefde inomen þat grið ah sone he madeke unfrið.
 he dude þer serwe inoh for þer he his broðer of-sloh
 & þus he iwon al þis lond þat hit stod on his awene hond.
 (lines 1276–281)

[And so he appointed a day for their worthy people to come and make reconciliation and union between him and his brother. On the set day they came together. Membriz had accepted that ceasefire but he soon made trouble. He caused sorrow enough there for he killed his brother, and so he won all this land so that it rested in his own hand.]

Ebrauc's ensuing 60-year reign provides more insight into the problematical relation between war and peace in Lazamon, and shows the development in the poem of a split system for assessing and representing national happiness. Ebrauc's rule begins with the hallmarks of a blessedly continuing peace, but it then takes on the character of a cyclic peace viewed as a time for breeding war. Several markers of blessed and widespread peace are present – 'grið' and 'frið' (line 1312), respect for his people, with concern for the poor as well as the rich,⁹ increased agriculture (lines 1308–010) and an all-inclusive feeling of happiness: 'blisse wes on londe a feole kunne þinge' ('There was happiness in the land in all kinds of things') (line 1311). But the features of this rule also include the aggressive tendencies of the king's 'good' knights:

Cnihtes he hæfde gode stronge & wode.
 heo wilneden after worre for heom wes heora Drihten wroð.
 Þe king hit wel wuste; þeh he hit suggen ne durste. (lines 1313–315)

[He had good knights, strong and fierce. They desired war; their Lord was angry with them for that. The king knew it well, though he dared not say it.]

Ebrauc knows the wish for war angers God, but to admit that would be to compromise his position as a 'strong king' and lose commonality with his knights. We see a systemic problem for peace in *Lazamon* here: the military and political power that makes it possible must necessarily also contain the practical and emotional pre-conditions for war. Wace is quite untroubled by that connection. His Ebrauc leads a 'pillaging' army abroad, and carries off 'great wealth', making England 'fortunate and honoured for a long while'.¹⁰ In *Lazamon*, Ebrauc's solution is to export his knights' aggression, placing some distance between himself and their warlike desire:

He lætte bi sæ-flode Ʒearkien scipen gode

...

and he dude Ʒer-inne his drihtliche cnites
sende heom in-to France

...

& heo herƷeden France & feor Ʒer bi-Ʒeonden. (lines 1316–120)

[he had good ships made ready by the shore ... and he put his worthy knights into them and sent them into France ... and they harried France and far beyond it.]

Lazamon's treatment of Ebrauc's actions seems ambivalent; although there is no detail, as in Wace, of his leading foreign raids in person, the poem says he was 'the very first king' to go abroad for plunder (lines 1324–327). Britain is saved from war at home, and enriched by this first venture into the continent, but with these events Ebrauc's reign loses the feeling of peace as godly continuity. The prosperity that comes to the people of England from foreign conflict must be measured against the land's loss of a higher good. For the 'people' to be 'vnimete riche of Ʒere ræuinge' ('extremely rich from their plundering') (line 1327) is poetically registered as a different matter from the 'blisse ... on londe a feole kunne Ʒinge' (line 1311) associated with the arts of agriculture. The 'people' affected seem to differ also, as well as the happiness: there is no specific mention of the 'wrecchen' ('poor') benefiting from foreign raids as they do from peace 'in the land'. *Lazamon* is prone to 'commiserate with the unpowerful',¹¹ but here, presumably, it is the 'strong knights' who gain most. Even Ebrauc's foundation of a city, a standard activity of the best kings, is framed by *Lazamon* as a complaint about the historical instability of language. 'Kaer Ebrauc', the original name, becomes 'Eborac'; then the city is called 'Eoverwic' by 'foreigners' ('vncuðe men') – in Wace they are the French¹² – and then, 'not long ago', 'through the carelessness' or 'perversity' ('Ʒur ane vnƷewe') of northerners, 'York' (lines 1332–337). As with the tensions in narrative tendency emblematised by Gwendoline and Astrild, this is a view of historical change, whether caused by war or leading to it, as the continuing alienation of the land from

its true origins. By contrast, the core goodness of peace is that it leaves the land 'stille' ('quiet') (lines 1309; 3261; 3517),¹³ in a peace without change, as medieval readers understood 'God's peace' to be'. The Psalter offered them a model of the same connection between peace, happiness, the bounty of the land, the nature of God, and rest in quietness:

Dedisti letitiam in corde meo. A fructu frumenti, vini et olei sui, multiplicati sunt. In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

... [T]hou has given gladness in my heart. By the fruit of their corn, their wine and oil, they are multiplied. In peace in the selfsame I will sleep, and I will rest.¹⁴

Augustine, for instance, reads 'in idispum' ('in the selfsame') specifically in relation to the peace found in an unchanging God: 'et tu es idipsum valde, qui non mutaris, et in te requies obliviscens laborum omnium' ('And Thou surpassingly art the Self-same, Who art not changed; and in Thee is rest which forgetteth all toil').¹⁵

The 'land' features in *Lazamon* in most detail at moments when there is most leisure to behold it, that is, in peace. Peace is when a ruler holds the 'land' – meaning both his area of political control and the conditions of life within it – at will, so looking at the land and its qualities is a repeated motif that marks the successful cessation of war, as a scopic precursor of the benefits to follow:

Pa hauede Belin an heond al Brutteines lond.
 he ferde 3eond al & lawen sette;
 he scawede þa wuodes & þa wildernes
 meduwen and mores & þa hæ3e muntēs,
 burwes and tunes, & al hit 3eorne bi-hold.
 Þe king hine bi-ðohte whet he don mihte. (lines 2402–406)

[Then Belinus had all the land of Britain in his hand. He journeyed through it all and laid down laws. He viewed the woods and the wilderness, meadows and moors and the high mountains, boroughs and towns, and eagerly beheld it all. The king considered what he might do.]

In *Wace*, the point of this land survey is that Belinus sees the logistical difficulties of travel between cities and responds by building new roads and bridges, protected by laws.¹⁶ *Lazamon's* Belinus builds the safe roads also, but the observation on the practical need for them is omitted. The king's eager beholding of the land and his urge towards good deeds are linked thematically in *Lazamon* as motifs of the works of peace, rather than as pragmatic cause and effect. Similar thematic clusters occur in several other

places in the poem. Following both Geoffrey and Wace, *Lazamon's Arthur* shows Hoel the wonders of the Scottish lochs straight after granting peace to the defeated Scots and before restoring the city and churches of York (lines 10942–11041). As in Wace, Brutus happily views the varied landscape of Britain – mountains, meadows, waters, grass, and wood – after winning it all and before building 'New Troy' (lines 1002–018). *Lazamon* adds that he names the settlement in memory of the suffering ('teone') of his race in their former home. Peacetime activity briefly assuages historical trauma, before change in rulers and language inevitably reasserts itself to break the old associations:

alle þa burhþes þe Brutus iwrohte.
& heora noma gode þa on Brutus dæi stode
beoð swiðe afelled þurh warf of þon folke. (lines 1034–036)

[All the towns that Brutus built, and the good names that they had in Brutus's day are laid low entirely, through the change of people.]

It would be misleading to suggest that *Lazamon's* aspiration towards the happiness of uneventful peace in the land means that he disapproves of kingly strength in war. Although the highest peace comes from God, in earthly terms peace is 'made' – established or agreed – by a king and his people, and then maintained by them together. In that respect, peace is also 'the king's peace', within his power.¹⁷ The difference between the earthly onset of peace and its heavenly nature is marked discursively and thematically by *Lazamon*. The *making* of peace by a king, often by victory over rivals or external enemies, is registered by tropes of military activity and political jurisdiction, habitually matching the rhyme-pair 'hand' and 'land'. *Lazamon* is deeply concerned with 'this land'¹⁸ and associates kingship strongly with the landscape,¹⁹ but the equal and matching prominence he gives the king's 'hand' complicates the idea of peace. The king's 'hand' stands for 'grið and frið', 'a state of society resulting from the observance of the customary rights of the king, the lord, and the commoner in medieval society',²⁰ and for the 'mund' ('protection') that *Lazamon* readily associates both with the king – 'hælden me to munde a þire azere hond' ('keep me in your protection, in your own hand') (line 5247) – and with Christ: 'Lauerd Drihten Crist, domes waldende/ midelarde mund, monnen froure'. ('Lord Jesus Christ, lord of judgement,/ protector of middle-earth, comfort of men') (lines 1276–2762).²¹ A king needs such control to forestall 'unfrið', by deterring or repressing enemies, and by employing swift retribution. In a speech original to *Lazamon* (lines 11006–0021), Arthur outlines the dire consequences of breaking 'his grið' (line 11015). Furthermore, as Deborah Marcum points out,²² the pair 'hond' and 'lond' often figures in wartime, when a king or an enemy force conquers, usurps, or simply ravages the land.

The hand that protects peace also makes war. Since most (but not all) of the notable peacetimes in the text occur in the reigns of strong kings, and the richest descriptions of peace tend to occur in relation to the most praised of the rulers, there is a tendency for the topic of peace to be subsumed into the praise of a 'strong king'. Scripture offered good models for that connection in the God of Isaiah²³ and of Micah:

and he shall judge among many people and rebuke strong nations afar off ... nation shall not take sword against nation: neither shall they learn war any more. And every man shall sit under his vine, and under his fig tree, and there shall be none to make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken.²⁴

In this peace of the last days, the ideal rule of God perfectly combines foreign domination, the rule of law and parochial quietness.

As part of *Lazamon's* decorum of praise, a peace that is mutually 'held' by the keeping of oaths and agreements is distinguished from a false one that leads to evils. King *Ceol* and the Roman legate *Maximien* swear together 'freondscipe' and 'isæhtnesse mid treoðe' ('reconciliation by oath'), but *Coel's* tame submission to *Maximien's* persecution of Christians shows a failure in the unity of will and common good which peace agreements are meant to enact and uphold, so this 'peace' is dishonourably one-sided: 'Coel heold hine stille & Maxi[m]ien dude his wille' ('*Ceol* kept quiet and *Maximien* did as he liked' (line 5434). The *king* is 'still', not the land. There is also the cynical pretence of *Hengest* to make peace with *Vortigern*, his son-in-law. *Hengest* is 'prudent in evil' ('of ufele war') (line 7544) and knows just the 'swiðe uære worden' ('very fine words') to use: 'sibbe' and 'saihte'; 'grið'; a promise to 'love' the people of the land and the king. *Lazamon* piles up repetitions of the phrases of peace in indirect speech that mimics *Hengest's* unctuousness:

& seide þat he was icumen swa fader sculde to his sune.
mid sibbe & mid saihte he wolde on sele wunien.
grið he wolde luuien; un-riht he wolde scunien.
grið he wolde habben; grið he wolde holden,
& al þis leodisce folc luuien he wolde,
& Uortigerne þene king luuien þurh alle þing.(lines 7547–552)

[and said he had come as a father should to his son; he would live in happiness with amity and accord; he would love peace; he would loathe wrong; he would have peace; he would hold peace, and he would love all the people of the land, and especially love *Vortigern* the king.]

The ironic technique is directly imitated from *Wace*,²⁵ but it works tellingly in *Lazamon* partly because he makes reconciliation and peace-making such

heartfelt and significant matters in other contexts. *Lazamon* draws no direct moral or providential connection between Vortigern's previous treachery to his feeble brother Constans – Vortigern is also 'prudent in evil' (line 6616) – and his own entrapment in Saxon treachery. Instead, the ironic correspondence between the two situations makes the political point that peace-making is based on some power to choose, so that it can be 'freely/willingly held'. But Vortigern is now no more the real power than Constans was; his unacknowledged dependence on Hengest means that he is in no position to make a real peace with him: he is not dictating to a defeated power, contracting with an equal, or strategically submitting to a trustworthy superior. From Vortigern's day for many thousands of lines in the *Brut*, until Aurelius overcomes the Saxons, peace can be no more than 'swiðe uæire worden'. Time and again, *Lazamon* has to lament the conditions of human frailty, the sad deaths and degeneracies that bring down any earthly peace in the end. Then after Arthur's reign there is a lot less about peace in *Lazamon*; it is short-lived (Constantine), or spoiled for him in some way (Malgus's same-sex relations), or its discourse is muted because the story has overwhelmingly become one of the decline of British power. In a bitter irony, the last king in the *Brut* said to enjoy and promote the good works normally associated with peace is the Saxon Athelstan (lines 15969–5977), to the great distress of the exiled British king Cadwalader.

Beyond the enjoyment of power, a major factor in the 'feeling' of peace is its widespread goodness. Normally *Lazamon's* characters can be described as personally happy when doing either good or evil – for instance, the poem says Brennus 'gladede his mode' ('cheered up') after accepting false counsel and betraying his brother Belinus (line 2201) – but in designated peacetime sections, happiness relates only to doing good, and often spreads through the land from the goodness of the king himself, as fixed in formulaic internal rhymes:

Iwallo hæhte þe king; he wes god þurh alle þing.
wel he braid on deade efter his alderen.
of alre godnesse þe gume wes ilæred.
he hæfde gode þæwes; his þeode wes þæ betere. (lines 3436–440)

[The king was called Iwallo. He was good in every respect. His actions were good, like his ancestors'. The man was instructed in all goodness; his ways were good; it was the better for his people.]

The reign of Dunwallo gives a more elaborate example:

Pa hauede Dunwale þis lond al bi-ȝeten to his hond.
....
He makede swulc grið, he makede swulc frið,

monien lazen gode þe long souððen stode.
 Heo makeden ane sæt-nesse and mid aze heo semde.
 þe ælc cheorl æt his sulche hæfde grið al-swa þe king sulf.

....

Feowerti wintre he walde þes leode; a blisse hit stod on his hand.
 Seoððen dæide þe king; wa wes his duzeðe. (lines 2118–136)

[So Dunwallo had taken this land entirely in his hand. He made such peace; he made such end to war, and many good laws that stood for long after. He made a concord and settled it with oaths so that every churl at the plough had peace like the king himself. Forty years he ruled this people and happiness rested in his hand. Then the king died: his retainers were desolate.]

That the Caligula manuscript of the *Brut* has 'leode' here, normally meaning 'people', instead of 'lond' in the normal 'lond'/'hond' pairing, is telling: in a strong king's peace, the land and its loyal inhabitants are coextensive and interchangeable terms. The same emphasis on unity of land and people is found in the recurring alliterative clusters 'sæht' and 'sibbe' and 'somne' and 'sæht'. 'Sæht' is 'reconciliation', often in the verb form 'sæhtnien' ('to reconcile');²⁶ 'sibbe' is 'peace, friendship' between parties, as its other meaning, 'close relatives', suggests.²⁷ 'Samnen' is 'to bring together', 'unite'.²⁸ They cover the active means, including warfare, by which conflicting forces in the land become one. These are occasions of great joy, as when widespread happiness follows the reunion of Brennus and Belinus:

Per heo hom custen þe weren kinges bearn,
 bi-feoren þa twam ferden freond-scipe makeden;
 Bemen þer bleowen; blisse wes on folke;
 þer weore segge songe; þer were pipen i-magge;
 þer wes swa muchel murehðe þat ne mihte heo beon na-mare;
 Pus iwerað Brennes sæht whit his broðer. (lines 2545–550)

[There they kissed each other, the king's sons, and made friends in sight of the two armies. Trumpets blew there, the people were in happiness; songs were sung there; pipes were blown; there was so much joy that there could not be more. So Brennus was reconciled with his brother.]

Such moments carry an ethical, even a religious weight, and as long as unity and peace is the result, the desired end seems to matter more to Lazamon than the means. States of peace can occur just by good luck, as under a do-nothing alcoholic king,²⁹ or by violent reprisal: Octaves kills every living Roman in Britain and lives 'inne griðe and inne friðe' for 22 years (5675–679) – Lazamon

probably associates the thoroughness of the extermination with the extent and durability of the peace it brings.

It seems, then, that to *Lazamon* peace is good and causes good, but does not necessarily arise *out of* goodness. It is sometimes the gift of a great and good man like Aurelius or Dunwallo, but can also be achieved by flawed people out of the normal Galfridian mixture of pride, pretence, suspicion and threat. The violent British dealings with the Romans offer several examples. A turning point in them comes when Androgeus, who has captured his king and uncle, Cassibelanus, decides to accept his kinsman's humiliated plea for help:

Nu ich wulle wende mi mod azenes uuel ich wule don god,
& lutlien ich wulle his kare & sæhtnien him wið Cesare. (lines 4408–409)

[Now I will change my mind; for evil I will do good, and I shall ease his troubles and reconcile him with Caesar.]

Julius Caesar, for his part, pretends to be angry, but is soon made alive to the threat of force from Androgeus, and as a 'wis and war' man (line 4452), agrees to his request. The tribute payment that will at other times be treated as a sign of craven submission to Rome becomes here a positive pledge of truth in *Lazamon's* eyes:

Æðes þer weoren isworene & neoren heo nauere forlorne,
for treowe men heom a-stalden & al-swa heo gunnen heom halden.
(lines 4469–470)

[Oaths were sworn there and they were never broken, for true men made them and so they held to them.]

Long after Cassibelanus' death, Cymbeline continues to pay the sworn tribute to Rome, even though he could have refused it, because he loves peace entirely ('griðful þurh alle þing') (lines 4575–579). When Wither (the name in English means 'against' or 'enemy') refuses the tribute and brings on a Devil-inspired invasion from Claudius Caesar (lines 4593–597), Arviragus and Claudius eventually reach a new peace settlement after much fighting, based on a mutual recognition of the requirements and also the limits of their position. Claudius feels bound to uphold Roman sovereignty, or suffer intolerable shame, but offers his daughter as a peace-making gesture. *Lazamon* considerably expands Wace's account of Arviragus' reaction. His pairing of 'neode' and 'ræde', and repetition of 'wurð'-forms shows how harsh necessity can be converted to collective wisdom and honour:

þe king isæh þe neode & droh to his ræde,
and he mid wurð-scipe þas cnihtes awurðede

þat he of his kinedome wulde heren in-to Rome,
 and seoððe wurðscipe him ðon, his dohter to queene vnder-fon.
 To-gædere heo comen and sæhten heo weoren sone. (lines 4751–755)

[The king saw the need and called his council and he honoured the knights with a worshipful answer that he with his kingdom would be subject to Rome, and then do him [Claudius] honour, and accept his daughter as queen. They met together and were quickly reconciled.]

Arviragus and Britain live in ‘bliss’ for 20 years, but he arrogantly revokes his promise of tribute once Claudius dies, causing a war with Vespasian. *Lazamon* introduces several original features to make the peace-breaking offensive. Arviragus’ refusal to pay tribute is presented as a falsehood, a brag fuelled by drink – ‘Þus seide þe king, þeh hit soð neore;/ þer he sæt mid his scenche an his kine-benche’, (‘So the king said, although it was not true, as he sat with his drink on his throne’) (4833–834). The fighting with Vespasian is grimly elaborated and brings ‘hærm mid þon meste’ (‘the greatest of harms/ wrongs’) (line 4891). In a powerful new speech given to the queen, Arviragus’s cause for war is stigmatised as oath-breaking and a shame to his status as a true king (lines 4896–899). Since the queen is Claudius’ daughter, to fight the Romans will mean a family disaster, whatever the outcome: ‘betere weore sæhte þene swulc vnisibbe’. (‘amity would be better than such strife amongst kin’) (line 4910). By taking this ‘true advice’ (‘soðe quides’) (line 4920), Arviragus returns to being a good man and king, and with that Britain returns to happiness:

And þe king heom bi-hehten his foreward to haldene,
 & swa he hit ilæste þe while þe he luuede.
 Þus heo weoren sahte & þus heo weoren some.
 Þa wes þeos Bruttene swiðe iblissed.

...

Brut-lond wes bliðe a to þeos kinges liue. (lines 4927–934)

[And the king promised them to hold his agreement, and so he fulfilled it as long as lived. So they were reconciled and so they were united. Then was this Britain greatly blessed. ... Britain was happy for all this king’s life.]

The king’s ‘holding’ of his promises and the renewed integrity of the original agreement with Claudius are offered by *Lazamon* as a clear correlative to the renewal of harmony within the family and the happy stability (‘sæhtnesse’) (line 4925) in which the land at large is ‘held’. For once, at least, in *Lazamon*’s narrative, new events restore the bliss of peace by returning to benign models of the past.

So, Lazamon's peace at its highest is represented as a heavenly happiness outside the fluctuations of history, yet peace comes into being and ends within history and inevitable earthly mutability. As some passages already examined here have shown, there is also an intermediate state poetically established between these stylistic and thematic opposites. Lazamon regularly associates official peacetimes with a set of characteristic royal activities, as the 'good works' that peace makes 'good men' do (12458). They include: surveying the land's resources and wonders, and cultivating these; the building or restoration of cities and churches; naming places; political and ecclesiastical appointments; celebrating the liturgy; making laws. These activities are pitched somewhere between those of history and of eternity; they are actions but do not have the feeling of ordinary temporal 'events' because they are represented as plural and habitual, couched in a poetic style that stresses plenitude, inclusivity and continuity:

‘Ich hæten eou wurchen & bulden þa chirchen,
bellen leten ringen, Godes lof singen,
heren mid ure mihten leofe ure Drihten,
ælcche mon bi his mæhte halden sibbe & sæhten,
læten tilien þat lond nu hit is al a mire hond’. (lines 8448–552)

[‘I command you to work to build the churches, have bells rung, sing God's praise, worship our dear Lord with all our might, each man to keep peace and concord as much as he can, and to have the land cultivated now it is all in my hand'.]

The poetics of the works of peace alternate general exhortations – e.g., to 'halden sibbe & sæhten' – with more specific actions such as ringing bells, building churches, cultivation – and so enact the relation established between military and political power, the establishment of peace, and the benefit of the land. Lazamon's poem moves in stylistic register from the historical events that bring the land under control, to the king's good works of peace, then to peace itself as a timeless condition of general happiness.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Lazamon employs a matching series of stylistic registers in representing war, moving from events in the build-up of hostilities – invasions, family feuds, succession problems – to an account of the king's military 'works' – musters, councils, manoeuvres – and then to an increasingly impersonal and atemporal representation of the fighting itself:

Sone swa heo comen to-somme, Arður & Frolle,
harliche heo igrættē al þat heo imette.
Cnihtes swiðe stronge igripen speren longe
and ræsdē heom to-gædere mid ræhære strengðe.
Alle dæi þer weore duntē swiðe riue;

folc feol to uolden and fæie-sið worhten;
 græmende segges gras-bæd isohten.
 gullen þa helmes, ʒeoumereden eorles.
 sceldes þær scenden, scalkes gunnen reosen. (lines 11717–725)

[As soon as Arthur and Frolo came together, they fiercely attacked all those they encountered. Very strong knights gripped long spears and rushed against each other with warlike might. All day there were very many blows struck; people fell to the ground and took doomed-men's journeys, raging fighters sought grass-beds; then helmets cried out, warriors lamented; shields went to pieces there; men began to fall.]

Such passages, not found in Wace, are often loosely called 'formulaic',³⁰ but that should not prevent appreciation of their extraordinary poetic achievement. Here, attention moves from named individuals – Arthur and Frolo – to their unnamed 'knights' actively opposing each other, then to undifferentiated and inclusive 'folc'. The involvement of these 'segges', 'eorles', 'scalkes' – who could be on either side or both – is as well expressed in the passive as the active voice; riddling phrases like 'took doomed-men's journeys' and 'sought grass-beds' make that point also by ironic inversion of agency, and the 'folc' are given no more privileged existence or power of utterance in the poetry than their helmets and shields. In *Lazamon's* distinctive battle register, violent actions and effects simply exist together, without specific intention or relation. Normal time and causality are disabled: for instance, the statement 'scalkes gunnen reosen' ('men *began to fall*') follows by some lines the statement 'folc feol to uolden' ('people *fell* to the ground'). The 'view' changes markedly: consciousness of the event slides from the minimal apprehension of a scene – opposed forces charging at each other with spears – to an increasingly fragmented list of impressions, sequential in form but simultaneous and without causal order in effect – in which sound starts to dominate sight, as if the battle, engulfing the reader (like an observer), had come too close to allow a visual perspective. Although by the end of the passage these sudden battle impressions can keep their places for no longer than a half-line, collectively their overlapping and repetitive incrementation gives the effect of a violent state both intensely present and habitual: a formal invocation of what war 'feels like'. In the work of a writer who normally has 'a view of the world that isolates each incident, which focuses on each element in itself as distinct, whole and independent',³¹ such passages give the feeling of a decreed sensory chaos, where the normal independence of phenomena is heightened to a point of extreme fragmentation.

This battle description comes in the course of a glorious military campaign by the greatest king ever. From a modern perspective it could hardly be said to make war feel 'good' or 'happy', even though its events help

to inaugurate the poem's happiest and most significant peacetime (lines 11338–1345 discussed above). And yet, although this is, surely, poetry of intense emotion, it neither mentions emotions directly nor indicates what kind of emotional response might be appropriate. The feelings with which the poet or his audience, whoever they were, uttered and encountered the *Brut*, are unknown. To use William Reddy's terms, we cannot know whether their function was successfully 'managerial' of some conscious desired emotion – sympathetic affirmation of battle courage? a share in the glorious past of 'this land'? condemnation of earthly ambition? – or perhaps unable to elicit any of these and so 'exploratory' of unexpected new feelings, perhaps not available to consciousness in ordinary terms.³²

No single 'emotional regime' or 'implied audience' is predicated by *Lazamon's* poem. It is a complex text. As a historical narrative it works on the hard-headed principle that peace comes from military and political strength. Yet its poetic evocation of the core feelings of war and peace presents them as direct and matching opposites. At its heart, war is represented as a hyper-activity of historical strife, where a violent succession of events reaches the point of complete instability; peace is a calm continuity without desire, whose almost unimaginable 'bliss' is the enjoyment of sheer existence. Nothing 'happens' in the highest peace – we are taken beyond the realm of chance – leaving nothing to narrate; at such moments both 'the land' and the narrative are 'stille' ('quiet'). Wace's story was not well calculated to provide the peace *Lazamon* yearned for, but in various ways the later poet found opportunities to express how happy peace feels; the continuing recrudescence of that feeling in the text and its co-existence there with other loci of emotion make the *Brut* a highly distinctive poem.

Notes

1. For the similarities in sound patterns, see Rosamund Allen, "Nv seið mid loft-songe": a re-appraisal of Lawman's verse form', in *Reading Lazamon's Brut. Approaches and Explorations*, ed. Rosamund Allen, Jane Roberts and Carole Weinberg (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 251–82, at 257.
2. *Lazamon: Brut*, ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963, 1978), Early English Text Society OS 250, 277, lines 12456–2459. All in-text references to the poem are to line numbers of the Caligula manuscript version in this edition. I have made changes to punctuation. The translations are my own. Referring to this passage, W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinburg, *Lazamon's Arthur. The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), lxiii, discuss the 'different idealism [from Wace's 'amorous dalliance'] based on social good rather than personal happiness'. C. S. Lewis, in *Selections from Lazamon's Brut*, ed. G. L. Brook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), ix, notes the *Brut's* 'weighty praise of peace'. See Françoise Le Saux, *Layamon's Brut: The Poem and its Sources* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 57, for *Lazamon's* 'higher sense of the dignity of his subject matter'.
3. See Andrew Lynch, "Peace is good after war": The Narrative Seasons of English Arthurian Tradition', in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed.

- Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 127–46.
4. *MED*, *condicioun* (n.): '1. (a) A situation or state; circumstances of life or existence. 2. (a) Mode of being; the nature (of sth.)'
 5. For 'uærjnesse' as graciousness, see line 3272: 'Me vnder-feng þene king mid mochele feirnusse'.
 6. 'Moncunne' can refer either to the British people especially, or to all humankind. For the sense 'humankind' see line 9075: 'Fæder he is on heuenen, froure moncunnes'.
 7. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V Gordon, rev. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), line 18.
 8. Possibly 'in the sight of the Britons'.
 9. In this Ebrauc is cast as the benign opposite of Membriz, who hates his people, impoverishes the rich and is a curse to the poor (lines 1282–283).
 10. *Wace's Roman de Brut. A History of the British*, trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), lines 1501–510.
 11. Rosamund Allen, 'The Implied Audience of *Lazamon's Brut*', in *The Text and Tradition of Lazamon's Brut*, ed. Françoise H. M. Le Saux (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), 121–39, at 126.
 12. *Wace's Roman de Brut*, trans. Weiss, lines 1523–524.
 13. *Lazamon: Brut*, lines 3261–262: 'He heold þis lond stille, al æfter his iwille/ mid treouscipe gode, þe while his tir læste'. ('He held this land in quiet completely according to his will, with true integrity while his rule lasted'); lines 3517–519: 'Æfter him com Eligille þe heold þis lond ful stille;/ þes was a swiðe wis mon & of alle þinge wel idon./ mid blisse he luuede here fif & twenti zere'. ('After him came Eligil who held this land in complete quiet. This was a very wise man, acting rightly in all ways; he lived here in happiness for twenty-five years'.)
 14. Psalmi 4: 7–9. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972); *The Holy Bible* (Philadelphia: John Potter, 1888), Psalms 4: 7–9.
 15. See *Augustine: Confessions*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Book 9: 4.11; *The Confessions of St Augustine*, trans. E. B. Pusey (Oxford: Parker and Rivington, 1838), Book 9: 4, 11.
 16. *Wace's Roman de Brut*, trans. Weiss, lines 2605–608.
 17. A list of types of the 'king's peace' is given in the twelfth-century 'Laws of Edward the Confessor,' part 12, in Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 169–79. O'Brien remarks, 37, that in discussing the royal peace, the *Laws* provide only 'a basic definition followed by special conditions or aspects', and notes the absence of 'any discussion of the abstract legal meaning of *grið* "peace" The author did not state principles; he did not imagine that the applications he described would have had greater clarity had he done so'. *Lazamon's* flexible method of treating peace by examples *in situ* seems similar. For a comparison to *Wulfstan*, see Scott Kleinman, 'Frið and Grið: *Lazamon* and the Legal Language of *Wulfstan*,' in *Reading Lazamon's Brut*, ed. Allen et al., 391–417.
 18. W. R. J. Barron, 'The Idiom and the Audience of *Lazamon's Brut*,' in *Lazamon: Contexts, Language and Interpretation*, ed. Rosamund Allen, Lucy Perry and Jane Roberts (London: King's College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2002), 157–84, at 172.
 19. See Gareth Griffith, 'Reading the Landscapes of *Lazamon's Arthur*: Place, Meaning and Intertextuality', in *Reading Lazamon's Brut*, ed. Allen et al., 643–60.

20. See *MED*, *frith* (n.(1)). For the various related aspects of medieval peace and protection, both political and religious, see T. B. Lambert, 'Introduction. Some Approaches to Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages', in *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. P. Lambert and David Rollason (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 1–16.
21. See also another speech by Arthur, 'Ældrihten Godd, domes waldend,/ al middel-ærdes mund', lines 14078–4079.
22. Deborah Marcum, 'The Language of Law: *Lond* and *Hond* in *Lazamon's Brut*', in *Reading Lazamon's Brut*, ed. Allen et al., 367–90, and esp. 368–70.
23. Isaiah 2.1-4, Douay-Rheims version.
24. Micah 4.1-4, Douay-Rheims version.
25. *Wace, Roman de Brut*, trans. Weiss, lines 7209–214.
26. *MED*, 'saught' (n); 'saughtenen' (v.)
27. See *MED*, 'sibbe' (n.) (1) and (2).
28. *MED* 'samnen' (v.).
29. See Rosamund Allen, 'Did Lawman Nod, or Is It We that Yawn?', in *Reading Layamon's Brut*, ed. Allen et al., 21–52, at 34.
30. For a discussion of the battle style, see Eric Stanley, 'Lazamon's un-Anglo-Saxon Syntax', in *Layamon's Brut: Text and Tradition*, ed. Le Saux, 47–56, at 54–55.
31. *Layamon's Brut: A History of the Britons*, vol. 65, trans. Donald G. Bzdyl (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), 26.
32. See Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49.2 (2010): 237–65, at 240.

3

'Je Hé Guerre, Point Ne La Doy Prisier': Peace and the Emotions of War in the Prison Poetry of Charles d'Orléans

Stephanie Downes

The Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial in Ballarat, Victoria, was opened in 2004 to commemorate more than 36,000 Australian prisoners taken during the Boer War, First and Second World Wars, and the Korean War. Its design included an inscribed granite slab and a pool of water in acknowledgement of 'the pain and suffering of those that returned and those that remain on foreign shores' and to remember 'those men and women who, while captured, suffered appalling hardship and horrendous atrocities but maintained their dignity, courage and mateship'.¹ In the later medieval period that this essay considers, the experience of those captured in conflict was less likely to reach the levels of human suffering recalled at the Ballarat memorial. Most combatants overcome would be killed where they stood on the battleground, and only those of high social status would be taken prisoner. These men were valuable assets, and it was rarely in the best interest of the enemy to treat them poorly: they were worth more alive. In the late fourteenth-century *Confort d'ami*, French poet Guillaume de Machaut speculated on the unhappy condition of the French prisoner of war held captive in England, who was unable to meet the terms of his ransom:

Et s'il avenist que pris fusses,
Certes, jamais joie ne heüsses,
Car tu fusses si fort pilliez,
Si detruis, et si essiliez,
Qu'on te demandast x fois plus
Que n'eüsses, et au seurplus
De ton tans perdisses la rose. (lines 2827–32)

[And if it happened that you were captured,
Surely you'd never be happy about it,
For you'd have been so evilly treated,
So molested, so injured

Because ten times more than you own
Would have been asked for you
And you'd have lost the flower of your remaining days.]²

As Rémy Ambühl points out, the term 'prisoner of war' ('prisonnier de guerre'), first used in French during the Hundred Years War, referred specifically to an individual who could expect to regain his freedom once a ransom was paid.³ For the prisoner unable to meet his captors' financial demands, the situation was undoubtedly bleaker. Time became the currency ('surplus') in which his sentence would be paid out. Machaut compares long-term imprisonment with physical torture. The prisoner is passively victimized, but also shamed – defeated – losing the 'rose', the reward of the victor, and all chance of joy. The poet concludes that it would be better to rip out your own teeth ('Mieus te vaurroit tirer les dans' [line 2839]) than to languish in prison for a lifetime.

Charles d'Orléans, a noble of the house of France, was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and held captive in England for 25 years. The price for Charles's release, however, unlike that of many of his compatriots, was political rather than financial. Charles was in the line of succession to the French throne and Henry VI's decision to free him from captivity in 1440 was on the condition of peace between England and France. Henry's councillors wrote that the king's 'singular desire', and the chief cause that 'moeved him', was that war 'might cease and take ende' and 'that the good paix might be had.'⁴ This paper analyses the discursive place of peace in poetry written by Charles during the period of his imprisonment and explores some of the legacy of that discourse in both the early modern and modern reception of his poetic corpus.

Although lyric poetry has recently been of strong interest to historians of the emotions, Charles's large lyric corpus has not yet come under consideration. Studies of the affective potential of lyric have tended to concentrate on expressions of spiritual love and religious devotion, as in Sarah McNamer's *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*.⁵ William M. Reddy finds his study of the conflation of romantic love and erotic desire in *trouvére* and *troubadour* lyric in the twelfth century on the Gregorian reform's condemnation of sexual appetite.⁶ There has been little room in the history of emotions to date for consideration of secular lyric alone. Neither has existing scholarship on literary responses to war in the Middle Ages tended to engage with Charles's body of verse.⁷ The reason for this consistent inattention is almost certainly in part because of the considerable amount of poetry that Charles produced, in both French and in English, over the course of his lifetime. But the reluctance to analyse Charles' poetry in both contexts may be as much a problem of literary form as of the history of literary criticism: throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, scholars have been wary of identifying Charles's lyric persona too closely with his

wartime experience. As A. C. Spearing put it, 'I think it desirable to separate the poetry from the biography as far as possible', although he concedes that, given that Charles wrote many of his poems in the voice of a prisoner, 'it is hard to make the separation complete'.⁸ It is true that we need to maintain a division between the voice of the speaker and the experience of the poet. The poems that Charles produced during the time of his incarceration in England, however, have the capacity to tell us a great deal about the affective and political function of lyric during the early fifteenth century, as a record of the experience and the emotions of war.

Using the example of Charles' poetry, French literary critic Daniel Poirion has argued that the lyric form was never intended to witness a historical event, but to 'express the emotion' experienced by a witness of the human condition ('la condition humaine').⁹ Poirion's view of Charles has often been critiqued by later twentieth-century Anglophone scholars as 'outdated' and overly sentimentalized, tending toward the romantic view of the poet often repeated throughout the nineteenth century, by writers and critics alike, in both French and in English.¹⁰ Robert Louis Stevenson, in his 1882 *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, wrote of the experience of reading Charles' lyrics collectively, translating his own experience of reading into a shared one:

As we turn over the leaves, we may find ourselves in sympathy with some one or other of these staid joys and smiling sorrows. If we do we shall be strangely pleased, for there is a genuine pathos in these simple words, and the lines go with a lilt, and sing themselves to music of their own.¹¹

It seems unfair to categorise Poirion's comments, written in 1965 – the year that the US began sending regular combat troops into Vietnam – with Stevenson's, and yet both are interested in the lyric form as a record of human emotional experience, reaching across history. Stevenson writes that there is 'genuine pathos' in Charles' lyric, and that the contemporary reader may find him or herself 'in sympathy' with the medieval speaker's emotions. Poirion's remark that the lyric does not witness a single event – such as an individual war – but a universal humanity (however problematic the idea of 'universal emotion' itself may have proved), is useful in thinking through the uneasy relationship of Charles' writing to his wartime experience, and the reactions of later readers and critics.

When Charles left England to return to France in 1440, he left behind him what is now the sole surviving manuscript of his English lyric sequence, British Library Harley MS 682, as a gift, or perhaps simply because the poems no longer served any purpose.¹² The English poems document the speaker's love for two separate women, his isolation and metaphorical 'imprisonment', and his longing for (re)union with them, in three main parts. It begins with the speaker's devotion to a lady who dies, suddenly, of illness. Then follows a number of poems in which he mourns her and longs for death himself.

Cupid, pitying the grieving lover, offers him a 'quytaunce' and returns his heart. The lover is then accompanied by Comfort to the 'Castell of No Care' ('sorrow' or 'trouble') ruled by 'Tyme Apast', a place that Charles recognizes from his childhood. In the third section, Charles leaves No Care, and falls in love again, before being forced to farewell his new lover in more mysterious circumstances in the last surviving ballade in the sequence.¹³ Susan Crane has pointed out that in these poems, 'the affective and the political express one another reciprocally'.¹⁴ While not all of the lyrics are obviously politically motivated, the sequence as a whole is likely to have been intended to persuade Charles' captors of his dedication to continuing peace between England and France, the condition of his release. The means of persuasion – the lyric – was highly affective, a mode used on both sides of the Channel, with a strong focus on individual suffering, and the elicitation of sympathy.

Throughout the course of the sequence, Charles conveys lovers' meetings and exchanges in terms of ransom and economic negotiation, using a language of imprisonment and siege, as well as the familiar lover's language of complaint – 'sorwe' and 'care' in English, 'douleur' in French. It is believed that Charles used many of his verses diplomatically. In the late 1430s, he addressed a series of ballades to the duke of Burgundy, pledging his devotion and service.¹⁵ In their lyric correspondence, written in French, probably during the later stages of Charles' incarceration and in anticipation of his release, the political and the romantic remain closely entwined, Charles' swearing allegiance, 'De coeur de corps et de puissance' (with heart, body, and will).¹⁶ By the early fifteenth century, even lyrics that were not overtly political in their purpose were increasingly saturated with the language of war.¹⁷ This had come about in part through the influence of secular verse such as the *Roman de la rose*, with its descriptions of siege and imprisonment in the context of heterosexual courtship. The poetry Charles produced during his imprisonment in England is especially rich in this metaphorical language, incorporating references to martyrdom, ransom, debt, as well as incarceration. Some of Charles's French poems are more literal in their references to war and their representation of the speaker's attitude toward it: 'Je hé guerre', Charles wrote in one lyric, 'point ne la doit prisier' ['I hate war; have no reason to esteem it']; 'guerre ne sert que de torment' ['war serves only torment'], he declared in another. Metaphorically, Charles associates Fortune with warlike behaviour, much like Hamlet's slings and arrows: Fortune 'm'ay fait guerre mortelle' – 'has made deadly war on me'¹⁸.

'War', however, never appears as a noun in the English lyrics. '[H]ir greef haue welnygh deth me wrought' – 'her hostility has nearly caused my death' – he disarms the metaphor in an English version of the poem.¹⁹ There was doubtless good reason for Charles to avoid overt reference to war in the language of his captors. The verb, 'waren', however, is frequently an exception: here the metaphorical language of warfare and hostile action is more visible in Charles' English poems. The Middle English Dictionary defines 'waren'

and its variants as ‘to tire out; exhaust; spend or expend’. The verb is glossed by the modern editor of the lyric sequence, Mary-Jo Arn, as, additionally, ‘to make war (on)’ or ‘to harass’, meanings which give added emotional force to several of Charles’ expressions, linking the experience with fear – ‘So sore me *werieth* Loue that y yfright’ (line 255) – and with death – ‘[...] Deth thee *warrith* ay’ (line 2223). The popular literary debate of the flower and the leaf is cast as a war between each side, in which one must take a part: ‘Ageyns them which that *warrith* his parte. / Thenke not y have to no flowre enmyte ...’ (line 2250–1). The reflexive usage, which is also in French (as in ‘*m’ay fait guerre*’) occurs again later in the poem – ‘Of Cursid Speche, of Sclaundir and Envy/ That nyght and day *me warith* crewelly’ (line 5935–6) – in which the field of battle is the speaker’s own self.

Charles’ multiple usages of the verb suggest a more rhetorical understanding of what it meant to be subject to war, intensely focussed on the individual body and mind. The verb ‘peace’ occurs most often as a noun in the English lyrics, as a cry for mercy from his beloved: ‘gyue me pese (hit hurt yow not, parde!)’ (line 341) or ‘fayre madame, now lefith this fantase;/ As graunt me pese’ (lines 346–7). Peace indicates the absence of ‘warring’, but also, often, the absence of negative feeling. There is one example of ‘pese’ as a verb: ‘my woo hathe pesid syn’ (line 508) [‘my woe has since ceased’]. Both Barbara H. Rosenwein and Nicolas Offenstadt have shown that peace was chief among the social and political meanings of love – *amour* – during the Middle Ages.²⁰ Attention to Charles’ lyrics, however, shows that in literary contexts at least the association between peace and love was much more strongly linked to his metaphorical representation as Love’s prisoner.

In English as in French, and in secular love poetry as well as more openly political verses, the poet insisted on his self-representation as a ‘prisoner’, not of war, but of Love:

De ballader j’ay beau loisir
Autres deduis me sont cassez.
Prisonnier suis, d’Amour martir.
Helas! et n’est ce pas assez? (lines 31–4)

[I have leisure enough to write ballades.
Other sport is denied me.
I’m a prisoner, a martyr to Love.
Alas! And is this not enough?]²¹

To ballade now y have a fayre leysere;
Alle other sport is me biraught as now
Martir am y for loue and prisonere;
Allas, allas, and is this not ynow? (lines 1440–3)²²

For Charles, poetry was a diplomatic tool: the literary language of subjugated love, in either language, provided the poet with a codified rhetoric to articulate a desire for peace. The motif of the lover's imprisonment was a potentially powerful persuasive tool, allowing the poet to represent his suffering in a discourse familiar to both the French and English literary elites. As Ardis Butterfield notes, Charles 'was not merely a passive, captive observer of the war but worked hard diplomatically and corresponded widely'.²³ Presenting himself as a passive victim of Love, and a lover of peace, Charles reassured both sides of his commitment to a peaceful, diplomatic resolution to the conflict.

A state at peace with itself and its neighbours was the sought-after goal of any European prince.²⁴ In 1433, Charles reportedly declared to the Burgundian ambassador, Hue de Lannoy, in full view of the French embassy and the English court:

Et par la foy de mon corps, je desire tant la dite paix que je voudraye que je fusse cause et moyen de le avoir bien faite, et que icelle se deust bien entretenir, et sept jours après l'accomplissement de ce je deusse recevoir la mort.

[And by the faith of my body, so much do I desire the said peace, that I wish, provided I might be the cause and means of having it fully accomplished, and of its assured continuance, seven days after this were brought about I would be willing to suffer death.]²⁵

The language of peace in Charles's English oeuvre is often closely linked with the possibility of death. 'Peace' may be union with the object of desire – whether his homeland, France, or his lady – but it is also liberation from suffering, from language, and, even, from the need for poetry itself, where poetry arises from internal emotional pain: 'O pese, no more! myn herte astoneth here', (line 2319).²⁶ If war is noisy torment, then peace is consistently longed-for silence and release. It is imagined, however, in a variety of ways: as quiet union with the beloved, or as release from the 'torment' of desire, which sometimes is, and sometimes is not, fantasized as the relief of death.

Pierre Champion, the first editor of Charles's French poems, identified Ballade 114 (Ch. B75) as having a particularly political rather than romantic concern with the theme of peace. In this ballade, the English Channel is 'la voye' – metaphorically both the path and the way – to 'good peace' ('bonne paix'), and 'Hope' ('la nef d'esperance') the ship that might cross it:

En regardant vers le país de France,
Un jour m'avint, a Dovre sur la mer
Qu'il me souvint de la douce plaisance
Que souloye ou dit pays trouver.

Si commençay de cueur a soupirer,
 Combien certes que grant bien me faisoit
 De voir France que mon cueur amer doit.

Je m'avisez que c'estoit non savance
 De telz soupirs dedens mon cueur garder,
 Veu que je voy la voye commence
 De bonne paix que tous biens peut donner.
 Pource, tournay en confort mon penser,
 Mais non pourtant mon cueur ne se lassoit
 De voir France que mon cueur amer doit.

Alors chargay en la nef d'esperance
 Tous mes souhaits, en les priant d'aler
 Oultre la mer, sans faire demourance,
 Et a France de me recommander.
 Or nous doit Dieu bonne paix tarder!
 Adonc auray loisir, mais qu'ainsi soit,
 De voir France que mon cueur amer doit.

L'envoy
 Paix est tresor qu'on ne peut trop loer.
 Je hé guerre, point ne la doy priser.
 Destourbé m'a long temps, soit tort ou droit,
 De voir France que mon cueur amer doit!

[While gazing towards the country of France
 One day at Dover by the sea
 I recalled the sweet pleasure
 I used to find in that country.
 And so from the heart I began to sigh,
 Even though it certainly did me much good
 To look at France, which my heart should love.

I realized it was not wise
 To keep such sights within my heart,
 For I saw the way lay open
 Toward good peace, which can bestow all benefits.
 So I turned my thoughts toward consolation,
 Yet my heart never did cease
 To look at France, which my heart should love.

Then I loaded all my desires into the ship
 Of Hope, entreating them to make their way

Over the sea, not stopping,
And recommend me to France.
May God grant us a good peace without delay!
Then I'll have the chance – if it is so –
To look at France which my heart should love.

Envoy

Peace is a treasure that cannot be overpraised,
I hate war, have no reason to esteem it.
War has, rightly or wrongly, long made it difficult for me
To look at France, which my heart should love!]²⁷

Champion suggests that the reference to Dover in line 2 shows that Charles wrote it there during the peace talks in 1433, recording his longing for France while overlooking the Channel ('je voy la voye'). In the poem's envoy, 'peace' is a treasure that cannot be overpraised, but its antithesis, war, should not be spoken of at all. 'Je hé guerre', the speaker counters, 'I hate war, have no reason to esteem it', pitting war and his hatred of it against his heart's love for France. War is a barrier which prevents and disrupts – 'destourbé m'a longtemps' – whereas peace is at once the goal *and* the way to achieving itself. Wordplay on 'voy' in this ballade is supplemented by wordplay on the feminine nouns 'pais' and 'paix': the 'pais de France' of the first line is both 'country' and 'peace'. God's granting the speaker one is his granting the speaker the other. Homesickness – 'mal du pais' in modern French – is here a yearning for an end to the conflict which will bring the exiled speaker home.

A ballade in Charles's English sequence also positions the speaker contemplating an object of desire overseas:²⁸

If y koude make my wanton wisshis flee
And the sighis that maken me so wan
Shulde y hem sende (but what hit wol not be!)
Ovyr the fomy wawis oxyan
To her hous, y seruaunt am and man,
Which y most loue of any creature (lines 1379–84)²⁹

There is a French version of the English poem, but it benefits from further comparison with French Ballade 114.³⁰ If Champion is right to place the poet geographically in Dover at the time it was composed, English Ballade 39 may have been written around the same year, or, if retrospectively, at least with the French poem in mind. In the English ballade, the narrator expresses his yearning ('if I koude') to send his 'wanton wisshis' and 'sighs' overseas, to his lady's 'hous'. The grammatically feminine 'France' – 'ma maistresse souveraine' – is personified in English as 'my souereyn lady and

maystres' (line 1387). The English poem adds 'y seruaunt am and man' to the French line, further encoding a reference either to the household of the beloved, or the royal house of France, while at the opening of the next stanza, the speaker exclaims: 'Allas, how is hit? shall y hir never see?' (line 1388) recalling again the refrain of Ballade 114, in which separation from France is symbolized by the poet's inability to see the land. The first line of the stanza that follows, 'To lyue in pees y kan in no degre' (line 1397), also recalls that ballade's yearning for a state of peace, if not directly for a peaceful state.

Added to the English poem is an envoy not present in the manuscript witness of the French ballade:

O goo, thou derke, fordullid, rude myture [metre]
 And say for trouthe – forwhi hit is no lese –
 That y have chose withouten departure
 As for my souereyne lady and maystres (lines 1406–9)

There is, however, an envoy attached to French Ballade 114, which turns on the speaker's contrasting hatred of war with his love of peace: 'Paix est tresor ...' (line 22). The English 'O goo ...' politicizes the version differently. The popularity of the poetic envoy at the close of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in fifteenth-century manuscript copies is an example of how widespread associations of the envoy with war had become in late medieval English literary contexts.³¹ An envoy, as the space in which the poet appeals openly to a reading public, is where the poem's affective potential may be most vividly anticipated by its author. Similarly, in 'To ballade now y have a fayre leysere', chronologically the next envoy in Charles's English lyric sequence, the speaker's positioning as 'prisoner and martyr of love' establishes an affective register in which to read his complaint. In a subsequent envoy, Charles retreats further into this metaphor, speaking not as a prisoner ('mar-tir am y [...] and prisonere'), but in the manner of one:

Wot ye not wel that lijk a prisonere
 I must abide the oth þat I have swore?
 Myn hert, y need no more unto yow lere.
 Ye wote my wele. What shulde y wordis more? (lines 6279–82)

Charles speaks to his heart, to his lady, and to his reader at once when he asks this question. The simile – 'lijk a prisonere' – is of deep significance: this is language acutely aware of its performing pain. Here is a poem, to borrow Sarah McNamer's very expressive turn of phrase, 'enlist[ing] *literariness* as a means of generating feeling[s]'.³² 'Ye wote my wele. What shulde y wordis more?' Charles dismisses his heart with a rhetorical question and an indication that it is time for action rather than words.

One manuscript of Charles's French ballades, copied in France during the late fifteenth century, places particular emphasis on Charles's composition of love poetry as prison writing. Paris BnF MS 19139 has an explicit:

Cy finit le liure que mons[eigneur] le duc dorleans a fait estant prisonnier en angleterre (fol. 117).

[Here ends the book that my lord the duke of Orleans made while he was a prisoner in England (my translation).]

In a slightly later hand, the note is recopied at the front of the manuscript, with the addition of the duke's first name, affirming that the poems it contains should be read with both the identity and circumstance of the poet in mind:

Cy commence Le Livre que M[onseigneur] Charles duc d'Orleans a faict estant Prisonnier en Angleterre' (fol. 1)

[Here begins the book that my lord Charles duke of Orleans made while he was a prisoner in England (my translation)]

The manuscript is chiefly comprised of ballades on the theme of love, but the added paratexts are evidence of readers' interest in Charles's dual identity as both political prisoner and poet *after* the war had ended. This practice of associating lyric authorship with imprisonment during the Hundred Years War is mirrored in England, in two manuscripts where French rondeaux are prefaced with variations on the rubric:

Lo here begynneth a Roundel made be my lord of Suthfolk whiles he was prisonner in Fraunce.³³

Julia Boffey remarks that the historical fact of the duke of Suffolk's French imprisonment is evoked in these contexts, 'as if to intensify the impact of poems which deal with the constraints applied by a hard-hearted lady to her desperate lover'.³⁴ As interpretive framing devices, such comments shore up the emotional intensity of the poetic language. Of course, the poet is metaphorically 'like' a prisoner because he *is* one, but such contextualization means that the poems are also being recorded as cultural artefacts in a collective, cross-Channel memory of the Anglo-French conflict. The practice of memorializing poetry 'made' during a time of war in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries bridges the Channel. It suggests that the performative language of romantic suffering might be interpreted literally, as a language of trauma, and the expression of one who has truly suffered. Appropriately contextualized, such language might encourage the reader's sympathy, and

offer a more deeply affective experience of the verses as a record of war and war's emotions.

A sixteenth-century manuscript, British Library, Royal MS 16 f ii, visually contextualizes Charles' imprisonment in England: its famous illumination of Charles in the Tower of London appears at almost the mid-point of the manuscript.³⁵ The poet is depicted in several poses: at his desk; at the window; and possibly riding away from the tower on his release. The ballade which the scene illustrates, beginning 'Des nouvelles d'Albion' (Ballade 131), is one of those Charles addressed to Burgundy in 1439.³⁶

Janet Backhouse has shown that the manuscript, originally prepared for Edward IV, was adapted around 1500 for Prince Arthur, perhaps on the occasion of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.³⁷ At this time several new illuminations were added, one of which depicts the city of Paris in the background, with the iconic towers of Notre Dame clearly visible [fol. 89]. The illumination shows a group of male courtiers kneeling at the feet of Christ outside the gates of the city. The Virgin Mary is in the centre of the image, in between Christ and the kneeling courtiers. With one hand she gestures to Christ; the other is placed on the back of a courtier (Charles?), either protectively or in blessing. French Ballade 115 directly addresses the Virgin Mary as a mediator of the peace, able to intercede with Christ – Prince of Peace – on behalf of his people:

Priés pour paix, douce Vierge Marie
 Roïne des cieulx, et du monde maitresse,
 Faictes prier, par vostre courtoisie,
 Saints et saintes, et prenés vostre adresse
 Vers vostre dfilz, requerant sa haultesse
 Qu'il lui plaise son people regarder
 Que de son sang a voulu racheter
 En deboutant guerre qui tout desvoye.
 De prieres ne vous vueillez lasser:
 Priez pour paix, le vray tresor de joye! (lines 1–10)

[Pray for peace, sweet Virgin Mary,
 Queen of the heavens and mistress of the earth.
 In your courtesy, have all the saints
 Say their prayers, and make your way
 To your Son, begging His Highness
 To please look upon His people,
 Whom He wished to redeem with His blood,
 Beating down the warfare that brings total devastation.
 Please do not turn a deaf ear to such prayers!
 Pray for peace, the true treasure chest of joy!]³⁸

The ballade expands thematically on the first line of the envoy which preceded it in Charles's own manuscript (BnF MS 254588), 'Paix est tresor qu'on ne peut trop louer' ('Peace is a treasure that cannot be overpraised'), responding to the 'challenge' to praise peace by offering itself as an example. The ballade begins by addressing the Virgin Mary, and then moves through various social ranks, begging first the clergy, then the princes and knights, then the people, ('peuple qui souffrez tyrannie', line 31), and, finally, 'galans joyeux en compaignie' (line 41) – gallant lovers, whom war robs of the pleasures of love – to pray for and celebrate peace.

The illumination of the Virgin and Christ crucified in Royal MS 16 f ii, however, does not accompany Ballade 115, but a much longer complaint, the *Complainte de France*, which chronologically precedes the pair of ballades on peace in Charles's own manuscript. The complaint begins, 'France, iadis on te souloit nommer,/ En tous pays le tresor de noblesse' ('France, in times past you were wont/ To be called in every land the treasure of manners').³⁹ In the last verse of this *complainte*, the poet names himself, as duke, then as poet, then as prisoner, and closes with an appeal to peace as the 'desire of my heart':

Et je, Charles duc d'Orléans, rimer
Voulu ces vers, ou temps de ma jeunesse,
Devant chacun les vueil bien advouer,
Car prisonnier les fis, je le confesse;
Priant a Dieu, qu'avant qu'aye vieillesse,
Le temps de paix partout puist avenir,
Comme de cueur j'en ay la desirance,
Et que voye tous tes maulx brief finir,
Trescrestien, franc royaume de France! (lines 82–90 – my italics)

[And I, Charles, duke of Orleans, was pleased
To compose these verses in the time of my youth;
Before one and all I acknowledge
That *as a prisoner I wrote them*, this I confess,
Praying to God, that before old age falls upon me,
A time of peace might everywhere come to pass,
As is the desire of my heart,
And I see all your ills soon end,
Kingdom of France, so Christian and noble!]⁴⁰

This is the only point in the royal manuscript in which Charles's name appears, and the remainder of the poetry in this section (all poems attributed to Charles) is overwhelmingly on romantic rather than politic love. These include exclamations of service and fidelity to one's lady; truthfulness; exchanges of vows; and various lovers' economies, such as the rondeau,

‘Trop estes vers moy endebtee/ Vous me devez plusieurs baisiers’ (‘You are indebted to me;/ you owe me many kisses’ – my translation) [fol. 130r].

Tucked in among the French chansons in Royal MS 16 f ii are two poems in English. The manuscript also introduces these English verses with the descriptive heading ‘chancon’:

My hertly love is in yor governau[n]s
 And ever shall whill yt I lyve may
 I pray to god I may see that day
 That we be knyht with trouthfull alyauns
 Ye shal not fynd feynyng or variauns
 As in my part that wyl I trewly say.
 My hertly. &c. (fols. 117v–118r)

Ne were my trewe innocent hert.
 How ye hold with her aliauns
 That somtym with word of plesauns
 Desceyved you under covert.
 Thynke how the stroke of love com smert
 Without warnyng or deffiauns.
 Ne were my. &c.

And ye shall pryuely or appert.
 See her by me in loves dauns.
 With her faire femenyn contenauns.
 Ye shall neuer fro her astert.
 Ne were my. &c. (fol. 131r)⁴¹

Arn has pointed out that the two English verses are linked by the word *alliance*, rhymed variously with ‘governaunce’, ‘pleasauns’, ‘deffiauns’.⁴² It may be that a native sixteenth-century English-speaker’s pronunciation of Orléans or ‘Orlyausn’ and ‘alyauns’ would have punningly associated the royal dukedom with Anglo-French diplomatic alliance.

The later fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century representation of Charles in Royal MS 16 f ii develops out of his own deployment of a language of love *across* languages, and one that intersects with a rhetoric of peace – the primary aim of the medieval prince. Translation itself – from French to English, or *vice versa* – may even represent that notion of a peace negotiated through language. Throughout the Middle Ages multilingualism was essential in diplomacy and political negotiation; this was perhaps a particularly pertinent message for a young English prince in the early sixteenth century. In Royal MS 16 f ii, Charles, the consummate courtier,

model diplomat, and courteous lover, becomes a model for Arthur, whose marriage to the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon celebrated marital alliance as political peace in another age. It makes sense that Charles's political and romantic rhetoric should, together, be used to commemorate diplomatic marriage negotiations. It is clear that if Charles's physical body was seen as an instrument of peace in the early fifteenth century, it was his performative 'coeur' – the emotional rhetoric of love as perpetual peace – that could be practically deployed to make the case for political peace long after his death.

But what of Charles's own stance on the war? Was Charles a pacifist, by the standards of his day?⁴³ However far the poet's rhetorical insistence on peace related to political strategy, his insistence on comparing the state and the impact of war with the emotional turmoil of the poetic lover is clear. Physical separation and distance from the object of desire are frequently described by Charles in his English prison poetry, his longing reaching across the English Channel toward France; in the Ballarat memorial it is the pool of water that symbolises the prisoners' geographical exile from the Australian continent. The legacy of Charles's poetry is not just what it reveals of the political function of lyric verse in the fifteenth century, but of the ways in which his poetry has been used in retrospect to memorialize the 'emotions' of the aristocratic prisoner of war in the later Middle Ages. Charles's poetry takes up the perspective of the lover as a non-combatant. It is the same position taken up by Chaucer or Hoccleve in relation to love, but where these English poets deny their individual experience of love in the creation of poetry, Charles's apparent suffering is integral to his writing. Charles reframes the soldier's willingness to 'die' for peace with the prison rather than the field. Despite his being taken prisoner at Agincourt – one of the bloodiest and most remembered of medieval battles – Charles's deployment of an emotional rhetoric associating war with the torments of love, and peace with the promise of love's satisfaction, has ensured that his historical reputation remains as a lover, not a fighter.

Notes

1. <http://www.powmemorialballarat.com.au/index.php/about-the-memorial/the-memorial-story/opening-ceremony>. Accessed 12 December 2013.
2. Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Confort d'ami (Comfort for a friend)*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer, Garland Library 67, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1992).
3. Rémy Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5.
4. See Joseph Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of King Henry the Sixth*, 2 vols. (Repr. NY 1968) 2.1.235–36. 1440, pp. 451–60. From Ashmole MS 8561, fol. 413.

5. Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2010).
6. William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
7. For example, *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).
8. A. C. Spearing, 'Prison, Writing, Absence: Representing the Subject in the English Poems of Charles of Orleans', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 53 (1992): 83–89, at 83.
9. Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le Prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois, de Guillaume de Machat à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1965; Geneva: Slatkine, 1978), 107.
10. Mary-Jo Arn, *Charles d'Orléans in England 1415–1440* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 7.
11. Robert Louis Stevenson, *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (Chatto and Windus: London, 1882), 289.
12. Mary-Jo Arn, 'Two Manuscripts One Mind: Charles d'Orléans and the Production of Manuscripts in Two Languages (Paris BN MS fr. 25458 and London BL MS Harley 682)', in *Charles d'Orléans in England 1415–1440*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 61–78.
13. On the relationship between love and war in literature, see *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Lynch and Philippa Maddern (University of Western Australia Press, 1995); and in Chaucer's writing, Andrew Lynch, 'Love in Wartime: Troilus and Criseyde as Trojan History', in *A Concise Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Maldon: Blackwell, 2006), 113–33.
14. Crane, 'Charles of Orleans,' 169.
15. See Isabelle Betemps, 'Guerre et paix dans la poésie lyrique du XVe siècle: Alain Chartier, Pierre de Nesson, Charles d'Orléans', *Images de la guerre de Cent Ans* (Rouen: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 113–23; Susan Crane, 'Charles of Orleans: Self-Translator,' *The Medieval Translator* 8 (2003): 169–77. Mary-Jo Arn, Introduction, *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love*, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 138 (New York, 1994), 1–129; A. E. B. Coldiron, *Canon, Period, and the Poetry of Charles of Orleans: Found in Translation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).
16. Crane, 'Charles of Orleans: Self-Translator,' 174. In an English version of the poem, Charles promises his service to a lady, 'with hert, body, my litill good and all.' English Ballade 111, *Fortunes Stabilnes*, 369–70.
17. See Betemps, 'Guerre et paix,' 113.
18. French Ballade 41, *Poetry of Charles d'Orléans and His Circle: A Critical Edition of BnF MS. Fr. 25458, Charles d'Orléans's Personal Manuscript*, ed. John Fox and Mary-Jo Arn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 90–1. Unless otherwise stated, all modern English translations of Charles's French poetry are from this facing-page bilingual edition.
19. English Ballade 41, *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn. *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 138 (New York, 1994), 188–9.
20. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Thinking Historically and Medieval Emotions', *History Compass* (2010), 828–42, at 834–6. On what medieval and early modern studies of peace might contribute to peace studies, see *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Diane Wolfthal, *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* 4 (Turnout: Brepols, 2000); and

- Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas 1340–1560* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
21. French Ballade 40, *Poetry of Charles and His Circle*, 90–1.
 22. English Ballade 40, *Fortunes Stabilnes*, 187–8.
 23. Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 30–45.
 24. Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la Paix au Moyen Age: Discours et Gestes de Paix Pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2003). See chapter 4, in particular, 'Le Roi de Pais,' 86–106.
 25. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, 2.1, 23–23.
 26. English Ballade 67, *Fortunes Stabilnes*, 218–9. In this poem the speaker compares his beloved with the Virgin, over whose tomb he grieves in a manner reminiscent of the Virgin and Mary Magdalen over the tomb of Jesus.
 27. Pierre Champion, ed. *Charles d'Orléans: Poésies*, 2 vol (Paris: Champion, 1923). French Ballade 114, *Poetry of Charles and His Circle*, 25–89.
 28. Butterfield notes that this instance of 'oxyan' for 'ocean' is unique in Charles's English poetic corpus. Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 306
 29. English Ballade 39, *Fortune Stabilnes*, 186.
 30. French Ballade 39, 'Se je povoye mes souhaits' (*If I could make my wishes*), *Poetry of Charles and his Circle*, 86–89.
 31. Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late Medieval England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 17. The poem itself is one with which Charles may have been familiar. See Boffey, 'Charles of Orleans Reading', 43–62.
 32. McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 246.
 33. This example British Library MS Additional 34360, fol. 22 v. Further examples on fol. 23 r. See also this manuscript's likely exemplar, Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.20, fols. 25, 32, 33, 35, 36. The lyrics are in fact by Alain Chartier. See Julia Boffey, 'French Lyrics and English Manuscripts: The Transmission of Some Poems in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.20 and British Library MS Harley 7333', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988), 135–46, at 141 and 146 n 22.
 34. Boffey, 'French Lyrics', 141.
 35. For a description, see Janet Backhouse, 'Charles of Orléans Illuminated,' in *Charles d'Orléans in England (1415–1440)*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 157–64.
 36. For an analysis of this series, see Ann Tukey Harrison, 'Orleans and Burgundy: The Literary Relationship', *Stanford French Review*, 4 (1980), 475–84.
 37. Janet Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium), ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1987), 23–41. See also Michel-André Bossy, 'Charles d'Orléans and the Wars of the Roses: Yorkist and Tudor Implications of MS Royal 16 f ii', in *Shaping Courtliness in Medieval France*, ed. Daniel E. O'Sullivan and Laurie Shepard (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 61–82.
 38. *Poetry of Charles and his Circle*, 258–60.
 39. *Poetry of Charles and his Circle*, 252–3.
 40. *Poetry of Charles and his Circle*, 256–9.
 41. My MS transcription is given here. For an edited version, see Arn, Appendix I, *Fortunes Stabilnes*, 388–9.

42. Arn, *Fortunes Stabilnes*, Appendix, 388–9.
43. R. F. Yeager explores this question in relation to English vernacular poets during the Hundred Years War in 'Pax Poetica: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 9 (1987), 97–121. Christopher Allmand argues that in France, the majority of court poets were conscripted into supporting and justifying war with England, see 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England', in his *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 70–91.

4

'He In Salte Teres Dreynte': Understanding Troilus's Tears

Simon Meecham-Jones

As rapid linguistic change rendered Chaucer's language increasingly obscure, the poet's singular ability to represent human emotions became a key weapon in his canonisation by early modern poets and critics. In an essay prefacing Speght's edition of 1602, Francis Beaumont adduced this element of Chaucer's craft to claim Chaucer as the equal of the ancients:

Besides, one gift he hath above other Authors, and that is, By excellencie of his descriptions, to possesse his Readers with a more forcible imagination of feeling that (as it were) done before their eies, which they read, than any other that ever hath written in any tongue.¹

The crucial role allotted to feeling, in tandem with the more expected imagination, is reinforced by Beaumont's repetition of the word, made more present by its use as an adverb:

Chaucers deuise of his Canterbury Pilgrimage is meereley his own: his drifte is to touche all sortes of men, and to discover all vices of that age, which he doth so feelingly, and with so true an ayme, as he never failes to hit whatsoever marke he levels at.

A century later, John Dryden professed a similar confidence in Chaucer's ability to represent emotion in the *Canterbury Tales*. In declaring that 'here is God's plenty', Dryden lauded a perceived continuity in states of feeling, and their literary depiction:

'Tis sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that we have our fore-fathers and great-grandames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, tho' they are call'd by other names than those of Monks and Friars, and Canons, and Lady Abbesses, and Nuns: for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature, tho' everything is alter'd.²

Dryden's characterisation of the Canterbury pilgrims as recognisable contemporary characters, albeit a little disguised by fancy dress and adherence to antique customs, remains foundational for most modern readings of Chaucer's final poem. In contrast, readings of *Troilus and Criseyde* display a recurring dissatisfaction with the character of Troilus, which challenges Dryden's confidence that 'mankind is ever the same'. No aspect of Troilus's action (or inaction) has escaped the querulous attention of a readership, apparently eager to feel short-changed by Chaucer's 'noble gentil knyght'.³ The courage and the intentions, as much as the wisdom, of Troilus's actions, have been impugned, with few lances broken in his defence.⁴ Summarising this critical onslaught, Marilyn Reppa Moore noted that 'a growing body of critical literature about Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* argues that Troilus's character is suspect at best, reprehensible at worst, and that Chaucer intended us to think so'.⁵ Nonetheless, it is hard to imagine that Chaucer could have anticipated that his princely lover would face 'swych fin' as to be routinely characterised as self-absorbed, indecisive, cowardly, and 'feminine'/'feminised', however those last terms are to be defined.

Caroline Spurgeon's research led her to conclude that it was as the poet of *Troilus and Criseyde*, not the *Canterbury Tales*, that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries valued Chaucer.⁶ In contrast, the consideration of *Troilus* occupies a relatively narrow territory in contemporary critical engagement with Chaucer's poetry.⁷ It seems that *Troilus's* commitment to the exploration of complex shades of human emotion has rendered more challenging what L. O. Aranye Fradenburg has termed 'the variability, heritability, and retroactive legibility of the past'.⁸

In part this difficulty derives from the many generic and ethical expectations Chaucer chooses to raise (and pique, if not gratify), drawing together motifs and expectations from discrete, and imperfectly compatible, literary forms – not merely tragedy, epic and romance, but also the penitential, as well as comic forms, from the riddle to the fabliau. Then there is the status of the lyric form, which suffuses the poem, granted a freedom of imagination and a structural importance without parallel elsewhere in Chaucer's lyric output. Each of these forms promotes a series of expectations which are not permitted to become dominant, but which then provide both support and qualification to Chaucer's proposed conclusion. So, it is scarcely surprising that those who read the poem as an exercise in epic, or who believe that the poem should construct an exemplum either of *fin amor* or of Christian repudiation of 'the blynde lust, the which that may nat laste' (*T&C* V line 1824) should have registered their disgruntlement at their expectations being denied.

The traditional title – *Troilus and Criseyde* – may be considered (partially) responsible for fanning disappointment that the poem does not attempt to present either the psychologies or the fates of the two central characters with equal care.⁹ In the retracciouns to the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer refers

simply to 'the book of Troilus' (CT X [I] 1.1085). Thomas Usk's echoing of this description in the *Testament of Love*, written almost immediately after Chaucer's poem, suggests, though it does not prove, that the poem might originally have been known by this title.¹⁰ When, in Usk's poem, Love praises Chaucer, it is for 'a treatise that he made of my servant Troylus', Criseyde's name is absent.¹¹ Nor should this concentration on one consciousness be considered surprising. Though Criseyde has a few moments of reported self-reflection, the narrator warns the reader early on that it is not his intention (if it lies within his capacity) to tell us everything about Criseyde:

But wheither that she children hadde or noon,
I rede it naught, therefore I late it goon. (T&C I lines 132–3)

If the physical facts cannot be relied on, it seems inevitable that her thoughts, emotions and intentions are also unknown, an outcome predicted in his celebrated remark – perhaps sympathetic, perhaps scornful – but finally beyond interpretation:

Men seyn – I not – that she yaf hym hire herte. (T&C V line 1050)

Furthermore, the off-stage conclusion of Criseyde's journey was masked by the practice (which began in William Thynne's edition of 1532) of appending Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, often assumed to have been written by Chaucer himself, to the poem as if it were a sixth book.¹² For readers like the author of the *Welsh Troilus* (*Troelus a Chreseyd*), a (probably) late sixteenth-century dramatic masque re-imagining the love affair in Welsh, Henryson was a reliable source completing what Chaucer's narrator had left unspoken.¹³

The physical divorce of Henryson's *Testament* from Chaucer's prior text certainly re-concentrated attention on the inequality of outcomes of the two (perceived) protagonists, an impression heightened also by attempts to read *Troilus* as if it were a novel *avant la lettre*. When, in the early twentieth century, a series of gentlemanly (male) critics began the process of recovering Criseyde's reputation, the conventions of the novel seem to colour their reasoning. Robert ap Roberts anticipates no likelihood of disagreement when he cites the authority of C. S. Lewis that 'I shall take for granted ... Criseyde's perfection in Books II and III';¹⁴ while for E. T. Donaldson, 'Criseyde "has almost all the qualities that men might hope to encounter in their first loves"'.¹⁵ Inevitably, since the relationship falls 'Fro wo to wele, and after out of joie' (T&C I line 4), if Criseyde's actions are not to be held responsible, then the fault must lie elsewhere. The rehabilitation of Criseyde has been made possible, in large part, through the shifting of blame onto the shoulders of her lover, framing an arraignment of what has been termed Troilus's masculinity.

The term masculinity developed within feminist discourse as a means of examining the conduct and preoccupations of men, interpreted within the implications of the premise that ‘they, too, [men] are governed by the rules of gender’.¹⁶ In the case of Troilus, it has been invoked to act simultaneously as both a means of understanding his conduct, and as a gauge against which the character’s enactment of an inferred standard of ‘masculinity’ can be measured. Viewed through this lens, the perceived defects of Troilus’s conduct have been codified into a series of proofs of the defective nature of his performance of masculinity, though it must be asked how far these charges reflect conflicted cultural responses to the still (potentially) disturbing spectacle of men expressing emotion.

In judgments such as that by Tison Pugh, Michael Calabrese, and Marcia Smith Marzec, it seems that Troilus’s masculinity is perceived of as a stable, even tangible, property, to be discovered by the reader, rather than the potentially determinable product of ideologically guided analysis:

Troilus is subject to multiple and conflicting interpretations, especially in regard to the intersections of his masculinity with his sexual performance, his masochistic suffering, and his embodiment of a heroic ethos second only to his brother Hector’s.¹⁷

Even in this judgment, though, the subjective element of the reckoning of Troilus’s masculinity is admitted – through the signalling of the necessarily comparative quality of the term when measured against the feats of his elder brother.¹⁸

It is not clear, either, whether Hector, universally predicated to be the alpha-male within besieged Troy, is the most suitable model for such a comparison. Clare Lees makes the case for the study of masculinities within the process of creating a dialectic with the often different priorities of feminist analyses – that is, of the differing consequences of patriarchy for male and female subjects.¹⁹ She distinguishes her preferred model from that promulgated by Tania Modleski for whom (in Lees’ estimation) the value of the study of masculinity lies primarily or solely in its illumination of the plight of women. In Lees’ judgment, Modleski ‘advocates those studies of men “of the kind that analyzes male power, male hegemony, with a concern for the effects of this power *on the female subject* and with an awareness of how frequently male subjectivity works to appropriate ‘femininity’ while oppressing women”’.²⁰ For Lees, the danger of Modleski’s approach is that ‘it remains problematically hierarchical, rather than dialectical’.²¹ It must be considered disappointing, then, that many accounts of Troilus’s masculinity adhere more closely to this model rather than achieving a more dialectical mode of analysis. Often it seems as if the character of Troilus is simultaneously being criticised as the instrument of a patriarchal ideology, and berated for his (perceived) poor performance of that role. Certainly for

David Aers, Troilus's experience of love merely enacts the requirements of a socially determined ritual:

The behaviour of the young knights is an aspect of a cultural project through which 'masculine' subjects are made and ... a subordinate other produced without subjectivity, one whose sole purpose is to stimulate the subject's feelings.²²

But Aers's harsh appraisal of the requirement for a man of Troilus's class to act in this way allows him no room to acknowledge any development or change in Troilus's thoughts and feelings, from his cockiness in the Palladion before love strikes him, through his anguished acceptance of love's servitude, to the bliss of consummation or the pain of separation. Similarly, despite his claim to the contrary, Aers's analysis finally permits no convincing distinguishing of the experiences of Troilus from the conduct of Diomedes:²³

At some level the worthy knight has grasped that to fulfil the demands of the ego-ideal intrinsic to his class and gender identity he needs to participate in what he calls the 'observances' of love. He 'needs' a woman as marker of his own subjectivity and worth as an adult knight. This 'need' is only confused with a supposedly simple instinctual drive for copulation by readers whose impatient and abstract moralism prevents them from attending to the poem's own grasp of the *cultural* formation of knightly love and the social construction of specific forms of sexuality.²⁴

In Aers's denial of compassion for Troilus, it is hard not to feel that he flirts with the danger feared by Lees – of 'assuming that male power oppresses *only* women'.²⁵ The same danger appears more combatively in Stephanie Dietrich's sustained attack on Troilus as a lover, which declares 'the ... instability of his masculinity'.²⁶ Ironically, it is Troilus's unwillingness to 'perform, convincingly, his role as the self-assured man' – that is, to act out the role of 'a paragon of his class and gender' attributed to him by Aers – that causes Dietrich to characterise his experiences as 'indicating a psychological rather than literal death' which, in her view, 'parallels his shift away from "masculine" behaviour'.²⁷ This leads her to the surprising conclusion that 'Clearly he *does* experience a "death" of his belief in who he is, specifically in his masculinity'. Though the phrase is striking, its meaning is hard to ascertain. If Troilus's masculinity is constructed through his social performance as a man, then it is hard to see how that can experience a death until the physical extinction of its subject. Dietrich's meaning becomes clearer when she describes how (in her judgment) 'Criseyde's gaze shoots and pierces through him, as she, with seemingly no effort, takes away his masculinity'.²⁸ Her remarks obscure two crucial questions: in whose opinion does this removal

(which she presents as if an objective fact) occur, and if it has occurred, what are the signs that evidence this psychical castration?

With what proves, in retrospect, to be exquisite irony, at precisely this moment in the text, Chaucer introduces the term ‘manhod’ which seems to encompass (at least in the testimony of the narrator) Troilus’s own formulation of masculinity:²⁹

But in hymself with manhod gan restreyne
 Ech racle dede and ech unbridled cheere,
 That alle tho that lyven, soth to seyne,
 Ne sholde han wist, by word or by manere,
 What that he mente, as touchyng this matere. (*T&C* III lines 428–32)

Calabrese connects this account of Troilus’s ‘manhod’ with the confident assertion that ‘This was his lif’ in the next stanza:³⁰

And al the while which that I yow devyse,
 This was his lif: with all his fulle myght,
 By day, he was in Martes heigh servyse –
 This is to seyn, in armes as a knyght;
 And for the more part, the longe nyght
 He lay and thought how that he myghte serve
 His lady best, hire thank for to deserve. (*T&C* III lines 435–41)

A modern reader might conclude, as Calabrese does, that in undertaking or accepting such a life, ‘Troilus practices unto death a watchful, imprisoning manhood’ but this enacts a different model of manhood, one which privileges an exemplary value in abstinence, rather than causing an abnegation of Troilus’s manhood, as Dietrich claims. Indeed, in considering the extraordinary shifts in what has been considered appropriate conduct for men across even recent history, it becomes uncomfortably clear how expected concepts of ‘masculinity’ risk imposing unhelpfully rigid interpretative grids onto our readings of the past.

Thomas Walsingham’s celebrated attack on the knights of Richard II’s court offers a barbed reminder that the proper performance of ‘manhod’ was fiercely debated in Chaucer’s time, also:

Et hii nimirum milites plures errant Veneris quam Bellonae, plus valentes
 in thalamo quam in campo, plus lingua quam lancea praemuniti, ad
 dicendum vigiles, ad faciendum acta martio somnolenti.³¹

[It is no wonder these favourites were jealous, for several of them were more soldiers of Venus than of Bellona [Goddess of War], more valorous in the bedchamber than on the field of battle, and more likely to defend

themselves with their tongues than their spears, for although they slept on when the trumpet sounded for deeds of war, they were always wide awake to make speeches.]

In choosing a classical hero, Chaucer sets up an immediate contrast between ancient values and those appropriate to his own time, a contrast which is (paradoxically) exacerbated by Troilus's apparently instinctive adoption of 'Christian' virtues of patience and humility, rather than the 'classical' priorities of fame and glory. The tale is constructed around the friction between at least three partially opposed models of masculinity, to which the passage of time has added (at least) a fourth. Chaucer playfully, but purposefully, even offers a warning for future readers:

Ye know ek that in forme of speche is chaunge
 Withinne a thousand yeer and wordes tho
 That hadden pris, now wonder nyce and straunge
 Us thinketh hem, and yet thei spake hem so,
 And spedde as wel in love as men now do;
 Ek for to wynnen love in sondry ages,
 In sondry londes, sondry ben usages. (*T&C* II lines 22–8)

Regardless, critics have been slow to recognise Chaucer's boldness in undermining complacent expectations of appropriate male behaviour, and to recognise the originality of Chaucer's practice – in Alcuin Blamires' terms 'if not confounding medieval cultural stereotypes ... at least putting them under severe stress'.³² Chaucer's framing of Troilus's masculinity as a particular, rather than universal or representative, state of consciousness permits him to include elements which might seem unexpected. Reluctant to recognise this boldness, the disdain of critics like Aers and Dietrich for Troilus as a lover reflects lightly on the specifics of Chaucer's portrayal, risking seeming the consequence of a rooted ideological distaste. Aers interprets Troilus's sufferings as a bogus experience which enables him to fulfil the social conventions of patriarchy – an exercise in narcissism.³³ Nonetheless, he does not suggest that Troilus *is* (though perhaps he *should be*) aware of the empty nature of his infatuation:

Monica McAlpine's view that Criseyde is 'a mere image serving Troilus's fantasy life' is incontestable. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ignore the poem's lucid representation of the way Troilus's 'private' fantasy is a product of a public culture, a product that exemplifies how culture is sustained by countless private acts which may well be experienced as unique and spontaneous.³⁴

In his (apparent) failing to recognise that Criseyde 'is primarily the eroticized repository of the values and standards of the male's social group', for

Aers it seems that Troilus is able to fill a 'representative' role to illustrate the bankruptcy of chivalric culture. If Troilus fails to recognise this, then the implication seems to be either that Chaucer, perhaps subliminally, has fashioned an assault upon the literary conventions of his time, or that the shortcomings of chivalric literature are inevitably exposed through its exposition. Gayle Margherita, L. O. Aranye Fradenburg, Lynn Staley, and Timothy Arner in their different ways explore this direction, and for each of their readings, it is axiomatic that Troilus's love for Criseyde must be (finally) without value. For Margherita, *Troilus* is likened to the *Book of the Duchess* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as an example of poems which 'in fact succeed only in allegorizing their own failure to "master matter".'³⁵

For Arner, the 'second-rateness' he perceives in the character of Troilus is an inevitable consequence of the failings of the literary form itself:

The *Troilus* is, after all, not a celebration but a lament: a lament for Troilus, a lament for Troy, and a lament for the inherent failure of the genre of romance to speak directly to the political concerns of its day.³⁶

There is, nevertheless, a circularity in arguing the worthlessness of Troilus's love as a proof of the inadequacy of the literary form, when that inadequacy is itself predicated on the insubstantiality of the love depicted. There are dangers, also, in ascribing certainty to an author whose moral commentary has proved as elusive as Chaucer's. Like Arner, Staley seems sure of Chaucer's repudiation of chivalric values:

Troilus's failures ... may be private, but Chaucer uses them to detail the utter inadequacy of a chivalric world that can neither know itself nor comprehend the terms by which it purports to speak.³⁷

But 'inadequacy' is a term which might be interpreted in many ways – does it serve here to represent fourteenth-century understandings of the poem, if we could establish them, or those of an audience reading the poem post Freud, Kinsey, de Beauvoir and Rubin? Paradoxically, Chaucer's care to distance his work from becoming an expression of official chivalric ideologies has led to the poem's being attacked precisely for its failure to promote those chivalric values.

Thus, far from reading Troilus as a representative figure in a civilisation which requires the 'denial of subjectivity to women', which the poem's representation of Criseyde subverts, D. W. Robertson is alarmed by Troilus's disassociation from his society, and its shared chivalric values:

When adversity strikes, he becomes the 'aimlessly drifting megalopolitan man' of the modern philosophers, the frustrated, neurotic, and maladjusted hero of modern fiction, an existentialist for whom Being itself,

which he has concentrated in his own person, becomes dubious. He is hypersensitive, sentimental, a romantic hopelessly involved in a lost cause. These are, however, the results of a moral process, not the operations of a psychology.³⁸

The under-currents of Robertson's complaint are intriguing, reading the poem as a demonstration of the destructive potential of sensuality made more compelling by the conditions of war. Clearly, the gibe at Troilus as an 'existentialist' references Sartre's account of how, faced with the possibility of imminent death, sexual inhibitions were jettisoned during war.³⁹ For Robertson this represents not a dilemma but a choice, which confirms the infirmity of Troilus's moral sense:

Nothing destined him to subject himself to Fortune or to Cupid, but his reason has lost 'the lordship that it sholde have over the sensualitee.'⁴⁰

If such a certain judgment were Chaucer's purpose, it might be argued that the first four-and-a-half books of *Troilus* are redundant. But Robertson's disapproval of a Troilus whom he believes 'has so far abandoned reason that he has practically no free will left' leads him into error. His disgust at Troilus's embracing of desire leads him to two fallacious propositions: that 'the heroic potentialities of Troilus are undercut whenever they appear' and that 'He has no stature as a prince fighting in the defence of his people'. If the first proposition deserves some consideration, the second is merely mistaken. Robertson presumes a conflict between Troilus's duty as a defender of Troy and his mental involvement with his passion for Criseyde, even though the narrator repeatedly assures us that Troilus's love causes no slipping of his knightly prowess:

And in the feld he pleyde tho leoun;
 Wo was that Grek that with hym mette a-day!
 And in the town his manere tho forth ay
 So goodly was, and gat hym so in grace,
 That ecch hym loved that loked on his face. (*T&C* I lines 1074–8)

Curiously, Troilus's emotional disengagement from the politics of the war even seems to sharpen his performance on the field of battle:

Alle other dredes weren from him fledde,
 Both of th'assege and his savacioun
 ...
 The sharpe shoures felle of armes preve
 That Ector or his othere brethren didnen
 Ne made hym only therefore ones meve;

And yet was he, where so men wente or riden,
 Founde oon the beste, and longest tyme abiden
 Ther peril was, and did ek swich travaille
 In armes, that to thenke it was merveille. (*T&C* I lines 463–4, 470–76)

There is no justification for Robertson's claim that Troilus is responsible for 'the neglect of duty' which 'leads to the tragedy' – his pursuit of Diomedes might incline him towards recklessness, but his death at the hands of 'the fierce Achilles' has long been forecast and fated as a crucial, but unavoidable, prelude to the Fall of Troy.⁴¹ Nor is there evidence that Troilus's amorous entanglement is incompatible with his knightly role:

Troilus is a 'public figure,' a prince whose obligations to his country are not inconsiderable, especially in time of war. But his external submission to Criseyde is based on an inner submission of the reason to the sensuality.⁴²

Throughout the poem we are reminded of Troilus's continuing valour and his prominence in the city's defence. Although Donaldson popularised the idea that the narrator of *Troilus* should be read as a distinct (and unreliable) character, it seems perverse to doubt the narrator's repeated reassurance (echoing Dares, Benoit, Guido, and Joseph of Exeter) of Troilus's unstinting prowess until the poem's closing sequence:⁴³

In many cruel bataille, out of drede,
 Of Troilus, this ilke noble knight,
 As men may in thise olde bokes rede,
 Was seen his knyghthod and his grete might;
 And dredeles, his ire, day and nyght, (*T&C* V lines 1751–5)

On the contrary, from the perspective of a Christian reader (or author), it is almost reassuring that, even as Troilus defends his homeland, he does not subscribe to the partisan ideological blindness which so often accompanies war:

But for non hate to the Grekes hadde
 Ne also for the rescous of the town,
 Ne made hym thus in armes for to madde,
 But only, lo, for this conclusion:
 To liken hire the bet for his renoun (*T&C* I lines 477–84)

In depicting Troilus's continued service to his city, despite his mental distress, Chaucer makes an important point about the nature of warriors who, despite their profession of arms, do not cease to be human, with all the emotional

commitments that may involve. It is an insight often overlooked, but Chaucer himself must accept some part of the blame for the extent to which he has displaced the knightly violence to the margins of the narrative.⁴⁴ Though the poem is often described as a poem about war, Chaucer seems to have felt confident to rely on the audience to infer the prince's chivalric success without needing to demonstrate or justify it in detail.⁴⁵ In consequence, the poem is (unexpectedly) stripped of the narrative show-pieces of combat found, for example, in the *Gest Hystoriale*, an English alliterative romance derived from Guido delle Colonne's *Hystoria Troiana*, probably written just after *Troilus*.⁴⁶ Maybe the fluctuating balance of pro- and anti-war parties around Richard II, which either regretted his failure to continue the intensity of engagement in France associated with his father and grandfather, or deplored the taxation which bankrolled his (intermittent) military adventures, might have encouraged caution in Chaucer's handling of warfare. R. F. Yeager has further suggested that Chaucer's avoidance of narrative displays of force may reflect a temperamental inclination towards pacifism.⁴⁷ Certainly there is no reason to believe that Chaucer omits battle scenes to achieve 'a textual slighting of the hero' or a demonstration of Troilus's 'diminished virility'.⁴⁸ Rather, it is a question of Chaucer's careful control of the balance and scope of the work. Extended scenes of combat would have over-weighted an already capacious, even leisurely, structure, while showing the reader only what they should already know – that Troilus 'doth / In armes day by day so worthily' (*T&C* II lines 185–6).

In his depiction of Troilus as lover, and even in his account of his rival in love, Diomedes, Chaucer seems to be anxious to reverse the separation between the knights of Venus and those of Bellona proposed by Walsingham.⁴⁹ There need be no incongruity between heroic combat and the expression of love. Nonetheless, Chaucer's decision to concentrate on one area of Troilus's experience appears to have complicated the understanding of Troilus's actions in the other. Curiously, there is agreement between Robertson and critics from quite opposed ideological traditions in interpreting Troilus's actions as a lover as a contradiction of his virility. One might have thought that Robertson's mocking of the "'manly sorwe", of what might better be called an "unseemly woman in a seeming man", could be dismissed as the product of a long-gone (and unlamented) age but, surprisingly, it can be paralleled by similar comments from more recent critics, despite the transformative influence of feminist analyses on their conclusions.⁵⁰ The idea of Troilus as breaching conventions of gender clearly troubles Dietrich also:

hunted by Criseyde's gaze and prostrated by love, he becomes passive, submissive, overly emotional, and irrational, characteristics which are typically essentialized as 'feminine'.⁵¹

Her alarming description of what for her might be characterised as 'feminine' characteristics provides a valuable summary of the charge sheet for

Troilus's critics. It seems that his masculinity is compromised by passivity, an excess of emotion (which is manifested in his weeping and fainting) and by a failure of sexual performance, all of which reflect, and result from, his self-absorption.

It is worth considering each charge separately. Troilus's propensity to faint has recently been re-contextualised by Gretchen Mieszkowski and Barry Windeatt, who both point out the unremarkable nature of such behaviour for romance heroes – from the highly polished art of Chrétien to the less polished romance narrative of *Sir Eglamour*.⁵² It is certainly worth wondering why the faints of Troilus have drawn scorn to an extent not visited upon his romance peers like Tristan, Arthur and Lancelot. That fainting is allowed a significant role in religious discourse, as both an element of, and a proof of, repentance enables Chaucer to draw together romance and religious (if not, perhaps, classical) precedent into his presentation of the 'composite' nature of Troilus – a pagan whose conduct often shadows Christian practice.

Curiously, the understanding of the relationship of the emotions to the body, developed in medieval commentaries on medical and surgical texts permitted medieval readers to make a distinction between the responses of the body and the will which has proved more difficult to imagine for recent critics. Knuuttila notes how commentators on the work of Galen and 'Haly Abbas'⁵³ developed a theory which distinguished 'three kinds of spirits: natural, vital, and animal', the natural housed in the liver, the vital spirit in the heart, and the animal spirit in the brain.⁵⁴ Though some philosophers speculated whether the animal spirit in the heart might be understood as representing the soul, the importance arguably lay in the three-part distinction which acknowledged that not every bodily expression need be identified with the protagonist's soul.⁵⁵

Whether or not they believe in the concept of the soul or prefer an (essentially unified) idea of 'character', many of Troilus's modern critics have held him to a sterner account. His fainting has been marked as a central component of what has become known as Troilus's 'passivity' – certainly in the depiction of what has been termed Troilus's 'amorous torpor' – during the preparations for the consummation of the affair, and also in the council scene where Criseyde's return to her father is decided.⁵⁶ Troilus's failure to speak out at the Trojan Council against the exchange of Criseyde for Antenor has attracted particular scorn, his (perceived) passivity in not speaking in support of Hector being characterised not as an expression of discretion or delicacy towards his lover's reputation but as signs of a moral cowardice.⁵⁷

This charge of passivity hangs heavy, endorsed even by some of Troilus's more sympathetic observers.⁵⁸ It is an impression intensified by Chaucer's recurrent use of the imagery of weeping associated with Troilus. The

characterisation of Troilus has often been dubbed 'lachrymose' and, as Mary Carruthers notes:

Troilus's near-constant weeping is one of his most remarked-upon traits in this poem, always judged negatively.⁵⁹

Few of the prince's characteristics have proved so undermining of his perceived 'masculinity' as his ability, or need, to break down into copious tears, and once again the impatience of readers can be linked to their presumption that this is not the behaviour to be expected from a heroic knight who believes himself to be a rival for the 'fierce Achille'. Yet Troilus's tears are scarcely without precedent. If we think of him as being written in the image of a romance hero, then it seems fair to ask why his tears worry readers more than those of Arthur, Tristan or Lancelot. Classical epic and its medieval reinterpretations offered the precedent of Alexander, Aeneas, even Achilles himself being stirred into weeping. Admittedly, in each case, the weeping episodes are balanced (and, usually, outnumbered) by violent show-pieces, which are described rather than assumed, as they are for Chaucer's Troilus. But the tradition of Troilus, stretching back to Dares's *De excidio Trojae historia*, cast the prince as an exemplar of youth, and the readiness of his tears might also be construed as evidence of his immaturity relative to the great heroes of the past.

Carruthers presents an alternative contextualisation, drawing a comparison between Troilus's weeping and the imagery of learned monasticism, leading her to the unexpected conclusion that Troilus's tears bring him closer to truth and 'the (fully orthodox) need for mercye' than his subsequent laughter from the eighth sere.⁶⁰ But the judgments of Troilus as lachrymose betray a carelessness in the reading of Chaucer's exquisitely engineered structure. 'Novelistic' readings of the poem have blunted our awareness of the different levels of depiction offered by the poem. The character of Troilus is portrayed when solitary, in intimate company, and in public carrying out his duties as a prince – that is, with a clarity and completeness not offered for any other character. If we as readers (and occasionally Pandarus, his closest confidant) observe him weeping, we are granted a level of access which is not generally afforded (within the text) to Criseyde, and which exceeds even that enjoyed by Pandarus. In contrast, if Helen weeps for Sparta, or Hector for his fallen comrades, we are not permitted to share their grief. It is noticeable, but scarcely surprising, that Chaucer's Troilus shows an equivalent composure in public. Unlike Boccaccio's Troilo, he shows no emotion in the council chamber where Criseyde's exchange is decided – a reticence for which he has been repeatedly condemned by recent critics.⁶¹ But, in public, Troilus's demeanour is constrained, by the expectations of those who view him as the protector of

the city, and who might misunderstand his grief as reflecting his fears about the progress of the war.

Further, any reading of Troilus's tears requires careful interpretation, since the act of weeping is far from being classifiable as a uniform phenomenon. Chaucer uses the imagery of weeping to make an important point, that in this text, tears are not to be understood as evidence, but merely as signifiers, which require interpretation, a process which inevitably risks misinterpretation. This ambiguity as to whether tears represent an active or a passive response to experience enables Chaucer to raise, from an unexpected angle, a question about the true nature of virtue. Should the virtuous response to misfortune involve an active challenging of its nature, or a more patient embracing of suffering? Several times in her career, Criseyde takes the initiative – in her appeal to Hector after her father's defection, and perhaps also in her forming an arrangement with Diomedes. We could read this as an expression of an enterprising resourcefulness, but perhaps also as showing a failure of patience, understandable in a pre-Christian character but not thereby justifiable. In this, she echoes the debate about the proper path for moral action which underlies the *Legend of Good Women* – in the actions of heroic (but not patient) Lucretia, Cleopatra, and perhaps even Alceste herself.⁶² It is one of Chaucer's best jokes that, in the Prologue to the *Legend*, the God of Love upbraids Chaucer for his 'heresy' (*LGW F* line 330) in depicting Criseyde, when it is actually his portrayal of Troilus which illustrates the uncertain readability of expressions of emotion between lovers. It is a matter of debate whether Troilus's tears represent a 'passive' (but patient) symptom of his love, or a more active expression of his desire, or even a fusion of the two. Should Troilus's tears be understood as an involuntary act or as a choice he makes, as an act of will or a response to compulsion? To criticise him for something he cannot help but do seems harsh. Yet if his tears are not to be read as an expression of his intention, then their interpretation becomes opaque. In contrast to the all too easily read objects which serve as signifiers of Criseyde's desertion – the 'faire bay stede' and the 'broche' – and despite their physical presence, Troilus's tears cannot embody meaning, immune from misreading, any more than his, or Criseyde's loving words.

Crucially, though, they deflect our attention from the intensity of his desire – to the signifiers of his desire. The richness of 'Ricardian' poetry makes it easy to forget how unprecedented is the (relative) sexual frankness of *Troilus*, the *Confessio Amantis* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in the English tradition. We have no convincing evidence that such 'licence' was to the personal taste of Richard II or that he was involved in the commissioning of any of these texts, but it must be significant that the fifteenth century offers no parallel until the emergence of sexual themes in Middle Scots poetry, such as that by Dunbar.⁶³ It is probably wise to read the construction of *Troilus* as an experiment, by a writer who otherwise proved, in the expression of political or religious

ideas, to be notably cautious. If Chaucer's poem was well-received by Usk and Gower, it is harder to imagine it would have been received so positively by the likes of Walsingham, or by the then bishop of Ely, Thomas Arundel, who (as Archbishop of Canterbury) in 1407 was to impose a series of highly restrictive *Constitutions*, which would have made the writing of *Troilus* impossible.

Having taken on the difficult topic of Troilus's sexual involvement beyond marriage, the prince's hesitance served a useful purpose in defending, to some degree, both the character, and the author, from the charge of concupiscence. It is ironic that the changes in sexual behaviour across the centuries have turned what was once a mitigation into an obstacle to readers.

What Troilus's initial embarrassments do not signify is any reservation about his potency as a lover, yet critics have sought to interpret this first encounter as a synecdoche, establishing the idea that Troilus is an inadequate lover.⁶⁴ Beidler even raises the question 'is Troilus effeminate, impotent, or manly?'⁶⁵ Such a question misunderstands Chaucer's method – his humorous representation of Troilus's sexual initiation need not be read as designed to undermine his reputation as a lover. Even the most legendary lovers must have had a first time, when they were unlikely to be as confident or as expert as they later became. Nonetheless, the idea of inadequacy is taken up by John Bowers, drawing a parallel with Richard II's marriage, which he speculates might have been a 'Chaste marriage':

Chaucer's portrayal of Troilus as a soliloquizing, swooning lover therefore reads like a fulsome *apologia* for his own prince's failed performance blamed upon an intense, refined amatory sensibility.⁶⁶

Bowers' suggestion of Richard's having entered into a *mariage blanc* is derived primarily from iconographic interpretations of the Wilton Diptych, and the prominence accorded there to Edward the Confessor. But Richard was not the first English king to venerate his saintly predecessor – he was following the precedent of Henry III, who had sired five children. It is perhaps more likely that the defining secret of Richard II's marriage was not an absence of sexual relations but the infertility of one of the parties, a serious matter in medieval monarchy. Nor does Bowers' suggested parallel with Troilus convince. There is no evidence whatsoever from the text that, after an admittedly faltering start, Troilus's sexual performance was not as fulsome and frequent as Criseyde could have wished. If Chaucer draws less attention to this fact than he might have, we must make allowance for an English-speaking audience, perhaps less *blasé* about the discussion of such matters than a contemporary audience reading in Italian, or Latin. Also Chaucer seems to have anticipated that repeated scenes of sexual congress need not, in themselves, prove particularly interesting, unless they serve some structural purpose within the story.

Troilus's initial hesitation(s) reflect instead Chaucer's sensitivity to the complexities of power-relations between men and women. Chaucer causes his prince to go to the furthest limits to avoid compelling the woman he desires, even to the point where modern readers lose patience. It is as important to Troilus (and perhaps to Chaucer), as it is to Criseyde that, at the moment of consummation, she can say 'Ne hadde I er now, my swete herte deere,/ Ben yolde, ywis, I were now nought here!' (*T&C* III lines 1210–11). Of course, Criseyde's sense of the primacy of her own will is largely illusory, but that does not mean that her belief is worthless. Her belief is possible only because of what Jill Mann identifies as the 'non-coercive' nature of Troilus's passion.⁶⁷ Mann concedes that 'Chaucer achieves this admirably non-dominant role for Troilus only by a sleight of hand – that is, by transferring the coercive elements in the wooing to Pandarus, who manipulates, coaxes, threatens, and deceives with unflagging energy',⁶⁸ but this does not cause her to stint her scorn of those who decry Troilus's 'inertia and weakness'.⁶⁹

Yet it might seem as if there is some common ground between Mann and those she dismisses. Mann defines her view of how Chaucer consciously breaks through the 'conventional notion of sexual roles' of his time by describing Troilus as a 'feminized' hero although, for her, the term carries none of the pejorative assumptions it held for Robertson. This seems because she interprets 'feminized' less as 'female' and more as a dialectic between traits characteristically associated with each gender:

When Chaucer speaks of Troilus's manhood he habitually pairs it with the 'feminised' characteristics – capacity for feeling or suffering, 'gentillesse' – that cleanse it of aggression: 'his manhod and his pyne', 'manly sorwe', 'gentil herte and manhood' (II line 676, III line 113, IV line 1674).⁷⁰

It is instructive to compare Mann's model with the more usual rhetoric of absence. In Fradenburg's reading, it is the absence of the assertiveness of male behaviour which colours the text:

It is possible to hear, behind Criseyde's inaudible (to us) voicing of her 'entente,' the mutilated mouth of Philomela The possibility of Criseyde's rape is spoken in *Troilus and Criseyde* through intertextual haunting.⁷¹

But if her twentieth-century reading is haunted by intimations of the violence done to women by patriarchy across time, it seems likely that Chaucer introduced the echoes of prior violence to make the opposite point, that is, to demonstrate that in a society where the position of women is so far from being equal, a man can still attempt to develop and express his desire in a way which seeks to escape from the 'coercion' (in Mann's term) and 'violence' (in

Fradenburg's) which generally characterises the amorous and social interaction of men and women. It is this purpose, also, which Chaucer promotes through a series of references to the erotic poetry of Ovid, which Maud McNerney reads as a slighting of Troilus's masculinity.⁷² She reads Troilus 'as a man trapped between two literary modes of loving' which, in her view, leaves him fatally 'unmanned by a conflict of irreconcilable poetics'.⁷³ But her conclusion depends on a misunderstanding of both Troilus's (and Chaucer's) response to Ovidian models of desire and satisfaction. Twelfth-century writers of lyric in Latin regularly referred to Ovidian figurations, creating a tradition of works 'where the ancient (notably Ovidian) concept of the *militia amoris* is recast in a fresh and modern mould'.⁷⁴ But although Chaucer's depiction of Troilus's wounding by the God of Love seems to conform to the expected pattern, his behaviour thereafter does not. The Ovidian image of the lover as a soldier is one which concentrates on the 'victory' of consummation, and wastes little time considering the feelings of the courted woman.

McNerney underestimates the ruthlessness inherent in Ovidian 'conquest', reading Troilus's very different pattern of courtship as evidence of his failure as a lover. But she is wrong to conclude that Troilus is 'incapable' of following this model. The truth is that he, with great determination and persistence, chooses to reject this model, which would have left Criseyde's 'estat ... in a jupartie' (*T&C* II line 465). His rejection of the essentially self-centred Ovidian model derives from his very different conception of what it means to be a soldier. There is, inevitably, the potential for tension between the pursuit of love, which might be seen as a personal gratification, and the soldier's duty to the wider community, but there is no question that Troilus recognises this greater duty. When its demands run counter to his desires, in the Council chamber scene where Criseyde's exchange is decided, he sacrifices his prospects for the (perceived) interests of his countrymen – a decision for which he has received scant respect. But the nature of Troilus's understanding of his vocation is important, also. Like any true classical or chivalric warrior, he conceives of his role in highly individualistic terms, as the expression of his character through action – and, in this, his conduct is similar to that of Achilles and Diomedes, signalled in his final (and fatal) pursuit of them. For the reader, who already knows that the interlocked fates of Troy and Troilus have been decided by the gods, there is a poignancy in his belief that his actions could change his fate – as a defender of his home city, or as a lover. To be a warrior and to be a lover are not discrete elements of Troilus's personality, but express different aspects of a consistent morality. That unity causes him to address Criseyde in terms which echo his duty as a soldier, creating a (potentially) irreconcilable conflict of obedience and desire, which can be unwound only through the stratagems of Pandarus (and perhaps Criseyde).

It may seem ironic that such a significant set of textual indicators, pointing to a novel and unexpected conclusion, has been misunderstood, but this is

not inappropriate in a poem which, in every element of its structure, turns on the consequences of misunderstanding. When Troilus is stricken by love he makes 'a mirour of his mynde/ In which he saugh al hooly hire figure' (T&C I lines 365–6) which, as the poem develops, is shown to offer an imperfect likeness of her, though perhaps it offers an image of what she might be or have been. Similarly, though Troilus attempts to fashion a wholly original performance of masculinity in his loving of Criseyde, it seems certain that Criseyde's responses are influenced not by her recognition of the particular qualities of this love, but far more by the expectations appropriate to an Ovidian love affair. If Troilus's diffidence causes him to respect Criseyde more than his rival, it is probably also true that 'sodeyn' Diomedes understands her better. But the consequences are severe. It is from misinterpretation that the tragedy is conceived, dependent less on evil motives than on careless and imperceptive readings of words, conduct and intentions, and for that reason, not soluble by displays of courage in chivalric single combat.

Notes

1. G. Speght, ed., *The Workes of Our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed* (London: Adam Islip, 1602).
2. John Dryden, *Prefaces to Fables, Ancient and Modern*; translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccaccio and Chaucer: with original poems (London: 1700).
3. *Troilus and Criseyde* Book II, line 331. Chaucer quotations are from the *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
4. An important, if isolated, exception is Derek Brewer, who emphasizes Troilus's youth and 'trouthe'. See Derek Brewer, 'Troilus's "Gentil" Manhood,' in *Men and Masculinities in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. Pugh & Marzec, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 237–52.
5. Marilyn Reppa Moore, 'Who's solipsistic now?' *Chaucer Review* 33.1 (1998), 43–59 at 43.
6. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1351–1900*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), lxxvi.
7. See, for example, the annotated Chaucer Bibliography for 2011, published in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 35 (2013), which lists 65 items relating to the *Canterbury Tales*, against a mere 8 for *Troilus and Criseyde*.
8. L. O. Aranye Fradenburg, *Sacrifice Your Love: Psychoanalysis, Historicism, Chaucer* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 2.
9. 'It is only in *Troilus* that a single male consciousness becomes the central locus of poetic meaning; whatever the prominence given to Criseyde, the central subject of this poem is the loss of happiness, and it is to Troilus and not to Criseyde that this experience belongs.' Jill Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 165.
10. Thomas Usk, *The Testament of Love*, ed. R. A. Shoaf (Kalamazoo: TEAMS/University of Rochester, 1998), 267, III line 568.
11. Usk, *Testament*, 266–67, III line 560.
12. *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer*, ed. William Thynne (London: Thomas Godfray, 1532).
13. Aberystwyth MS NLW Peniarth 106.

14. Robert P. ap Roberts, 'Criseyde's Infidelity and the Moral of the *Troilus*,' *Speculum* 44.3 (1969), 383–402, at 383.
15. E. Talbot Donaldson, ed. 'Troilus and Criseyde', in *Chaucer's Poetry: An Anthology for the Modern Reader*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1975; repr. 1984), 1132.
16. Jane Flax, 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory,' *Signs* 12 (1987), 621–43, at 629.
17. Tison Pugh, Michael Calabrese and Marcia Smith Marzec, 'Introduction: the myths of Masculinity in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*', in *Men and Masculinities*, 1–8, at 2.
18. It is a comparison which most critics have interpreted as implying a diminution of Troilus's prowess.
19. Clare A. Lees, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), xv–xxv.
20. Tania Modleski, *Feminism without Women: Culture and Criticism in a "Postfeminist" Age* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 7, quoted in Lees, *Medieval Masculinities*, xvi.
21. Lees, *Medieval Masculinities*, xvi.
22. David Aers, *Community, Gender and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360–1430* (London: Routledge, 1988), 120.
23. 'It is true, as many readers feel, that Chaucer gives us good reasons to differentiate Troilus and Diomedes quite sharply. But it is as true that Troilus and Pandarus themselves manifest the aggressive, sadistic dimensions of masculine love so plainly exhibited by the Greek magnate.' Aers, *Community, Gender*, 128.
24. Aers, *Community, Gender*, 121.
25. Lees, *Medieval Masculinities*, xvii.
26. Stephanie Dietrich, "'Slydyng" Masculinity in the four portraits of Troilus,' in *Masculinities in Chaucer: Approaches to Maleness in the Canterbury Tales and Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. Peter Beidler (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 219.
27. Aers, *Community, Gender*, 121.
28. Dietrich, "'Slydyng" Masculinity', 208.
29. The question of how far the narrator should be treated as an 'unreliable' narrator will be addressed later in the essay.
30. Michael A. Calabrese, 'Being a Man in *Piers Plowman* and *Troilus and Criseyde*,' in *Men and Masculinities*, 161–82, at 173.
31. *Thomae Walsingham quondam monachi Sancti Albani Historia Anglicana*, 2 vols. ed. H. T. Riley (London: Rolls Series 28, 1866); *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376–1422*, trans. David Preest, with Introduction and notes by James G. Clark, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 248. Ormrod suggests that the contrast between the Knights of Mars and Venus, which Walsingham included in both the first recension (c. 1388) and the 2nd recension (c. 1397), refers not to the 'feminising' effect of love (even heterosexual love, as noted by Richard Firth Green), but to the failure to take up arms against the French. W. M. Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus,' *Medium Ævum* 73 (2004), 290–305; Richard Firth Green, 'Troilus and the Game of Love', *Chaucer Review*, 13 (1979), 201–20.
32. Alcuin Blamires, 'Questions of Gender in Chaucer, from *Anelida to Troilus*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series XXV (1994), 83–100, at 84.
33. Aers, *Community, Gender*, 124.
34. Aers, *Community, Gender*, 123; Monica E. McAlpine, *The Genre of Troilus and Criseyde* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).
35. Gayle Margherita, *The Romance of Origins* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 83.

36. Timothy D. Arner, 'Chaucer's Second Hector: The Triumphs of Diomedes and the Possibility of Epic in *Troilus and Criseyde*', *Medium Aevum* 79.1 (2010), 161–82, at 169.
37. Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 143.
38. D. W. Robertson, jr. *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), 497.
39. Jean Paul Sartre, *Les Chemins de la Liberté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945); Fradenburg similarly argues that '*Troilus and Criseyde* shares ... a knowledge of the tight bond between desire and trauma.' Fradenburg, *Sacrifice Your Love*, 218.
40. Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, 493.
41. Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, 478.
42. *Ibid.*
43. 'Indeed, in order to understand Criseide properly we should first have to send the narrator to a psychoanalyst for a long series of treatments and then ask him to rewrite the poem on the basis of his own increased self-knowledge'. E. Talbot Donaldson, *Speaking of Chaucer* (Durham NC: Labyrinth Press 1983), 678; E. Talbot Donaldson, *Chaucer's Poetry: an Anthology for the Modern Reader*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1975; repr. 1984).
44. Tatlock noted that 'his valor mostly is conveyed in the background'. See J. S. P. Tatlock, 'The People in Chaucer's *Troilus*', *PMLA* 56.1 (1941), 85–104, at 92.
45. Recently, for example, by Butterfield: '... *Troilus* is another and vastly more extended poem of, about, and immersed in war.' Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 197.
46. *The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy: An Alliterative Romance Translated from Guido de Colonna's Hystoria Troiana*, ed. George A. Panton and David Donaldson, 2 vols., *EETS OS* 39 and 56 (London: N. Trubner, 1869 and 1874).
47. R. F. Yeager, 'Pax Poetica: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 9 (1987), 97–121; Simon Meecham-Jones, 'The Invisible Siege: the depiction of warfare in the poetry of Chaucer,' in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux and Neil Thomas (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 147–167.
48. Dietrich, "'Slydyng" Masculinity', 213.
49. This is not to suggest that Chaucer had first hand knowledge of Walsingham's text. The close relationship of Walsingham, Gower and others to the official dissemination of texts by Lancastrian sources has been demonstrated by Carlson (though Chaucer was not part of this network). David Carlson, *John Gower, Power and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012).
50. Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, 488. For Steinberg and Hansen, Troilus's experience of love is 'feminizing' while for Chance, 'Troilus is effeminized by courtly love.' Diane Steinberg, "'We do usen here no women for to selle": Embodiment of Social Practices in *Troilus and Criseyde*', *Chaucer Review* 38.4 (2004), 259–73, at 264; Elaine Hansen, *Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 149; Jane Chance, *The Mythographic Chaucer* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 110.
51. Dietrich, "'Slydyng" Masculinity', 207.
52. Gretchen Mieszkowski, 'Revisiting Troilus's Faint', in *Men and Masculinities*, 43–54; Barry Windeatt, 'The Art of Swooning in Middle English', in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann*, ed. Christopher

- Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 211–30. They return to a tradition of interpretation previously marked out by Jill Mann; Jill Mann, 'Troilus' Swoon', *Chaucer Review* 14 (1980), 319–35.
53. Haly Abbas was the name used in medieval Western Europe to designate 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī.
 54. Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 213.
 55. Knuuttila, *Emotions*, 218.
 56. Holly A. Crocker, *Chaucer's Visions of Manhood* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 143.
 57. Milo Kearney and Mimosa Kearney, 'The Flaw in Troilus', *Chaucer Review* 22.3 (1988), 185–91.
 58. For example, Mieszkowski, 'Revisiting Troilus's Faint', 44. In a recent return to the subject, Mann disputes the charge of passivity, or that passivity is an inevitable element of 'courtly' love-making; Jill Mann, 'Falling in Love in the Middle Ages', in *Traditions and Innovations in the Study of Middle English Literature: The Influence of Derek Brewer*, ed. Charlotte Brewer and Barry Windeatt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 88–110.
 59. Mary Carruthers, 'On Affliction and Reasoning, Weeping and Argument: Chaucer's Lachrymose Troilus in Context', *Representations* 93.1 (2006), 1–21, at 1.
 60. Carruthers, 'On Affliction', 21.
 61. Boccaccio, *Teseida and Filostrato*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: I Classici Mondadori, 1964).
 62. Simon Meecham-Jones, 'Intention, Integrity and "Renoun": the Public Virtue of Chaucer's Good Women', in *Chaucer's Legend of Good Women: Reception and Context*, ed. Carolyn Collette (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 132–56.
 63. See Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 360–1.
 64. The idea is presented by Aers, Dietrich, Margherita and Arner amongst others.
 65. Peter Beidler, 'Introduction', *Masculinities in Chaucer*, 1.
 66. John M. Bowers, 'Richard II, Chaucer's Troilus, and figures of (un)masculinity', in *Men and Masculinities*, 9–27, at 18.
 67. Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, 100–04.
 68. Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, 103–4.
 69. 'When one compares the complexity and sensitivity with which Chaucer works out his vision of a relationship freed of male coercion and female hypocrisy, with the irritable and reductive complaints about Troilus's inertia and weakness ... one can measure the hold that the conventional notion of sexual roles still has over modern culture'. Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, 110–11.
 70. Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, 110–11.
 71. Fradenburg, *Sacrifice Your Love*, 226.
 72. Maud Burnett McInerney, "'Is this a mannes herte?": Unmanning Troilus through Ovidian Allusion', in *Masculinities in Chaucer*, 221–35.
 73. McInerney, 'a mannes herte?' 221.
 74. Peter Godman, 'Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth century and the Renaissance', in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 149–82, at 163.

5

Human Prudence versus the Emotion of the Cosmos: War, Deliberation and Destruction in the Late Medieval Statian Tradition

James Simpson

The *Thebaid* of Statius (d. 94 CE) provides the great model of militarist catastrophe for the European Middle Ages and beyond. The Olympian gods, humans (often excellent, justice-loving humans), and the Furies each participate in a relentless dialectic of inciting each other to furious, exhausting, and destructive combat. Emotion dominates the poem's action and cosmos, both enormous emotional energy, and total emotional exhaustion. By contrast, the medieval tradition, as represented by Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (1421–22), almost wholly absents the gods. Fury drives the war in an over-determined historical process, to be sure, but that fury has human origins, and could have been checked in deliberative fora. In this tradition, bad committee practice, rather than the mythic violence written into the cosmos, impels almost all players to disastrous ends.

Such an account might suggest a simple contrast, itself worth making: in Statius the divine forces of both upper and lower worlds interact with each other and with humans so as to produce catastrophe for humans. In the later medieval narrative, by contrast, the gods – whether Olympians or underworld Furies – play no effective part at all; humans are left deciding their own fates in committee rather than being swept along by the forces of the cosmos. Emotions that drive humans to war in the medieval Statian tradition are human emotions,¹ produced by human narratives and human decisions.

This essay will make that simple, worthwhile comparative argument, but it goes further, to suggest that the move to human, non-cosmic, non-mythological impulses has already started in Statius' poem. The *Thebaid* is a deeply theological poem, which measures the recession of divine agency from the human enterprise. Just as Pluto's dark underworld is astonished to see the human seer Amphiarus hurtling into Hades from the light above, so too we as readers are no less astonished to see early twilight descend upon all the traditionally credited forces of pagan divinity.² That one late medieval Statian tradition represents war almost entirely shorn of divine intervention of any kind could not be more appropriate: the movement

towards a non-theological universe, a universe in which human emotions and deliberative protocols are all we have, is initiated by the *Thebaid* itself; we see it in motion across that poem's narrative.

This essay, then, briefly adumbrates Statius' magnificent representation of the dialectic that produces an infuriated cosmos, before turning to the recession of those same, furious divine forces. I then make the contrast with the late medieval tradition of Thebes, and in particular Lydgate's own extraordinary Theban poem, *The Siege of Thebes*. Lydgate crafts his narrative on the Statian model, though he underlines more fully the force of purely human, emotional claims of war. Lydgate's focus on human emotion, especially on the wide emotional range expressed by extreme pallor, turns out to underline this key admonitory point: human emotion is not so much responsive to, as productive of war and peace.

I

The action of Statius' *Thebaid* is driven by furies so violent as to resist the shaping hand of narrative. As he confronts a historical sequence so terrible in its fury, Statius is uncertain about where to begin his Theban story (*'longa retro series'*, 'Far backward runs the story', 1.7),³ deciding finally to settle on the limit (*'limes'*, 1.16), paradoxically, of the *'confusa domus'* ('mixed household', 1.17) of Oedipus. Statius' narrative, then, begins as Oedipus initiates the next phase of Theban history – the subject of the *Thebaid* – by praying to Tisiphone that she take vengeance on the sons of Oedipus and thereby fulfill the sacrilege that Oedipus desires (*'quod cupiam ... nephas'*, 'the evil I desire to see', 1.86). Tisiphone responds instantly by inspiring terror on her voyage to Thebes: Day and Night sense her presence, no less than Atlas, who shudders (*'horruit'*, 1.99). Already personified passions excite Etiocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus (*'sub pectore motus'*, 'furore', 'aegra invidia', 'parens odii metus', and 'regendi saevus amor', 'passionate force', 'fury', 'sick envy', 'fear producing hatred', 'fierce love of rule', 1.125–28), though in the narrative context these are understood to be impulses provoked by Tisiphone, rather than agents in their own right.

In turn, this internecine mortal hatred prompts a celestial council in the upperworld, convoked by Jove. Already Jupiter complains of specifically mortal crimes, setting them above the power of the Furies: *'terrarum delicta nec exsaturabile Diris/ ingenium mortale queror'* ('Of Earth's transgressions I complain, and of Man's mind that no Avenging Powers can satiate', 1.214–15). Jupiter complains against Oedipus, only to fulfil the very hopes of vengeance expressed by Oedipus himself, by promising to uproot the entire Theban race, as well as the realm of Argos. Unmoved by Juno's defence of Argos (that no god defends Thebes), Jupiter orders Mercury to bring Laius to the upperworld, there to incite his grandson Etiocles to refuse reign-swapping with his brother Polynices, and so to provoke *'causae irarum'* ('causes of anger' 1.302).

So Oedipus incites the Furies, who incite Oedipus' sons, who provoke the Olympian gods, who raise Oedipus' father from Hades to sow further seeds of catastrophe among the sons of Oedipus.⁴ This rehearsal of the agential dialectic of Book I of the *Thebaid*, moving up and down the tripartite ladder of the cosmos, could continue into subsequent books; the point of such a rehearsal would be to underline the complex interactions of agency in the three realms from which agency derives: Olympus, earth, and the underworld. On the face of it, interactions of earthly and divine forces, both celestial and infernal, rooted in already long and bloody histories, determine the cataclysms of earthly history.

Already in Book I of the *Thebaid*, however, the counter case of this theme is embedded within it. That counter case goes as follows: so far from being a narrative driven by divine agency, this is a theological poem about the ways in which human forces outstrip and belittle the divine. Human agency – usually malign but occasionally constructive in impulse – turns out to astonishing, outscale, and even exhaust divine forces.⁵

Already in Book I a human so impresses a god as to modify the pathological forces of history. Statius takes time off from the direct narration of Theban history to have Adrastus, king of Argos, explain a festive day's etiology by relating the story of a human saint of sorts, Corobeus (1.557–672). Confronted by the massive injustice of Apollo, who has unleashed a rapacious serpent that ruthlessly devours the new-born, Corobeus slays Apollo's serpent, immediately thereafter to offer himself as a sacrifice to Apollo for this 'sacrilege'. Corobeus promises to break the pattern of history, declaring that he has not been sent by anyone to act in the way he has; instead, he is prompted by abstract ideals: '*mea me pietas et conscia virtus/ has egere vias*' ('my sense of duty and consciousness of right have turned my steps this way', 1.644–45). Once again, as with the passage cited above narrating the fraternal viciousness between the Theban brothers (1.125–28), this falls short of pure personification, since this is '*my*' duty and virtue. The lines, however, fall only just short of personification: duty and virtue, stepping altruistically into the pathological pattern of history so as to break it, are the grammatical subjects of the action, and they demand obedience. Astonishingly, Apollo himself recognizes the sheer moral force of Corobeus' virtuous act and no less virtuous readiness for martyrdom, since he declines to kill him (1.662–66).⁶

This is the first of many episodes in the *Thebaid* in which the god stands back from the human – astonished, moved, or just plain exhausted by human energy. Except in its final account of the Temple of Clementia, to which I will soon turn, the poem, unsurprisingly, does not have the resources to articulate the epoch-making theological implications of these moments. Thus the narrative of heroic and human Corobeus is uttered by King Adrastus, to corroborate an annual feast dedicated to none other than Apollo.⁷ Adrastus himself will later become another Corobeus, giving himself up for a noble cause, out of noble human impulses, even though he

remains forever unable to articulate anything but honour to the punishing, genocidal gods.

Human vice beggars divine forces no less than human virtue. At the end of Book 8, Tisiphone is unable to behold the dying hero Tydeus as he insists on gnawing the head of his victim Melanippus: she averts her gaze and must wash her eyes before she can re-enter the heavens (8.762–66). Or in Book 11, for example, the impious fraternal warfare of Etiocles and Polynices almost outscapes both infernal and celestial deities. In Book 11 Tisiphone descends to the underworld to seek reinforcement from her sister Fury Megaera, since, as she says, *'longo sudore fatiscunt / corda, soror, tardaeque manus'* ('long toil has wearied my spirit, and my arm is slow', 11.92–93). Only with this sororal reinforcement is Tisiphone able to reengage and reactivate the fight.

In the face of that near infernal collapse, the celestial realm also registers its incapacity to digest the ferocity and sheer impiety of the human confrontation: Jove forbids Olympian spectatorship of the battle between brothers: *'auferte oculos! absentibus ausint / ista deis lateantque Iovem'* ('Look not upon it! Let no gods countenance such a crime, let it be hid from Jove', 11.126–27). As the battle itself begins, the celestial gods obey the command to avert their gaze: the horrified gods of war abandon the field to the human brothers and the Furies (11.409–15). The infernal deities do watch gleefully, but only in order to see humans do better than Furies: *'vinci sua crimina gaudent'* ('rejoice that their own crimes should be surpassed', 11.423). Finally, however, the Furies themselves also succumb to the pattern of divine exhaustion, outstripped as they are by energies of mutual, purely human hatred. The brothers inflict unbridled aggression on each other, without skill or art and driven by anger alone (*'sine more, sine arte/ tantum animis iraque'*, 11.524–25) in the core combat of the entire epic (11.497–573). As they do so, the Furies find themselves admiringly yet enviously otiose:

Nec iam opus est Furiis; tantum mirantur et adstant
Laudantes, hominumque dolent plus posse furore. (11.537–38)

[No more need is there of the Furies: they only marvel and praise as they watch, and grieve that human rage exceeds their own.]

Stadius' extraordinarily subtle point here is that the human fight simultaneously re-activates the agency of the pagan gods (*'laudantes'*) and de-activates them, since they are delighted and grieved only by the way in which their own malice is surpassed; their viciousness is such that they are brought back into lurid life precisely as and because they are being edged out of history. Human hatred is, then, capable of assuming all agency into itself, belittling, shocking, and/or exhausting divine forces in the process.

Not only human vice, but human virtue is also, however, capable of out-scaling divine forces. As the brothers fight, Pietas descends into the field of

battle. This is a striking theological moment, since Pietas is a different kind of Olympian god altogether. As the Furies fiercely oppose her, they speak the language of over-determined mythological history – Tisiphone attempts to insult Pietas off the field of battle by referring to history, and a history that goes well back beyond the point at which Statius as narrator had promised to start this particular Theban history. Where, for example, asks Tisiphone, was Pietas when Cadmus ploughed the field that was to become Thebes (11.487–92)?

Tisiphone turns out indeed to succeed in winning over Pietas, but the very appearance of divine Pietas inflicts theological damage on the pagan pantheon. For Pietas does not, precisely, function within the terms of internecine, over-determined history at all; on the contrary, she is offended by those who do – both Olympian gods and humans. Disgusted by them, Pietas sits apart in heaven (*'caeli Pietas in parte sedebat'*, 11.458), complaining that she is nowhere revered, by either gods or men: *'quid me ... ut saevis animantum ac saepe deorum / Obstaturam animis, princeps Natura, creabas?'* ('Why, sovereign nature, did you create me to oppose the passions of humans and often of the gods?' 11.465–66). Pietas articulates a new form of divinity: an ahistorical, or rather post-historical psychological principle that is secondary to, and committed to resisting, the excesses of history. Tisiphone might vaunt her own, more profound historical engagement over Pietas, and Tisiphone might in fact overcome Pietas; but in the act of vaunting her historicity, the Fury also unknowingly defines a psychological principle that will overcome pagan divinities, and also, thereby, unwittingly redefines herself as trapped in history.

Even if Pietas is overcome by Tisiphone, the human power to astonish, if not to outscale divinity is elsewhere on spectacular display in the epic. Amphiaraus, the seer who has consistently prophesied the disastrous failure of the noble Argive mission to Thebes, is of course the first to die in the battle, his chariot symbolically swallowed by the underworld. Amphiaraus' spectacular descent into the underworld admittedly ends up with his submission to Pluto; his magnificent entry is, however, more like that of one who wins that that of a suppliant:

Ut subitus vates pallentibus incidit umbris
 letiferasque domos orbisque arcana sepulti
 rupit et armato turbavit funere manes,
 horror habet cunctos, Stygiis mirantur in oris
 tela et equos corpusque novum... (8.1–5)

[When on a sudden the prophet fell among the pallid shades, and burst into the homes of death and the mysteries of the deep-sunken realm, and affrighted the ghosts with his armed corpse, all were filled with horror and marvelled at the weapons and horses and the body still undecayed on the Stygian shores ...]

Even as Amphiarus hurtles downwards into the underworld, that is, he admits a pleasing light (*'iucund[a] lu[x]'*, 8.33) into Hades, much to Pluto's fear and intense displeasure. The same can be said of the irruption of Capaneus upwards into Olympus in Book 10: even as he is about to die, struck by Jupiter's thunderbolt, Capaneus induces the same reactions – astonishment and fear – from the Olympian gods as Amphiarus had provoked among the inhabitants of Hades: *'...cum in media vertigine mundi / stare virum insanasque vident desposcere pugnas, / mirantur taciti et dubio pro fulmine pallent'* ('when they see the hero stand midway in the dizzy height of air, and summon them to insane battle, they marvel in silence, and grow pale, doubting the thunderbolt's power', 10.918–20). The atheist Capaneus' splendidly gratuitous death in fact brings the gods momentarily to a sharper life, but a life that registers the sheer magnificence of human insolence, an insolence that outstrips anything of which these gods are capable. The atheist fails to prove his atheism (these gods are still active), but he does prove something akin to atheism (i.e. that the gods are pallid) by bringing their stupefied and frightened admiration to a life of sorts.

I argued earlier that even those humans (e.g. Adrastus, Amphiarus, Capaneus) who intuit or exhibit the twilight of the ancient gods are incapable of articulating that intuition. They each fall victim to those mythological gods. Statius' poem does not, however, leave the intuition merely buried. On the contrary, he reserves pride of place in the final book of his epic for an account of an entirely new kind of god, akin to Pietas, whose divinity consists precisely in not dwelling with other gods. On the contrary, her location is in human hearts and minds: *'mentes habitare et pectora gaudet'* (12.494). I refer to the gentle 'goddess' Clemency (*'mitis Clementia'*, 12.482), at whose temple the women of Argos successfully accost Theseus, and thereby initiate a cleansing of Thebes and a break from pathological history. This 'goddess' is described in negatives: she is no 'god of power' (12.481–2); she has no rites, sacrifices, images or statues made in her honour. She is posterior to history, her temple a place of sanctuary for the complaints of the *miseri*, or wretched (12.483); the prosperous do not know of her (12.496). The abstract name alone of the 'divinity' bespeaks her key difference: she is a human emotion, responsive to suffering whatever its origin. She is wholly dissociated from the tribalism of mythological history. In sum, the epic's final, potentially transformative moment is determined by a new kind of goddess. We might call her a personification of human emotion, were it not the case that the word 'personification' evokes a mere bloodless abstraction. Clemencia is no bloodless abstraction: instead she is invigorated by the frisson of divinity passing from one realm to another, from the divine to the human.

Clemencia, in fact, is one of many personifications in the *Thebaid*, each of whom initiate the transference of cosmic power. When, for example, Thebes

stands under attack, Statius says that scarcely Mars would delight in surveying the terrified city, in which

...insanis lymphatam horroribus urbem
scindunt dissensu vario Luctusque Furorque
et Pavor et caecis Fuga cicumfusa tenebris.⁸ (10.557–59)

[Grief and Fury and Panic and Rout, enwrapped in blinding gloom rend with many-voiced discord the frenzied, horror-stricken town.]

Of course some examples of such personifications can be described as suggestive and efficient ways of expressing the power of the god, as in the description of Furor, Ira and Pavor helping Mars to arm at 3.424–5; or in the chilling enumeration of the personnel of Mars' temple at 7.47–53; or the beautifully suggestive population of the temple of Sleep at 10.84–117. Others, however, suggest the ways in which human emotions so shock the presiding deities as to overcome them. Thus in the quotation immediately above, the sight of the terrified city is so terrible that Mars himself would prefer not to see it ('*vix Mavors ipse videndo / gaudeat*' (10.556–7)). Others still suggest the ways in which personifications might escape the power of the presiding deity to become gods themselves: thus Mars sends Pavor ahead to Thebes at 7.108–116. Pavor is initially described as being of the train of Mars, but quickly develops a life and agency of her own: '*innumerae monstro vocesque manusque / et facies quamcumque velit*' ('voices and hands innumerable has the monster, and aspects to assume at will', 7.111–12). In many of these instances, we are conscious of the subversive potential of the ostensibly subservient personifications, capable as they are of springing into a life independent of the god they serve. The poem itself, of course, in the person of the atheist Capaneus, voices the ever-present secret of this theologically daring poem: '*primus in orbe deos fecit timor*' ('Fear first created gods in the world', 3.661). Capaneus, that is, exposes the secret, impious grammatical reversal that might be enacted each time a god is described as ruling a troop of personifications: it's the personified emotion who created the god. It is no accident that it should be Statius' poem that articulates this most unvarnished, philosophically compact account of Feuerbachian scepticism.

II

The medieval tradition of Statius' *Thebaid* has three principal manifestations: rehearsals of Statian narrative, either diminished and/or embellished; references to Statius built into new fictions; and extended fictions of the Theban story. *The Roman de Thèbes* (mid-12th century) and its derivatives (e.g. the 13th-century *Roman d'Edipus*) exemplify the first of these forms of

reception; Dante's *Divina Commedia* (1308–21) the second; and Boccaccio's *Teseida* (1340–41) the third.⁹

In late medieval English literature, the second and the third traditions are well represented: Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (1385–90) is a translation and radical abridgement of Boccaccio's *Teseida*,¹⁰ while John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (1421–22) is a translation and reworking of the *Roman d'Edipus*.¹¹ Lydgate's poem is 4716 lines of five-stress couplets, divided into three books. Lydgate connects both these traditions of reception, since he ends his story at the beginning of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* narrative, with Theseus' intervention in the Theban-Argive war. Lydgate also connects his Statian prequel to Chaucer's Boccaccian sequel by setting his narrative within the context of the *Canterbury Tales*: whereas the *Knight's Tale* is the first tale told on the outward journey from London, Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* is the first tale told on an imaginary return journey of the Canterbury pilgrims back to London.¹² Lydgate marks his own intervention in the Canterbury pilgrimage by making himself a pilgrim, who then becomes the narrator of the Theban material. Whereas Chaucer's Knight interrupts the Monk's series of short tragedies, the explicitly Benedictine monastic figure Lydgate vigorously intervenes in a newly-extended Canterbury fiction so as to narrate a long and tragic narrative that precisely connects with and matches the Knight's tale.

Dante, astonishingly, saves Statius as a Christian (*Purgatorio* 21), despite his recognition of the sheer dark depths of the Statian narrative, as exemplified especially by Ugolino's gnawing of his enemy's head in deepest hell (*Inferno* 32–33). (This terrible scene is modelled on Tydeus gnawing the skull of Menalippus (8.751–66).)¹³ Lydgate and Chaucer move much more with the grain of the Statian narrative, which they both clearly know in Statius' version:¹⁴ however much they might accentuate astrological forces (which Chaucer does much more than Lydgate), Lydgate in particular removes gods from his narrative altogether. In what follows, then, I emphasize the godlessness of the ancient Greek world as represented by Lydgate, by way of underlining Lydgate's own very strong emphasis on specifically human deliberative processes as the locus in which war is either begun or averted. Such an emphasis also points to the prudential emotions demanded by military committee work in a cosmos shorn of divine direction of any kind.

Lydgate, in line with the later medieval tradition of the *roman d'antiquité*, expels the gods from his historical narratives of Troy and Thebes for two reasons: on the one hand, as a Christian he explicitly repudiates these gods;¹⁵ on the other, he is writing history, and so eschews 'fable'. Thus in the Prologue to his *Troy Book* (1412–20), he dismisses Homer for having twisted the historical narrative out of partiality to the Greeks, and for having falsified the narrative by introducing gods. Homer

Ifeyned hath ful many divers thing
That never was, as Guido lyst devise,

And thingys done in another wyse
 He hath transformed than the trouthe was
 And feyned falsly that goddis in this caas
 The worthi Grekis holpen to werreye
 Ageyn Troyens, and howe that thei wer seye
 Lyche lyfly men amonge hem day by day. (Prologue, lines 268–75)

In the *Siege of Thebes* Lydgate does introduce the Furies to the wedding ‘celebrations’ of Jocasta and Oedipus (lines 853–74). The presence of the Furies is almost immediately displaced, however, by the crowd of personifications that accompany them: Labor, Envy, Dread, Fraud, Treachery, Treason, Poverty, Indigence, Need, Death, Wretchedness, Complaint, Rage, and ‘Fer[fear] ful pale’ (lines 862–70) (a passage added by Lydgate to his source, and clearly inspired by the *Thebaid*). He also apostrophizes Mars in the opening of Book 3 as ‘Cruel Mars ful of malencolye’, but no sooner has Lydgate made the address than he categorizes Mars less as a mythological god than as an astrological influence:

And of thy kynde hoot combust, and drye,
 (As the sperkles shewen fro so fere,
 By the stremes of thi rede sterre,
 In thy spere as it aboute goth). (lines 2554–7)

The passage proceeds from here in Statian fashion to underline that the city of Thebes was destroyed through a specifically human emotion, ‘Of cruel hate rooted and begunne’ (line 2562). In sum, in keeping with the movement initiated in the *Thebaid*, and with the brutally disenchanting world of Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale* (‘Of soules fynde I nat in this registre,’ line 2812),¹⁶ Lydgate preserves the territory of the war against Thebes as a god-free zone. What are the consequences of this disenchanting cosmos for Lydgate’s presentation of the role of human emotion in this war, and for the form of Lydgate’s narration of the Theban material?

III

Have ye nat seyn somtyme a pale face,
 Among a prees, of hym that hath be lad
 Toward his deeth, wher as hym gat no grace,
 And swich a colour in his face hath had
 Men myghte knowe his face that was bistad
 Amonges alle the faces in that route?
 (Chaucer, *Man of Law’s Tale*, lines 645–50)

The striking facial feature in Statius’ *Thebaid* is pallor.¹⁷ Figures in a wide range of predicaments, all dreadful, exhibit pallid, bloodless faces, appalled

as they are by what lies ahead. When, for example, Mercury descends to elicit Laius from Hades in Book 2, pallor invests every aspect of the scene – its accompanying players, its geography, and its main characters: the crooked path that leads to hell bequeaths the spacious halls of Pluto with ‘*pallentes ... umbras*’ (‘pale shades’, 2.48); Mercury, disguised as Tiresias, comes to Laius with ‘*pallor ... suus*’ (2.98); the stars are ‘*pallida*’ as the ghost of Laius finally reveals himself to his grandson in a moment of sheer horror: ‘*undanti perfundit vulnere somnum*’ (‘flooded his sleep with streaming blood’, 2.124).

So too does Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes* begin with pallor: the malign opposition of ‘Satourn old with his frosty face’, ‘malencolik and slowgh of motion’ on the one hand, and of ‘Of lucina / the mone moyst and pale’ (lines 1–8) on the other, provides the setting for the presentation of the narrator’s own face. The Host provides the facial description as he addresses Lydgate himself: ‘That loke so pale / al devoyde of blood’ (line 89).

Lydgate has reason to be pale: he looks as if he’s recently been ill, the Host judges (line 103), but Chaucer is also suddenly absent from the very pilgrimage Chaucer had joined in Southwerk and that Lydgate now joins. Much more pressingly, Lydgate will soon be recounting the unpalatable narrative of Thebes, the great city catastrophe-narrative for later medieval readers, as the pilgrimage heads back to London.¹⁸ The narrative itself is also, like Statius’ version, punctuated by pallid faces: Jocasta has a ‘face pale’ as she hands over her new-born Oedipus to be set in the forest (line 410); the foundling Oedipus ‘gan to wexe pale’ when told that he had been discovered in the forest (line 496); faced with the embassy of Tydeus, Etiocles is ‘trist/ and wonder pale’ (line 1956); Hypsipyle is ‘pale of face and chere’ as she discovers her baby charge killed by a serpent (line 3227); the Argive women approach Theseus ‘with facys ded and pale’ (line 4423).

The faces of actors in the narrative are pale precisely because they, too, face a deeply unpalatable future. The related, dominant human emotions of the narrative are melancholy and anger. On listening to Etiocles flatly deny the justice of his brother’s claim to rule in Thebes, Tydeus feels, though contains, the rage:

When Tydeus saugh the fervent ire
Of the king with anger set afire,
Ful of despit and malencolye;
Conceyving eke the grete felonye
In his apport, like as he were wood;
This worthy knight a lityl while stood,
Sad and demur or oght he wolde seyn. (lines 2035–42)

The virtuous are capable of momentarily containing their anger, while the vicious are less capable: once Tydeus has left for Argos, Etiocles ‘in the halle stood/ Among his lords furious and wood,/ In his herte wroth and evel

apayd' (lines 2126–28). Later, on hearing the failure of his treacherous plan to assassinate Tydeus, Eteocles 'so frat on hym with such a mortal stryf/ That he was wery of his owne lif' (lines 2517–18). Later he is described as 'willful' and 'indurate'; 'And in his hert of malice obstynat' (lines 4007–8).

Active, ineradicable malice and its effect of appalled, pale faces constitute the key emotional range of the Theban narrative in Lydgate's version. Is this, then, a wholly determined narrative, on which we look, or, as so often in the *Thebaid*, from which we look away, with blanched faces, helpless to change anything? Lydgate's narrative, like Statius', is indeed over-determined: it leads into the sequel of two 'brothers', Palemon and Arcite, locked in mortal struggle, unconsciously repeating the larger patterns of Theban history into which they have been innocently drawn. That would suggest that we are indeed unable to do anything but helplessly look upon the ghastly spectacle of internecine war.

Lydgate's world-view in this narrative, however, differs in a signal way from that of Statius. Statius' narrative, as we have seen, witnesses a shift from divine to human agency; Lydgate's narrative takes that movement to an extreme, presenting as it does a world wholly devoid of gods. Instead of gods, we have advisors. And instead of divine councils, we have human councils and committees, deciding whether or not to go to war. Those advisors introduce a further emotional element into the narrative, that of measured, cool, prudential counsel. This applies both to figures within the poem (especially the seer Amphiorax and the Argive king Adrastus), and to the narrator figure outside the narrative, Lydgate. When we turn to his role, we also understand the formal characteristics of this poem.

IV

Within the poem, the aged voice is one of prudential wisdom. The person, according to Cicero, who relies on prudence and wisdom (*prudencia consilioque fidens*) will anticipate the future by reflection on the past, and will never be reduced to saying '*Non putaram*', 'I hadn't thought of that'.¹⁹ In Lydgate's poem this Cardinal Virtue of prudential foresight is consistently practiced by the aged. Among the Argives, Adrastus (who advises Polymyte that he should 'prudently tak hede' in not going to Thebes, line 1835), and especially Amphiorax (who is consulted about the war as 'on that was ful prudent and right wyse / And circumspecte in his werkes alle,' lines 2796–7), both represent the virtue of practical prudence. On the Theban side Jocasta promotes prudential wisdom, as she foresees the military disaster that will befall Eteocles if he insists on fighting (lines 3648–708). All the aged figures, in fact, embody prudence, by foreseeing events, and by giving advice not to undertake enterprises that cannot be completed.

These aged, prudential figures within the poem, however, fail. Their wisdom falls victim either to their own persuasion of the justice of their cause (i.e.

Adrastus), or to the powerful force of human, militarist aggression swirling around them (Amphiorax and Jocasta). The key moment is the council session of the Argives, as they deliberate the question of whether or not they should go to war. This is a carefully framed sequence, since the issue is not at all the matter of a just war. The *casus belli* is clearly just, since Etiocles has broken his word. No, the key question is rather the much more practical and pressing one of whether or not this war will be won. Lydgate is acutely sensitive to the role of the wise prophet figure with an understanding of history, since at first (in a passage added by Lydgate) the Argives welcome Amphiorax: through his 'wisdam and his sapience', and 'by virtue of his heigh presence,/ They shuld eschewe al adversité' (lines 2883–5). In the 'parlement' immediately following, however, Amphiorax the aged seer tells the lords what they don't want to hear. He articulates the unpalatable truth with rhetorically unvarnished directness:

His cleer conceyte in verray sikernesse,
Nat entriked with no doublenese,
Her dysmol daies and her fatal houres,
Her aventurys and her sharpe shoures,
The forward sort and the unhappy stoundis,
The compleyntes of her deadly woundis,
The wooful wrath and the contrarioussite
Of felle Mars in his cruelte. (lines 2891–8)

Amphiorax does refer, it's true, to Mars' influence, but in a context where 'Mars' is a shorthand for human suffering, and where the influence of Mars can be averted by human deliberation.

Faced with his unpopular truth-telling, the parliament now turns against the seer. In a further narrative passage added by Lydgate, we observe Amphiorax urging Adrastus not to go to war, despite the justice of his cause; his counsel is met, 'specialy of the sowdeours,/ And of lords regnyng in her flours', with derision and mockery; they describe him an 'old dotard a coward and aferde' (lines 2928–40).

This failure of prudential wisdom from *within* the narrative points us to the function of Lydgate as narrator outside the narrative. If the poem represents unsuccessful truth-telling, the poem itself draws attention to its own rhetorical projection, as an attempt at successful truth-telling, seeking as it does to move by narrative, and by inserting direct counsel into that narrative. The poem, that is, is less a spectacle of an over-determined history leading to catastrophe, than itself an example of prudential thought, produced by a relatively aged figure (Lydgate represents himself as almost 'fifty yere of age' in the Prologue, line 93). The whole poem is an act of purveyance, reflecting prudentially as it does over exempla from the past, and equally applying an implicit pressure on the present and future of the readers for whom the poem was designed.

The positive model of the poem is not merely that of the ruler capable of listening to unpalatable counsel; it is a much broader, Ciceronian model of the truth-teller who is at once wise and eloquent. The marriage of Oedipus and his mother Jocasta, which provokes the ‘utter ruyne’ of Thebes (line 850), is contrasted with the marriage of Mercury and Philology, recalled from Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis* (lines 823–74); Lydgate, in line with a long tradition, interprets this fable as signifying the Ciceronian marriage of ‘sapience’ and ‘eloquence’ (lines 839–44), a marriage that would, by implication, edify the polis. His model is that of the poet-king Amphion, who built the original Thebes (in one of the two founding myths offered by Lydgate) with the ‘sweetness and melodious soun/ And armonye of his swete song’ (lines 202–3).

Faced, then with the repudiation of the aged, prudential seer who could have saved Argos from self-destruction, Lydgate intervenes with an addition of his own, directed to his audience of the early 1420s. As the young Theban military lords abuse Amphiorax, that is, Lydgate pauses to digress on the impetuosity of youth, whereas

Age experte no thyng under taketh
 But he to-forn be good discrecioun,
 Make a due examynacioun
 How it wil tourne outhur to badde or good.

...

The olde, prudent in al his governaunce,
 Ful longe a-forn maketh purveaunce;
 But youth allas be counsail wil not wyrke,
 For which ful ofte he stumbleth in the dyrke. (lines 2952–62)

On the edge of this narrative, therefore, Lydgate is the voice of prudential wisdom, addressing *his* audience. Lydgate’s presence as cool advisor introduces a crucial formal element into the poem, which is almost wholly absent from Statius or from the other later medieval versions and redactions: Lydgate’s poem is punctuated by admonitory sequences delivered by the poet himself.²⁰

Where Amphiorax and Adrastus fail badly, that is, Lydgate seeks to succeed. Amphiorax and Adrastus fail in the same way Chaucer’s Monk is silenced in the *Canterbury Tales* by Knight and Host. The Knight objects to the Monk’s tragedy; the Host to his lack of play:

For certainly, as that thise clerkes seyn,
 Whereas a man may have noon audience,
 Noght helpeth it to tellen his sentence. (lines 2800–2)

Lydgate recalls this maxim twice in the *Siege of Thebes* with regard to ignoring the wisdom of the Lydgate proxy within the narrative – the learned,

clerkly, prudential figure Amphiorax. In the first instance, which we have just observed, Lydgate intervenes thus:

... where that foly hath domynacioun,
Wisdam is put into subieccioun,
Lik as this bishop, with al his hegh prudence,
For cause he myghte have no audience. (lines 2965–8)

Later, on the very verge of war, Amphiorax fails again to dissuade the rash, militarist, aristocratic Argive young, who are persuaded of the justice of their cause: 'But thilke tyme for al his eloquence / He had in soth but lytyl audience' (lines 3811–12). The poem's own praise of prudence is not at all a matter of static moral exempla, however frequent Lydgate's references to that virtue. On the contrary, Lydgate promotes the virtue of prudence only to underline the ways in which unpropitious, over-determined historical circumstances can crush the prudential voice, with catastrophic consequences.

In the *Siege of Thebes*, then, Lydgate emphasizes the signal importance and possibilities of human deliberation; he does so principally by distinguishing the failure of deliberation within the poem's represented action from the possible success of the poem's own deliberative intervention. If the *Siege of Thebes* was written before the death of Henry V in 1421 (as the astrological dating would suggest), it was praeternaturally prescient about the tensions between Henry V's brothers as they vied for power in the vacuum created by Henry's death.

Lydgate had been here before.²¹ The recent example of France was both the biggest opportunity and the biggest potential nightmare on the English horizon in the early fifteenth century. With the onset of insanity in Charles VI of France (1380–1422) in 1392, France was subject to civil war among rival factions. In 1407 partisans of John the Fearless assassinated Louis of Orléans, which precipitated a full scale civil war between factions known as the Armagnacs and Burgundians. This was, in the first instance, a great opportunity for England's militarist class: Henry V allied England to the Burgundian faction of John the Fearless, and his victory at Agincourt in 1415 depended on the fragility of France subject to ferocious civil division under an insane king. That victory paved the way for the Treaty of Troyes (1420), by whose terms England gained greater ascendancy than at any other point in the so-called Hundred Years War between 1337 and 1453: Charles VI was to disinherit his son, the Dauphin, and Henry V was to marry Katherine of Valois (daughter of Charles VI), thereby becoming king of both England and France.

Civil war in France was, then, a golden opportunity for the English militarist class. For English writers with longer historical memories and a sharper awareness of the way in which external war can very easily provoke internal crisis, it was a disaster waiting to happen. Fortune's revolving wheel did in

fact produce a very different and far more treacherous outcome for England from the one projected by the Treaty of Troyes. Henry V died prematurely in 1422, leaving an eight month old child, Henry VI, as king of both England and France. This was already, then, a challenging project, but later an impossible one as Henry VI, no less than his French royal grandfather, displayed mental incapacity. The fatal sequence of events that was to lead to bloody English Civil War between 1455 and 1485 was far in the future when Lydgate began his translations of the *Troy Book* in 1412 and the *Siege of Thebes* in the early 1420s.²²

Despite the impossibility of foreseeing just how disastrous imprudent militarism against France would turn out to be, Lydgate's *Troy Book* does nevertheless offer a blueprint for the catastrophes that ensue from blind militarism, catastrophes that befall apparent winners as much as evident losers. Like the *Siege of Thebes*, the *Troy Book* also offers a blueprint for Lydgate's authorial confidence, across the rest of his career and in a variety of genres, to rebuke his powerful patrons.²³

It's true that the Prologue of the *Troy Book* begins with an invocation to Mars; it's also true that Lydgate says that the translation was commissioned by Prince Henry, in order that the 'noble story openly wer knowe/ In oure-tonge, aboute in every age,/ And ywriten as wel in our langage/ As in latyn and in Frensche it is' (Prologue, lines 112–15). These gestures might suggest that Lydgate is a poet captive to the militarist and nationalist culture of his patrons. Before we readily accepted the framing gestures of this large work (both Prologue and triumphalist Envoy) too readily, however, we might also notice that the second invocation is to Othea, goddess of Prudence (line 38). Prudence, as we have seen, is the capacity to see the past, the present and the future, the difficult skill of understanding the ways in which known events will shape and be shaped by unknown events. The story of Troy as translated by Lydgate is a narrative of one catastrophe after another. This is primarily a sequence of military disasters, in which everyone is a loser: Troy is utterly destroyed twice, and all the Greek heroes, including Ulysses, are themselves murdered in a variety of ways when they try to return after their victory. But it's not simply a question of military disasters; more precisely, these were avoidable disasters produced by poor diplomatic procedures and even worse processes of political consultation in which military leaders stupidly refused to listen to prudential voices. Diplomatic missions are poorly executed, contrary to the ostensible wishes of executive power, and counsel sessions badly conducted.

The narrative of the *Troy Book*, no less than of the *Siege of Thebes*, cries out for prudential voices to bridle aristocratic militarists, and yet the voices that urge prudential caution are silenced. The most powerful scene in which prudential voices are raised only to be dismissed in the earlier, Troy narrative is in Book 2. Lydgate, following his source, gives a detailed narrative of a committee at work, deliberating on matters of enormous gravity. History is in the balance;

the narrative of decision making is gripping as we watch the wrong decision being taken, despite the reiterated articulation of powerful and prudential anti-war positions. Hector begins by confirming the justice of vengeance. He articulates a militarist, chivalric ethics, which is a remarkably simple ethical system, with very few categories: birth, shame and violence, where the only category that admits of gradation is birth. The higher born one is, the greater the need to avenge insult. Hector, however, is an expert rhetorician, and his defence of a chivalric response turns out merely to be a way of capturing the good will of his audience, before he proceeds to dismiss that very response:

But first I rede, wysely in your mynde
To cast afor and leve nat behynde,
Or ye begynne, discretly to adverte
And prudently consyderen in your herte
Al, only nat the gynnyng but the ende,
And the myddes, what weie thei wil wende. (2.2229–34)

The key word here is 'prudently': prudence is the central virtue of the so-called Cardinal Virtues (prudence, temperance, justice, and courage). Like the chivalric system, this ethical construct is concerned with action in the world; unlike the chivalric system, it is concerned with survival. All other considerations are secondary to the primary goal of completing a sequence of actions materially better off than when one started, with one's probity intact. Hector argues very forcefully here that the Trojans will be worse off for this war, and they need only consider the strategic situation to recognize that. Even if the Trojans can count on the support of all Asia, the Greeks hold the balance of power, with Europe and Africa behind them. If Troy initiates a war, Hector argues, the Trojans will be put 'alle to destruccioun'. So, he recommends, the Trojans should act 'by dissymulacioun', by which he means that they should pretend that no injury has been done, and thereby avoid the need to activate the entropic forces of war. Having articulated the chivalric position by speaking like a knight, that is, Hector looks to the future and speaks as a prudent, secular cleric.

This *miles/clerus* (knight/scholar) opposition runs deep through the *Troy Book* and, indeed, throughout Lydgate's other tragic narratives, including the *Siege of Thebes*. In Book 2 of the *Troy Book*, however, prudential counsel utterly fails: willful old Priam is swayed rather by willful young voices of Paris, Deiphobus, and Troilus. Each voice promoting prudence is sidelined. Hector is ignored; Helenus is dismissed as he foresees the total destruction of Troy; and in a later session of the Trojan parliament, the philosopher Pentheus is hounded for daring to suggest that the mission is utterly foolish. His failure gives way to the impassioned but useless prophecy of Cassandra, and, finally, to the rueful voice of the poet himself, who reflects that if the council had been swayed by Hector, Helenus, Protheus, and Cassandra, Troy would still be standing (2.3295–318).

If these societies of the past were destroyed for want of philosophical reflection, the work presents itself as saying, then *contemporary* readers might be able to avoid the same mistakes by attending to this very work, and to the prudential voice of its author and translator. This voice, it should be stressed, does not, on the whole, promote specifically Christian morality. The narrator voices prudential and practical wisdom, and not, for the most part, Christian morality. It proposes more effective political action, rather than Christian counsel to turn aside from a deceptive world. This is, in short, not so much the narrative of great kings and warriors ending in military disaster; it is that narrative as commented on and arranged by a distinct, clerical voice, capable of intervening in and shaping it for persuasive ends. The clerical voice of the narrator holds up to aristocratic readers the spectacle of their own downfall, cast down by their own readiness blindly to mount the turning wheel of Fortune.

Lydgate's two large-scale *romans d'antiquités* present, then, powerfully anti-militarist voices that pitch themselves in terms its audience cannot avoid. This is not the voice of Christian morality, but rather of prudential wisdom arguing extreme caution in committing a nation to the hazards of war, mainly because it will end badly. There are no gods to whom to appeal for the justice, and no gods to blame for militarist adventurism.

Notes

1. I freely use the word 'emotion' in this essay, recognizing all the while that my authors, both classical and medieval, would have used the term 'passions'. For the history of the term emotion, and the larger history of the passions, see Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). I warmly acknowledge the inspiration and pleasures of a Latin literature reading group among friends in Cambridge MA, with whom I first read Statius seriously.
2. My use of the word 'twilight' is designed to resonate with the brilliant point of C. S. Lewis in *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936): 'But the twilight of the gods is the mid-morning of the personifications,' 52. I am profoundly indebted to Lewis' exceptionally pregnant pages (48–56) on the *Thebaid*.
3. All references to the *Thebaid* of Statius will be drawn from *Statius in Two Volumes*, edited and translated by J. H. Mozley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). Translations offered are also taken from this edition. All further references to the *Thebaid* will be drawn from this edition, and made in the body of the text by book and line number.
4. For this dialectic, see D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 345.
5. For this argument, see also Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, 48–56; Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, 338–64; and Philip Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 42–5.
6. For examples of human virtue and altruism in the *Thebaid*, see Winthrop Wetherbee, *The Ancient Flame: Dante and the Poets* (Notre Dame, IN: University of

Notre Dame Press, 2008). I am deeply indebted to the Statius chapter in this book, and thank Pete Wetherbee for sending this material to me.

7. Wetherbee, *The Ancient Flame*.
8. Compare also the fluctuations of Polynices' soul at 1.320–23; and the experience of battle at 9.833, and 10.407–9.
9. For an excellent account of the medieval reception of Statius, see Robert R. Edwards, 'Medieval Statius: Belatedness and Authority', Winthrop Wetherbee, 'Statius', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature The Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (forthcoming). I thank Pete Wetherbee for sharing this chapter with me.
10. For the Statian tradition in Chaucer, see Winthrop Wetherbee, *Chaucer and the Poets: An Essay on "Troilus and Criseyde"* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1984), 111–44, and Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (London: Routledge, 1991), 126–36.
11. All citations from the *Siege of Thebes* are taken from Lydgate's 'Siege of Thebes', ed. Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall, 2 vols., EETS, es 108, 125 (Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1911; 1930; rpt. 1960). All further citations will be cited by line number in the body of the text.
12. For the narratological relations of Lydgate's and Chaucer Theban narratives, see James Simpson, "'Dysemoldiaies and Fatal houres": Lydgate's *Destruction of Thebes* and Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*', in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays in Honour of Douglas Gray*, ed. Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15–33, and further references.
13. See Wetherbee, 'Statius', in *The Ancient Flame*.
14. For Chaucer, see, for example, *Troilus and Criseyde*, 2.99–108, in which Chaucer refers adroitly to both the Latin and the Old French version in compact space; for Lydgate, see *Lydgate's Troy Book*, ed. Henry Bergen, 4 Parts, EETS, es 97, 103, 106, and 126 (Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1906, 1908, 1910, and 1935), Prologue 226–44, which refers explicitly to Statius ('In grete Stace ye may reden al' (ProL. 240), and which refers to episodes in Statius not found in the later medieval redactions. All further references to the Troy Book will be made by book and line number in the body of the text. See Andrew Lynch, 'Love in Wartime: *Troilus and Criseyde* as Trojan History', in *A Concise Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 113–33.
15. For the anti-idolatry passage in *Troy Book*, translated from Lydgate's source, see *Troy Book*, Book 2.5391–924. For *romans d'antiquités* in English, see Barbara Nolan, *Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
16. All citations from the *Canterbury Tales* are drawn from *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Jill Mann (London: Penguin, 2005).
17. For an exceptionally penetrating account of humoral combinations in the *Troy Book*, I am grateful to Andrew Lynch, who kindly shared an unpublished paper, 'From Troy to Thebes: Manhood and Melancholy in John Lydgate's War.'
18. For which see the illuminating essay of Rita Copeland, 'Insinuating Authors', in *Taking liberties with the Author: Selected Essays from the English Institute*, ed. Meredith L. McGill (English Institute in collaboration with the American Council of Learned Societies), at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb90058.0001.001>
19. *De officiis*, I. 23. 81; 82. The *locus classicus* in Middle English literature is, of course, Criseyde's lament for her lack of prudence (*Troilus and Criseyde*, V. 743–9). For the

theme of prudence in the *Siege of Thebes*, see Simpson, 'Dysemol daies and Fatal houres'.

20. For a powerful argument that Lydgate is caught between militarist and anti-militarist discursive positions, I am again indebted to Lynch, 'From Troy to Thebes.'
21. The following seven paragraphs are drawn from James Simpson, 'John Lydgate,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Literature*, ed. Larry Scanlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 205–16.
22. For a magisterial account of both these texts, see Robert R. Edwards, 'John Lydgate and the Remaking of Classical Epic', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: The Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (forthcoming). I thank Bob Edwards for sharing this essay with me.
23. For Lydgate's role in the Lancastrian court, see Paul Strohm, 'Hoccleve, Lydgate and the Lancastrian Court', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 640–61.

6

Moving to War: Rhetoric and Emotion in William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*

Catherine Nall

The *Boke of Noblesse*, a Middle English prose treatise written by William Worcester, secretary to the famous veteran of the Hundred Years War, Sir John Fastolf, has long been recognised as an important source for scholars working on the political, military, and intellectual cultures of the fifteenth century. Worcester began writing the *Boke of Noblesse* in the early 1450s, in the immediate aftermath of the loss of the Lancastrian lands in France, and then revised and corrected it for presentation to Edward IV on the eve of the Picquigny campaign in 1475.¹ Worcester's main objective in this work is to argue in favour of a new campaign in France, a campaign to reclaim the lands that in his view naturally belong to English kings. But his remit is not as narrow as this might imply; his work touches on a range of other issues, from the best way of serving the common weal, for example, to recommendations about financial policy. The *Boke of Noblesse* is remarkable both for the breadth of reading it evidences – Worcester cites almost forty sources in the course of a relatively short text – and for its status as really the only text written in England in this period to directly analyse the causes of military defeat in France.

While the *Boke of Noblesse* has been fruitfully studied from a variety of perspectives – in terms of humanism and classicism, ideas of masculinity, the reception of French texts, and ways of understanding military defeat, for example – less attention has been paid to the emotional quality and strategies of this remarkable text.² Worcester's writing is full of exhortations, laments, and complaints; the work itself almost gives the impression of a stream of consciousness – of the already rather torturous prose breaking down under the weight of extreme emotional pressure. In this essay, I want to draw attention to this emotional quality of the *Boke of Noblesse*, both in terms of the strategies Worcester uses in order to effect an emotional response from his readers – the apostrophes, laments, and exhortations – and in terms of its emotional landscape – the kind of emotional change and transformation Worcester imagines his text effecting in his readers.

At the outset of his work, Worcester describes both the content and the process of the book:

Here folowethe the evident Examples and the Resons of comfort for a reformation to be had upon the piteous complaintes and dolorous lamentacions made for the right grete outrageous and most grevous losse of the Royauome of Fraunce, Ducheez of Normandie, of Gascoyne, and Guyen, and also the noble Counte of Mayne, and the Erledom of Pontife, and for relevyng and geting ayen the said Reaume, Dukedoms, undre correccion of Amendement ben shewed the exortacions and mocions be Auctorite example of Actis in Armes bothe by experience and otherwise purposed, meoved, and declared, to corage and comfort the hertis of [the] englishe nacion.³

His persuasive strategy will rest on logic: authoritative examples ('Auctorite example'),⁴ arguments that are 'purposed, moved and declared', and also, of course, as the ideal orator who knows his Cicero, on pathos: the arousal of specific emotions.⁵ The emotive quality of his work is clear from this opening passage: piteous complaints and dolorous (sorrowful) lamentations are made by unspecified subjects; the loss of the English-held territories in France is 'right great, outrageous, and most grievous'. In his translation of Cicero's *De senectute* (made before 1473), Worcester expands his translation of Cicero's reference to tragedy to offer a definition: tragedy contains 'soroufull lamentacyons'.⁶ Here Worcester obliquely constructs the fall of Lancastrian France as tragic, or at least as producing the emotional state and practice befitting tragedy.

This opening also introduces another idea of key concern to the work as a whole. The *Boke of Noblesse* is written 'to corage and comfort the hertis of [the] englishe nacion'. Worcester's objective is that his work will have an emotional effect on his imagined readership. 'Comfort' is collocated with 'corage' on four occasions in this text.⁷ In its meanings, it is a near synonym of 'corage', meaning to encourage, incite or exhort. It is often used to describe the giving of a battle speech; a verb that describes the action in terms of its effect on its audience.⁸ And in many ways Worcester's work is like an extended battle speech: a call to arms that gives readers reasons why they should have courage. But 'comfort' also, of course, has the meaning of 'to console'.⁹ Worcester uses the word in this sense too: the *Boke of Noblesse* offers encouragement, but also consolation through its examples and arguments ('resons'), to its readers.

The emotional toll of the loss of the French lands in Worcester's imagining is striking. England is filled with complaint and lamentation; indeed, lamentation or its cognates is used five times in the opening two folios alone. He frequently, as seen in the passage cited above, talks specifically about 'dolorous lamentation' – a phrase potentially borrowed from one of

the documents copied into the codicil that was probably intended to be presented alongside the *Boke of Noblesse* – the petition of the inhabitants of Maine, which has a rubric in French specifying that ‘Sy ensuit la douloureuse lamentacion de perdicion du conte du Mayne’ [‘Here follows the dolorous lamentation on the loss of the county of Maine’].¹⁰ Elsewhere in his writings, Worcester shows a keen awareness of the costs of defeat. At the end of the petition of the inhabitants of Maine, for example, Worcester writes the following note:

Memorandum, quod ista peticio non fuit executata nec concessa, qua occasione quamplures soldarii fuerunt ducti ad maximam paupertatem, et quidam pro dolore infirmi et mortui, quidam imprisonati pro latrocinio et per justitiam morti traditi, quidam etiam rebelles morantes in parte regni Franciae.

[It is to be remembered that this petition was neither conceded nor carried out. And because of this very many soldiers were reduced to the greatest poverty; some, for grief, became ill and died; others were imprisoned for theft and were condemned to death by justice; while others still remained, as rebels, in the kingdom of France].¹¹

In another of his notebooks, now in the College of Arms, he allows another brief glimpse into the emotional cost of defeat. In a list of cities taken from the English by the French during the administration of the duke of Somerset, he gives details of what happened to those military captains once they returned to England. John Lampet, captain of Avranches, returned to England and ‘died of grief’ [‘morut de doelle’]; another, Oliver of Kathersby, lieutenant of Domfront en Partois, ‘for want of comfort and relief [...] died of grief of heart at Westminster near London, in very great poverty, in the year m. iiij. c. lvij’ [‘et pour faute de confort et relieff il de grevaunce de cuer morut a Westminster pres Londres en tres graunt pouverte lan m. iiij. c. lvij’].¹² The loss of the Lancastrian lands obviously had devastating material consequences for these individuals and groups, but Worcester also recognises that there is an emotional effect as well. Indeed, that emotional effect is in some ways more important than the economic, powerful enough to bring about the loss of life.¹³ In the *Boke of Noblesse*, Worcester extends the reach of these emotions: sorrow and grief are not only felt by a handful of military captains or a specific group, but by the whole realm, the ‘englishe nacion’. In a way that no other contemporary writer does, Worcester constructs a nation that is grieving following the loss of the Anglo-French territories.

Key to Worcester’s technique for producing or arousing emotion is the use of the apostrophe, a favoured technique in rhetorical handbooks. As the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* put it: ‘Apostrophe (Exclamatio) is the figure which

expresses grief or indignation by means of an address to some man or city or place or object [...] If we use Apostrophe in its proper place, sparingly, and when the importance of the subject seems to demand it, we shall instil in the hearer as much indignation as we desire'.¹⁴ Not quite taking on board the 'sparingly', the *Boke of Noblesse* contains apostrophes to, for example, Edward IV, the knights of England (termed 'right noble martirs'), and the nobility more generally, on 12 occasions.¹⁵ The treatise is full of interjections, and passages of exhortation, which are often prefaced by a title drawing attention to their exhortatory function or accompanied by marginal notes which state 'exortacio', 'exclamacio' or 'animacio'.¹⁶

On two occasions, Worcester uses the rhetorical figure of prosopopoeia in order to produce the desired response in his readers.¹⁷ In the first instance, Worcester addresses Edward IV, and describes how his 'obeisaunt subgeitis and trew liege peple be put owt of their londis and tenementis yoven to hem by youre predecessoures, as wel as be that highe and mighty prince Richarde Duke of Yorke, youre father, being at two voiages lieutenaunt and gouvernaunt in Fraunce, for service done unto hem in their conquest, not recompensed ayen to their undoing'.¹⁸ Worcester then appropriates the voice of those dispossessed by the cession of Maine in 1448, and uses it to criticise what he regards as an unfortunate English tendency to believe that the French would keep the terms of truces.

'Heh allas!', thei did crie, 'and woo be the tyme', they saide, 'that ever we shulde put affiaunce and trust to the Frenshe partie or their alliez in any trewes keping, considering so many folde tymes we have ben deceived and myschevid thoroughe suche dissimuled trewes as is late before specified'.¹⁹

Worcester follows common practice in specifying that these complaints are made by 'obeisaunt subgeitis and trew liege peple'.²⁰ In the second instance, he ventriloquizes more broadly the complaints of all those who lost goods as a result of the fall of Lancastrian France:

'He allas! we dolorous parsones suffring intollerabile persecucions and miserie, aswelle in honoure lost as in youre lyvelode there unrecompensid, as in oure meveable goodes bereved, what shalle we doo or say? Shalle we in this doloure, anguisshe, and hevynesse contynew long thus? Nay, nay, God defende that suche intrusions, grete wrongis, and tiranye shuld be left unpunished, and so gret a losse unpunysshed and not repared!'²¹

Worcester's use of prosopopoeia may have been inspired by his reading of Alain Chartier's *Quadriologue Invectif* (1422), a text which uses the genre of dream vision to present a debate between France and the three estates ('Le Chevalier', 'Le Clergié' and 'Le Peuple').²² First person complaint is

extraordinarily realised in this text. To take a representative passage, 'Le Peuple' laments:

'Je vif en mourant, voiant la mort de ma povre femme et de mes petis enfans et desirant la mienne qui tant me tarde que je la regrete chascun jour, comme cellui que courroux, fain et defiance de confort mainent douloureusement a son derrenier jour [...] je suys en exil en ma maison, prisonnier de mes amis, assailli de mes defendeurs et guerroyé des soul-doyers dont le paiement est fait de mon propre chatel.'²³

Worcester clearly found in the *Quadrilogue Investif* a model for his own project: it, like the *Boke of Noblesse*, combines consolation and complaint. It is also likely that Worcester's reading of the *Quadrilogue Investif* would have made evident to him the rhetorical and emotional potential afforded by prosopoeia.

Worcester's representation of the dispossessed, and the rhetorical uses to which he puts this group, also replicates the concerns and strategies of a number of other documents produced in the early 1450s, in the period immediately following the loss of the Anglo-French lands. In his notebook, College of Arms, MS 48, a document called the 'Advertirement' outlines the offences leading up to the fall of Normandy.²⁴ The author of this document also uses the figure of the dispossessed to striking emotional effect. After specifying that 'everybody knows' that compensation was promised to those dispossessed, and that money was raised for just such a purpose, the author describes how

the Kyng verray true sugettes that have do hym service in his conquest of Fraunce and Normandye, which were guedonde and rewarded for her seid service in the said counte of Mayn, be returned hom into thes londe destitut of lyvyng, Right pore and unpurveyed of recompensee or livelode. And not only theym but theyr wiffys and children utterly discomforted in defaute that the seid provision and recompence was not made, which is to pitiable a thing to think.²⁵

In this instance, both Worcester and the author of 'Advertirement' take a particular group – the dispossessed – and fashion them as figures of pathos. But significantly, pity is not only produced by dwelling on their suffering, that of their dependents and so on, but also by telling the reader *how* to respond emotionally to the information with which they have been presented. In case you were in any doubt, it is 'too pitiable a thing to think' about the suffering this group has endured. Here, then, we have the mobilisation of pity for a specific persuasive and also political purpose.²⁶ Emotion is not being produced for the sake of it, but in order to advance a specific political agenda. In this case, pity is the emotion on which necessary restitution to the dispossessed depends.²⁷

Pity is, in fact, a particularly important emotion in the *Boke of Noblesse*. A discussion advocating the importance of paying soldiers' wages and ensuring that captains and officers do not oppress the local population includes the following exhortation:²⁸

O mighteie king, and ye noble lordes of this roiaume, if ye were wele advertised and enfourmed of the gret persecucions, by way of suche oppressions and tyrannies, ravynes, and crueltees, that many of suche officers have suffred to be done unponissed to the pore comons, laborers, [and] paissauntes of the saide duchie of Normandie, it is veraille to deme that certez ye of noble condicions, naturally pitous, wolde not haue suffred suche grevous inconvenientis [and would have] redressid and amendid [them] long or the said intrusion fille. [Such officers] often tymes suffred them to be manassed, [and] beten, and mischieved theire bestis withe theire wepyngs, that they were nighe out of theire wittis for sorow [...] and this innumerable charges and divers tormentis have ben done to theym to theire uttermost undoing. He allas! and yet seeing they bene christen men, and lyvyng under youre obeissaunce, [and] lawes, and yovyng and yelding to youre lawes as trew englysshe men done, by whome also we lyve and be susteyned, and youre werre the bettir born out and mainteyned, why shulde it here after be suffred that suche tormentrie and cruelte shulde be shewed unto theym?²⁹

In this passage, feeling the appropriate emotion becomes bound up with status. Worcester delineates a scene full of pathos – subjects driven to near madness by the actions of officers, the litany of near synonyms, the 'gret persecucions', 'oppressions', 'tyrannies', 'ravynes' (robberies) and 'crueltees', to describe what has been done to the populace.³⁰ But in case the appropriate response has not been generated, Worcester steps in with a little reminder that nobility 'naturally' brings with it a capacity for feeling, and specifically the capacity to feel pity. As Chaucer puts it on four occasions, 'Pitee renneth soone in gentil herte'.³¹ To feel pity, then, becomes part of a performance of noble identity; a failure to feel pity at this moment implicitly interrogates one's claim to possess 'noble condicions' at all. Phrased as an assumption of an emotional response already taking place in readers, this is also an injunction to feel pity. It is a reminder that to feel pity relates to the wider identity that nobles claim for themselves. Pity is here both an affective response to suffering in others, and an affective duty to be performed.

The logic of this passage is that had the king been informed about the (crucially 'unponissed') mistreatment of local populations, he would have felt the pity that was natural to him, and so would have redressed the wrongs done to emphatically his own subjects, to those 'lyvyng under youre obeissaunce, [and] lawes'. The reiteration that these are English subjects, and that their treatment remains unpunished, is vital because it means that

a failure to enact the reforms Worcester is advocating becomes a failure of kingship. Protection of subjects is, of course, central to ideals of good kingship. But, crucially, the performance of this element of kingly identity here depends on a capacity to feel pity. Pity is the emotion that enables a king to act as a king ought.³² An absence of pity means that a king will neglect one of his most important responsibilities.

The importance attached by Worcester to pity helps to explain one of the most striking moments of this text. Worcester is willing to allow one moment where the reconquest of Normandy by Charles VII might be seen as a glorious, as opposed to illegitimate, act. 1450 saw Charles set about reconquering Normandy not because he was an opportunist, or avaricious, or paid no respect to the legality of his claim, but because of pity.³³ In Worcester's account Charles enters Normandy 'for pite of his peple so oppressid, hiring theire clamours and cries and theire curses'.³⁴ Charles here appears like King Arthur in insular narratives: moved to violence through pity for the suffering of civilians.³⁵

In this text, emotion is not produced for its own sake, but in order to enable readers to do things. In one instance, Worcester urges readers to 'levithe suche idille lamentacions, put away thoughte and gret pensifnes of suche lamentable passions and besinesse [anxiety, worry, vexation], and put ye hem to foryeteffulnesse', but the point is not that grief and sorrow are themselves undesirable emotions, but that they have not been directed in the best way.³⁶ They have produced 'idle lamentation', have reached the point where lamentation – itself an appropriate response to the fall of France – has become 'idle'.³⁷ Those strong overwhelming emotions now need to be converted and turned into other emotions which will lead to the attempted recovery of the French lands. So, Worcester urges:

every man in hym silf let the passions of dolours be turned and empressid into vyfnes [liveliness]³⁸ of here spiritis, of egre courages, of manlinesse and feersnesse, after the condicion of the lion [...]: for as ire, egrenesse, and feersnesse is holden for a vertu in the lion, so in like manere the said condicions is taken for a vertue and renomme [reputation or report] of worship to alle tho that haunten armes: that so usithe [becomes accustomed] to be egre, feers uppon his advers partie, and not to be lamentable and sorrouffulle after a wrong shewed unto them.³⁹

This passage is mapping a process of emotional transformation. The 'passions of dolours' – of sorrow – the passion that Worcester's contemporary, Reginald Pecock, describes as being 'scharper, smerter, and feruenter' than other passions – need to be 'turned and empressid' – converted and fixed – into 'liveliness of their spirits, of eager courage, of manliness and fierceness'.⁴⁰ Eagerness and fierceness though, in this formulation, require anger, 'ire'. And producing that emotion in his readers is part of the project of

this work. Worcester attempts to do this both by writing the narrative of the end of the Lancastrian occupation as one in which the French repeatedly broke the truce before the sack of Fougères – a point that Worcester emphasises through repetition, rubrics, and annotations – and by setting out England's hereditary claim to those lands.⁴¹ The anger Worcester attempts to produce conforms in some respects, perhaps unconsciously or accidentally, to Aristotle's definition of anger as the emotional response to 'a conspicuous slight that was directed, without justification, against oneself or those near to one'.⁴² To feel anger, the slight must be perceived as unjustified, so Worcester attempts to stress precisely that: that the loss of Normandy was unjustified both in the particular circumstances that led up to it (i.e. it was not legally justified) – and in hereditary terms – by setting out the historical claim of the English over parts of France. He also emphasises the genealogical superiority of the English. Large portions of the text recount English military success in arenas across the world from the time of King Arthur onwards.⁴³ The point of this becomes clear when he later, in an apostrophe to England, asks whether England will allow itself to remain 'confunded' ('defeated') by 'simpler people of reputacion [...] whiche ye and youre noble progenitours have conquerid and overcom diuerse tymes before this'.⁴⁴

But on a number of occasions, Worcester also intervenes in the reading process in order to direct emotional response. Worcester tells his readers what they are supposed to *do* with the material they have been reading and how they are supposed to feel about it. In one exhortation, Worcester anticipates and so shapes the response to the material.

O then, ye noble Englissh chevalrie, late it no mervaille be to yow [...] that ye renew youre coragious hertis to take armes and entreprinses, seeing so many good examples before yow of so many victorius dedis in armes done by youre noble progenitours.⁴⁵

This offers a 'working definition' of the effect that reading the *Boke of Noblesse* ought to have on its readers. Reading about the acts of one's ancestors enables the renewal of courage.⁴⁶ In this respect, Worcester replicates frequently reiterated theorisations of the connection between the reception of texts and the stirring of military courage.⁴⁷ But what is of particular interest here is that in this direct address to his readers, Worcester is also directing that response. He is telling his readers how they *ought* to be responding to the text they have been reading. It is not only an intervention in the reading process – in the sense that it interrupts the narrative in the way that apostrophes always do – but also a stipulation of the emotional process that ought to be taking place. In this way, the addressees of the apostrophe are important: the 'noble Englissh chevalrie'. Worcester here ties the nobility and knightliness of the reader to the response to the material they ought to be having. Positing the renewal of courage as the inevitable, almost involuntary, response to this material for

those who have nobility and knightliness, means that not to respond to the material in such a way is more than just a failure of response or an incorrect reading; it is also a comment on one's possession of those other qualities. Just as in an earlier example the claim to possess 'noble condicions' was presented as contingent on the capacity to feel pity, here it is implied that if readers do not respond in the appropriate way, with renewed courage, it must be because they lack nobility.

This linking of proper response to nobility also characterises other parts of the work. In another instance, Worcester provides his readers with an example which illustrates the way they ought to react to the loss of the Lancastrian lands.

Wherfor, like and after the example of the boore, whiche knowethe not his power, but foryetithe his strenghte tille he be chafed and see his owne bloode. In like wise put forthe youre silf, avausning youre corageous her-tis to werre. And late youre strenght be revyved and waked ayen, furious, egre, and rampanyng [ramping; standing up in attack] as liouns ayenst alle tho nacions that soo without title of righte wolde put you frome youre said rightfulle enheritaunce.⁴⁸

Worcester's text – by outlining the injuries inflicted on the English by the French throughout the *Boke of Noblesse* – is supposed to act like the sight of blood on the boar. The boar requires the sight of its own blood in order to remember its own condition; it is the visual proof of its injury which reminds it of its strength and power and produces the requisite response. The *Boke* is supposed to produce a similar effect on its readers: meditation on the injuries inflicted on the English not only enables readers to remember their previous condition, but also produces the anger and indignation necessary for effective action. That these similes and examples use boars and lions – noble beasts – is, of course, no accident. It is all part of this connecting of response to nobility. And the exemplarity of the natural world also acts to naturalise the impulse towards retaliation with its concomitant emotions of anger, indignation and fury. Having read the preceding account, it is both a noble and a natural response to want to make war in France.⁴⁹

The final passage of the *Boke of Noblesse* contains the following plea: 'And wolde the mightifulle god that euery harde covetouse hert were of suche largesse and distributif of here meveable good and tresoure to the comon wele [...] as noble governours were before this tyme'.⁵⁰ The description of the heart as 'harde' here suggests two things. Its primary meaning is parsimonious or miserly.⁵¹ But a hard heart is also a heart with a reduced capacity for feeling, and I would argue that Worcester intends the phrase to have that meaning too.⁵² Worcester uses the collocation 'harde hert' in this sense in an earlier exemplum, that of Marcus Atilius Regulus, the Roman governor who refused to exchange Carthaginian prisoners for his own life, and so willingly

went to Carthage where he was imprisoned, subjected to terrible torture and eventually killed. Worcester refuses to outline the torture endured by Marcus Atilius, but does pause to tell the reader that if 'it were expressid here it wolde make an harde hert man to falle the teris of his yen'.⁵³ As this implies, 'hard hearted' is often used to denote the heart that finds it difficult to feel pity in particular.⁵⁴ Worcester's final exhortation suggests that those who possess hearts that are not hard, those who do have a capacity for feeling, are more willing to invest in the common weal of the realm. Indeed, just before this moment, Worcester exhorts his readers to 'com forthe withe a [...] bounteous hert' and contribute their goods for the war. This, he tells us, is what 'trew Englissh men shulde doo'.⁵⁵ Once more, Worcester makes the claim to possess other qualities or identities – in this case, those that pertain to 'trew Englissh men' – depend on the emotional.

Worcester's final exhortation forms part of the wider diagnosis of military defeat advanced throughout the *Boke of Noblesse*. Central to this diagnosis was the argument that there had been reluctance to pay for war, and that money intended for the war had been misappropriated.⁵⁶ But implicit in this final passage of the *Boke of the Noblesse* is the sense that the Lancastrian lands were lost not just because of the presence of covetous individuals who withheld wages or refused to finance campaigns, but also because of the absence of appropriate sentiment, an affective deficiency. The values at the centre of Worcester's text then – of providing financially for war, commitment to the common weal, the defence of subjects, and the administration of justice – rest ultimately on an affective foundation.

I want, in conclusion, to suggest two points: first, that the reform Worcester is advocating in the *Boke of Noblesse* is not just concerned with practical issues – paying men, redistributing wealth, making alliances – but also about ways of being – an emotional transformation is part of the reform Worcester is hoping to inspire in readers. Reform is indeed predicated on emotional change: only by feeling pity, will the dispossessed be relieved; only through pity for the non-combatant, will soldiers be paid their wages or local administration be reformed; only through feeling legitimate anger, will Englishmen recover their continental possessions. Secondly, I want to suggest that Worcester provides his readers with models of appropriate emotional response, and, in so doing, he gives readers 'scripts for the performance of feeling'.⁵⁷ The exempla that proliferate in this work do indeed give readers models of virtue, as previous scholars have noted, but they also give readers models of exemplary emotional response.

Notes

1. For this account of the composition of the *Boke of Noblesse*, see K. B. McFarlane, 'William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays*, ed. G. L. Harriss (London: Hambledon, 1981), 199–224.

2. For humanism and classicism, see Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 93–125; for masculinity, see Christopher Fletcher, 'La force politique de la manhood: Le *Boke of Noblesse* of William Worcester', in *Les vecteurs de l'idéal: La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Rome: Publications of the École Française de Rome, forthcoming); for French texts and responses to defeat, see Catherine R. Nall, 'William Worcester Reads Alain Chartier: *Le Quadrilogue Investif* and its English Readers', in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. E. J. Cayley and Ashby Kinch (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 134–48; and *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England: From Lydgate to Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), Chapter Two; C. T. Allmand and M. H. Keen, 'History and the Literature of War: The *Boke of Noblesse* of William of Worcester', in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. C. T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 92–105; Christopher Allmand, 'France-Angleterre à la Fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans: Le "Boke of Noblesse" de William Worcester', in *La 'France Anglaise' au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1988), 103–11. In terms of attention to emotion in this text, Christopher Fletcher quite rightly points out that: 'Dès le début du *Boke of Noblesse* sa mission est autant émotionnelle que pratique' ('La force politique').
3. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 1r; [William Worcester], *The Boke of Noblesse*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Roxburghe Club, 1860), 1–2. Quotations are taken from the Roxburghe club edition; I have slightly emended the quotations when errors in punctuation obscure Worcester's sense, using the transcription of BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII produced by myself and Daniel Wakelin.
4. Worcester here seems to be using 'auctorite' as an adjective. There are no attestations of the word used as adjective in the MED, but in his translation of Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, Worcester refers to decisions 'made by counseill by auctorite experience and by ordenauncys of grete witt and hygh discession', where 'auctorite' similarly seems to function as an adjective (the source states 'par conseil, par autorité et par ordonnance'): [William Worcester] (trans.), *Tullius de Senectute* (Westminster: Caxton, 1481, STC 5293), sig. C2 v; Stefania Marzano, 'Édition critique du *Livre de viellesse* par Laurent de Premierfait (1405)' (Master's thesis, McGill University, 2003), 60. For Worcester's use of the *Livre de viellesse*, see Wakelin, *Humanism*, 110.
5. According to Cicero, persuasion relies on 'the proof of our allegations, the winning of our hearer's favour, and the rousing of their feelings to whatever impulse our case may require': Cicero, *De oratore: Books I-II*, trans. E. W. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1948), 2, xxvii, 115. For Worcester's knowledge of a range of Cicero's works, see Jonathan Hughes, 'Stephen Scrope and the Circle of Sir John Fastolf: Moral and Intellectual Outlooks', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 109–46; Wakelin, *Humanism*, 101–2. In terms of Worcester's knowledge of Cicero's works on rhetoric, Worcester refers to 'Tullius [...] in his in his [sic] booke of rethorique' on two occasions in the *Boke of Noblesse* (on fols. 12v and 29r; *The Boke of Noblesse*, 25 and 57). On the second occasion, he annotates the passage with the marginal note 'Tullius in nova rethorica'. This probably refers to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages and referred to as his 'Rhetorica Nova'. Worcester copied extracts from several rhetorical works into one of his notebooks (BL, MS Cotton Julius F. VII): an extract on fol. 48v, for example,

- entitled 'diffinicio Rethorice', draws on Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.
6. [Worcester] (trans.), *Tullius de Senectute*, sig. e5 v; Marzano, 'Édition critique du *Livre de viellesse*', 88.
 7. Twice on fol. 1r, on fol. 10v, and fol. 21v (*Boke of Noblesse*, 1, 2, 21, 43). Their antonyms appear in Worcester's point that the fact that the English are not battle ready should not 'discomfort or fere to a new Recovere': fol. 12v (*Boke of Noblesse*, 26).
 8. So, for example, in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* 'the king aurely his felawes confortede to fytze' (line 2929); in the *Siege of Troye* 'the Traytours comforted the Ost' (line 1921); in the *Wars of Alexander* 'A douth he assembles [...] comforthis his host' (line 3008): see MED *comforten* (v.) 2(a).
 9. MED *comforten* (v.) 4(a) To cheer (sb.) up, console.
 10. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 506, fol. 55r; Joseph Stevenson, ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, Roll Series 22, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1861–4), II, 598. This title is written in the hand of the scribe who copies the French materials in this manuscript; it is not in Worcester's hand. The collocation 'dolorous lamentation' appears in other petitionary contexts. The bill delivered to parliament in 1450 concerning the alleged offences of the duke of Suffolk specifies that the king's 'true feithfull subgettes and comons' complain 'with dolorous lamentation': Anne Curry, ed. 'Henry VI: Parliament of November 1449, Text and Translation', in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al., item 28. Internet version, at <http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME>, accessed on 06 October 2013 (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2005). For the rhetorical conventions of petitions, see Gwilym Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); for complaint literature, see Wendy Scase, *Literature and Complaint in England, 1272–1553* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
 11. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 506, fol. 56v. The translation is taken from C. T. Allmand, ed. *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1973), 176.
 12. Printed in Stevenson, ed. *Letters and Papers*, II, 629, 633. The difficulty Lampet faced receiving compensation, and the material losses he sustained due to the capture of Avranches, is suggested by a grant recorded in the patent rolls (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1446–52* (London: HMSO, 1906), 569). 'Kathersby' is presumably an error for Oliver Bathyrsby, who appears in records at Domfront in 1443 and 1445; see the AHRC-funded 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Online Database', www.medievalsoldier.org, accessed 20 October 2013.
 13. It is possible that 'dying of grief' and similar phrases here function as euphemisms for suicide. Euphemism is commonly used to describe suicide in the Middle Ages; see Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages. Volume 1: The Violent against Themselves* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 34–8.
 14. 'Exclamatio est quae conficit significationem doloris aut indignationis alicuius per hominis aut urbis aut loci aut rei cuiuspian compellationem [...] Hac exclamazione si loco utemur, raro, et cum rei magnitudo postulare videbitur, ad quam volemus indignatione animum auditoris adducemus': [Cicero], *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1964), IV. xv. 22.
 15. See *Boke of Noblesse*, 3, 9, 20, 26, 29, 43, 48, 56, 73, 75, 79 and 82.

16. For titles introducing passages as 'exortacions', see *Boke of Noblesse*, 9, 43, 56; for passages annotated with 'exclamacio', 'exhortacio' or 'animacio', see, for example, 20, 32, 43, 49, 73, 79.
17. According to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 'Conformatio est cum aliqua quae non adest persona confingitur quasi adsit, aut cum res muta aut informis fit eloquens, et forma ei et oratio adtribuitur ad dignitatem adcommodata aut actio quaedam' ['Personification consists in representing an absent person as present, or in making a mute thing or one lacking form articulate, and attributing to it a definite form and a language or a certain behaviour appropriate to its character']: [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Caplan, IV. liii. 66.
18. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 21r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 41. For the policy of giving lands and offices in conquered territory as rewards for military service, and the lack of compensation to those who then lost them as a result of the loss of Lancastrian lands in France, see C. T. Allmand, 'La Normandie devant l'opinion anglaise à la fin de la guerre de Cent Ans', *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 128 (1970): 345–68, and *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
19. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 21r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 41.
20. This tendency is evident throughout the *Boke of Noblesse*; complaints are always made by 'verray true obeisaunt subjectis' (for example, fol. 2r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 3).
21. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 25r-v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 49.
22. In 1453 Worcester was in Paris having passages from the *Quadrilogue Invectif* and Chartier's *Livre de l'Esperance* (1428–20) copied into one of his notebooks. See Nall, 'William Worcester'; Wakelin, *Humanism*, 105–8.
23. Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 28, lines 21 to page 29, line 1, page 29, lines 15–18. This is powerfully rendered by a contemporary translator: 'I live in deying, seing byfore [me] the deth of my wyfe and of my powr childern, which daily aschyn me sustenaunce, and liyth nat in my power to confort them, and I myself as a man lokeing hevvyly and sorowfully for hungir and defaulte, abydyng my last day [...] I am put in exile, prisoner in my howse, assailid of my frendis and of them that shold be my defendours, and I werre with souldiours wherof the payment is made with my propir goodis': M. S. Blayney, ed. *Fifteenth-Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de l'Esperance and Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, EETS os 270, 281, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974, 1980), I, 168, lines 11–15, 27–30.
24. London, College of Arms, MS 48, fols. 324v–325v. The document is undated, but Anne Curry plausibly suggests a date of 1452, as it refers to the loss of Guienne (the duchy was lost in 1451): Anne Curry, 'Henry VI: Parliament of November 1450, Introduction', in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al. Internet version, at <http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME>, accessed on 6 October 2013 (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2005).
25. London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 48, fol. 325v. I am grateful to Professor Anne Curry for sharing her transcription of this document with me.
26. For a discussion of the political purposes to which the cultivation of compassion could be put in the seventeenth century, see John Staines, 'Compassion in the Public Sphere of Milton and King Charles', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 89–110.

27. Similarly, the petition of the inhabitants of Maine, mentioned above, constructs compensation for the dispossessed as an act demonstrating pity: Stevenson, ed. *Letters and Papers*, II, 601–2.
28. Worcester tackles the issue of payment of wages twice in the *Boke of Noblesse*. On the first occasion his discussion is based on the first part of Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*, see 30–31. The second discussion does not appear to have a direct source.
29. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fols. 35v–36r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 73.
30. For growing interest in the plight of non-combatants, particularly in the works of French writers, see C. T. Allmand, 'War and the Non-Combatant', in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. K. Fowler (London: Macmillan, 1971), 163–83; and 'War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Warfare: A History*, ed. Maurice Keen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 253–72.
31. The line appears in the 'Knight's Tale', line 1761, 'Squire's Tale', line 479, 'Merchant's Tale', line 1986, and *Legend of Good Women*, F Prologue, line 503. See also the 'Man of Law's Tale', line 660: 'As gentil herte is fulfid of pitee'. All references are to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). For discussions of pity in relation to nobility in Chaucer's work, see J. D. Burnley, *Chaucer's Language and the Philosophers' Tradition* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979), particularly Chapter 9; Jill Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 165–85; Felicity Riddy, 'Engendering Pity in the Franklin's Tale', in *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect*, ed. Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson (London: Routledge, 1994), 54–71.
32. A similar set of associations – between pity and the responsibilities attached to kingship and conquest – seems to inform a moment in the second tale of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. The 'husbandeman' (it is a Templar in Malory's source) describes the cruelty inflicted by the giant on the local population, and tells Arthur 'Now, as thou arte oure ryghtwos kyng, rewe on this lady and on thy lyege peple, and revenge us as a noble conquerroure sholde': Sir Thomas Malory, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), I, 199. 'as a noble conquerroure sholde' is Malory's addition to his source.
33. Charles' invasion is, of course, usually presented in this text as negative, referred to as 'ayenst alle honoure and trouthe of knighthode' (BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 12r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 25,) and an 'unmanly disseising' (BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 25r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 48).
34. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 36r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 74.
35. In the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*, for example, in response to the news of what the giant has been doing to Arthur's people, the poet tells us 'Then romes [below] the rich king for rewth [pity] of the people' before preparing to fight the giant: Mary Hamel, ed., *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition* (New York and London: Garland, 1984), line 888. Pity is also the emotion that moves Theseus to violence at the beginning of Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale' (see lines 952–6).
36. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 2r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 3.
37. This is the implication of Worcester's quotation of Boethius, which introduces this passage: 'Sed medicine inquit tempus est quam queerele' ['But it is time for medicine rather than complaint'] (BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 2r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 3). This implies that there was a time for a complaint, not that complaint is itself illegitimate or improper. By positioning his work as one which offers comfort and consolation, as discussed above, Worcester is aligning his

- text with Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. More work needs to be done on Worcester's Boethian self-fashioning.
38. This is the only attestation of this word in the MED. It is not in the OED.
 39. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 2v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 4.
 40. Reginald Pecock, *The Follower to the Donet*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, EETS os 164 (London, 1924), 98, lines 24–30.
 41. For example, Worcester's statement that 'before the taking of Fugiers ser Simon Morhier knight, provost of Paris' was taken prisoner and the fortress of Pountlurge was captured: *Boke of Noblesse*, 5. That the French broke the truce before the English is emphasised by the title: 'How the frenshe partie began *firste* to offende and brake the trewis' (my italics): BL, MS Royal 18 B.XXII, fol. 3r. The attack on Fougères gave Charles VII the legal justification for resuming military action against the English. The English claim to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Gascony and Guienne are outlined between fols. 11r–12r (*Boke of Noblesse*, 22–5).
 42. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, ed. and trans. George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1378a31–33, cited in Daniel M. Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion: From Aristotle's Rhetoric to Modern Brain Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 1.
 43. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fols.5r–10v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 9–20.
 44. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 40v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 82.
 45. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 14r-v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 29.
 46. Courage is interesting in terms of the history of emotion. Following Aristotle's discussion in the *Nicomachian Ethics*, it was typically treated as a virtue in the Middle Ages. Yet, crucially, courage does not exist as in some way free from emotion. Aristotle makes it clear that courage is not an absence of the emotion of fear, but the presence of the correct amount of it. To not feel fear at all would not make one courageous. I am most persuaded by the notion of courage as an 'emotion-regulating virtue' (on this, see Kristján Kristjánsson, *Justice and Desert-Based Emotions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 22). The understanding of courage at work in the *Boke of Noblesse* clearly contains a significant emotional component, and follows in important respects the conception advanced in the *Ethics*, a text which Worcester knew (Worcester refers to 'Aristotle in the Etiques' in a letter of 1460, and there is a reference in one of his notebooks to 'libro magno Ethicorum': Richard Beadle, 'Sir John Fastolf's French Books', in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Denis Renevey and Graham D. Caie (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 96–112, at 107). In the *Boke of Noblesse*, courage can be produced through rational evaluation of a situation, the knowledge that you are better prepared, equipped or trained for war, as well as through tales or spectacles of the bravery of others.
 47. For example, the chronicler John Hardyng describes how 'Olde knyghtes actes with mynstrelles tonge stere/ The newe corage of yonge knyghtes to be moved': John Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (London: Rivington, 1812), 32. For wider discussion of the relationship between texts and courage, see Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 152–5. This understanding also informs the way that Worcester describes other texts within his work. For example, the 12 labours of Hercules were written 'to courage and comfort alle othre noble men of birthe to be victorious in entreprinses of armes': BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 10v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 21.
 48. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fols.10v–11r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 22.

49. Worcester certainly attempts to make this point elsewhere too, as does Chartier in the *Quadriologue Invectif*. Worcester makes the explicit point that it is natural to want to defend your country: BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 12v. See also the discussion in Allmand and Keen, 'History and the Literature of War', 98.
50. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 42r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 85.
51. See MED *hard* (adj.) 3(b) parsimonious, sparing, grasping, miserly.
52. See MED *hard* (adj.) 3(a) Unfeeling, callous, severe, harsh, implacable; and *hard-hearted* (adj.) (a) Obdurate, unfeeling, hard-hearted.
53. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 33r; *Boke of Noblesse*, 66. This is another instance of Worcester scripting the emotional response of a reader. Worcester's translation of *De senectute* contains the same example. In this instance, though, Worcester heightens the pathos of the narrative. His enemies 'constreyned hym by grete duresse and peyne turmented hym in a pype/ festned and stikked fulle of nailles rollid hym and kutte the ledys of his eye that he myght not slepe, and othir paynes for to dye by so long and cruel turment and payne that it is not possible to reherse it withoute wepyng terys': ([Worcester], *Tullius de Senectute*, sig. Hi r-v). In both cases, the physical act of weeping is the outward manifestation of the emotion of pity.
54. The *Prickinge of Love*, for example, contains advice for the reader who has a heart that is 'hard and dryye with-owten steryng of loue or of compassioun' (cited in Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 127); a fifteenth-century sermon collection states that 'prowde men arn [...] harde in herte wyth-oute compassioun': *Jacob's Well*, ed. A. Brandeis, EETS os 115 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1900; reprint 1973), 236, line 29.
55. BL, MS Royal 18.B.XXII, fol. 39v; *Boke of Noblesse*, 82.
56. For this argument, and its relation to other explanations of defeat advanced in the aftermath of the fall of Normandy, see Nall, *Reading and War*, Chapter Two.
57. McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 12. I use this phrase in a looser sense than that intended by McNamer, who is referring to a genre which includes texts that 'are scripted as first-person, present-tense utterances, designed to be enacted by the reader', 12. Worcester obviously does not do this, but his examples and delineations of emotional transformation do attempt to encourage and enable a reader to feel in particular ways.

7

'I Was Enforced to Become an Eyed Witnes': Documenting War in Medieval and Early Modern Literature

Joanna Bellis

The familiarity attaching to the idiom 'writing history' obscures its paradox: the participle locates the 'writing' in the present, while the noun belongs to the past. 'History' is a shapeshifter, as its journey from *estoire* reveals: it connotes not 'the past', but the story of the past, 'the narration, representation, or study of events'.¹ There is, by definition, no history outside writing: what separates it from pre-history or archaeology is that it is written. But if there is no history outside writing, there is none inside it either: the written record remains a representation, the access it offers to the past an illusion.

In 1602 Samuel Daniel called history 'but a Mapped men', which 'dooth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true Substance of Circumstances, than a superficial Card dooth the Sea-man with a Coast neuer seene'.² Written history, for Daniel, bore as much resemblance to the past as a map of a coastline drawn by someone who had never seen it. It was not only unreliable but deceptive, promising a fidelity it could not deliver. Daniel's verdict was more cynical than that of most of his contemporaries. Richard Grafton exulted in 1543 that past events

Are in chronicles so plainly shoven,
That things antique to vs bee as apparent
As yf at their doings we had been present.³

But this ostensible faith in the identity between written history and its absent object should not be read too disingenuously. This was advertising talk, promoting the chronicle it prefaced: it is given the lie by the conjunction 'As yf', betraying the impossibility of actually being 'present' at 'things antique', however plausible their narration. However, Grafton's glorification was more indicative of the dominant tradition of historiographical self-representation than Daniel's scepticism. The meme of the past as a mirror (*speculum*), into which the present might look and know itself, was commonplace (witness the plethora of texts that bear that title); and history's function as the instructor of the present lifted it into the moral sphere. Few

writers called into question history's capacity to represent *tout court*. But the burden of the gap between the historian and her subject weighed heavily on those who wrote as eyewitnesses. If history was lauded, *eyewitness* history was still more so: surely in the person of the eyewitness the gap between event and narration could be closed?

This article explores the pressures articulated by eyewitness historians of the late medieval and early modern period. More keenly than historians at further degrees of remove (like Grafton), they felt the burden of 'writing history'; yet more passionately than sceptics (like Daniel) they advocated the uniqueness of their accounts. The complex relation between fiction and history hardened from intellectual discourse to emotional dilemma, for those at the coalface, and their responses to their genre are the subject of this argument.

Theorizing the eyewitness in the early middle ages

Historia had always been a key subject of philosophical enquiry, eyewitness history singled out for special praise. The sixth-century encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville defined *historia* as 'a narrative of deeds accomplished', intimating its written, mediative character; however, his etymological argument derived *historia*

from the Greek term ἵστωρειν ('inquire, observe'), that is, from 'seeing' or from 'knowing.' Indeed, among the ancients no one would write a history unless he had been present and had seen what was to be written down, for we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than what we gather with our hearing, since what is seen is revealed without falsehood.⁴

The faith Isidore expressed in eyewitness history to reveal 'without falsehood' rested on the twin pillars of Christian and classical tradition: 'Moses was the first to write a history, on creation', and 'Dares the Phrygian was the first to publish a history, on the Greeks and Trojans'. His next chapter (*De utilitate historiae*) emphasized history's moral function, 'for the instruction of the living'. The chain that linked the living and the dead was imagined as unbroken: 'histories are called "monuments" (*monumentum*), because they grant a remembrance (*memoria*) of deeds that have been done'.⁵

Isidore's 'monuments' constructed a tangible link between past and present. The opposite of Daniel's fallible map, this impregnable etymology turned history into archaeology: *historia*, derived (incorrectly) from *videre* and *cognoscere*, represented 'an amalgam of seeing and knowing'. This linguistic argument drew into lexical syzygy the concepts of sight and truth, and into temporal syzygy the experiences of the eyewitness *then* and the

knowledge imparted *now*. It was the figure of the eyewitness that 'separated history [...] from fable'. Jeanette M. A. Beer continues:

Isidore's assertion of the reliability of eye-witness history ignored such complicating factors as personality, background, and political motive. It subordinated style to content, for the 'res gesta' and not the manner of its 'narration' now defined history. [...] Thus the genre that Quintillian had once regarded as most akin to poetry and as most deserving of stylistic elaboration was now redefined.⁶

Christian history furnished the best possible templates for this exaltation of the eyewitness in the accounts of the evangelists. Luke's gospel opened with the promise 'to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us; according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses', for the purpose 'that thou mayest know the verity of those words in which thou hast been instructed'. John's ended with the asseveration 'This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things; and we know that his testimony is true'. Peter's second epistle emphasized that 'we have not by following artificial fables, made known to you the power, and the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; but we were eyewitnesses of his greatness'.⁷ The New Testament not only repeatedly asserted its status as authorially eyewitnessed, but established the necessity of such a status for claims both to 'verity' and 'instruction'.

Classical history provided only slightly less formidable a pedigree: 'Dares the Phrygian', the most famous non-biblical eyewitness of the Middle Ages. His account, *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Trojae historia*, was read from the sixth century into the fifteenth, and not until much later established as a forgery. The esteem in which Dares was held is apparent in Lydgate's *Troy Book*, which praised 'Ovide', 'Virgile', 'Omer' and 'Lollius', but singled out

toforn alle Dares Frigius
Wrot moste trewly after that he fonde,
And Dytes eke of the Grekys lond.
They were present and seyen everydel,
And as it fel they write trewe and wel.⁸

The conviction that Dares wrote 'moste trewly' because he was 'present and seyen everydel' articulates the ancient principle that implacable reliability could be sought exclusively in eyewitness testimony.

Historia had not always divorced itself from fable so categorically. Donald R. Kelley distinguishes between a 'Herodotean' methodology (named for Herodotus, 'father of history' and 'father of lies') which made space for myth, epic and fable, and a 'Thucydidean' methodology (named for Thucydides,

eyewitness of the Peloponnesian War) which saw ‘history as a process to be enclosed in, or reduced to, familiar explanatory factors’.⁹ But despite the elasticity in its terminology, the historical genre largely resisted its own lexical narrative. ‘The notion of a single, static definition is unhistorical in the extreme’, writes Kelley; but the illusion of stasis remained powerful, and its most pervasive iteration was the ‘stasis’ of eyewitness testimony, imagined as a perfect distillation, and a guarantor of uncompromised mediation.

The Isidorean model held out the possibility of redeeming something real from the abyss of oblivion, a true relic. He distinguished unhesitatingly between histories as ‘true deeds that have happened’, and fables, ‘things that have not happened and cannot happen’. This confidence was not simply predicated on a conflation of two senses of history: he not only began with the admission ‘A history is a narrative’, but continued, ‘This discipline has to do with Grammar, because whatever is worthy of remembrance is committed to writing’.¹⁰ Rather, it was predicated on faith in the vital link that eyewitnesses provided between *seeing* and *knowing*. Narrative could be redemptive: as long as *historia* was recorded by its witnesses, it preserved this etymological integrity. There was therefore a crucial tension undergirding history’s relationship to fiction, and its relationship to truth, which manifested as an emotional tension for writers on whose testimony the genre’s sacred status stood or fell.

These emotional demands are explored in the rest of this chapter, in particular the ways in which the practicalities of writing (style and stylization, form and formula, meme, trope, and voice) both lent the eyewitness narrative authority and immediacy, and brought it closer to fiction. How it *felt* to be an eyewitness, especially an eyewitness of war, is the theme of the rest of this discussion: how writers shouldered the burden of generic expectation in their documentation of violent events at which ‘they were present and seyen everydel’.

Witnessing war in the Middle Ages

The first account is the *Life of the Black Prince*, 4188 lines of octosyllabic Anglo-Norman couplets written c.1385 by the herald of Sir John Chandos. The *Life* is a chivalric biography of Edward, Prince of Wales, from the beginning of the Hundred Years War to his death, culminating in the Spanish campaign of 1367, at which the author was present.

The poem expresses competing aspirations. On the one hand, asserting its trustworthiness is paramount:

ci fyn lui ditz
 Du tresnoble Prince Edward
 Qui nauoit vnqes coer de Coward
 Qe retrahist li heraud Chaundos
 Qui voluntiers recordoit motz

[here finishes the poem of the most noble Prince Edward, who never turned craven. Thus hath the Herald of Chandos related, who gladly made record.]¹¹

This colophon is the only time the Herald identifies himself, although the climax of multiple moments at which the first-person voice interjects into the narrative. Sometimes it is to establish the integrity of his information (ironically, since the chronology is defective and some dates erroneous),¹² or to remind the audience of the pedigree of its provenance:

le temps qe ie vous dy
Ce fuist apres de dieu nasquy
Mill ans trois Centz sessante & sis [...]
Trois semaignes deuant le iour
Qe J[hesu] Crist p[ar] sa douceour
Nasqui de le virge Marie
Qe cely temps ne doutez mye (lines 2015–22, pp. 6, 152)

[the time I speak of was after the birth of God one thousand three hundred sixty and six years [...] three weeks before the day when Jesus Christ of His sweetness was born of the Virgin Mary. Have no doubt of the time.]

At other points it is to reinforce the veracity of his details:

Ore ne vous menteray ie pas (line 2382, pp. 73, 155)
[Now I will tell you truly]
P[ar]dones moy si mal iai dit
Car de rien ne vous ay mentit (lines 3787–8, pp. 117, 167)
[pardon me if I have spoken amiss, for in nothing have I lied]

Finally, it is to draw attention to his status as eyewitness:

Ore est bien temps de comencer
Ma matier & moy adresser
Au purpos ou ie voille venir
A ce qe ie vvs a venir (lines 1649–52, pp. 50, 149)

[Now it is full time to begin my matter and address myself to the purpose to which I am minded to come, to what I saw befall]

All of these moments are designed to buttress the authenticity of this testimony. They persuaded its editors, who described it as 'not only the work of an eye-witness, but of an eye-witness deserving the fullest confidence'.

Equally important to the poet, however, and more problematic to his editors who credited him with ‘telling a plain unvarnished tale’ (only moderately compromised by ‘the desire to sing the praises of his hero’),¹³ were his literary and chivalric aspirations. It was written in praise of its hero’s ‘puissance’ and ‘proesse’, and for that eulogistic reason, as much as for the high-minded desire to set down a trustworthy record, does it declare that ‘ceste matiere/ Estre en null state oblie/ Ore est bien droit qe ie vous die’ (‘this matter ought in no wise to be forgotten; so it is very right that I tell it to you’: lines 454–6, pp. 13, 139).

The duality of this agenda is apparent in the opening encomium to history, not of the ‘plain unvarnished’ but the poetic kind:

Ore veu ho[m]me du temps iadys
 Qe ceux qui faisoient beaux ditys
 Estoient tenu pur aucteur
 Ou pur ascune amenceueur [...]
 Si ne se doit hom[m]e pas tener
 De beaux ditz faire et retenie
 Cils qe sen sceuent entremettre
 Eins les doient en liure mettre
 P[ar] quoy ap[re]s ce qils sont mort
 Et si ount fait lui iuste recort
 Car cest almoigne & charitee
 De bien dire & de veritee
 Car bien ne fust unqes perduz
 Qen ascun temps ne feust renduz
 Pur ce voil je mettre mentente
 Car volentes a ce me tempte
 Defaire & recorder beaux ditz
 Et de nouvelle & de iadys. (lines 1–4, 29–42, pp. 1–2, 135)

[In times of yore it was seen that they who fashioned fair poems were in sooth esteemed as authors or in some sort recorders [...] men ought not to refrain from making and remembering fair poems – all such as have skill thereto, rather they should enter them in a book, that after their death true records may be kept; for to relate the good is verily alms and charity, for good was never lost without return at some time. Wherefore, incited by my desire, I wish to set my intent on making and recording fair poems of present and past times.]

The doublets ‘aucteur/ Ou [...] amenceueur’ (‘authors or [...] recorders’) and ‘Defaire & recorder’ (‘making and recording’) establish the bipartite quality of the history-writing that receives this accolade: not just ‘iuste

recort' ('true records') but 'beaux ditz' ('fair poems'). A true historian must also be a good narrator: not 'un Jangelour [...] Qui voudroit faire une grimache/ Ou contreferoit le lymache/ Dount ho[m]me purroit feare un risee' ('a chatterer [...] who, to raise a laugh, would grimace and make antics'), but 'un autre qui saueroit bien dire' ('one who had skill to indite', lines 17–23, pp. 11, 135). The Herald anticipated the irony that 'Representation depends on (a) fiction'. The 'requirement that the historian should witness the events described and so guarantee and legitimate his own narrative' is not contradicted but complemented by the alternative perspective: for the Herald, 'witnessing and fiction are complementary, not opposite, activities'.¹⁴

In fact, the tension between history and *estoire*, fact and fable, pervades the poem:

Je voil mettre mestudie
A faire & recorder la vie
De plus vaillant Prince du mounde
Si come il tourny a le rounde
Ne qe fuist puis les champs claruz
Jule Cesaire ne Artuz
Ensi come vous oier purrez (lines 47–53, p. 2, 135)

[I wish to set my intent on writing and recording the life of the most valiant prince of this world, throughout its compass, that ever was since the days of Claris, Julius Caesar, or Arthur, as you shall hear.]

Comparisons of the Black Prince with the Nine Worthies are frequent, exalting him to pseudo-epic status. The function of 'fair poems' to connect 'present and past times' is visible in the chivalric nostalgia that characterizes these moments: 'La y[e]ust il fait darmes tant/ Qe en eust compare Rolant/ Et Olyver' ('There were achieved so many feats of arms that one might have compared Roland and Oliver', lines 161–3, pp. 5, 136, see also 2796–7 and 3382–3); 'puis le temps le Royr Artus/ Ne fuist Roy de tiele puissance' ('since the time of King Arthur there was no king of such power', lines 1840–1, pp. 56, 150); 'ho[m]me en purroit faire vn liuere/ Bien auxi grant come Dartus/ Dalisandre ou de Claruz' ('one could make a book of it as big as of Arthur, Alexander or Claris', lines 4094–105, pp. 127, 170). Both of these concerns (for historical truth and literary prestige) express an underlying motivation of self-promotion. To invoke Julius Caesar, Alexander and Arthur was not a real comparison, but an exaggerated, gestural one. Its purpose was not to provide a meaningful barometer of Edward's exceptionality but simply to show him to be off the scale: to elevate him (and the account that celebrated him) into the legendary canon.

The same impulse is visible in the ways in which this text is performatively conventional, exploiting the stylized mode of Anglo-Norman romance:

Cil franc Prince dount je vous dye
 Depuis le iour qil fuist nasquy
 Ne pensa forsque loiautee
 Franchise valour & bountee
 Et si fuist garniz de p[ro]esce [...]
 Ore est reason qe ie vous counte
 De ce dount hom[m]e doit fair acompte
 Cest du fait chiualrie (lines 63–7, 95–7, pp. 2–3, 136–7)

[This noble Prince of whom I speak, from the day of his birth cherished no thought but loyalty, nobleness, valour, and goodness, and was endued with prowess. [...] now it is right that I should relate to you that which all should hold in esteem – that is, chivalry.]

This tone is sustained throughout, in asides such as ‘Mout p[ar]fu grant ses vertus’ (‘Very great was his valour’, line 706, pp. 21, 141), and in prolonged accolades: ‘Hom[m]e poet dire p[ar] reason/ Qe tiele Prince ne trouast ho[m]me/ Qi alast serchier tout le monde’ (‘one might rightly say that such a Prince would not be found, were the whole world to be searched’, lines 1629–31, pp. 49, 149).

However, this characterization becomes problematic as the harrowing realities impinge. The battle of Poitiers is described as follows:

Adonques veissez les barons
 De combatre bien esprouuer
 Grantz deduytz fuist a regarder
 Cely qe rien ny conteroit
 Mais certes g[ra]ntz piece estoit
 Et meruelouse chose & dure
 La auoit mente creature
 Qe celui iour fuist mis a fin
 La combatoient de coer fin
 Archiers traoient a la volee
 Qui furent sur les deux costees
 Plus drut qe plume nest volee (lines 1180–90, p. 35, 145)

[Then might you see the barons approve themselves well in battle; great pastime would it have been to behold for one that had naught there at stake, but certes it was sore pity and a marvellous and grievous thing. There was many a creature who that day was brought to his end. There they fought staunchly. The archers that were on the two sides over towards the barded horses shot rapidly, thicker than rain falls.]

There are hints that the bombastic voice borrowed from romance is not fit for purpose: is this a 'Grantz deduytz' ('great pastime') or a 'g[ra]ntz piece [...] Et meruelouse chose & dure' ('sore pity and a marvellous and grievous thing')? These tensions are accentuated as the account progresses:

Ces bachilers & noble affaire
Veisses la ferer atas
Et doner si grantz hatiplas
Qe ce fuist vn grant meruaille
La auoit moult grant bataille
La veissez maint ho[m]me mort (lines 1328–33, 40, 146)

[these squires of high degree you might see smiting lustily and dealing such mighty strokes that it was a great marvel. There was a right sore battle, there might you see many a man slain.]

The perspectival dualism admitted by the word 'veissez' ('you might see'), with its voyeuristic simulation of ocular witnessing, implies a troubling invitation to the reader to collude: to judge with the same mind, as they see through the same eyes, as the eyewitness mediator.

Elsewhere the true horror of the 'marvellous' exploits does not go unacknowledged: in the description of the tactic of *chévauchée*, he writes, 'les Englois p[our] yceux esbate/ Mistrent tout en feu et a flame/ La firent mainte veofe dame/ Et mainte poeure enfant orphanyn' ('the English to disport themselves put everything to fire and flame. There they made many a widowed lady and many a poor child orphan', lines 236–9, pp. 7, 137). He allows that Poitiers was indeed a 'grant bataille/ Qe moult fuist horrible sanz faille' ('great battle [...] that was certainly right horrible', lines 1407–8, pp. 42, 147), but adding with a lightness of touch, 'P[ar]donez moy si ie lay dit briefment/ Car ieo lay passee legierment/ Mays pur ceo qe ie voille retraiere/ De ceste Prince de noble affaire/ Qui moult fuist vaillantz & hardis/ P[re]u[dho]me & en faitz & en ditz' ('Pardon me if I relate it briefly, for I have passed over it lightly, because I would narrate to you of this noble Prince, right valiant and bold, gallant in words and deeds', lines 1409–14, pp. 42, 147).

These are points at which the competing discourses are most transparent. The narrative is steered judiciously between tentatively acknowledging the 'horrible' reality, and being guided safely back towards the familiar vocabulary of gallantry, valour, exceptionality. And this is the crux: the more violent the Black Prince's exploits, the more they justify the exceptionality with which his eulogist adorns him, and the more they threaten to destabilize that eulogistic portrait, couched precariously in the semi-fictional mode of romance.

Richard Kaeuper reads instances of 'exceptional' violence as evidence that chivalric biography refused to be disquieted by the 'realities of knightly

warfare'.¹⁵ However, the gung-ho embrace of violence is only possible through the vaunting rhetoric of fictionalization: it is only through their monstrous exceptionality that the Black Prince's exploits become unimpeachably praiseworthy. What we are reading is not 'the realities of knightly warfare', but an exaggerated and (counter-intuitively) diluted rendition of them: exaggerated because the violence is not lessened, it is heightened; but diluted because the heightening draws it harmlessly into the realm of nostalgic fantasy.

The Herald's emphasis on his eyewitness status, then, stands in contradistinction against his fictionalized portrayal. But no sooner have we acknowledged that the cultivated conventionality allows the text to habituate the violence, than we run into difficulty. There was no watershed between history and fiction: histories and romances overlapped in content and in style, form and *matier*. If Isidorean precedent had not drawn the battle lines between *historia* and *fabula* so firmly, we would be on dangerously anachronistic territory in asserting them. If we accept contrapuntal motivations at work in this text, does it follow that its stylized diction had a distancing effect, calculated to keep at one remove the horror that might threaten its panegyric mode? It is a reflex of modern interpretation to assume that formulaic discourse must be derivative and deadened of meaning; that repetitive tropes must be less emotively powerful than discourses whose freshness and *unconventionality* bespeak the sincerity of their subjects. However, the use of formulaic language in medieval parlance served (or at least, could serve) the opposite function. Perhaps by co-opting this stylistic voice the Herald was not dampening his emotive mode at all, but intensifying it. Or more subtly, perhaps the familiar voice of romance, transposed into chivalric biography, could allow the 'stock' emotions generated by the former to overlay the complex, mixed, personal emotions of the eyewitness that might otherwise pervade the latter. The crux is whether eyewitness testimony could legitimately court associations with other modes of discourse, without compromising the integrity of its claim to be a pure redaction of events: are the statements 'ne vous ay mentit' ('in nothing have I lied') and 'je mettre mentente [...] Defaire & recorder beaux ditz' ('I wish to set my intent on making and recording fair poems') compatible?

Similar issues are at stake in another eyewitness text of the Hundred Years War,¹⁶ the poetic narrative of Henry V's siege of Rouen in 1418–9 by John Page. The poet may have been a soldier, a member of the royal household or a field chaplain: plausible candidates present themselves for each.¹⁷ He wrote his account, 1300 lines of Middle English rhyming couplets, between January 1419 and May 1420. Rouen was Normandy's capital, whose fall sealed Henry's subjugation of the duchy. The siege was protracted and bloody, a war of attrition whose victims were Rouen's civilian population, and the 12,000 refugees to whom it had offered refuge.

Although *The Siege of Rouen* is not a biography (the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* is more comparable with the *Life* in that regard), it shares its determination to extol its royal subject in a richly eulogistic vein. It does this through a similar appropriation of the rhetoric of romance, clothing contemporary events in the borrowed vesture of a glorious past, and modulating their emotional difficulty by ventriloquising its generic voice. For both poets, their hero was the aggressor, his opponents defenceless non-combatants. This presented both with the same image-problem: how to present the 'tres noble Prince' or 'excellent kynge' (l. 589) not as callous butchers out for territorial aggrandisement but pious princes prosecuting divinely sanctioned wars.

Like the Herald, the moment when Page names himself comes, climactically, in the colophon:

Withowtyn fabylle or fage,
Thys processe made John Page:
Alle in raffe and not in ryme,
Bycause of space he hadde no tyme.
But whenne this werre ys at an ende,
And he haue lyffe and space, he wylle hyt amende. (lines 1313–18)

This is the moment too at which he explicitly distances himself from 'fabylle or fage' (*deceit*), offering his poem instead as a 'processe'. This word, meaning 'a narrative discourse [...] a story or historical account' (*MED* n.3) had a currency in historical literature.¹⁸ It reinforces the familiar binarism: this is a factual account, this description avers, not a romancified reimagining.

This statement cements the opening assertion, which invoked romance as a point of contrast:

Oftyn tymys we talke of trauayle,
Of saute, sege, and of grete batayle,
Bothe in romans and in ryme:
What hathe ben done before thys tyme.
But y wylle telle you nowe present
(Vnto my tale yf ye wylle tent):
Howe the V. Harry oure lege,
With hys ryalte he sette a sege
Byfore Rone, that ryche cytte. (lines 5–13)

A few lines later Page again underlines his authority as eyewitness:

Lystenythe vnto me a lytylle space,
And I shalle telle you howe hyt was:
And the better telle I may,
For at that sege with the kyng I lay. (lines 19–22)

His promise to tell ‘howe hyt was’ expresses an Isidorean confidence in the capacity of the eyewitness, and an Isidorean prestige handing on the words ‘at that sege [...] I lay’. This first-person intervention initiates a pattern: ‘I wolde you telle but alle I ne can’ (line 330), ‘Nowe of thys cytte wylle y spelle’ (line 333), ‘Nowe to my tale and ye wylle tende’ (line 1157), and many similar moments.¹⁹ As with the *Life*, these serve a number of purposes: to assert the poet’s veracity, to structure the sections. But their cumulative effect is to pepper the narrative with reminders of the personal testimony that undergirds it.

This ‘plain unvarnished’ style is beguilingly disingenuous, as at other points Page covets the emotive possibilities afforded by the ventriloquism of a story-telling mode. In Tamar S. Drukker’s view, ‘An artistic, rather than a documentary, impulse underlies Page’s description’, and it belongs to ‘a tradition of the *chansons de geste* and the great romances of battle’, as distinct from historiography-proper. Although ‘Page presents his poem as a contemporary eyewitness report, the transition from experience to highly-crafted written verse has made his poem into a literary work rather than a historical document’, she argues, concluding (remarkably) that *The Siege of Rouen* ‘is not a primary source’.²⁰

This judgment buys into the binarism that this article is trying to collapse, accepting the premise that ‘historical data’ and ‘literary form’ are somehow separable. In fact, the progression ‘between lived experience and its written transformation’ was never as intuitive in practice as it promised, returning us to what it *felt* like to be the eyewitness author. The incompatibility of the discourses running through Page’s text is much less reconcilable even than it was for the Herald. His adulation of Henry V was unmitigated; but as unflinching was his compassionate outrage at the atrocities committed in his name. Henry is characterized by his ‘passyng pryncehod’ and ‘marcyfulle meke[nys]’ (lines 941–4); but the lengthy depictions of the victims tell a different story:

There men myght se grete pytte,
 A chylde of.ij.yere or.iiij.
 Go aboute to begge hy[s] brede;
 Fadyr and modyr bothe were dede. [...]
 And sum storuyn vnto the dethe,
 And sum stoppyde of ther brethe,
 [And] sum crokyd in the kneys,
 And sum alle so lene as any treys;
 And wemmen holdyn in hyr armys,
 Dedde chyldryn, in hyr barmys;
 And the chyldryn sokyng [o]n the pappe
 Withyn a dede woman[s] lappe. (lines 997–1010)

Near the end of the poem, Page reflects on the emotions of being an onlooker:

Thes were the syghtys of dyfferauns:
That one of ioye, and þat othyr of penaunce,
As helle and heuyn ben partyd ato:
That one of welle, and þat othyr of wo.
There ne was noo man, I vndyrstonde,
That sawe that, but hys herte wolde change. (lines 1017–22)

This final, crisis-moment of first-person intervention emphasizes not the prestige of the eyewitness, but his bafflement. The ambiguity heavy in the assertion that 'hys herte wolde chaunge' calls into question, momentarily, the jingoistic celebration of the glorious siege that the poem has indulged before this point and will indulge after it.

Drukker reads Page's depiction of the starving citizens as part of his literary conventionalism. Discussing his description of mothers and children withholding food from each other (lines 522–4), she comments 'The horrific image [...] can be found already in the Bible and afterwards in other narratives of siege. It is perhaps one of the most recurrent images of human beings in extremity'.²¹ To some extent the 'charge' of conventionalism is merited: Page immediately universalizes the behaviour of the Rouennais by reaching for a moralisation: 'But hunger passyd kynde and loue:/ By that pepylle welle ye may prove' (lines 525–6), invoking the proverb 'For hunger brekythe the stone walle' (line 606).²² However, it raises the question whether the deployment of convention (proverbs, formulaic language, etc.) must diminish emotional integrity; could not the opposite be the case? Rouen's traumatic instantiation serves to vindicate the proverbs and memes Page employs, and is in turn sharpened by their corroboration.

The *Life of the Black Prince* and *The Siege of Rouen* foreground the emotional issues confronting medieval eyewitnesses: how to appropriate conventional models, how to confront harrowing realities while upholding the reputation of the king or prince in whose praise they were written. How these questions were modulated as the genre moved into the next century forms the final part of this discussion.

Eyewitness accounts in the sixteenth century

Given the privileged position that eyewitnessing enjoyed, it is surprising that Middle English had no lexeme for it. The senses of *witnesse* were primarily legal, not ocular: testimony under oath, attestation by seal or signature, proof by written corroboration (*MED* n. 2, 3); only latterly 'a first-hand observer', or (still with legal overtones) 'one who gives evidence based on personal experience' (*MED* n. 5, 6). *Speculare* furnished *spectacle* ('a thing

capable of being seen', *MED* n. 1c) and *spectable* ('visible, capable of being seen' *MED* adj. a); but not *spectator*, not attested until 1586. *Eyewitness* itself is surprisingly young, not attested until 1539, with the definition (again with legal origins) 'one who gives testimony to what he has seen with his own eyes' (*OED*). The source is Richard Taverner's translation of an adage of Erasmus, which he rendered 'One eye wytnesse, is of more value, then tenne eare wytnesses', adding the gloss, 'that is to saye, Farre more credite is to be gyuen to suche as reaporte the thyng they sawe wyth theyr eyes, than to such as speake but by heare saye'.²³ Several sixteenth-century attestations follow, notably the *King James* version of 2 Peter 1:16: 'we [...] were eyewitnesses of his majesty'.²⁴

Medieval writers found other ways of expressing the sight-and-knowledge syzygy: Robert Mannyng (c.1300) wrote of 'Meruelys, some as y fonde wrytyn/ And oper þat haue be seyn & wetyn';²⁵ *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (c.1450) asserted 'Right as j sigh it at eye j wole telle yow'.²⁶ *To see at eye* was a common collocation, as in Lydgate's 'Thyng seyn at eye is nat incredible' and 'Voide platly of ambiguyte [...] at eye as 3e may se'.²⁷ However, it was the sixteenth century that oversaw the birth of the lexeme, and a different trajectory for the genre. Technologies of printing and dissemination changed the rapidity with which accounts were circulated, and the rapacity of the demand. Thomas Churchyard published his personal account of the earthquake in London in 1580 (*A Warning to the Wyse*) only two days afterwards; Lord Grey published his testimonial of the fall of Guînes in 1558 with similar alacrity. Military autobiography came into its own, with soldiers publishing journals of their campaigns. The eyewitness genre changed from one whose closest affiliations were with romance and chronicle, to something more like a bulletin. And the ways in which Tudor eyewitnesses navigated the emotional demands of their changing genre had significant departures from their precursors.

A number of eyewitness moments have become infamous in Elizabethan historical writing. The best-known is Spenser's account of the Munster famine (1579–83), which describes how the starving inhabitants, looking like 'anatomies of death', came 'creeping forth upon their hands' to 'eate the dead carrions' and to scrape 'the very carcasses [...] out of their graves'. The narrator Irenius asserts his own (fictionalized) witness of these horrors, claiming 'as I saw by prooffe in Desmonds warre'.²⁸ *A View of the Present State of Ireland* was written in support of Lord Grey's widely criticized suppression of the Desmond Rebellion during his tenure as Lord Deputy. Spenser was in all likelihood eyewitness to these events, but he narrated them through the pseudonym of an avatar, within the distancing framework of an argumentative dialogue.

A moment that equally equivocally held the fact of eyewitnessing at arm's length comes in Thomas Churchyard's *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres*, which advertised sketches of 'fiue hundred seuerall seruices of land and sea'. Much

of this drew on Churchyard's own career, repackaged in diverting form. It courted a romantic, medievalising mode, reminiscing about 'the renoumed raigne of that noble prince Kyng Henrie the eight, whose famous memorie, shall laste whiles this worlde standeth', the time when 'All Cheualrie was cherished'.²⁹ However, the substance became grittier when Churchyard related the draconian methods of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Governor of Munster:

His maner was that the heddes of all those [...] whiche were killed in the daie, should bee cutte of from their bodies, and brought to the place where he incamped at night: and should there bee laied on the ground, by echeside of the waie leadyng into his owne Tente: so that none could come into his Tente for any cause, but commonly he muste passe through a lane of heddes [...] the dedde feelyng nothyng the more paines thereby: and yet did it bryng greate terrour to the people, when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke, and freendes, lye on the grounde before their faces, as thei came to speake with the saied Collonell.

Acknowledging (with magnificent understatement) that this 'course of gouernemente maie by some bee thought to cruell', Churchyard offered explanations 'in excuse whereof', namely that Gilbert was only using the tactics of the Irish against them, that dead bodies feel no pain, that it did no 'harm' to the victims; but primarily that 'by this course [...] there was muche blood saued, and greate peace ensued'. It 'made short warres', comments Churchyard, 'For he reformed the whole Countrey of *Munster*, and brought it into an vniuersall peace, and subiECTION, within six weekes'.³⁰ These examples illustrate the strains under which soldier-authors were writing in this period, when the eyewitness account remained a place of exceptional ethical pressure.

The final text considered here is George Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, written after the sack of the Dutch city by mutinous Spanish soldiers on 4 November 1576. Gascoigne's account was 'written just days after the event [...] and published in pamphlet form within the month'.³¹ The title page announces its eyewitness status immediately: 'The Spoyle of Antwerpe, faithfully reported, by a true Englishman, who was present at the same'; and the explicit returns to this theme: 'Wrytten the .xxv. daye of Nouember 1576 by a true English man, who was present at this pytteous massacre'.³² Gascoigne's refusal to name himself beyond the identification 'true Englishman' sits oddly alongside his perpetual references to his presence. He declares in his epistle that

Since my hap was to bee present at so piteous a spectacle, as the sackyng of Antwerpe (a lamentable example whiche hath already filled all Europe with

dreadfull newes of great calamitie) I haue thought good for the benefit of my countrie, to publish a true report thereof. The which may as well serue for profitable example vnto all estates of swiche condicion as suffred in the same: as also, answer all honest expectations with a meane truthe, set downe beetween thextreme surmises of sundry doubtful mindes: And increased by the manyfolde light tales whiche haue been engendred by feareful or affectionate rehearsals.³³

The emphasis on 'true report', and still further 'meane truthe', set against 'surmises' and 'light tales', calls to mind Page's disparagement (and the weight of the tradition that stood behind him) of 'fable'. Gascoigne invokes this specious binary repeatedly: 'mine onely entent is to set downe a plaine truthe', 'this is in effecte the whole trueth'.³⁴ He punctuates his narrative with such assurances of its credibility ('as I haue hearde credibly reported', 'as I heard it rehearsed by sundry of them selues') as well as its disinterestedness ('to speake without parciality').³⁵

Gascoigne's presence at Antwerp was accidental, not military: 'I was in the sayde towne of Antwerpe vpon certeine priuate affaires of myne owne', he writes, continuing with the statement of my title: 'so that I was enforced to become an eyed witnes of their entry and all that they did'.³⁶ His isolation marks Gascoigne as a different kind of eyewitness from the Chandos Herald and Page, and from Churchyard and Spenser. The arbitrary fact of his presence, and of his political identity as a visiting alien, prompts him to question the utter pointlessness of his involvement: 'What in Gods name doe I heare which haue no interest in this action?'³⁷

The sacking of Antwerp was a hideous, swiftly notorious, spectacle, which spared neither 'age, nor sexe; time nor place; person nor countrey; profession nor religion; yong nor olde; rich nor poore; strong nor feeble; but without any mercy'. Gascoigne's favourite stylistic trope for narrating the 'outrages and disordered cruelties' was paralipsis, using the premise of apparent reluctance: 'I refrayne to rehearse the heapes of deade Carcases', 'I forbear also to recount the huge nombers, drowned in ye new Toune: where a man might behold as many sundry shapes and formes of mans motion at time of death as euer Mighel Angelo dyd portray in his tables of Doomes day', 'I set not downe the ougly & filthy polluting of euery streete with the gore and carcasses of men and horses', 'It is a thing too horrible to rehearse, that the Father and Mother were forced to fetch their yong daughter out of a cloyster (who had thether fled as vnto Sanctuary, to keepe her body vndefyled) & to bestowe her in bed beetweene two Spaniards, to worke their wicked and detestable wil with her'.³⁸

This rhetorical distancing is as tightly controlled as the self-anonymising posturing of the epistle. The dynamics of power and powerlessness make Gascoigne a powerfully emotionally manipulative narrator: he is both puppet and puppeteer, the hapless traveller caught up in the chaos, the 'true

Englishman' cannily directing its transcription. 'I was enforced' captures this false passivity, especially when conjoined with the (still young) collocation 'eyed witnes'. It is as though the same helplessness with which Gascoigne could not escape what he saw transfers to the lack of control he is able to exert over the telling. He casts himself as 'witnes' to (not creator of) his own narrative, as he was hapless 'witnes' to its original.

This is belied (of course) by the meticulous genius that occasionally lifts its sleeve to show the magisterial hand at work: interpretation is not up for grabs, narrator as powerless as reader; there is a momentum propelling this narrative. The measured voice of 'I haue thought good for the benefit of my countrie, to publish a true report thereof' articulates a different kind of control from the performative rhetoric of horror or helplessness: this is the rhetoric of hermeneutic authority. 'If the wickednesse vsed in the sayde towne, doo seeme vnto the well disposed Reader, a sufficient cause of Gods so iust a scorge and Plague: and yet the furie of the vanquishers doo also seeme more barbarous and cruell, then may become a good christian conquerour: let these my few woords become a forewarnynge on both handes: and let them stande as a Lanterne of light between two perillous Rockes', comments Gascoigne, offering not only a schema for interpreting what happened, but a template for his authority as interpreter.³⁹

Critics have read Gascoigne's 'efforts to frame the narration' as revealing the psychological 'difficulty Gascoigne faced in trying to make sense of what he had seen'.⁴⁰ *The Spoyle*, however, is more subtle, and more ambitious: 'To that ende, all stories and Chronicles are written: and to that ende I presume to publishe this Pamphlet: protestyng that neither mallice to the one syde, nor parciall affection to the other, shall make my pen to swarue any iote from truth of that which I will set down & saw executed'.⁴¹ William E. Sheidley calls this gesture a 'piety' that provides 'at best an ill-fitting frame'.⁴² But Gascoigne is not just the innocent bystander; he is also the master-exegete, exerting over his own rehearsal the interpretative control that he could not exert over its original.

Here is the profound irony of eyewitness writing, that its narrators are unwilling players in and yet willing directors of the same drama. For all that he may disingenuously protest 'What in Gods name doe I heare?', the interpretation of the events lies finally at his door. The act of choosing to narrate ultimately arrogates to itself, however much it protests, the emotional responsibility for the thing narrated.

Conclusion

This discussion has been able only to pose some of the questions raised by medieval and early modern eyewitness writing. Its snapshots are separated by time, geography, politics, and circumstance; they differ in motive, form, style, and audience. However, what emerges consistently is the emotional

paradox of eyewitnessing: it conferred prestige, yet brought acute pressure. For the Chandos Herald and John Page, the genre had been defined as that which cleft history from fable. Traditionally it stood at the watershed (and as the border guard) between fiction and history, a distinction that could not hold in practice. For Spenser, Churchyard, and Gascoigne, changing expectations surrounding the form meant that available modes of fictionalization (and the possibilities for emotional relief and displacement that it offered) were more straitjacketed. For all that Gascoigne reached for the comforting mode in which 'all stories and Chronicles are written', and Churchyard longingly for a time when 'All Cheualrie was cherished', for both of them, the emotional demands of historiography had hardened.

Notes

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16. See Joanna Bellis, "'We wanted þe trewe copy þereof": John Page's The Siege of Rouen, text and transmission', *Medium Ævum*, 83.2 (2014), 209–33; Joanna Bellis, "'The Reader myghte lamente": The sieges of Calais (1346) and Rouen (1418) in

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 22. See Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), H637, 300.
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 33. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Aii^r.
 34. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Aiii^r, Cvi^{r-v}.
 35. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Bi^r, Bvi^v.
 36. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Avii^r.
 37. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Cii^v, Bv^r.
 38. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Ai^v, Bviii^r, Bviii^v, Ci^{r-v}.
 39. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Aii^{r-v}, Bvii^r, Cvi^v.
 40. Sheidley, 'Violence and Style', 468; see also Adam N. McKeown, *English Mercuries: Soldier Poets in the Age of Shakespeare* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009), 89.
 41. Gascoigne, *Spoyle of Antwerpe*, sig. Aii^v.
 42. Sheidley, 'Violence and Style', 468.

8

‘Man Is a Battlefield within Himself’: Arms and the Affections in the Counsel of More, Erasmus, Vives, and Their Circle

Andrew Hiscock

But, you ask ‘how does our England please you?’ [...] I say that I have never found a place I like so much. I find here a climate at once agreeable and extremely healthy, and such a quantity of intellectual refinement and scholarship, not of the usual pedantic and trivial kind either, but profound and learned and truly classical, in both Latin and Greek, that I have little longing left for Italy, except for the sake of visiting it. When I listen to Colet it seems to me that I am listening to Plato himself. Who could fail to be astonished at the universal scope of Grocyn’s accomplishments? Could anything be more clever or profound or sophisticated than Linacre’s mind? Did Nature ever create anything kinder, sweeter, or more harmonious than the character of Thomas More?

‘To Robert Fisher, London 5 December 1499’.¹

Writing at the close of 1499, Erasmus believed that he had discovered at last a true haven across the Channel for humanist scholars. This was a realm, it seemed, in which the ideals of intellectual study might be fulfilled: a Christian and scholarly devotion to return *ad fontes* in order to complete the thorough scrutiny, commentary, stylistic analysis, and translation of texts from antiquity with a view to enriching the cultural, ethical, and religious life of the wider society. The many and diverse interests of this learned community in pedagogy, public service, and ambitious intellectual endeavour were deeply anchored in the study of *literae humaniores* as they had been set down by ancient pens. In particular, in their promotion of the *studia humanitatis* (influenced by writers such as Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch but, above all, Cicero) Erasmus and his fellow scholars across Europe remained at pains throughout their careers to stress the life- and spirit-enhancing potential of

the study of eloquence, of the renewal of ancient wisdom through translation and commentary, and of intellectual debate and exchange in the pursuit of true piety and moral perfectibility.

As time passed, Erasmus would radically alter his views upon the eirenic nature of Henry VIII's kingdom, but he would never waver from his beliefs in the rewards of scholarly co-operation and in the pernicious effects of the recourse to violence in thought, word, or deed:

Man is a battlefield within himself: reason is at war with the passions and these are in conflict with each other, when duty calls him in one direction and desire pulls him in another, and in addition he is swayed this way and that by lust, anger, ambition, and service.²

Bodies and bodies politic

Reformation theology is often thought distinctive in its sustained emphases upon the attritional nature of everyday human experience: during the later reign of Edward VI, for example, Hugh Latimer re-affirmed the familiar tenet in his preaching that *Militia est vita hominis super terram*, 'The life of a man or woman is nothing else but a warfare, it is nothing but a continually battling & warring'.³ However, such thinking was widely in evidence in the intellectual currents of the pre-Reformation world and would indeed continue to be expounded by the Catholic humanists in their own later struggles with antagonists at home and abroad.

Erasmus's formulation above of the human condition as 'a battlefield' of 'the passions' from his *Querela pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque* (1517) pointed up not only the pervasive medieval investment (dating back at least to the writings of Prudentius in late antiquity) in the soul as the site of psychomachic struggle, but also in the perilous nature of the remorselessly changeable 'passions' to which humanity was condemned in this mortal world – a world, which John Colet stressed, 'where all is black and cold, all naturally conflicting and opposed; in which nevertheless our sojourn is prolonged'.⁴ From such a perspective, the only path of resistance to this flux-ridden condition was to apply oneself with the divinely appointed gift of reason to arduous study. Indeed, enclosing his paraphrases of St. Luke, Erasmus wrote to Henry VIII himself in 1523, contending that 'there is some point in the old Greek proverb that words are the physicians of a troubled mind'.⁵

As we have seen, in 1499 Erasmus had been eager to celebrate the native-born talents of Henry's island kingdom – figures such as Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, and More, who cut (or would cut) leading figures in its intellectual life. However, to these names must, of course, be added those of eminent continental correspondents and/or visitors to the realm, such as the Netherlandish Erasmus himself, the Italian Polydore Vergil, the Frenchman Guillaume Budé, and the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives – the latter

was summoned to Henry's court by Katherine of Aragon and he visited England so often during these years of the Spanish princess's ascendancy that he was branded 'an amphibious animal' by Erasmus.⁶ If all of these figures addressed in different ways thorny questions of intellectual training, spiritual discipline, and service to the state, they remained eager to explore the many and various encouragements given in antique texts not to neglect *any* branch of learning. Focusing upon the question of early modern developments in medical knowledge, for example, Andrew Wear has estimated that across Europe, 'Between 1500 and 1600 around 590 different editions of Galen were published'.⁷ The Aldine edition of Galen's works in Greek had rolled from the Venetian presses in 1525, but a Latin edition had earlier appeared in the same city in 1490.⁸ By the close of 1516, Thomas More was assuring Erasmus that '[Thomas] Linacre will send his Galen translation to Paris immediately after Christmas to be printed, accompanied by [Thomas] Lupset, who will stand over the printer and correct the proofs'.⁹ Meanwhile, Linacre's friend and fellow scholar Guillaume Budé was sending his thanks across the Channel to Lupset not only for a copy of More's *Utopia*, but also for Linacre's translation.¹⁰

Linacre's rendering of the Galenic text *De sanitate tuenda* would finally be published in Paris in 1517 with a prefatory address to Henry VIII and, such was its popularity, it enjoyed 15 reprintings between 1519 and 1609. He would later go onto translate a series of Galenic texts which included *Methodus medendi* (Paris, 1519), *De temperamentis* and *De inaequali intemperie* (Cambridge, 1521), *De naturalibus facultatibus* (London, 1523), *De usu pulsuum* (London, 1523–24), *De symptomatum differentiis* and *De symptomatum causis* (London, 1524). However, already by 1518, Erasmus's attention had been attracted to such an ambitious scholarly endeavour which clearly demonstrated that this 'man of all-round erudition' had worked meticulously with the original Greek texts – texts, which as we have seen, were unavailable in print before 1525.¹¹ In the following year, 1519, Erasmus would add to another correspondent, Gilles de Busleyden, 'I send you as a present a work of Galen's, now speaking better Latin with the aid of Thomas Linacre than ever it did Greek. The last three books will attract you more, for he spends the first three almost entirely in anointing, bathing, and rubbing first the child, then the adolescent, and then the adult'.¹² And, here, Erasmus draws attention importantly to the fact that the humanists' thoroughgoing interest in Galen might not reside solely, or even primarily, in anatomy or physiology. Such scholarly minds returned (as some Latin authors had) repeatedly to questions of the affective regulation and humoral regime of the body as a source of ethical concern. Thus, these later students of antiquity could find it all too pertinent to consider in what ways selfless, pious Christians might subdue their unruly, passionate natures with their moral and spiritual resources. Tellingly, Erasmus's own enquiries into such matters dated back at least to the final years of the fifteenth century when

he himself composed a translation of Galen's *Declamatio in laudem artis medicae*¹³ in which the reader was asked to remain mindful that 'the physician is concerned not only with the care of the body, the lower element in man, but with the treatment of the entire man [...] Who can match the physician as a persistent advocate of abstinence and sobriety and of the need to control bad temper, avoid depression, shun drunkenness, abandon passion, and control desire?'¹⁴ With the subsequent appearance of the 1525 Aldine edition, Erasmus turned to translating a range of Galenic texts (such as *Exhortatio ad bonas artes praesertim medicinae*, *De optimo docendi genere* and *Qualem oporteat esse medicum*¹⁵) which focused upon non-medical subjects and thus might be rendered more tractable to his wonted mode of didactic commentary for a lay audience.¹⁶

Developing a tradition which looked back to Plato's *Timaeus* (32b) at least, whereby the elemental forces of fire and earth were framed and held in check by the moderating influences of water and air, Galen's texts invested deeply in the hierarchization and disciplining of these fundamental somatic energies. In addition, Galenic texts such as *On the Elements According to Hippocrates* proposed a generalised lexis of human dispositions (rather than more contemporary concerns with identifying individuation from affective behaviours) and attended in a sustained fashion to the *continuum* of physiological, humoral, and affective operations which came to define the nature of human life in his writings.¹⁷ Generations of humanist scholars remained eager to consider the flux-ridden affective life of the Galenic body with its choleric gallbladder, phlegmatic brain, and melancholy spleen. Armed with such reading, in *The Castel of Helth* (1536), for example, the scholar, courtier, and diplomat Sir Thomas Elyot directed attention to the governing somatic influences of the 'Sanguine', 'Fleumatike', 'Cholerike', and 'Melancolyke', underlining that 'In the body of Man be foure pryncipal humours, which continuyng in the porporcion, that nature hath lymitted, the body is free frome all sycknesse'.¹⁸

Moreover, it seemed to such concerns might also be added cognate lines of enquiry. In More's *Utopia* (1516) Hythloday demonstrates an acquaintance with geohumoral theories which dated back to the Old Testament and to Herodotus, affirming that 'under the equator and on both sides of the line nearly as far as the sun's orbit extends, there lie waste deserts scorched with continual heat. A gloomy and dismal region looms in all directions without cultivation or attractiveness, inhabited by wild beasts and snakes or, indeed, men no less savage and harmful than are the beasts'.¹⁹ Later, pursuing analogous ideas in *De animi et vita* (1538), Vives not only considered the ageing processes of the body, its possible dietary regimens, 'external causes: circumstances of time, such as the seasons of the year or the hour of the day; the condition of our private and public affairs', but also directed specific attention to the fact that 'People of different nationalities are affected in different ways': 'Pride is a hot passion and thrives in warm places, times,

and occupations; in the south, during war, in personal disputes'.²⁰ Indeed, developing currents of Aristotelian thinking pervasive in the age, in *De Officio Mariti* (1529) Vives had earlier affirmed that in some instances the strength and frequency of certain passions might be understood asymmetrically: 'The light disturbances are called "affections"; the strong ones should be called "commotions", "agitations", or as the Greeks would say "passions" (*páthê*) because the soul is passively submitted to their blows and buffets'.²¹

Aristotle's division of the human subject's spiritual and mental resources in his own *De Anima* between the lower, vegetative soul (governing material functions of the body and shared amongst all life forms), the sensitive soul (governing sensory and perceptual operations), and the intellective or rational soul (governing the superior operations of apprehension) continued, moreover, to offer powerful models of somatic theorizing for humanist scholars²² – most especially when combined with an investment in Platonic dualism, as Vives demonstrated in his own formulations of the divided body in his *Introductio ad sapientum* (1524):

There be two partes in the soule [...] *Mens*, that is, the Mynde, the superior parte, by whiche alone we are knowen to be menne, made lyke vnto god [...] The other parte, whiche is called wyll, is voyde of reason, brute, fiers, cruell, more lyker a beaste, than a man, wherin dwelleth these motions whiche be named either affections, or perturbations [...] This is called the inferiour and vyler parte, whereby we lyttell or nothyng, doo differ from beastes, at the leaste, we goo farre from god, which is without all sickenes and all affections.²³

Although such analyses on Vives's part have frequently been seen to enjoy their fullest expression with the publication in the final years of his life of *De animi et vita* (1538), it soon becomes apparent that these enquiries had been pursued during his years of regular visits to the Tudor kingdom: in the *Introductio*, for example, in the collection of adages entitled *Satellitium animi* (1524), and perhaps addressed in the broadest manner in *De concordia et discordia in humano genere* (1529), where strife between nations becomes the monstrous consequence of the unharnessed passions: 'No greater need has the world, nowadays tottering at the edge of final prostration, than for concord. Only concord will reinstate the fallen, retain what is now fleeing from us, and restore what has already been lost'.²⁴

Stoical minds and bodies

Humanist writings on the subject of earthly conflict all too often bore witness to the irresolvable contrary motions identified in their authors' readings of both Judeo-Christian and pagan writers. On the one hand, there were the spiritual emergencies of contrition and penance for a fallen humanity to be

confronted. Colet, for example, preached that humanity was 'in miserable subjection to folly and lust', dealing 'with everything after the judgement of the senses', and in his preaching he renewed calls for the pious adoption of Christian humility: 'be ye good, and practise goodness constantly both before God and before men [...] Be not angry with the angry, nor repel force by force; but be at peace with all men [...] *give place unto wrath*. Suffer God to avenge your wrongs, you who know not wherefore and to what end he suffers evil'.²⁵

On the other hand, steeped in the philosophical legacies of the ancients, the humanist scholar might recognize the ethical calling in the *civitas* to commit oneself steadfastly to a path of self-government and virtue in spite of the vicissitudes of adversity. Seneca came to be seen as a leading exponent for later ages of Stoic thinking, querying 'what greatness do we achieve as long as we struggle with ignoble passions? Even if we are victorious we conquer only monsters',²⁶ and in his aphoristic collection gleaned from the wisdom of antiquity, William Baldwin directed his reader (significantly in the final years of Henry VIII's reign) in *A treatise of morall philosophie* (1547) to consider that 'Kinges, rulers, & gouernoures, shuld first rule them selues, & than they subiectes. [...] He is vnmete to rule others, y^e can not rule his selfe'.²⁷ Thus, the materialist (and frequently determinist) emphases of Galenic medical interventionism might be seen to be countered in such instances by a more stoically-influenced discourse of human restraint and autonomous action. Whereas Galen affirmed that any inequities in the humoral system of the body might be addressed by dietary intervention and/or the administering of purgative therapies and preparations (complemented by the cleansing operations of the stomach and the spleen), Vives, not unrepresentative of aspiring minds of the sixteenth century, contended that 'Still, a properly educated and well-trained mind is able to increase, decrease, repress, and change the direction and power of its affections'.²⁸

Most influentially for later generations, in the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero had identified the passions as *perturbationes animi*: 'intemperance [...] kindles, confounds and agitates the whole condition of the soul'.²⁹ Well versed in such writings from earlier centuries, Erasmus would promote the classically-influenced notion that 'In man reason plays the role of king [...] As for those passions of the soul that are furthest removed from the dictates of reason and are debased by the lowliness of beasts, consider these to be like the lowest dregs of the masses'.³⁰ Here, in his enormously popular *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1503, rev. ed. 1518), Erasmus concluded that 'It is true that the Stoics and the Peripatetics have slightly different views on the passions, but there is universal agreement that we must live according to reason and not according to the passions'.³¹ If, in this way, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, rising generations of intellectuals remained richly sensitive to the Ciceronian figuration of the passions as *perturbationes animi*, as a remorseless field of human conflict (Vives asserted in his aphoristic collection

Satellitium animi, sive symbola (1524) that the human commitment to virtue must remain paramount, ‘quod Stoici senserunt, sed id sentire Christianos magis decet’³²), humanist scholars would find themselves severely challenged by the Stoics’ ideal of *apatheia* (or consciously desired liberty from emotional disturbance) and in this they were powerfully influenced by Patristic writings such as those of Augustine.³³ Unconvinced by the possibility of disengaging oneself from affective turmoil in this lower world and deeply responsive to the presentation of *righteous* passions in scripture, in *De Civitate Dei* Augustine had argued vehemently, ‘when the Lord Himself deigned to live a human life in the form of a servant, though having no sin, He displayed [...] emotions in circumstances where He judged that they ought to be displayed’.³⁴ Vives, who wrote an extended commentary of Augustine’s *magnum opus*, underlined in *De Animi et Vita* that ‘Nothing is more human than to sympathize with those who suffer. It amazes me that the Stoics tried to uproot this feeling from their ideal of a good man [...] But let us forget the Stoics, who through pedantic cavils tried without success to convert their human natures into stones’.³⁵

If Seneca had counselled in *De Constantia* that ‘I am inclined to think that the power of wisdom is better shown by a display of calmness in the midst of provocation, just as the greatest proof that a general is mighty in his arms and men is his quiet unconcern in the country of the enemy’,³⁶ in *Encomium Moriae* or *The Praise of Folly* (1509, pub. 1511) the quicksilver mind of Erasmus’s protagonist remains unmoved by such reasoning: ‘Who wouldn’t flee in terror from a man like that as a monstrous apparition, deaf as he is to all natural feelings, and no more moved by love or pity or any emotions “than if hard flint or Parian crag stands fixed”? [...] But this is the sort of animal who is the perfect wise man. I ask you, if it were put to the vote, what state would elect such a man to office, what army would want him for a general?’³⁷

Enemies within and without

In the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux had explored the ways in which a Church Militant might be enlisted to the greater cause of the Church Triumphant in the heavens. Preaching in support of the Second Crusade and, on occasions, of waging war upon those wishing to introduce schism into the Church, Bernard had no interest in *preux chevaliers*, but rather in *pugnatores Dei*: he became a powerful advocate for the Order of the Knights Templar which was founded to protect those on pilgrimage to the Holy Lands. In *De laude novae militiae: ad milites Templi liber* (1128–30), he promoted ‘a new kind of knighthood [which] ceaselessly wages a twofold war both against flesh and blood and against a spiritual army of evil in the heavens’.³⁸

Engaging tightly a century later with Augustinian reasoning, Aquinas would conclude that ‘wars are licit and just in so far as they protect the poor

and the whole commonweal from an enemy', and went onto consider the precise criteria for legitimately understanding *ius ad bellum* in his *Summa Theologicæ*.³⁹ Indeed, since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the professionalization of war had become an increasingly urgent topic for debate not only in theo-political theorizing, but in response to the growing technological advances in fortifications, weaponry, and use of gunpowder, the circulation (and, in the late medieval period, printing) of military manuals, and to the expansion and training of armed forces. Moreover, for those so disposed, a chivalric code for *ius in bello* might also be derived from the burgeoning selection of fourteenth-century works, such as Honoré Bouvet's *L'arbre des batailles* or Alain Chartier's *Breviaire des Nobles*, which addressed the protocols of knightly performance. Such was the need for this kind of instruction, it appears, that Henry VII commissioned Caxton in 1489 to translate and print the remarkably popular fifteenth-century work *Le livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* by Christine de Pizan, and Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* also rolled from the presses in the same decade.

However, Erasmus and his fellow scholars remained unyielding in the fulsome *vituperatio* that they poured down upon such productions because, as R. S. White persuasively argues, they continued to view armed conflict not only as inhuman but as an absurdity for those claiming to be rational beings.⁴⁰ In the *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) Erasmus dismissed 'the stories of Arthur and Lancelot' as 'utterly foolish, illiterate and on the level of old wives' tales',⁴¹ and in *De Officio Mariti* Vives disdained the stories of Arthur and Tristan because 'These do not only harm women, but men also, as do all things by which our inclinations are prodded to worse things, increasing our cunning, intensifying our thirst for possession, enflaming our anger or other base and illicit desires'.⁴² More's pragmatic Utopians could hardly be less chivalric in their systematic prosecution of armed hostilities when compelled to wage war. Thankfully, they could count on the services (or rather reiterative behaviours) of the primitive Zapoletans who live *significantly* 'five hundred miles to the east of Utopia': this people is 'fearsome, rough, and wild [...] They are born for warfare and zealously seek an opportunity for fighting'.⁴³

Indeed, humanist scholars such as Colet, Erasmus, More, and Vives would remain thoroughly suspicious of their age's widespread appetites for armed conflict, and there were few subjects which were more guaranteed to provoke *passionate* responses from them. It was given out that Colet preached that 'an unjust peace was to be preferred to the justest war', and for the Easter sermon of 1513 Erasmus reports that the English preacher urged his courtly congregation to follow 'the example of Christ as their prince, not that of a Julius Caesar or an Alexander'.⁴⁴ In the beleaguered world of early sixteenth-century Europe facing Ottoman invasion from without and religious schism from within, Erasmus also found himself called upon again and again to utter his pacifist *credo* to audiences across the continent. In 1524, he wrote

from Basel to an imperial diplomat concerning the interminable hostilities between Charles V and Francis I, 'How great a hater of war I am, and what a lover of peace, is made clear in all my books [...] And so I am almost tired of life, as I watch the world's two most powerful kings locked for so many years now in mortal conflict, in such a way that no part of the world is free from its share of the evil results'.⁴⁵

The reason why humanist scholars, like Erasmus, felt compelled to voice their antagonism so vociferously to warfare was rooted in the fact that conflict had to be so strenuously resisted because it represented the ultimate undoing of the humanist project – the fracturing of intellectual society, the dissolution of all schemes of moral and affective discipline, the collapse of social renewal. Erasmus asserted in the *Institutio principis christiani*, 'St. Bernard praises some soldiers. True enough, but Christ himself, and Peter, and Paul, always teach the opposite. Why does their authority carry less weight than that of Augustine or Bernard? Augustine does not disapprove of war in one or two passages, but the whole philosophy of Christ argues against war'.⁴⁶ Working the same vein in his *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, he railed, 'why am I influenced by a work of Bernard, or an argument of Thomas, rather than by the teaching of Christ [...]?'⁴⁷ This subject would continue to prey on the mind of Erasmus and his anti-war writings grew in number as the years went by to include his *Panegyricus* (1504), *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (1515), *Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit* (1508, rev. 1515), *Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportet* (1515), *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna* (1515), *Institutio principis christiani* (1516), *Querela pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque* (1517), for example, along with a remorseless stream of letters to scholars, popes, and crowned heads of Europe on the subject.⁴⁸

Revealingly, Vives also viewed war in terms of the diseased or disorderly mind ('But warre, that is to say, robbetrie without punishment, is a greate auuncer of men to honour, suche is the madnes of folyshe people'⁴⁹) and argued in *De concordia et discordia* that the individual must resist vigorously the 'affectionum tumultibus, & illorum clamoribus', because he sheds his very humanity 'quum amorem & concordiam exuit'.⁵⁰ Indeed, to relent and yield to the lure of discord and vengeance was either to reduce oneself to a creaturely existence or to become complicit with the powers of darkness.⁵¹ However, such inflamed responses were all too comprehensible on a continent which had negotiated the ferment of its own *perturbationes animi*, bearing witness to the horrifying instances of blood-letting in the Great Peasants' Revolt (1524–5) and the sack of Rome (1527). Reviewing the unnatural emotions and deeds of 'those vplandysh Lutheranyes [...] in dyuerse other partyes of Almayne and swycherlande', More's speaker in his *Dialogue concerning Heresies* (1529) found that 'thys vngracious secte [...] y^s so fer forth grown that fynally the commune people haue compelled the rulers to folow them'.⁵² Concerning the butchery committed by mercenaries in Rome, More conjured up the vision of a moral and affective dystopia in

which 'those fyerce heretyques letted not to hang vp by the preuy membres' cut from 'olde aunycyente honorable men'. Moreover, 'very certayn y^s y^t that not in Rome onely but also in the countrey of [Milan] that [...] some fayled not to take the chylde and bynde y^t to a broche and lay y^t to the fyre to roste the father and mother lokyng on'.⁵³ In this specifically *Lutheran*, deviant theatre of war (with its gross spectacle of slaughtering and affective pretence) that More evokes, the reader is compelled to attend to the dissolution of humanity in a saturnalia of armed conflict. This same world of warring forces, which sullies everyone with whom it comes into contact, led Vives (perhaps mindful of More's own homeland) to rail in the same year in Book II of *De concordia* that 'there is no prince who does not wish all humankind to be alarmed by his passions [...] [to be] disturbed in line with his own internal tumult, hostile to all tranquillity [...] and while he avenges his injuries he is ready to imperil the law and religion to the greatest degree, calling to the service of his cruelty all those who trample underfoot and profane all things sacred'.⁵⁴

If, in the late work *A Dialogue of Comfort* (published posthumously in 1553), More's speaker feared 'the comying of this cruell Turke' and 'the false sect of mahomete', his Catholic reader was left in no doubt that 'there y^s no born Turke so cruell to christen folke, as is the false christen that falleth from the fayth'.⁵⁵ Indeed, much earlier in his career, in the *Responsio ad Lutheram* (1523), he had underlined that 'Even the Turks venerate the virgin mother of God, whose name the Lutherans hardly endure'.⁵⁶ By 1524 Erasmus was writing from Basel, 'If I had known the true nature of the Germans and their endless perfidy, I should have gone to live among the Turks rather than here'.⁵⁷ In the event, the traumas of religious schism and of invading armies from the East could not be resolved by idle jests. The Ottoman Empire had been growing from strength to strength, most particularly since Mahomet II's forces had taken Athens in 1452 and Constantinople in the following year. Moving along the Adriatic coast the Turks had reached Otranto in Italy by 1480, seized Egypt in 1519 and moved on to Algeria. The empire reached the height of its powers during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66) when Rhodes was famously captured (1522) and the Caliph's armies advanced further west into Europe and further east into Iraq. Erasmus wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, from Bruges in 1521, 'all the time the Turks in arms are devastating Hungary'.⁵⁸ As the threat became increasingly intense, it was widely promulgated to populations across Europe that the only way to resist the polluting mores of 'the Turk' was through the purgative of war. Characteristically, however, humanist scholars remained less than convinced and a number of vehement anti-war statements emanated from the pulpits and from the presses, such as Vives's *De Europae dissidiis, & bello turcico* (1526), *De concordia & discordia in humano genere* and its sequel *De pacificatione* (1529), *De conditione vitae Christianorum sub turca* (1529), and Erasmus's own *De bello turcico* (1530).

Indeed, even in 1518 Erasmus was writing that 'In my own opinion it will be found a good plan, long before we make the attempt by force of arms, to seek to win [the Turks] by letters and by pamphlets'.⁵⁹

Unremittingly passionate in their demonization of war and meticulous in their exegeses of political misgovernment, if humanist scholars found themselves increasingly alienated in a world ruled over by 'very firebrands of war',⁶⁰ it became repeatedly apparent that they had few tangible policies to tender in response to the prospect of armed factionalism at home and invading armies from abroad. In the perplexing twists and turns of More's *Utopia* we learn that his islanders scorn the appetite for war, but suffer from no queasiness when forced to dispatch their enemies on the field of battle. More generally, there were few other examples in writings by humanists of such decisive interventionism in the face of military threats. Vives mostly contented himself with the diagnosis of ailing political conditions rather than proposing remedies for these emergencies; and Erasmus was similarly given to advocate moral and spiritual self-scrutiny for the peoples of Christendom, rather than committing himself to the promotion of crusades as Bernard of Clairvaux had done centuries earlier. If, in the *Institutio principis christiani* (1516), he affirmed, 'Let us first make sure that we are truly Christian ourselves and then, if it seems appropriate, let us attack the Turks',⁶¹ a decade later the Netherlander was still insisting that the Christian community needed to heal itself before any successful response might be made against the invading Ottomans. He wrote to Sigismund I of Poland in May 1527 that 'In our day the struggle of monarchs among themselves has paved the way for the Turks to invade first Rhodes and more recently Hungary. Their cruelty has achieved inordinate success, and they will penetrate even closer to us unless with common cause we join forces to block their path'.⁶²

'An unjust-just scourge': concluding thoughts

So on a tyme walking a long the *Thames* syde at *Chelsey*, with his Sonne in law *M. Roper*, and discoursing of many things, amongst other speaches he sayd thus vnto him: Now I would to our Lord God, Sonne *Roper*, that three things were well established in Christendome [...] In fayth Sonne, they be these: First, that where the most parte of Christian Princes are now at mortal warres, I would they were all at an vniuersall peace. The second, that where the Church is at this present, sore afflicted with Errors & Heresyes, that it were setled in a perfect vniformity of Religion. The third is, that where the Kings matter of his marriage is now come into question, I wish it were, to the glory of God, and quietnes of all parties, brought to a good conclusion.⁶³

This conversation, occurring at some point after 1527, is one of the most famous passages from William Roper's *The mirrour of vertue in worldly*

greatnes. Or The life of Syr Thomas More Knight, sometime L. Chancellour of England (composed during the reign of Mary I, but not published until 1626) and offers a vivid insight into the thorny dilemmas of the scholar in a world bowing under the pressures of religious and political division. By the end of the century, Michel de Montaigne would conclude that 'Il n'est passion qui esbranle tant la sincerité des jugements, que la cholere'⁶⁴, and it became increasingly difficult to imagine a society that was not given over to such destructive passions in the opening decades of the sixteenth century.

Initially, in this discussion, we bore witness to Erasmus's euphoric responses to a newly encountered Tudor realm. As time wore on, Erasmus would become less enamoured of the pugnacious Henry who sought to remedy his insufficient sovereignty with military campaigns, and the eminent visitor was soon made keenly aware of the political uncertainty which lay at the heart of this island kingdom. Nonetheless, repeatedly frustrated in his dynastic and political ambitions for England, the maturing Tudor king sought to shore up his international standing by attracting leading intellectuals into his entourage and turned repeatedly to Erasmus to invite him to join his court. From the very beginning, Erasmus had showed himself unwilling to ally himself too closely with *any* political administration and wrote to the monarch from Basel in June 1528 that he could not (or would not!) entertain travel in the aftermath of the Peasants' Revolt when 'No place is free of bands of soldiers who spare neither friend nor foe. And the duke of Gelderland is a menace everywhere'.⁶⁵ Thomas More had bred grave anxieties amongst his fellow intellectuals when he agreed to take up service in Henry's government a decade earlier. In an age when so many rulers sought to establish their sovereignty with the founding violence of war, many humanist scholars remained at pains to preserve their powers of autonomy and agency – and thus their powers to scrutinize the cultural privileges of others.

For someone like Erasmus who remained faithful to the ideal that 'Peace is the mother and the nurse of all that is good', it remains unsurprising that in *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (1515) he argued, 'If there is any human activity that should be approached with caution, or rather that should be avoided by all possible means, resisted and shunned, that activity is war'.⁶⁶ From this point of view, the waging of war shackled the individual's spiritual and human potential and could only serve to corrupt further the wider community. Indeed, a hundred years later at the close of the Tudor century, Samuel Daniel would brand warfare an 'unjust-just scourge of mens iniquitie' – though many of his contemporaries, like Sir William Cornwallis, would query equally representatively whether war might not be 'the remedy for a State surfeited with peace, it is a medicine for Commonwealths sicked of too much ease and tranquillitie'.⁶⁷ Ultimately, the dynamism of the age all too often came to express itself on the battlefield and, generation after generation, scholars and intellectuals found that they could not divorce themselves from its study and analysis any more than the belligerents themselves.

The vigorous commitment to and professionalization of hostilities at the centres of political power across the continent often rendered the resisting voices of those such as Erasmus increasingly marginalized politically and, as time wore on, the Netherlander all too frequently took refuge in the more personal contemplation of his sickening frame. Interestingly, at the dawn of the modern period, Freud proposed influentially in *Civilization and its Discontents* that ‘We are threatened with suffering from three directions: from our own body, which is doomed to decay and dissolution and which cannot even do without pain and anxiety as warning signals; from the external world, which may rage against us with overwhelming and merciless forces of destruction; and finally from our relations to other men’.⁶⁸ The present discussion has explored precisely these intricate connections between disorderly bodies and declining polities, and indicated that such enquiries were as pressing at the turn of the early modern period as they seem to have been at the beginning of our own. Timothy Bright warned in *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) that once the ‘rebellious’ affections are allowed to ‘rage’ in the body, ‘iudgement, wil, and affection, hauing degenerated, vse the bodely members as weapons and instrumentes of all impietye, and iniustice’.⁶⁹ However, earlier in the century, Vives had shown himself equally eager to underline for his own readers that the human subject was condemned to a painfully volatile state of affective changefulness and delusion: ‘emotions do not tell us that reality is one way or another, but only that we think it is. [...] as Horace in a famous tale reports about a noble Argive who “was happily seated in an empty theatre and applauded all the time convinced he could hear wonderful tragic actors”. This applies to all emotions’.⁷⁰

We began this discussion pondering the figure of Erasmus and his interests (and those of his fellow intellectuals) in Galenic scholarship. By way of conclusion, we should perhaps return to this pre-eminent scholar who was in correspondence in the 1520s with the alchemist physician Paracelsus – the latter had dispensed with the humoralism of Hippocratic-Galenic analyses of the body’s ailments and had turned instead to questions of its mineral composition and how chemical medications and therapies (or ‘concoctions’ and ‘kingly remedies’) might restore it to health. Claiming to understand fully Erasmus’s ‘delicate physique’, Paracelsus wrote to his patient in 1527 that ‘The region of the liver has no need of drugs; nor do the other two symptoms require laxatives. Rather, the remedy is a mysterious but potent elixir, consisting of a specific fortifier and abstergents (that is, consolidants) made of honey’. Thus, the patient might be consoled that he ‘need not resort to enemas’.⁷¹ However, the decidedly hypochondriac Erasmus sought an increasing number of opinions concerning his ‘delicate physique’, and as Freud would advise centuries later, he remained convinced that his body was under siege *within and without* from noxious influences. Indeed, in 1526, the aguish scholar might be discovered writing in desperation

to Guillaume Cop, former physician to the French court, concerning his unceasing ordeals with untrustworthy authorities, bellicose societies and a change-ridden body:

At first there was not much pain, but after a day or two it was torture. [...] Alarmed, I consulted the doctors here, who are just what the people deserve, since they do not live very healthy lives and drink immoderately. The doctors gave no grounds for hope. One recommended the baths at Baden, others suggested different things. So I dismissed them and committed myself to the Lord. [...] They tell me that Thomas Linacre died of this complaint. Since I cannot visit you because of my health and the threats of war, I beg you most urgently to write to me and give me your advice.⁷²

Notes

1. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. I: Letters 1–141 (1484–1500), ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 235–6. I would also like to take this opportunity to extend my thanks to the editors, especially Andrew Lynch, and also to Bob White for kindly inviting me to join this scholarly project.
2. *Querela pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque (A Complaint of Peace Spurned and Rejected by the Whole World)*, written 1516, pub. 1517), trans. Betty Radice. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 5*, vol. XXVII, ed. A. H. T. Levi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 298–9.
3. Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons* (1562), sig. 54^v.
4. John Colet, *Ioannis Coleti Opuscula Quaedam Theologica. Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, Together with other treatises*, ed. and trans. J. H. Lupton (London: Bell & Sons, 1876), 31. In this context, see also Juan Luis Vives, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Gregorio Majansius, VIII vols. (Valencia: 1782–90), V.255
5. Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Letters 1356–1534 (1523–1524), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al., *Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. X (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 65. In this context, see also, William Hugh, *The troubled mans medicine* (1546), sig. A4^r.
6. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XIII: Letters 1802–1925 (March–December 1527), trans. Charles Fantazzi, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2010), 151.
7. Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.
8. More (and later Luther's) publisher, Froben brought out *Galenii opera omnia* (Basel 1542). This edition included Erasmus's translations.
9. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. IV: Letters 446–593 (1516–1517), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 171.
10. See Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. S. J. Edward Surtz et al., vol. IV (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1965), 3.
11. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. VI: Letters 842–992 (1518–1519), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 128–9.
12. See Erasmus (1982), 381.

13. *Oration in Praise of the Art of Medicine*.
14. *Declamatio in laudem artis medicae*, trans. Brian McGregor (written c. 1499, 1st pub. 1518). See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XXIX: Literary and Educational Writings VII, ed. Elaine Fantham et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 39–40.
15. Respectively: *Exhortation to Study the Liberal Arts, especially Medicine; The Best Kind of Teaching; The Proper Physician*.
16. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. XII: Letters 1658–1801 (January 1526–March 1527), trans. Alexander Dalzell, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 174–5.
17. See Galen, *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, ed. and trans. Phillip de Lacy (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 8.11–13, 9.18–19, 13.8, respectively pages 127, 133, 151.
18. See Sir Thomas Elyot, *The castel of helth*, 2nd edn (1539), sig. 8^r.
19. See Thomas More (1965), 53.
20. See Juan Luis Vives, *The Passions of the Soul. The Third Book of 'De Anima et Vita'*, intro. and trans. Carlos G. Noreña (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 4, 85, 120.
21. Vives, *The Passions of the Soul*, 5.
22. In this context, see also Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers in Ten Books*, ed. R. D. Hicks, vol. II (London/New York: William Heinemann/G. P. Putnam, 1925), 215–6.
23. Juan Luis Vives, *An introduction to wysedome* (1544), sig. C2^v-C3^r. In this context, see also Erasmus's discussion in his *Enchiridion militis christiani*: Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. LXVI, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 41.
24. Translation from J. A. Fernández-Santamaria, *The State, War and Peace. Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 51. Original Latin text: Vives, *Opera omnia*, ed. Gregorio Majansius (Valencia), V.187.
25. John Colet, *Ioannis Coleti Enarratio in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos. An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, ed. and trans. J. H. Lupton, reprint of 1873 ed. (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1965), 22, 88.
26. Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, vol. I, Eng. trans. Thomas H. Corcoran (London/Cambridge MA: William Heinemann/Harvard University Press, 1971), 5.
27. William Baldwin, *A treatise of morall phylosophie contaynyng the sayynges of the wyse* (1547), sig. K8^v.
28. Vives, *The Passions of the Soul*, 3. For the broader discussion in antiquity of these matters, see, for example: Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers in Ten Books*, ed. R. D. Hicks, vol. II (London/New York: William Heinemann/G. P. Putnam), VII.110, 215–6; Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, III vols., trans. Richard M. Gummere (London/New York: William Heinemann/G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), I:409, 419, 421, III:333.
29. IV.ix.22–23. See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Loeb Classical Library, Eng. trans. J. K. King (1927; London/Cambridge MA: William Heinemann/Harvard University Press, repr. 1950), 351. For the later Thomist *enumeratio* of the passions, see *Summa Theologica*, 1a. 2ae.23, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* – 1a. 2ae (vol. XIX), trans. Eric D'Arcy (London/New York: Eyre & Spottiswoode/McGraw-Hill, 1963), 31.
30. *Enchiridion militis christiani*, in Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. LXVI, 42. In this context, see also Colet's sermon on Paul's Epistle to the Romans

- delivered in 1496, in Colet, *Ioannis Coleti Enarratio in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos*, 22.
31. *Enchiridion militis christiani*, in Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. LXVI, 44.
 32. Translation: 'the Stoics have felt this, but it is even more fitting for those who are Christians'. See Adage no. 7: 'Virtus instar omnium', in Juan Luis Vives, *Satellitium Animi*, ed. Jacobus Wychgram (Vienna: A. Pichleri), 8. In this context, see also Book III of *De concordia* in Vives, *Opera omnia*, V.255.
 33. In this context, see: Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers in Ten Books*, II, VII.117, 221; Seneca, *Seneca. Moral Essays*, III vols, trans. John W. Basore (London/New York: William Heinemann/G. P. Putnam, 1928), I.137.
 34. See Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), XIV.9, p. 599. See also in this context IX.5, pp. 365–6.
 35. Vives, *The Passions of the Soul*, 46–7.
 36. *De Constantia*, in Seneca, *Seneca. Moral Essays*, I.59.
 37. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 5*, 104. Interestingly, in this context, see Jean Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, 1561, fol. 166^v.
 38. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. VII: treatises III – 'On Grace and Free Choice' trans. Daniel O'Donovan, intro. Bernard McGinn, 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', trans. Conrad Greenia, intro. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Pubs., 1977), 129, 133, 134.
 39. See *Summa Theologicae*, 2a.2ae.40.2, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologicae – 2a. 2ae* (vol. XXXV), trans. Thomas R. Heath O. P. (London/New York: Eyre & Spottiswoode/McGraw-Hill, 1972), 85.
 40. R. S. White, *Pacifism and English Literature. Minstrels of Peace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), esp. 54–5, 111–22.
 41. Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 5: Institutio*, ch. II, 250.
 42. Juan Luis Vives, *Selected Works of J. L. Vives*, vol. VIII: *De Officio Mariti*, ed. C. Fantazzi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 123.
 43. See More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 207.
 44. Quoted in Robert P. Adams, *The Better Part of Valor. More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives, on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496–1535* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), 66, 69
 45. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. X: The Correspondence of Erasmus – Letters 1356 to 1534 (1523–1524), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 205.
 46. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 5*, 284.
 47. See Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Adages* III iv 1 to IV ii 100, vol. XXXV, ed. John N. Grant, trans. and annotated Denis L. Drysdall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 427.
 48. In this context, see Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. II: Letters 142–297 (1501–14), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 280.
 49. Vives, *An introduction to wysedome*, sig. B4^r.
 50. Translations: 'the upheavals of the passions and their clamours', 'when he forsakes love and concord'. See Juan Luis Vives, *De concordia & discordia in humano*

- genere* (Lyons: Melchior & Gaspar Trechsel, 1532), sigs. B4^r, C1^v. I would like to thank Kathryn Loveridge, Classicist and English scholar at Bangor University, for the stimulating discussions and assistance in the analysis of this text.
51. In this context, see Fernández-Santamaria, *The State, War and Peace*, 146–7.
 52. *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), bk. IV, ch. 7. See Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. Thomas M. C. Lawler et al., vol. VI pt. I (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1981), 369.
 53. *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), bk. IV, ch. 7. See More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 370–1.
 54. For this translation from Book II of *De Concordia*, see Curtis, ‘The Social and Political Thought of Juan Luis Vives’, 155. Original Latin text in Vives, *Opera omnia*, V, 244.
 55. Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. Louis L. Martz et al., vol. XII (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1976), 6–7.
 56. Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. John M. Headley, vol. V, pt. 1 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1969), 691.
 57. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. X, 225.
 58. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. VIII: Letters 1122–1251 (1520–1521), trans. R. A. B. Mynors et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 286.
 59. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. VI, 77.
 60. *Institutio principis christiani*, in Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings* 5, 286.
 61. *Institutio principis christiani*, in Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings* 5, 287.
 62. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. XIII, 120.
 63. William Roper, *The mirrour of vertue in worldly greatnes. Or The life of Syr Thomas More Knight, sometime L. Chancellour of England* (1626), 37–8.
 64. Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais de Montaigne*, ed. J.-V. Leclerc, II vols. (Paris: Garnier): vol. II, bk. II, ch. xxxi (s.d.), 102. Translation: ‘No passion disturbs the soundness of our judgement as anger does’. See Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 810.
 65. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. XIV: Letters 1926–2081 (1528), trans. Charles Fantazzi, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 197.
 66. Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Adages*, 413, 400–1.
 67. See respectively: Samuel Daniel, *The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel* (1599), 63; Sir William Cornwallis, *Discourses vpon Seneca the tragedian* (1601), sig. H1^r.
 68. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. Joan Rivieres (London: Hogarth Press, 1973), 14.
 69. Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), 225.
 70. Vives, *The Passions of the Soul*, 52.
 71. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. XIII, 57–8.
 72. See Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* vol. XII, 279–80.

9

Grief and Glory: The Commemoration of War in Seventeenth-Century England

Peter Sherlock

In 1714 George Grenville saw fit to erect a magnificent funerary monument to his grandfather Bevil Grenville over his grave in the parish church of Kilkhampton, Cornwall. The monument was a belated act of memory, completed some 70 years after Bevil Grenville's death: Grenville had perished in 1643 in the Battle of Lansdowne, fighting for King Charles against the Parliamentary forces. Like many similar tombs, including the battlefield monument George Grenville would erect in 1720 for his grandfather, the Kilkhampton monument attempted to make a definitive statement about one of the most grievous and unsettling periods of English history. It lamented the untimely death of a warrior on the battlefield, while glorifying the cause in which he perished, a cause claimed as righteous from the hindsight of the warrior's eighteenth-century descendants.

Grenville's monument is symbolic of seventeenth-century England's treatment of emotions and war in literature. On the one hand, grief was an immediate, sharp response to death on the battlefield. On the other, the concept of glory offered a contrast, justifying death as a noble sacrifice in service of – or in the search for – a higher power. The passage of time, and the ritual commemoration of war might ease the note of grief in favour of a more stoic attitude, but the passion for glory remained.

This study considers how two broad emotions, grief and glory, governed the treatment of war in commemorative culture in England from the late Elizabethan to the post-Restoration period. It does so through examination of texts commemorating famous English soldiers and military leaders: the soldier-poet Philip Sidney (d. 1586); the duke of Buckingham (d. 1628), favourite of James VI and I; the Parliamentary leader the earl of Essex (d. 1645); the revolutionary Oliver Cromwell (d. 1659); and General Monck (d. 1670), leader of the restoration of monarchy in 1660. The focus is on epitaphs and elegies, whether circulated in print, or hung or engraved on their graves, as well as the imagery of monuments erected to their memory by contemporaries. These elite cultural productions were nonetheless widely available to literate visitors and readers of cheap print, and were a powerful

force for contesting ideas of truth and error, for constructing heroic narratives that defined the nation through its history and values.¹

The Grenville monument at Kilkhampton, which survives today, is peppered with military emblems, and capped by allegorical figures representing Fame and Justice. These reflect the nature of Grenville's self-sacrificial, honourable death in the king's cause, and the retrospective triumph of that cause in post-Restoration England. The central focus of the monument is a lengthy epitaph. This has two functions. First, it represents Grenville's lineage, marriage and progeny in typical fashion, including a claim to direct descent from 'Robert second son of ye Warlike Roll: first Duke of Normandy'. Second, it situates him as a military hero who fought for the right cause against all odds. Together the words and images establish war, the bearing of arms, as the pivot around which Grenville's identity was built and the foundation of his claim to fame.

The engraved epitaph is unusual in that it directly cites, with references, two literary works of the seventeenth century: the earl of Clarendon's famous *History of the Rebellion*, and the royalist captain and poet Martin Lluelyn's verses. As such it constructs a vibrant site of memory that marks out Grenville's posthumous claim to glory, justified by his worldly claim to fame on account of his ancestry and honour, and what are presented as self-sacrificial acts in battle for God, king and country.

The main epitaph emphasises the calm and consistent nature of Grenville's emotional state in public and private as evidence of his 'excellent person':

He was indeed an excellent Person, whose activity, Interest & Reputation was ye foundation of what had been done in Cornwall & his temper & affections so Publick that no accident which happen'd could make any impressions in him And his example kept others from taking any thing ill or at least seeming to do so. Ina word A brighter courage & a gentler disposition were nevar marry'd together to make ye most chearfull & innocent conversation.²

Lluelyn's poetry, from a collection published by the University of Oxford in 1643, further isolated Grenville as a hero, presenting him as a solitary figure who spent every drop of his blood on a victory that cost him his life:

Thus slain, thy Valiant Ancestor did ly
When his one Bark, a Navy did defy:
When now encompast round He Victor stood
And bath'd his Pinnacle in his co[n]quering blood
Till all his purple current dryd and spent
He fell and made the waves his monument

Where shall ye next fam'd Granvill's ashes stand
Thy grandsyre fills the seas and thou ye lands.³

The fact that Grenville had died in battle, in circumstances (royalists would argue) that should never have come to pass, was a self-evident cause for grief. Such 'an excellent person' might have gone on to do many more good deeds for his beloved Cornwall, if his life had not been cut short by the horrors of war.

Glory was a critical idea in seventeenth-century English thought. It was omnipresent in medieval and early modern European culture, with its ancient scriptural, literary, and liturgical heritage. Thomas Hobbes wrote famously in 1640 that glory 'is that passion which proceedeth from the imagination or conception of our own power, above the power of him that contendeth with us'.⁴ Hobbes understood glory as a passion that required social regulation, for the passion for glory led humans to competition, conflict, and war. The commonwealth, therefore, was obliged to provide avenues for the expression of glory that did not lead to conquest or destruction.⁵

Glory, as Hobbes understood it, was the joy, the pleasure, of supreme or superior power, an idea inherited from Roman pagan culture. It was closely related to the ancient concepts of fame and praise, and to the honour system that governed aristocratic behaviour in medieval and early modern Europe. In Christian doctrine, true glory was attributable only to God, by virtue of God's supremacy. For inhabitants of a kingdom like England, glory might also be manifest in the superior power of the monarch, a glory which was intended to bring honour to all who lived in its light. As the religious and civil wars of seventeenth-century Europe demonstrated, neither the supremacy of divinity nor rule by monarchy went unchallenged.

Hobbes's views on glory were written, circulated, and published in the midst of the English civil wars. These wars were driven by different understandings of the state, the monarchy, social organisation, and religion, understandings that grew further and further apart as conflict progressed. Yet the wars, these differences, and much of the cultural activity of the seventeenth century, can be understood as conflicts over glory, understood as a profound sense of being right, of having the upper hand, whether in the domains of honour, politics, divinity, or military force.

In the context of war, glory provided a distinctive note in the cultural expression of grief, that powerful emotion. Commemoration in early modern England provided a whole sequence of rituals and material practices to channel the expression of grief. For the gentry and nobility, this encompassed behaviour at the death bed, the solemnity of a funeral, perhaps the publication of a sermon, and the commissioning of a permanent monument, whether in the form of printed tributes or of stone memorials.⁶ The Protestant Reformation saw a shift in commemoration away from the need to escape the despair of Purgatory through prayer with a renewed emphasis on the assured hope of the resurrection.⁷ By the end of the sixteenth century, then, the expression of grief in formal media such as funeral sermons, elegies and epitaphs was framed in terms of the deceased's virtues, drawing on ancient precedent as well as Protestant theology.⁸

To his contemporaries and successors, Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86) was the model courtier, poet, lover, and national hero of Elizabethan England, symbolic of what later generations would call England's 'Renaissance'. His untimely death as a result of wounds inflicted while fighting the Spanish in the Netherlands was widely mourned. It became the stuff of legend: the story that he refused a drink of water as he was carried from the battlefield seeing the need of another wounded soldier as greater than his own was circulated far and wide. Sidney's body was returned to England for burial at St Paul's Cathedral, London, in an elaborate funeral held some months after his death. He was commemorated in several volumes of poetry.

Sidney presented a perfect case for commemoration of honour. His honour flowed both from his literary and courtly activities, centred around the figure of the queen, and from his actual military activity against the Spanish and in defence of the Protestant cause. The grief which naturally accompanied the death of a 31 year old man in the prime of life was offset by the glory he had brought upon himself and his realm.

Angel Day's poetic tribute *Upon the life and death of the most worthy, and thise renowned knight, Sir Phillip Sidney* is an exemplar of how literary remembrances of Sidney were shaped by emotional responses to the manner and circumstances of his death.⁹ Day justified his work by referring to Sidney's threefold attainment of honour,

Whose yong yeares continued with all manner of expectation of such honor, as by due desert he long since acquired, hath made the remembrance of his death, so much the more famous, by how much the more honorable he hath put forward the same, in so laudable an action, as wherein consisteth his love, service, and obedience, to God, his Prince, and his Countrey.

Day's verse turned immediately to grief, summoning the Virtues and Muses to view his hearse in order to move them to mourn along with Sidney's human comrades:

And judge you then, how rightly men may say:
Their somme of Joyes, the Fates have rest away.

Even the Destinies were to be shamed by their involuntary act in pursuing Sidney to his death.

O see you not the Destinies self, with blame,
Of lofty skies, for such a rash pretence:
(To shred his life) already blush with shame,
And hide their heads for doing such offence.

Heavenly shame was a consequence of Sidney's merits, which also produced involuntary grief in the earthly realm:

Can they but mourn, that then such one do mis,
Can we but waile, so few like him that finde.
Can Sidneis name whose soule doth live in blisse,
Obscured lie. Whose bountie so did binde,
The heartes of all, to whome he was so kinde.

After praising his literary merits, Day contrasted the grief at Sidney's death with his own happy fate in a move typical of Renaissance commemorative poetry.

Injurious death, yet needes I must appeale,
Cruell to us, to him a cause of blis:
Wrong to our love, wrong to the hidden zeale,
That in each minde by vertue planted is.

Fame would compensate for earthly grief, proclaiming Sidney's deeds in letters and in arms. Day emphasised the manner of Sidney's death, reciting how his horse was shot from under him, and how his fatal wound was eventually inflicted.

And whilst in prease of mightiest Troupes he stood,
This worthie Knight Sir Phillip Sidney bold,
His Horse betrampled all in goarie blood:
At length was slaine, and under him lost hold,
Whereby on foote reculing uncontrould ...

Sidney was depicted as dying a good Protestant death, a consequence of the time between his mortal wounding and his dying, time which allowed him to prepare himself:

And as his usage was in health before:
with fervent zeale his sinnes he did deplore.
And fixing faith, firme hope, and speciall trust
In him, on whom our aide dependes alone:
He gladly mindes his corpes to be but dust,
Contemnes the world, and sighing at the throne,
Of him whose mercie saves eche faithfull one.

Day thus presented Sidney as a glorious hero, one whose piety towards God and service towards others rendered him the subject of praise. He gained glory by his manner, leaving even the Muses 'bereft and maz'd', while Fame

compensated for, if not triumphed over, his death. But Day's use of bloody language to depict the battlefields on which Sidney fought left the reader under no illusions as to the brutality of death.

Sidney's grave in St Paul's Cathedral, London, was hung with verses, but no permanent monument was ever built, though one was planned by his friend and admirer Fulke Greville.¹⁰ This was not the case for the next figure in this study, the duke of Buckingham, who had two funeral monuments, one in Portsmouth, and the other in Westminster.

One of the most controversial figures of the early seventeenth century, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham and favourite of James VI and I, was assassinated in Portsmouth in 1628 while assembling a major military expedition. Buckingham had been at the forefront of military and diplomatic initiatives in the 1620s, but was in many quarters deeply unpopular on account of the lavish patronage he received – accompanied by the taint of corruption – and his failure to build consensus on the manner of England's participation in the Thirty Years War.¹¹

In 1634 Buckingham's widow Catherine ensured that he was commemorated in one of the vast monuments typical of the 1630s. This meandering object, commissioned from Hubert Le Sueur and Isaac Besnier, filled the entire space of one of the small rooms radiating from the eastern end of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, and incorporated black and white stone and bronze elements.¹² The monument was all the more significant as the first major memorial in the chapel to a person not of royal blood, erected with the king's permission. Its many elements represented a potent mix of grief and glory, death and fame, though the monument's cramped location worked against its potential impact on a casual visitor.

As always in the monuments of the early modern gentry and nobility, the themes of lineage and family were paramount. Here they were accompanied by powerful motifs representing war, death, grief, and fame. The form of the monument was that of a large bed, on which rested the duke and duchess, with their children kneeling nearby as a symbol of their dynastic future. The main body of the monument was accompanied by kneeling figures of Mars and Neptune, as if England's army and navy were united in mourning Buckingham's death.

At the east end of the monument stood Fame, leaping forth from the edge to blast her trumpet. Fame's message was engraved on a brass plate on the opposite wall. Her text took the form of a celebration in Latin of Buckingham's actions as acknowledged by the major European dynasties, a diatribe against the infamy of Buckingham's death and an implied contrast with the failure of the English people to mourn his passing:

Here he lies, a reproach to the fickle mob: however,
Spain marvels at his prudence,
France at his courage,

Belgium at his diligence,
and the whole of Europe at his magnanimity:
Who was known
by the Kings of Denmark and Sweden to be irreproachable,
by the Princes of Germany, Transylvania and Nassau to be upright,
by the Venetian Republic to be a lover of monarchy,
by the Dukes of Latharingia and Savoy to be a statesman,
by the Count Palatine to be loyal,
by the Emperor to be a peace-maker,
by the Turk as a Christian,
by the Pope as a Protestant:
Whom England regarded as Lord High Admiral,
Cambridge as Chancellor,
and Buckingham as its Duke.

The manner of Buckingham's life and death demonstrated his glory, for even his enemies recognised his qualities.¹³

Further Latin epitaphs typical of the period in their long, florid phrases framed Buckingham as a hero. He was 'highly endowed in both body and mind ... famous in peace and war, most famous in the arts'. Like Sidney, Buckingham's glory stemmed from his dual roles as 'a magnificent patron of letters and literary men' and as one who perished in the defence of Protestantism.

Unlike Sidney, it was far more difficult to frame Buckingham's death as a sacrifice in a noble cause, for his mortal wound was inflicted at home, by an English soldier who had been in his service. Instead, the epitaph settled for the petulant if accurate claim that he was 'both the delight and the plaint of Parliament: who, while he was waging war against the Papists, was accused of Papacy: while promoting the Protestant cause, was slain by a Protestant'. The memory of Buckingham's glory (and the implied, though unstated tribute of glory to God and king), was permanently tempered by grief not at his death alone, but at his death in an act of betrayal.

In contrast to Buckingham, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was a hero of the Parliamentary forces. His mother was Philip Sidney's widow, linking him to the culture of honour, though the cord was severed when his stepfather Essex was beheaded for treason and again later in the failures of his first, infamous marriage to Frances Howard and his second, hasty marriage to Elizabeth Paulet. Like Sidney and Buckingham, he saw extensive military service in the Low Countries during English interventions in the Thirty Years War. When civil war broke out, Essex took the side of Parliament, and was initially amongst its most effective leaders as the Captain-general of its forces in the campaigns of 1642 and 1643. He left the army in 1645, and died in 1646.¹⁴

In contrast to the circumstances of his life, Essex was given a magnificent funeral of the type previously reserved for sovereigns and their children. Like

his enemy Buckingham, he was buried in Westminster Abbey, a symbol of the honour paid to him by the parliamentarians on account of the growing mythology around his military achievements against the royalists. No permanent monument was erected, but as his funeral followed royal precedent, a funeral hearse and effigy remained on display in the Abbey, surviving an attack by a royalist shortly after the burial, and before being erased at the Restoration.

Essex's death was marked in print through a series of tracts and popular broadsheets issued in October 1646, frequently with an image of his funeral procession or hearse. While his death was from natural causes, he presented a rare opportunity to combine traditional praise of aristocratic nobility with anti-royalist or at least anti-Caroline sentiment. This required invocation of a more complex series of passions than those of a death on the battlefield, for Essex's glory came from his service not of his king, but of his kingdom when faced by unprecedented circumstances.

An Elligie upon the death of the Right Honourable Robert Devereux presented the image of a rich tomb surmounted by a cadaver on its mat, the head bearing a laurel wreath, a simple evocation of the contrast between mortal decay and eternal memory.¹⁵ Two poems followed, one addressed to 'Autumn', and the other in the form of an acrostic on 'Robert Devereux'. Both lamented the death of a 'much Renowned Champion of our dayes'. The poem made the usual contrast between the erasure of life by death and the endurance of the fame of a worthy name, before emphasising the subject's just actions and freedom from 'the blemish of unconstancy' in the midst of turmoil: 'Yet noble ESSEX still did justly deale, Both with the King, the State, and Common-weale'.

An Elligie provided two possible emotional responses, drawn from traditional English attitudes towards death. The imagined readers were 'to lament thy absence here', struck by 'the Fruite of discontent' and bringing 'teares enough, whereby to raine a Shower excelling those which from the Clouds doe poure'. The cry of Essex's soldiers, however, was to continue to express solidarity in their shared future:

The Souldiers sighing for their Generall,
Whose presents here they're like to see no more,
Devereux adieu, they shake their Heads and cry,
Yet we're thy followers still, for all must die ...

Grief was also mixed with triumph, for Essex was 'victorious' in his death 'to gaine Eternity'.

A Funerall Elegie upon the deplorable and much lamented Death of the Right Honourable Robert Devereux, a broadsheet by the same printer as *An Elligie*, depicted the funeral procession including heralds, carriage and horses, all surmounted by the figure of Fame atop the moving hearse blowing her trumpet and presenting a laurel wreath.¹⁶ No effigy appeared in this image, the deceased instead being represented by the instruments of war and honour: helm, sword, and gauntlet.

The accompanying poem used far more dramatic language. Through his military acts, Essex had stared down death:

For Death he hath outdar'd, as all men knowes,
Both on the Sea, and Land, to meet his Foes ...
... He in the head of all his Troopes did lead,
Nor thundring Cannon Bullets nere did dread,
His way he cut through his fierce Enemy,
Who at his presence did so often fly ...

This active engagement in the business of war was contrasted with his justice and cool temper, attributes that justified his lasting fame:

Unto the meanest Souldier of his Band
He still was courteous, though he did command ...
... Truly Religious he was alwayes found,
Mild, temperate, and of a Iudgement sound.

This mildness was the opposite of the spirit he inspired in his men:

In his proceedings he was resolute,
Incouraging his valiant Horse and Foote.
Which so inflaim'd their hearts with hot desire,
That they would raither dye then to retire.

As a result, Essex was to be mourned, the once inflamed hearts now drooping in the cooler climes of grief:

His stour Commanders all for him doe mourne,
With dropping hearts they bring him to his Urne,
Rivers of teares run flowing from their eyes,
When they did celebrate his Obsequies.

In reflecting on his death, the second half of the poem affirmed the Christian hope in the resurrection, for 'with Christ Iesus [he] doth triumph and reigne'. This heavenly fate was represented by contrasting emotions:

All Joy, no Sorrow, and Mirth without measure,
No Sicknesse, Sorrow, but all Heavenly pleasure,
No Death, no Weeping, nor no Miserie,
Mekenes and Concord, with sweet Harmonie ...

The common thread throughout the poem was Essex's constancy, whether in the midst of earthly battle, in the great affairs of state, in the bitter throes of death, or in the joys of divine presence in the heavenly realm. Essex was beyond

earthly emotions and passions, from the 'hot desire' of the soldier's heart in battle, and the 'drooping hearts' of worldly mourning. Grief was allowed to those surviving on earth, but prohibited to Essex himself, for 'A Soule in blisse is of no grief Partaker'. Essex would live on in memory through fame, but glory was reserved to heaven, where there was 'alwaies beholding of Gods glory bright'.

A Funerall Monument: or the manner of the Herse of the most Renowned Robert Devereux also depicted an imaginary funeral procession and provided over one hundred lines of verse.¹⁷ This broadsheet was clearly aimed at royalist sympathisers who had been 'Forgetfull of this Isles abomination' and whose 'sinnes remaine that have sought his [Essex's] disgrace'. Essex was presented as a sacrificial leader, almost Christ-like, in contrast to the changing whims of the populace which praised at one moment and castigated in the next.

What great advantage he did stand upon,
 When freely for this bleeding Nation
 He offerd up himselfe, to lead on those
 That did the proudest enemie oppose.
 Should you forget those great Returnes of prayer,
 Which by this Instrument accomlisht were,
 The stones would utter out your base neglect,
 And this great sin would sadly back reflect.
 With what rejoycing, in your saddest dayes,
 Did you erect loud songs of thankfull praise
 To God, that in so many great attempts
 Preserved and regarded Innocents ...

The poem urged the reader to 'let tears fall' in a 'flood' for this 'noble Champion, like an unmov'd rock', arguing this was a small but appropriate response to Essex's death.

Since teares are small expressions for this losse,
 That calls for flouds, fit to expresse remorse;
 The master-peece of friendship now discover
 Rais'd up with sense of losse, bedew'd all over,
 With dolefull Ditties, now let freely fall
 Those fit expressions for this Funerall.

Again, Essex's virtue was represented as his calm response to the turmoil of civil war, and his just dealings with all sides:

Essex was constant, free from that great sin,
 And thus unmoved, liv'd and di'd therein;
 With King & Countrey both, and Commonweale,
 Our noble Essex faithfully did deale.

The metaphor of an oak tree appeared three times in the poem to emphasise the need for more such leaders.

Overall these three broadsheets left little room for the idea of glory. Passions moved soldiers, political leaders, whole peoples into civil strife and battle. Constancy and just action towards all were valorized. These attributes were largely mythical when compared with Essex's actual life, and as such are understandable representations of desires of the writers and readers of these broadsheets for a new leaf in English political life. Grief and lament were appropriate emotional responses not only to the death of an individual man, but also to the state of the nation as it existed in 1646, and all were invited to participate in these 'fit expressions' of public mourning.

One tract consisting of poetry alone dramatically emphasised the scale of the grief required at Essex's death, for 'when there stood No water in thine Eye, thy Heart wept Blood'.¹⁸ Even magnificent funerary obsequies would not alleviate grief, which would be truly expressed when the nation realised the actual extent of its loss in the months which would follow:

A reare of Mourners, which shall reach from hence
To Doomes-day, mourning not for Forme, but Sense.
We now but see the Pompe; but after times
Shall make us feele our Losse, due to our-Crimes;
When Monarchy shall faint, and Faction thrive,
How shall we then wish Devereux alive?

Essex's death was an opportunity to mark the true cost of war and bloodshed, exemplified in the image of 'the Stygian Boats ev'n sinke, Laden with Soules up to the very brinke'. There was no glory in this poet's sober view of the civil conflicts which had wracked England in the early 1640s:

So sharp a Pill is War, that some have thought
Even Health it selfe, at this price, too deare bought;
Physick on a Swords point can seldome please,
Men count such Remedies worse then the Disease.

The death in 1659 of Oliver Cromwell, the dominant figure of mid-seventeenth-century British history, marked the beginning of the end of an exceptional period. Military genius and Lord Protector, Cromwell had effectively ruled England for a decade through a series of political experiments following the execution of Charles I. His death was marked in what were becoming the usual ways for the leaders of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, adapting rituals once reserved for royalty. Cromwell was buried in Westminster Abbey in Henry VII's chapel amongst his family.

Payne Fisher published a funeral ode for Cromwell in 1659, first in Latin and then republished in English, recounting his deeds at length in

an exhausting series of verses.¹⁹ Like Buckingham's epitaph, the ode used geography as a device to frame Cromwell's military achievements in and beyond Britain and Ireland, for 'no time Nor Place could circumscribe Thee, or withstand The spreading Conduct of thy conquering Hand. But these are meer Rhapsodies, and Scraps Of thy full Triumphs, or like Lesser Maps Of the Large World, where every Prick sets down Some ample Shire, and every Point's a Town'.

Fisher's authorial voice was motivated by emotion: 'Shall I grow dumb? or into passion break? Fear urgeth silence, Sorrow bids me speak'. These emotive words were then directed at the 'Great Maker of the World', seeking mercy from 'thine Ire'. Noting that Cromwell's date of death, 3 September, was also the anniversary of his victories at Worcester and Dunbar, Fisher used the coincidence to draw out the conjunction of grief and glory:

In sad Septembers third, let none belief
 Repose, a day of Glory, and of Grief;
 Of Loss, and Conquest, witness that known pair
 Of twin-born Triumphs, WORSTER & DUNBAR.
 But Death hath chang'd the Theatre, and made
 Thy Speare and Scepter equal to her Spade,
 Forcing that day of Victory to turn
 Her Chariot-Wheels to wait upon thine Urn.

Cromwell's deeds in life were the source of glory, and his death the cause of grief. This grief extended beyond humans as 'Nature almost forsook Her wonted station, and the Centre shook, Whilst rising Winds before his fall did sigh'. He was cast as a sun, now become a star, extending geography beyond earth to the heavens: 'our Hero; Not so full of Dayes As old in Honours, having spread his Rayes Through Fame's huge Zodiack, & run through the whole Circle, from th'Arctick to the Antarctick Pole'.

Cromwell's honourable burial in Westminster Abbey was short-lived. In 1660 the English Parliament, newly reconstituted with King Charles II at its head, passed the infamous 'Act of Indemnity and Pardon'. This Act purported to be an instrument for the healing of the body politic in the wake of the civil wars and execution of Charles I in the 1640s, and the republican experiments of the 1650s. It was seen as a measured, generous response to unprecedented circumstances. It allowed the restored government to overlook the deeds committed over the previous 20 years, letting them rest in the dust of history. In fact, it went to great lengths to ensure that the architects of what was to the monarchists that most treasonous act – the regicide – were to be brutally punished with all the torturous means available to the seventeenth century. The regicides, whether dead or alive, were to be rounded up, or exhumed, then hanged, drawn and quartered. Cromwell's corpse was exhumed in February 1661 and his grave destroyed along with

those of his comrades and family, his daughter being the only exception as the royalists were unable to locate her body.²⁰

Like Cromwell, General Monck was buried in Westminster Abbey, but unlike him, Monck's burial place came to be permanently marked by a funeral monument that endured the fortunes of history. George Monck was a remarkable military general whose service and leadership in armies and navies encompassed the Thirty Years War, the civil wars and rebellions in England, Scotland and Ireland, and the removal of the power of the Commonwealth army in 1659 and 1660. He is remembered above all for his pivotal role in facilitating the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy by Parliament in 1660, which brought him the royal title of duke of Albemarle.²¹

Following his death in 1670, General Monck was granted a lavish funeral by Charles II. This took some four months to organise and finance, and so Monck's hearse lay on display giving an opportunity for the publication of commemorative verse. Like Essex a quarter of a century earlier, his funeral procession included the rare honour of a hearse and effigy, normally reserved for a sovereign. His body was buried alongside his wife in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, amidst kings and queens.

Also like Essex, Monck's death was commemorated in printed poems in the months leading up to his funeral. John Rowland penned some 40 stanzas in his memory.²² The expected tribute of grief demanded for the ordinary dead was once again augmented here on account of his political and military leadership. Rowland went so far as to portray General Monck as the new Saint George, England's patron, to justify a display of national mourning:

Let all true Hearts lament with doleful cries,
Let Tears like Rivers trickle from your eyes ...
... Because we were of him we lov'd bereft,
Resolv'd to weep till there's no moisture left.²³

Rowland's key theme was the need for a new hero to replace Monck, lest the nation be torn asunder by the free rein of uncontrolled passions.

Who can dam up our overflowing Tears?
Or stanch the Wound that yet so fiercely bleeds?
The Land is fill'd with Jealousies and Fears,
Till one for Valour like his GRACE succeeds;
Whilst the world lasts, let such men never cease,
To fight our Battels, and preserve our Peace.²⁴

Nations needed strong and just military leaders to stand firm against emotions that gave rise to unnecessary conflict, who could impose order on the

chaos of human society. Rowland compared Monck's leadership to that of the Israelite Judges 'Jephtha, Sampson, Gideon', on account of his constancy in a time of utmost turmoil caused by human error:

Whose Death three Nations ought to lament,
 We pray God send us grace for to repent ...
 ... When things were out of order turn'd and tost,
 Then was the Iron hot for him to strike;
 His Valour and his Wisdom joyntly stand,
 'Tis hard to say which had the upper-hand.²⁵

Yet Rowland's tributes did not refer directly to the passion for glory. Instead, Monck's merit was indicated by his refusal of worldly praise and worldly values:

Stout as Hercules, yet refusing Praise,
 For when the Souldiers gave him praise was due,
 He strove for to divide the Crown of Bays;
 Part of that Praise, saith he, belongs to you.

Printed verses praising Monck had been published well before his death, especially in 1659 as he advanced upon London with his army intent on bringing order to England. One tribute called him 'George the Great' and heaped laurel-like praises on his head, drawing royalist hopes together in a stanza which claimed Monck as the harbinger of glory who would restart time itself:

Let all antient Glory then be a Romance,
 Let old fame, and craz'd Time, lye in a trance,
 Nothing new but Hony Soit qui maly y pense,
 A joyful sight to see.²⁶

Long after Monck's death, his grandson petitioned for the erection of a monument over his grave in Westminster Abbey. The petition was granted, and the monument erected, in much the same way that Bevil Grenville was memorialised by his descendants. Yet the difference here was in the absence of a detailed inscription. Monck was commemorated by an armoured effigy holding a baton. Perhaps words were not needed to sustain memory in this case, for Monck was surrounded by the remains of the kings and queens whose roles he was instrumental in restoring.

There can be no question that memory was attacked and reworked in seventeenth-century England during the turmoils of civil war, Commonwealth, and Restoration. Politics, beliefs, and identities were redefined, and history was a key tool in the intense debates of the era. The conflict over memory

affected not only how wars were represented but also how individuals with battlefield experience were commemorated.

Grief was an endemic emotional response to death in seventeenth-century England, especially highlighted in the context of war. Glory – and its coattributes of fame and praise and honour – provided one mechanism for justifying untimely, injurious loss of life on the battlefield. Over the century, grief and glory were intermingled in commemorating aristocratic soldiers, but glory began to give way under the pressure of the disaster of civil war. Individual qualities of constancy, fidelity, steadfastness and a cool head in the face of the swaying emotions of battle were increasingly valorized. By the end of the seventeenth century the concept of glory had returned, along with the monarchy, and increasingly it would be associated not with individual or aristocratic achievement, but with the military victories of the nation-state itself.

Notes

1. For a study of the printed funeral elegy in this manner, see Andrea Brady, 'Dying with Honour: Literary Propaganda and the Second English Civil War', *Journal of Military History* 70 (January 2006), 9–30.
2. Monument of Bevill Grenville (d. 1643), Kilkhampton Church, Cornwall, erected 1714.
3. The poem was first printed in *Verses by the University of Oxford on the Death of the Most Noble, and Right Valiant Sir Bevill Grenville* (Oxford, 1643).
4. The work was first printed as Thomas Hobbes, *De corpore politico. Or The Elements of Law, Moral & Politick* (London: J. Martin and J. Ridley, 1650), ch. 9.
5. Gabriella Slomp, 'Hobbes on Glory and Civil Strife', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan*, ed. Patricia Springborg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 181–98.
6. Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
7. Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), ch. 4.
8. For seventeenth-century English epitaphs, as used on tombs or circulated in manuscript and print, see Scott Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). For funeral elegy in the same period, see Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
9. Angel Day, *Upon the Life and Death of the Most Worthy, and Thrice Renowned Knight, Sir Phillip Sidney* (London, 1587).
10. On Greville's monument and his attempts to commemorate Sidney, see Jean Wilson, "'Two names of friendship, but one Starre": Memorials to Single-Sex Couples in the Early Modern Period', *Church Monuments* 10 (1995), 70–83.
11. Roger Lockyer, 'Villiers, George, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28293>, accessed 17 April 2014].

12. For the design of the Buckingham monument, see Adam White, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors c.1560–c.1660', *The Sixty-First Volume of the Walpole Society* (London: Walpole Society, 1999), 9–10, 79, 82.
13. Monument of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (d. 1628), Westminster Abbey, London, erected 1634. The Latin epitaphs are printed in Henry Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (London: C. Wilkinson and T. Dring, 1682), 283–6. The translation here is found in John Physick, 'Inscriptions on Abbey Monuments', unpublished MSS, Westminster Abbey Library, at item 217.
14. John Morrill, 'Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>, accessed 17 April 2014].
15. *An Elligie upon the Death of the Right Honourable Robert Devereux* (London: John Hammond 1646).
16. *A Funerall Elegie upon the Deplorable and Much Lamented Death of the Right Honourable Robert Devereux* (London: John Hammond, 1646).
17. *A Funerall Monument: or the Manner of the Herse of the Most Renowned Robert Devereux* (London: J. Hancock, 1646).
18. *An Elegie upon the Most Lamented Death of the Right Honourable and Truly Valiant Robert Earle of Essex* (London: 1646?).
19. Payne Fisher, *Threnodia Triumphalis* (London: James Cottrel, 1659).
20. H. F. McMains, *The Death of Oliver Cromwell* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999).
21. Ronald Hutton, 'Monck, George, first duke of Albemarle (1608–1670)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Sept 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18939>, accessed 17 April 2014].
22. John Rowland, *Great Britains Bitter Lamentation over the Death of their Most Valiant and Most Puissant General George Lord Monck* (London: Thomas Johnson for William Miller, 1670).
23. Rowland, *Great Britains*, 6.
24. Rowland, *Great Britains*, 8.
25. Rowland, *Great Britains*, 2, 5.
26. *The Glory of the West or The Tenth Renowned Worthy, and most Heroick Champion of this British Island* (London: Charles Gustavus, 1659).

10

Remembering Civil War in Andrew Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House'

Diana G. Barnes

After the English Civil War (1642–50), poets on both sides of the conflict, royalist and parliamentarian, debated the proper representation of emotion. Recognizing this illuminates one of the most puzzling poems of the period: 'Upon Appleton House, to my Lord Fairfax', the country-house poem Andrew Marvell wrote for his patron, the parliamentary war hero, Sir Thomas Fairfax.¹ Although this poem does not describe the battlefields of the Civil War, war pervades its difficult language and relentless philosophical wrestling. It is a profound response to the aftermath of a protracted war founded in political and religious differences that fractured families and communities and caused much bloodshed. Marvell's primary aim in writing 'Upon Appleton House' was not to document the pain caused by war in sympathetic terms, but to intervene in its *management* through a new species of poetry suited to the post-war Parliamentary age. About this, Marvell is clear. From the outset he praises Fairfax's house as a 'sober frame' (line 1) and not a 'great design, in pain' (line 5). Through such terms, 'Upon Appleton House' advocates forms of art that stoically govern the dangerous emotions of pity, fear, sorrow, and vainglory unleashed by war and thereby guides viewers, or readers, towards reasoned moral behaviour. Stoic virtue is gendered in Marvell's poem. Predictably Fairfax and his forebear William Fairfax, both military men, possess a stoic constancy that makes them impervious to post-war chaos, but hope for the future is vested in a woman: Fairfax's daughter, Maria Fairfax.

Marvell wrote 'Upon Appleton House' around 1651 during the uneasy peace that followed the Civil War. Charles I had been tried and executed and the Rump Parliament had declared England a Commonwealth, but the new regime was not yet a stable political reality. Marvell was employed in the Fairfax household as tutor to the young Maria Fairfax.² Fairfax had recently retired from a brilliant military career: he had fought for the king in the Bishops War of 1639, and then for Parliament from the outbreak of Civil War in 1642. He was popular with the men who served under him, and when Parliament formed the New Model Army in 1645, he was elected

its commander-in-chief. In this role he oversaw decisive Parliamentary victories including the Battle of Naseby (1645).³ In the summer of 1650, Parliament received intelligence that Scottish forces, led by Charles II, were preparing to invade England. Parliament directed Fairfax to lead an invasion of Scotland. He refused, explaining to a Council of State committee that 'Human Probabilities are not sufficient Grounds to make War upon a Neighbour Nation, especially our Brethren of Scotland'. He was neither 'satisfied of the Justice of' a pre-emptive war, nor would he break 'a solemn league and covenant'.⁴ Fairfax's resignation from the highest post in the Parliamentary military was a momentous event that threatened the stability of the newly established republic. Strangely, 'Upon Appleton House' makes no direct reference either to the wars or to Fairfax's principled retirement from public life. It praises Fairfax through a description of his house and estate in the panegyric tradition of Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst'.⁵ In 'Upon Appleton House', however, the country-house mold warps and dilates under the pressure of war. Although it is hard to classify, Marvell's poem could be described as a topographical or prospect poem to emphasize its connection to John Denham's 'Cooper's Hill', a poem that philosophically ponders a landscape in which war is pending.⁶ As 'Upon Appleton House' describes the house, gardens, and estate of Nun Appleton, it ranges restlessly through country-house, heroic, and pastoral modes.⁷ Each is viewed nostalgically as a representative of traditional certainties destabilized by the recent wars. Rosalie L. Colie argues that by 'Exploring his literary alternatives, [Marvell] admits alternatives in life: though no overt choices are made in this poem, it is about the problems of choice', but, philosophically, 'Upon Appleton House' is clear.⁸ Stoicism drawn from Cicero and Seneca, and neo-stoicism, the late-humanist Christianized species of stoicism associated with Justus Lipsius, Michel de Montaigne, Sir Philip Sidney, and Jonson, provide the concepts of sobriety, humility, natural proportion, and constancy through which Marvell represents Fairfax's retreat from war and argues for the harnessing of emotion in public life.⁹

In the wake of the Great War, T. S. Eliot also felt that traditional and organic modes of representation made little sense, as Marvell had after the English Civil War. Eliot asks in 'The Waste Land' (1922): 'What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow/ Out of all this stony rubbish?' and answers: they are but 'fragments I have shored against my ruins'.¹⁰ Like Marvell, Eliot describes the poet facing this crisis. Recent war propelled Eliot to reconceptualize the relationship between art and emotion and the poet's responsibility to articulate the dejected spirit of the age in impersonal terms. Eliot first diagnosed the 'dissociation of sensibility' in a 1921 review of H. J. C. Grierson's anthology, *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century* (1921). Following Grierson's Wordsworthian critical terms, Eliot defined metaphysical poetry as a 'peculiar blend of passion and thought, feeling and ratiocination'.¹¹ This formula assumes that reason is necessary

to virtue, but that the passions are destructive and unpredictable.¹² Looking through the lens of early twentieth-century psychoanalysis, Eliot recognized in mid-seventeenth-century English poetry the post-war trauma crippling his own generation.¹³ '[T]he poets of the seventeenth century (up to the Revolution) were the direct and normal development of the precedent age', he argued, but, then 'something [...] happened to the mind of England [...] it is the difference between the intellectual poet and the reflective poet'.¹⁴ Whereas Eliot found passion and intellect perfectly united in Donne, he viewed Milton and Dryden as harbingers of the unbounded sentimentalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁵ As he clarified in a later essay, 'it had something to do with the Civil War; [it] would be unwise to say it was caused by the Civil War, but it is a consequence of the same cause which brought about the Civil War'.¹⁶ In another review of 1921, Eliot identified the emotional fault line in Marvell's oeuvre. He pronounced that although Marvell's poetry had the 'wit, [or] tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace' of a 'classic', it was subject to lapses.¹⁷ He defined 'tough reasonableness' as a capacity to 'amalgamate disparate experience[s]', particularly emotional and intellectual ones. Eliot cites Coleridge's definition of 'This power [which] reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities [...] a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order'.¹⁸ By uniting thought and feeling, Eliot argued, Marvell expresses the emotional spirit of the age without giving way to personal feelings such as pity, fear, or narcissism. Marvell represents emotions with 'bright, hard precision' and none of the 'mistiness' or 'vagueness' characteristic of later poetry.¹⁹ In 'Upon Appleton House', however, Eliot identified certain 'immediately and unintentionally ridiculous' 'undesirable images' symptomatic of incipient dissociation.²⁰ At these points, Eliot implied, the poet slackens his classical control and allows passions to triumph over reason.

Recently Daniel Wickberg cited Eliot's 'dissociation of sensibility' as a timely reminder to practitioners in the developing field of the history of emotions, that emotions are inseparable from thought and, as such, deeply implicated in intellectual history. By reuniting reason and emotion in the spirit of Eliot, Wickberg argues, historians of emotions 'might even [...] bind up the wounds of the dissociation of sensibilities, and put us on the road to recovery of those worlds we have lost'.²¹ But what would it mean for historians and cultural critics to recuperate Eliot's prelapsarian account of how the emotional state of England following the Civil War affected the development of English poetry? In literary criticism Eliot's thesis has been long contested. In the 1950s Frank Kermode described Eliot's dissociated sensibility as a 'fallacious doctrine' designed to provide 'Symbolists [with] an historical justification for their poetics'. Although the doctrine was under increasing attack in English literary criticism, it continued to shape intellectual history, he complained. The fall, if it did happen (and Kermode

believes it did not), could be pinned onto any number of historical periods, indeed 'The truth is that it is difficult to find a time when a roughly similar situation did not exist'.²² Eliot's doctrine has had extraordinary longevity. In the 1980s David Norbrook argued that Eliot's approach effectively veils the radical political debates that drive seventeenth-century English poetry and fuelled the Civil War, *and*, relatedly, that it nostalgically posits Charles I's absolutist reign as the state of grace.²³ No consensus has been reached. Peter Rudnytsky describes Eliot's project as 'a kind of cultural psychoanalysis' that effectively illuminates 'the collective nature of the trauma caused by the beheading of the king' in 1649, the decisive conclusion to the Civil War.²⁴ For literary critics, then, the historical value of Eliot's 'dissociated sensibility' is by no means clear. The discussion turns on whether the concept illuminates or obscures the political, social, and material context of civil-war and post-civil-war poetry of the mid-seventeenth century, and whether it is helpful, or even possible, to characterize the emotional state of a nation. As Wickberg identifies, the history of emotions provides another perspective from which to view Eliot's dissociated sensibility. Both Norbrook and Rudnytsky cite 'Upon Appleton House' in their recent debate over Eliot's criticism and the historicist analysis of seventeenth-century English poetry. As a post-war poem that probes the proper representation of emotions, 'Upon Appleton House' is an apt place to consider the relationship between war, emotion, poetics, and history, and to think about what literary history brings to the history of emotions and *vice versa*. This essay will argue that, although Eliot fails to recognize the philosophical implications of Marvell's distended imagery, he makes a useful connection between Marvell and Ben Jonson, and his account of emotion in poetics, specifically the implicitly gendered opposition between classic toughness and slight lyric grace, illuminates a key feature of Marvell's adaptation of neo-stoicism.

In the opening stanza of 'Upon Appleton House' Marvell uses emotional terms to distinguish the modesty of Fairfax's property, Nun Appleton, from the ostentation of other buildings, as follows:

Within this sober frame expect
 Work of no foreign architect,

 Who of his great design, in pain,
 Did for a model vault his brain,
 Whose columns should so high be raised
 To arch the brows that on them gazed (lines 1–2, 5–8).

This is one of the distended images that irked Eliot.²⁵ In these lines Marvell opposes two kinds of aesthetic form: the 'sober frame' and the 'design, in pain'. Whereas Appleton House, the former, is restrained and modest, the latter is showy, proud, vain, emotionally excessive, and foreign. Subsequent

stanzas explain that whereas the former imitates nature, the latter is not a mimetic art form. Its design was dreamed up in its creator's head. The key distinction between the two is emotional control versus emotional excess; the 'sober frame' is a model of stoic restraint or rational control over dangerous emotions, and the 'great design, in pain' is wrought from vainglory and other destructive emotions, to encourage unthinking awe. The idea that an architect could invest a building with pain, that the building might generate pain in viewers, or even feel pain itself, makes sense in the context of an ongoing debate about the role of emotions in art. Through the extended allegory of the poem as building, design, or argument, Marvell invokes the storehouse of knowledge, culture, history, and virtue upon which his poem draws.²⁶ This 'architectural mnemonic', as Mary Carruthers describes it, is a means of signalling the alignment of form and *intentio* conventional in classical and medieval writing.²⁷ It tells readers that the 'places' of the argument governing the poem will be represented spatially as parts of the building or estate.

The *locus classicus* for the opposition between a 'great design, in pain' or emotionally effusive art, and 'a sober frame' or emotionally restrained art, is the pre-stoical debate between Plato and Aristotle over what constitutes the best and most useful form for poetry, and for Marvell this meant also responding to Sir Philip Sidney's reformulation of the classical terms for English poetry. According to Socrates (cited in Plato's *The Republic*), poets deal in imitation of a world which is not itself truly real, that is, they deal in third-order truths, which 'gratify and indulge [our] instinctive desires' and dull our capacity for reason and judgment. The only forms of poetry that should be allowed in the state, Socrates argues, are 'Hymns to the gods and paeans in praise of good men; once you go beyond that and admit the sweet lyric or epic muse, pleasure and pain become your rulers instead of law and the rational principles commonly accepted as best'.²⁸ That is to say, emotions persuade readers against their better reason. In *Poetics* Aristotle retorts that the pity and fear unleashed by tragedy have a purifying, or cathartic, effect upon the viewer or reader.²⁹ In *A Defence of Poetry* (1595), Sidney offers a generic solution; he argues that the 'sweet violence of tragedy' unleashes a confusion of pity and fear and, on emotional grounds, he poses heroic poetry as a worthy alternative. Heroic poetry 'maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires', in other words, it distills useful moral principles from the emotional morass of life.³⁰ Thus by highlighting the sober design of his poem and its repudiation of pain, Marvell joins the chorus condemning art forms that use emotion to induce unthinking awe in favour of those art forms that encourage the measured government of emotions conducive to reason, judgment, and morality. In contemporary poetics, the term *sober* aligns his poem with Jonson's reworking of Sidneian poetics, rather than the new species of 'Heroick' poetry, also developed with reference to Sidney, being promoted by Sir William Davenant, exiled poet laureate of the Stuarts.

Marvell's criticism of the foreign architect whose 'great design, in pain' is modelled upon 'his brain' is directed at the royalist theory of heroic poetry that Davenant presented as 'a new Building' in his 'Preface to *Gondibert*' (1650), a published letter to the philosopher Thomas Hobbes.³¹ Invoking Sidney's militaristic thesis that 'poetry is the companion of Camps', Davenant, who had served as lieutenant-general of the ordnance during the Civil War, describes a form of morally uplifting poetry derived from 'Courts and Camps'.³² At this time heroic poetry was understood to involve the representation of the past. Davenant does not propose historical realism, however, but a kind of emotional impressionism declaring 'it more worthy to seeke out truth in the passions, then to record the truth of actions'.³³ He rejects the received precedents for heroic poetry from Homer and Virgil to Edmund Spenser, explaining 'for whilst wee imitate others, wee can no more excel them, then he that sailes by others Mapps can make a new discovery'.³⁴ The poet, he insists, 'should not (by altering and subliming Story) make use of their Priviledge to the detriment of the Reader: whose incredulity (when things are not represented in proportion) doth much allay the relish of his pitty, hope, joy, and other Passions'.³⁵ Davenant held that the poet should enhance, rather than diminish, the emotional impact of the narrative, and document the recent wars by representing 'truth in the passions'.³⁶ Marvell's declared preference for sober forms signals his antipathy to this approach. He was not alone in focusing his reservations about Davenant's ambitious project through the allegory of the building; another critic declared satirically: 'A Preface to no Book, a Porch to no house;/ Here is the Mountain, but where is the Mouse?' ('Upon the Preface' (1653), lines 11–12).³⁷ Although Marvell agreed with Davenant that the poet has moral responsibilities to his public, he objects to designs that represent and encourage unbridled sympathetic effusions of emotion because they engender unthinking awe and thereby inhibit independent reasoned judgment. As John Wallace argues, Marvell's poem is characterized by 'rectitude [...] derived from a long tradition of stoic and Christian thought', and this distinguishes it from Davenant's *Gondibert* and preface.³⁸

Marvell's house-of-feeling allegory specifically invokes Jonson's poem 'To Penshurst' (1616), another stoical address to the house of a patron, as a favoured poetic model.³⁹ Like 'Upon Appleton House', 'To Penshurst' is a paean in praise of a statesman, Robert Sidney, and thus the kind of emotionally-responsible poetry that Socrates deemed valuable to the state. From the opening line, 'Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show' (line 1), 'To Penshurst' expresses a stoical ethos. Penshurst is a humble and proportionate building to be admired for its position in the natural world and not for 'polish'd pillars, or [...] roof of gold' (line 3).⁴⁰ As both Robert Sidney's estate, and the birthplace of his brother, the poet, Philip Sidney – 'That taller tree' (line 13) on the estate – Penshurst represents a storehouse for particular political and poetic ideals. The legacy of Philip Sidney associates the poem

with militant Protestantism, principled alienation from the crown, and the invention of a commonwealth of the mind in poetic form.⁴¹ Here stoicism does not connote a retreat from politics but rather independence from the state. Pastoral descriptions naturalise the emotions associated with stoical retreat – modesty, humility, piety, and benevolence – and repudiate negative emotions – envy, pride, and vainglory – and thus authorize the family's position as beneficiaries of the natural riches of the landscape and the industry of the local community. The poet, for example, offers his panegyric in return for Robert Sidney's 'liberal boord' and 'hospitality' (line 59–60). The line 'Where comes no guest but is allowed to eat,/ Without his fear, and of thy lord's own meat' (lines 61–2) implies that his patron's insistence upon sharing 'the same beer and bread, and selfsame wine' (line 63) with those at his table neutralizes the 'fear' and awe which might restrain a guest from eating sufficiently. Thus the host's levelling bounty – born of austerity and humility – instills 'cheare' (line 82), a positive emotion that binds the community together without oppressive laws but through an emotional economy that encourages virtue. The emotions of fear and cheer are identified for the moral purpose of persuading the reader of the virtues of the self-sufficient commonwealth governed by a wise and benevolent lord who allows his subjects liberty, welcomes them to his table, and honours his king. The idyllic pastoral retreat Jonson depicts is not available in post-civil-war England, however. There is no escape from war for the retired military commander, Fairfax, his family, or the poet.

Fairfax's presence at Nun Appleton was not a routine retreat permitted by an interval in ongoing public obligations (as Robert Sidney's was at Penshurst). He had withdrawn from active military service because he would not fight an unjust war, and his return to public life was uncertain. Stoicism provided the terms to represent Fairfax's stance as inverted heroism, that is, to give him what Hobbes describes as the 'conspicuous power' of the great 'anciently called *heroes*' without recounting valiant deeds; and neo-stoicism, or Christian stoicism, supplied a means of valorizing heroic humility.⁴² Fairfax 'Demands more room alive then dead' (line 18) but he is not puffed up with vainglory. His magnitude lies in his stoic outlook; he is 'Of that more sober age and mind,/ When larger-sized men did stoop,/ To enter at a narrow loop' (lines 18, 28–30). The 'dwarfish confines' (line 38) of Nun Appleton, and the 'short but admirable Lines' (line 42) of the poem, give just and proportionate expression to his 'Humility' (lines 41, 42), but under the pressure of the task 'the laden house does sweat,/ And scarce endures the master great [...] More by his magnitude distressed' (lines 49–50, 52). When the house buckles with distress, it allows itself to be governed by pain. Here pain is opposed to stoic fortitude and implicitly equated with aesthetic failure. In order to accommodate the heroic magnitude of Fairfax's retreat, the house, as aesthetic form, must 'learn' the 'honour' in 'lowness' and be content to 'answer use' rather than 'unwonted greatness' (lines 57, 62, 58).

The connection between war and pain is established immediately following, in an episode of pre-reformation family history justifying the Fairfaxes' ownership of Nun Appleton.

War is introduced through the story of Isabel Thwaites' seduction into the convent that formerly stood on the site of Nun Appleton, and her rescue by her future husband, William Fairfax. A spokeswoman for the 'subtle nuns' (line 94) persuades Thwaites that the convent walls 'But hedge our liberty about' (line 100). William Fairfax tries to counter the emotional arguments by which the nun has manipulated his betrothed, but his words fail. The narrator asks:

What should he do? He would respect
Religion, but not right neglect:

.....
Sometimes resolved, his sword he draws,
But reverenceth then the laws (lines 225–6, 229–30).

It is only after the law fails, that with force of war 'Young Fairfax through the wall does rise' (lines 258) to claim his bride. Later, at the dissolution of the monasteries, Fairfax is granted ownership of Nun Appleton. The narrator comments 'Though many a nun there made her vow,/ 'Twas no religious house till now' (lines 279–80). This suggests that the sword is the only decisive means of disabling the emotional ploys of slippery Roman Catholic eloquence and clearing the way for right religion, but panegyric morphs readily into satire.⁴³ As Andrew McRae argues, 'the two modes [are] bound together as positive and negative statements of discrimination, equally reliant upon assumptions of common moral and ideological values'.⁴⁴ The poem makes it clear that although William Fairfax has rights to his betrothed, and reason to oppose Roman Catholic casuistry, the justification for military action is weak. The nuns wear 'shining armour white, [and] Like virgin Amazons do fight' (lines 105–6), but their 'loud'st cannon were their lungs;/ And sharpest weapons were their tongues' (lines 255–6). Diane Purkiss interprets this sequence as 'a bid to establish the supremacy of the contemplative *paterfamilias* across the defeated bodies of the nuns', but triumphalism over William Fairfax's victory is guarded.⁴⁵ The mock-heroic tone implies a disjunction between traditional epic heroism and present circumstances.⁴⁶ William Fairfax is not a hero in the classical sense: he fights women armed only with their voices; he seeks to found a family and not a nation; and the military force he applies exceeds necessity. War may be inevitable and constant but it is a last resort that must only be taken judiciously. The closed question, 'Is not this he whose offspring fierce/ Shall fight through all the universe [...] with successive valour' (lines 241–3) and ride through 'conquered Britain?' (line 246) identifies William Fairfax's dilemma over when to apply the force of war, his misplaced militarism, and his uncertain heroism, as Thomas Fairfax's legacy.

The focus upon the justification for William Fairfax's military intervention in a domestic scene alludes to Thomas Fairfax's recent conscientious refusal to make war on Scotland.

Marvell represents the nuns as subtle, duplicitous, seductive, and manipulative, that is, in emotive terms conventional to Puritan anti-Roman-Catholic discourse, yet he gives 16 stanzas (of a total of 97) to their spokeswoman's speech. As Sarah Monette argues, Marvell presents the eloquent nun as a 'rival poet'.⁴⁷ Her speech is an important example of a 'great design' wrought from pain to engender further pain. Consider the affective terms in which she coaxes Thwaites to enter the convent. Misrepresenting the structures of feeling embedded in life at the nunnery, she insists that the nuns shed:

'Not tears of grief, but such as those
 With which calm pleasure overflows,
 Or pity, when we look on you
 That live without this happy vow (lines 113–17).

She proposes that there is pleasure in pain when it involves sympathy for another's suffering. By this ruse, and an appeal to vainglory via the promise of canonization, the nun persuades Thwaites to relinquish her liberty and become a contracted member of the convent community. William Fairfax heroically blasts through the convent walls to rescue Thwaites and to battle the nun's arguments about emotions. He finds Thwaites 'weeping at the altar' (line 264) and knowing that there is no value in taking pleasure in pain or wallowing in pity for another, he immediately recognizes that she sheds tears of pain and regret. Fracturing both the emotional design that captured his bride, and the contract into which she has been lured, 'the glad youth away her bears,/ And to the nuns bequeaths her tears' (lines 265–6). As argued above, his victory is viewed ambivalently as a last resort. Both Thwaites' tears and William Fairfax's warlike action are caused by the nun's design in pain. When William Fairfax takes his bride and bequeaths her tears to the nuns, he abandons pity, fear and absolutist forms of political and religious life that forbid personal liberties.

Tears are associated with royalism. When Marvell disavows tears of pleasure and pity, his poetic target is royalist elegy, a mode of poetry used frequently over the late 1640s and early 1650s to express the pain and anguish caused by the Civil War. In the title of an important royalist collection, *Lachrymae Musarum, The Tears of the Muses; expresst in elegies; written by divers persons of nobility and worth, upon the death of the most hopefull, Henry, Lord Hastings* (1650), tears and elegy are interchangeable terms. The poems are described as the tears of the poets. The elegies in *Lachrymae Musarum* turn Hastings, Colonel-General of the Royalist forces in the midlands, into a tragic Cavalier war hero (although he was not a casualty of war). At the same time they covertly mourn the king and lament royalist blood shed in

the wars.⁴⁸ Contributors sought to generate admiring sympathy in royalist readers, and thus bind them together in opposition to the newly established Commonwealth. In rejecting this emotional design for poetry, Marvell was disavowing a mode he had used himself in 'A Nymph Mourning the Death of a Fawn' and 'Eyes and Tears', poems of the late 1640s. Furthermore his 'Upon the Death of Lord Hastings' was appended to *Lachrymae Musarum*.⁴⁹ Davenant makes frequent use of tears in his royalist heroic poem, *Gondibert*, in an effort to turn pity to productive use.⁵⁰ Following the regicide, many prose pamphlets with teary titles were published, including John Birkenhead's *Loyalties Tears Flowing After the Blood of the Royal Sufferer Charles I* (1649), for example. When William Fairfax abandons tears to the nuns, he rehearses the neo-stoic critique of pity and sympathy. Lipsius, for example, discounts the value of sympathetic tears, arguing that 'it is a token of naughty eyes to wax watery when they behold another bleare eyed'.⁵¹ He asks his mentor, Langius, 'For how should I not be touched and tormented with the calamities of my country for my countrymens sake, who are tossed in this sea of adversities, and doe perish by sundry misfortunes?' Langius responds by distinguishing between the virtue of mercy, and the 'verie dangerous contagion' of pity. Ideally, he explains, one should 'be mooved to help [the afflicted], not to bewaile with them'. He admits that it is in 'a mans nature to bee mooved with affection and pity' but it is not 'decent and right'. If a man 'behold[s] mens miseries with the eye of compassion, yet [is] ruled and guided by reason', then he can help them.⁵² When Marvell proposes that neither pleasure mixed with pain, nor tears of pity are useful, he stoically eschews the elegiac tone characterizing much post-war writing and the royalist political values it nostalgically invokes. Towards the end of the nunnery section the poet is introduced as a character in the narrative of the poem. His perambulation through the Fairfax estate and his wrestling to establish good eloquence shapes what follows. He maintains possession of eloquence, the nun's weapon, and now must learn how to employ it responsibly in a fallen world.

Fairfax's own design is presented as a sober alternative to royalist, feminine, Roman Catholic pain, pity and tears. In his retirement 'His warlike studies could not cease,/ But laid these gardens out in sport/ In the just figure of a port' (lines 284–6). As Julianne Werlin argues, Fairfax's militarized garden associates the famed siege-breaking commander with new ideas about warfare, specifically the introduction of gunpowder and of 'advanced fortifications'.⁵³ The garden design is underpinned by Fairfax's characteristic stoic steadfastness, or constancy. As Andrew Shifflett argues, after the English Civil War when the state of war seemed to be the norm, Seneca's recommendation 'that we ought sometimes to retire ourselves, but leasurly, and with a secure retreat, our ensignes displaied, and without empeachment of our worldly dignitie' appealed to republican and royalist poets alike. They found the idea of a militarily defensive emotional retreat a fruitful way of

thinking about aesthetic production as a species of high-minded military action in a culture of endemic warfare.⁵⁴ Significantly Fairfax's design is initiated by sympathy for his country. England, once 'The garden of the world' (line 322), now 'war all this doth overgrow' (line 343). Rather than wallowing in pity and tears, however, Fairfax puts empathy to constructive moral use. In response to the plight of his countrymen, 'with utmost skill,/ [he does] Ambition weed, but Conscience till' (lines 353–4). And conscience, so needed in 'our earthly gardens', is 'that heaven nurst plant [...] that in the crowns of saints do shine' (lines 354, 360). This rare Christian virtue is only born of emotional austerity. Bees drumming in military parade, and regimental rows of flowers with muskets poised, are guided by the constant moral principles embedded in his design. It may 'seem' that the bee sleeps 'but, if once stirred,/ She runs you through, nor asks the word' (lines 317, 319–20); she is poised in readiness to fight. Under Fairfax's 'vigilant Patroul' (line 313), this 'sweet' (line 305) order flourishes in war or peace.⁵⁵ Beyond the bounds of his formal gardens and principled governance, war rages unconstrained through the pastoral scene. The mowers march through the grass wielding sharp scythes as they reap the harvest. Struggling to describe the state of nature, the poet observes that the mowers '*seem like* Israelites' (line 389, my italics), and that their 'wholesome heat/ Smells *like* an Alexander's sweat' (lines 427–8, my italics) but they are neither God's chosen people nor classical heroes returning from battle. When one inadvertently massacres an innocent 'rail' nesting low in the long grass, he '[fears] the flesh untimely mowed/ To him a fate as black forbode' (lines 399–400), but the bird is swiftly trussed up and cooked. The mowers are 'careless victors' (line 425) and their pangs of conscience are fleeting. The poet cannot give order to the scene; it is Thestylis, the mowers' cook, who turns his impressions into reality. After cooking the executed rail, she declares 'He called us Israelites:/ But now to make his saying true,/ Rails rain for quails, for manna dew' (lines 406–8). By contrast to the nastiness, brutishness, and brevity of life in the meadow, and Thestylis' pragmatism, Fairfax's sober design embeds and nourishes the moral values that underpin just war and a sweet new political future for war-torn England.

The poet learns that the sobriety England sorely needs is not easily achieved. When the water meadows are flooded, he escapes the apocalyptic deluge to 'Take sanctuary in the wood' (line 482). The trees 'in as loose an order grows,/ As the Corinthian porticoes' (lines 507–8); the poet enters through a 'passable and thin' (line 506) opening as though he were entering a building. This architectural mnemonic recalls the beginning of the poem to signal that nature offers an alternative storehouse of models to guide the rebuilding of the fallen world. In nature, however, the order is 'loose' and the war between positive and negative emotions is endemic. Furthermore, once the poet is safely embarked upon the 'green, yet growing ark' (line 484), the serious task of cultural renewal no longer seems pressing. In the

woods, seduced by beauty, the poet lets himself be governed by idle pleasure. Sapped of his purpose, he treads 'careless on the bed/ Of gelid strawberries' (lines 529–30).⁵⁶ Taking pleasure in pain, he listens sympathetically to the 'Sadder, yet more pleasing sound: [of] The stock doves' (lines 522–3). He observes the rational labour of the hewel 'Who [...] Measuring the timber with his foot' (line 540) then 'tinkling with his Beak' (line 547) discovers the 'hallow oak' (line 548) that he will fell. Here in the woods, the poet has the opportunity to 'confer' 'Among the birds and trees' (line 562) and learn nature's lessons, but he is an 'easy philosopher' and continues 'languishing with ease' (lines 561, 593). Taking guidance from nature is not straightforward: 'Thrice happy he who, not mistook,/ Hath read in natures mystic book' (lines 583–4). Taking the easy path, the poet misreads nature's design and misguidedly muses:

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
 These trees have I incamped my mind;
 Where beauty, aiming at the heart,
 Bends in some tree its useless dart;
 And where the world no certain shot
 Can make, or me it toucheth not (lines 601–6).

He deludes himself that in the green ark of the woods he no longer has to arm himself vigilantly against the dangerous emotions stirred up by 'useless' beauty. He forgets that there is no retreat from war; each of us faces a constant battle between good and bad.

Christian terms highlight the poet's error of judgment to imply the correct moral attitude towards emotion. Vainly the poet fantasizes about inhabiting Christ's passion, begging 'Bind me, ye woodbines, in your twines: [...] And courteous Briars nail me through' (lines 609, 619). Marvell manipulates the conventional Christian idea that Christ endured great pain to deliver us from eternal sorrow. The poet loses himself in sympathy for the suffering of others in a vainglorious rehearsal of Christ's suffering. The good Christian should remember Christ's passion, not mimic it. Rather than study the design, or argument, of the book of nature, the poet allows himself to be 'suckt [...] in' (line 200) by the 'ivy, with familiar trails,/ Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hailes' (lines 589–90), as Isabel Thwaites was by the nun's subtle rhetoric. After the deluge recedes, 'Narcissus-like' (line 640), he gazes at his own image in the wet mud. Through the poet's struggles with the temptations of pleasure, idleness, and vainglory in the garden, Marvell rejects mystical *imitatio Christi* and the ideas of sacred pain and lust, to argue the neo-stoical case that the poet cannot serve God's design, embrace his blessings and achieve true beatitude if he acquiesces to pleasure, idleness, and vainglory.⁵⁷

Ultimately the poet is saved when he leaves the woods and beholds Maria Fairfax. Here a glimmer of hope shines in a sober young girl 'raised'

'to higher beauties' (line 705) 'under the discipline severe/ Of Fairfax, and the starry Vere' (lines 723–4). In the absence of a male heir, Fairfax had made Maria his legal successor. Marvell adapts the stoical tradition to celebrate the new world order legally and morally entailed in her. The praise of Maria is a corrective to the canonization that the eloquent nun promised Thwaites; in the convent sequence Marvell had already rejected such Roman Catholic models for the idealization of feminine virtue as vainglorious designs in pain. As Gary D. Hamilton argues, Maria Fairfax has a kind of de-institutionalized holiness that is a direct result of the laicization of religious institutions such as Nun Appleton.⁵⁸ She is 'Paradise's only map' (line 768) and the apotheosis of neo-stoic virtue.⁵⁹ This is a corrective to the masculine code of stoicism. Like the flowers poised for battle in her father's garden, Maria is both sweet and austere. As Langius explains to Lipsius, 'all wisdom seemeth austere and rigorous at the first view. But if you consider thoroughly of it, you shall finde the same to be meeke, gentle'.⁶⁰ Her power is the direct result of long hours of study and a stern upbringing according to true religious principles rather than divine intervention. As Margaret R. Graver explains, the Stoics believed a person was the sum total of his or her 'upbringing, education, and cultural influences, as well as prior emotional experience'.⁶¹ Maria can 'converse/ In all the languages as hers' (lines 708–9), and judiciously chooses 'Heaven's dialect' (lines 708–9, 712). Although her speech is not directly reported, she too is a kind of poet. Fulfilling the stoic preference for action over words, she translates God's design into works. She bestows order and calm upon the Gardens, Woods, Meads and Rivers, and 'loose nature, in respect/ To her, it self doth recollect' (lines 557–8).⁶² Education and upbringing give her the wisdom to avoid the mistaken evaluations of others.⁶³ She will be neither seduced into a nunnery, disabled by pleasure and idleness, nor goaded into unjust wars. She resists the emotional ploys that breed war:

Tears (watery shot that pierce the mind);
And sighs (love's cannon charged with wind);
True praise (that breaks through all defence),
And feigned complying innocence.
But knowing where this ambush lay,
She 'scaped the safe, but roughest, way (lines 715–20).

She recognizes tears, sighs, praise, and feigning as the instruments of emotional warfare deployed to coerce weaker individuals to relinquish moral principles and liberty.

Maria herself is all emotional restraint, but the poet almost quivers with a longing intensified by his sense that her virtue and the hope it represents are fragile. He rehearses standard views about female weakness: the 'fond sex' (line 729) is readily corrupted by vanity; women's beauty is transient; and they are vulnerable to brutal assault and emotional entrapment. Marvell

heightens the effect of his portrait of Maria by drawing together antithetical images – feminine yet virtuous; young yet wise; beautiful yet decaying; meek yet armed – to produce what Eliot calls a ‘system of feeling’. For Eliot ‘wit, a tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace’ is the defining ‘quality’ of ‘classic’ literature produced ‘before the English mind altered’. Citing ‘A Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn’, Eliot describes Marvell’s ability to connect ‘a slight affair’ such as ‘the feeling of a girl for her pet with that inexhaustible and terrible nebula of emotion which surrounds all our exact and practical passions and mingles with them: he defines’ ‘tough reasonableness’ as a capacity to harmoniously amalgamate thought and feeling and thereby express the emotional spirit of his age without giving way to personal feelings such as pity, fear, or narcissism. Eliot assumes that to connect a woman to a profound insight into human suffering was to make the ‘familiar strange and the strange familiar’, that is, to surprise and thereby trigger an epiphany in the reader as Coleridge described.⁶⁴ Eliot’s critical terms highlight Marvell’s representation of war through the manipulation and juxtaposition of gender stereotypes: the bellicose nuns armed with their voices, and the female bee ready to ‘run you through’ if stirred. Since women’s participation in the action of seventeenth-century warfare was limited, Maria’s virtue is uncompromised by the dilemmas her ancestor and father had faced. It is her position *vis à vis* war owing to her sex, that makes her ‘Paradise’s only map’ (line 768). In ‘Upon Appleton House’ women are aligned with wit: the nun is a bad poet, Thestylis a pragmatic poet, and Maria a sober poet able to map the future in heaven’s dialect.

When Wickberg states that historians of emotion should try to reconcile reason and emotion and thus heal the dissociation of sensibility that Eliot identified, he appeals to the historical truth of a concept that Eliot himself admitted was underdeveloped, and so impressionistic that it may fail ‘to carry conviction’.⁶⁵ As Kermode noted more than 50 years ago, even after Eliot’s theory had had its day in literary criticism, it continued to shape intellectual history. This, Kermode argued, was because Eliot’s doctrine was simply a catchy reformulation of the great rupture in history thesis that had been around for centuries under different guises. Eliot’s reformulation rang true in the context of post-world-war emotional trauma. In conclusion, the ‘distended’ image of the house warped by pain, is not symptomatic of Marvell’s failure to bracket personal emotions, or of the derailing of the great tradition owing to incipient emotional dissociation brought on by war, regicide, and republican government. Rather the architectural mnemonic is an allegorical and impersonal means of claiming the classical and English literary and philosophical precedents that authorize the ‘system of feeling or of morals’ presented in ‘Upon Appleton House’ in response to the aftermath of the English Civil War.⁶⁶ Eliot’s misrecognition reminds us that the meaning of emotions is culturally and historically contingent. Emotions are represented through commonplaces whose meaning changes over time.

Notes

My understanding of Marvell's difficult poem was greatly enriched by discussions with Marion J. Campbell and John Rogers. I would like to thank Catharine Gray for generously responding to an earlier draft.

1. Andrew Marvell, *Pastoral and Lyric Poems 1681*, ed. David Ormerod and Christopher Wortham (Nedlands: UWA Press, 2000), 196–271.
2. Derek Hirst and Stephen Zwicker, 'High Summer at Nun Appleton, 1651: Andrew Marvell and Lord Fairfax's Occasions', *The Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993), 247–69; Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 88–9.
3. According to Ian Gentles, Fairfax's military success was due more to personal popularity than strategic genius, see his 'Fairfax, Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1612–1671)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/view/article/9092>> Accessed 2 January 2014.
4. Bulstrode Whitelock, *Memorials of the English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I to the Happy Restoration of Charles II* (London, 1732), 461.
5. Don E. Wayne, *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Annabel Patterson, *Marvell: The Writer in Public Life* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 32–3.
6. David Ormerod and Christopher Wortham classify it as a topological poem, see Marvell, *Pastoral and Lyric Poems 1681*; on Denham's poem see Bruce Boeckel, 'Landscaping the Field of Discourse: Political Slant and Poetic Slope in Sir John Denham's "Cooper's Hill"', *Papers on Language and Literature* (Winter 1998): 57–93.
7. Rosalie L. Colie, *My Echoing Song: Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 280–1.
8. Colie, *My Echoing Song*, 292. When Colie attributes the difficulty of Marvell's verse to his indecision, she rehearses an established view of Marvell. Critics from Cleanth Brooks to David Norbrook describe Marvell's 'richly divided' political 'sympathies' ('A Response to Peter Rudnytsky', in *Trauma and Transformation: The Political Progress of John Bunyan*, ed. Vera J. Camden (Red Wood, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 38); see also Cleanth Brooks, 'Literary Criticism: Marvell's "Horatian Ode"' (1947), repr. in *Literary Criticism: Idea and Act: the English Institute, 1939–1972*, ed. W. K. Wimsatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 423–43, esp. at 438; or more recently Takashi Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and Politics of Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011).
9. I argue that Marvell presents stoicism as a means of *managing* emotion in public life, rather than a means of 'encourag[ing] Fairfax and his detractors to understand his Stoicism in the most vigilant and politically dangerous senses imaginable' as Andrew Shifflett argues, see *Stoicism, Politics and Literature in the Age of Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 37. On Lipsius's Christian stoicism see Jan Papy, 'Justus Lipsius', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2011), ed. Edward N. Zalta <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/justus-lipsius/>> Accessed 5 June 2014.
10. T. S. Eliot, 'The Waste Land', *Poetry Foundation*. <<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/176735>> Accessed 13 January 2014.

11. H. J. C. Grierson, Introduction, in *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1921): xiii; Craig Raine, *T. S. Eliot* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006), 139–41.
12. For a useful overview of the seventeenth-century view of this opposition see Susan James, 'Reason, the Passions, and the Good Life' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, vol. 2, ed. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1358–96.
13. Karl Krockel, *War Trauma and English Modernism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 89–127.
14. T. S. Eliot, 'The Metaphysical Poets', *The Times Literary Supplement* (20 October 1921), 669–70, at 669.
15. Grierson singled out Marvell as the 'the most interesting personality between Donne and Dryden, and at his very best a finer poet than either' (xxxvii).
16. T. S. Eliot, 'Milton II' [1947] in *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber, 1957), 146–61, at 153.
17. T. S. Eliot, 'Andrew Marvell', in *Andrew Marvell, 1621–1678, Tercentenary Tributes*, ed. William H. Bagguely (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 63–78, at 65.
18. Eliot, 'Marvell', 70.
19. Eliot, 'Marvell', 72–3.
20. Eliot, 'Marvell', 69.
21. Daniel Wickberg, 'What is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New', *American Historical Review* (June 2007), 668–9, at 682.
22. Frank Kermode, 'Dissociation of Sensibility', *The Kenyon Review* 19.2 (1957), 169–94, at 174.
23. David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1984), 1–2.
24. Peter L. Rudnytsky, 'Dissociation and Decapitation', in *Trauma and Transformation: The Political Progress of John Bunyan*, ed. Vera J. Camden (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 14–35, esp. 16–17; and David Norbrook, 'A Response to Peter Rudnytsky', in *Trauma and Transformation*, ed. Vera J. Camden (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 36–40.
25. Eliot, 'Marvell', 70.
26. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 38–55, 89.
27. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 65.
28. Plato, Book X, *The Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), 432–7.
29. Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. with an intro by Gerald F. Else (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 25.
30. Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. J. A. Van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 45–7.
- 31 William Davenant, 'The Author's Preface to his much honor'd Friend M. Hobbes', in *Sir William Davenant's Gondibert*, ed. David Gladish (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 13, 4.
32. Davenant, 'Preface', 12; Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, 56.
33. Davenant, 'Preface', 5; on Davenant's view of history see Elliott Visconsi, *Lines of Equity: Literature and the Origins of Law in Later Stuart England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 26.
34. Davenant, 'Preface', 7.
35. Davenant, 'Preface', 11.

36. Nevertheless, as Brandon Chua argues, Davenant does not recommend entirely unbridled emotion, see 'The Purpose of Playing on the Post Civil War Stage: The Politics of Affection in William Davenant's Dramatic Theory', *Exemplaria* 26.1 (2014): 49–51.
37. 'Upon the Preface', *Certain Verses written by Several of the Authors Friends to be Re-printed with the second Edition of Gondibert*, in Davenant, *Gondibert*, 273; see also Marcus Nevitt, 'The Insults of Defeat: Royalist Responses to Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1651)', *Seventeenth Century* 24.2 (2009), 287–304.
38. John M. Wallace, *Destiny his Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 252 ff.
39. On Jonson's stoicism see Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1945), 104–10; Robert C. Evans, *Jonson, Lipsius and the Politics of Renaissance Stoicism* (Wakefield: Longwood, 1992); Smith, *Andrew Marvell*, 97, 99.
40. Ben Jonson, 'To Penshurst', *The Workes* (1640), *Literature Online* <<http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au>> Accessed 22 January 2014.
41. See Blair Worden, 'Friend to Sir Philip Sidney', *London Review of Books* 8.12 (3 July 1986), 19–22; Marta Straznicky, "'Profane Stoical Paradoxes": The Tragedy of *Mariam* and Sidnean Closet Drama', *English Literary Renaissance* 24.1 (1994), 107–14; interestingly Robert Sidney wrote poetry himself and translated Seneca, see Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563–1626)* (Washington: Folger, 1984), 195–208, esp. at 200.
42. Hobbes cited in Keith Thomas, 'The Social Origins of Hobbes' Political Thought', in *Hobbes Studies*, ed. K. C. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 185–236, at 213.
43. On Marvell's argument for right religion see Gary D. Hamilton, 'Marvell, Sacrilege, and Protestant Historiography', in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540–1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 161–86.
44. Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 157.
45. Diane Purkiss, 'Thinking of Gender', in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 68–86, at 68.
46. On the mock-heroic mode, see Claude Rawson, 'Mock Heroic and English Poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Epic*, ed. Catherine Bates (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 167–92.
47. Sarah Monette, 'Speaking and Silent Women in Upon Appleton House', *SEL* 42.1 (2002), 155–71, at 158.
48. Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 192; Susan A. Clarke, 'Royalists Write the Death of Lord Hastings: Post-Regicidal Funerary Propaganda', *Parergon* 22.2 (2005), 113–30; Catharine Gray, 'Tears of the Muses: 1649 and the Lost Political Bodies of Royalist War Elegy', in *Gender Matters: Discourses of Violence in Early Modern Literature and the Arts*, ed. Mara R. Wade (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 133–54.
49. On the dating of 'A Nymph Complaining' and 'Eyes and Tears' see Smith, *Andrew Marvell*, 68, 79–80.
50. Anthony Welsh, 'Royalist Retreat, and the English Civil War', *Modern Philology* 105.3 (2008): 570–602; and Victoria Kahn, 'Reinventing Romance; or, The Surprising Effects of Sympathy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002), 625–61.

51. Justus Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*, trans. John Stradling (London, 1594), I, xii, 29.
52. Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*, 30.
53. Julianne Werlin, 'Marvell and the Strategic Imagination: Fortification in *Upon Appleton House*', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.260 (2012), 370–6. See also Katherine O. Acheson, 'Military Illustration, Garden Design, and Marvell's "Upon Appleton House"', *English Literary Renaissance* 41.1 (2011), 146–88.
54. Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* cited in Shifflett, *Stoicism*, 5.
55. On Fairfax's approach to warfare see Werlin, 'Marvell and the Strategic Imagination', 384–5.
56. Sir William Temple, a royalist contemporary, explained 'Idleness languishing as it is[,] yet triumphs over the man[,] usurps upon all the designs and actions of his life destroys and consumes insensibly all the passions and vertues' (*A Treatise Concerning Idleness, or the art of well employing our time* [1651?], Beinecke Library, Osborn fb221).
57. On stoical virtue see Graeme Hunter, *Radical Protestantism in Spinoza's Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2005), 162; on sacred pain see Ariel Glucklich, *Sacred Pain: Hurting the Body for the Sake of the Soul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
58. Hamilton, 'Marvell, Sacrilege, and Protestant Historiography', 172–3.
59. On Maria as apotheosis see A. D. Cousins, 'Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House', to my Lord Fairfax', in *The Political Identity of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Conal Condren and A. D. Cousins (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1990), 53–84, at 77.
60. Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*, 30.
61. Margaret R. Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 6.
62. Derek Hirst and Steven Zwicker, 'Andrew Marvell and the Toils of Patriarchy: Fatherhood, Longing, and the Body Politic', *English Literary History* 66.3 (1999), 629–54, at 631, 646.
63. Richard Sorabji, 'Did the Stoics Value Emotion and Feeling?' *The Philosophical Quarterly* 59.234 (2009), 150–62.
64. Eliot, 'Marvell', 64, 65, 75, 69, 73.
65. Eliot, 'Marvell', 78.
66. Eliot describes Donne in these terms in 'Marvell', 64.

11

'Terrible Delight': Art, Violence, and Power in Early Eighteenth-Century War Poems

Abigail Williams

The first decade of the eighteenth century saw England engaged in European conflict on an unprecedented scale. The start of the War of the Spanish Succession in May 1702, just after the death of William III, inaugurated a new decade of European warfare, in which Britain fought as part of the Grand Alliance. Countless would-be public poets queued up to celebrate the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde in print, documenting enthusiastically the piles of the slain, and steeds thrashing in their death throes that were central to the iconography of warfare in this period. Most of these poems were written by men (or occasionally, women) at a great distance from the European conflict, with little direct experience with which to authorise their account. Yet what such verse lacked in firsthand experience, it often attempted to match in emotional and visual affect, in vivid reimaginings of the battle scenes of Europe, and the men who had led and died on them. As a way of capturing the scale and the moving chaos of battle, many poets drew on ekphrastic techniques, and in particular, the popular seventeenth-century 'advice-to-a-painter' genre, envisaging the scenes they imagined writ large in heroic historical paintings decorating the homes of the elite.

For a range of reasons, these poems have received little critical attention. Although they were both acclaimed and influential in their own time, neither Whig panegyrists such as George Stepney or William Harrison, nor decorative painters like James Thornhill, (described by his Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) biographer as 'the least studied of the great names in British art history') are currently at the centre of eighteenth-century studies. Nor are the genres these early war poets worked in: patriotic, panegyric verse is relatively unappealing to modern readers, and the wholehearted embrace of violence and bloodshed articulated in these poems and paintings is alien to generations of modern readers accustomed to look for, and find, notes of regret or loss in the literature of war. Yet the poetry written about war from the first decade of the eighteenth century did not lament the thousands fallen, or the ravage of the towns and villages of the Danube. Instead, it trumpeted the achievements of the

Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, their sieges and battles, and the rivers that ran red with the blood of the French. It emphasised the emotional impact of war, but within an affective register much less familiar to modern readers – a register based on the evocation of awe, patriotism and the glorious excess of conflict. In this essay I will consider what this neglected tradition of battle verse was being used to do; how its emotional and aesthetic affect was used to deflect political criticism of the management of the war, and to create a sublime figuration of recent military history. I will argue that an affective response to war, depicted through verse, was intrinsically connected to money, politics and patronage.

The war and the advice-to-a-painter tradition

The War of the Spanish Succession was politically complicated, but rhetorically simple. The ultimate aim of the war was to prevent French Catholic domination in Europe.¹ The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 had included an agreement that when the childless Charles II of Spain died, his territorial possessions would go to the ‘neutral’ Elector of Bavaria. However, when the king did die, in the summer of 1700, he left all his territories to Philip of Anjou, the French claimant, who was a nephew of Louis XIV. This effectively created a unification of the French and Spanish thrones, and William III responded by putting together a Protestant alliance to curb the influence of Louis XIV. England’s objectives in the war were threefold: to maintain a balance of power in Europe; to protect the nation’s trading interests; and lastly, to secure recognition of Queen Anne and the Hanoverian succession, an issue that had become particularly acute after Louis XIV’s formal recognition of James III of England in 1702. The war fought in the Low Countries and Spain was effectively a pan-European collaboration, in which British troops fought alongside those from the United Provinces, the Holy Roman Empire, and later, German states. As generalissimo of these combined forces, John, Duke of Marlborough led an army that was distinctly international in character. Yet in the literary representations of the military campaigns, the conflict was seen as a more straightforward battle between Britain and France, Protestantism versus Catholicism.² There was good and bad, and the English poetry of this war sought not to complicate those categories, but to confirm them. As Pia F. Cuneo has argued:

The topic of warfare is especially effective for such politically tendentious narratives [i.e. those which seek to establish a particular political interpretation of recent history] as the characters involved are, by necessity, divided into those who win and those who lose, thus making both straightforward and urgent the viewer’s choice as to the party they will want to embrace.³

The battle poets of the War of the Spanish Succession depicted the conflict as a defence of religion and political freedom. For Charles Johnson, the war was no less than a fight with Lucifer himself, and a victory for Justice in which 'Tyrants, the great Murtherers of Mankind,/ No more escape her Sword than Petty Robbers'.⁴ For Joseph Addison, the Duke of Marlborough is 'Big with the Fate of *Europe*', the battle of Blenheim evidence of a divine Providential care of God's people: 'The Day was come when Heav'n design'd to show/ His Care and Conduct of the World below'.⁵ The scale and strategic significance of the conflict led to its depiction on a huge scale, with massive consequences: Addison's poem, like many others, emphasises its epic dimension: 'Rivers of blood I see, and hills of slain,/ An *Iliad* rising out of One campaign'.⁶ Richard Blackmore remarks that 'If you in Hangings, or in Painting show,/ For that an Epic Song may fitly do'.⁷ As Blackmore's lines suggest, in striving to find an idiom appropriate to the magnitude of the subject and actions they described, many poets turned to the visual arts, and in particular, drew on the advice-to-a-painter tradition. This was a genre which had gained popularity in England in the 1660s as a vehicle for historical, or historiographical commentary, and was well established within political verse of the later seventeenth century.⁸ As their titles suggested, advice-to-a-painter poems aligned poetry with painting, using the conceit of providing instructions to a painter to cast recent history within the emblematic representation used by baroque history painters like Antonio Verrio, Louis Laguerre or James Thornhill. These paintings typically offered an 'up close' perspective on their historical subjects, which challenged the bird's-eye viewpoint typical of formal history. In their large-scale didactic paintings of muscular heroes and supernatural figures, they enabled their creators to show their subject as moral exemplar. They were lavish iconographic pieces, with a panegyric function, and were commissioned by elite political leaders to adorn public rooms.⁹ The numerous battle poems that invoked these paintings used similar forms of emblematic representation to transform individual figures into symbols of larger historical ideas or processes. Rather than offering a distanced and objective narrative overview of the progress of the war, the function of these poems was to recreate in verbal form an intense and emotionally-charged baroque idiom to glorify and celebrate both victory and the violence that it entailed. As Noelle Gallagher has argued, by substituting an iconic portrait of a particular person or scene for a broader account of the historical process, history painters transformed their human subjects into metonyms, reiterating in visual terms the connection between great men and great events. But in focussing a series of events around an individual in a moment, they also focussed and personalised the emotional impact of war.

Sometimes the pictorial allusions within a poem are only glancing ('... As when by *Raphael's*, or by Kneller's Hands/ A Warlike Courser on the Canvas stands') but many poems offered a more sustained consideration of the

potential of words to paint most justly.¹⁰ Matthew Prior's poem 'On Seeing the Duke of Ormond's Picture, at Sir Godfrey Kneller's', takes as its inspiration one of Kneller's paintings of James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, injured at the battle of Landen in 1693:

Out from the injur'd Canvas, *Kneller*, strike
 These Lines too faint; the Picture is not like:
 Exalt thy Thought, and try thy Toil again;
 Dreadful in Arms, on *Landen's* glorious Plain
 Place *Ormond's* Duke; impendent in the Air
 Let his keen Sabre, Comet-like, appear,
 Where-e'er it points, denouncing Death; below
 Draw routed Squadrons and the num'rous Foe
 Falling beneath, or flying from His Blow.
 'Till weak with Wounds, and cover'd o'er with Blood,
 Which from the Patriot's Breast in Torrents flow'd,
 He faints; His Steed no longer hears the Rein,
 But stumbles o'er the heap His Hand had slain.
 And now exhausted, bleeding, pale he lyes;
 Lovely, sad Object! in His half clos'd Eyes
 Stern Vengeance yet, and Hostile Terror stand;
 His Front yet threatens, and His Frowns command:
 The *Gallic* Chiefs their Troops around Him call,
 Fear to approach Him, tho' they see Him fall.

O *Kneller*; cou'd Thy Shades and Lights express
 The perfect Hero in that glorious Dress;
 Ages to come might *Ormond's* Picture know;
 And Palms for Thee beneath his Lawrels grow:
 In sight of Time Thy Work might ever shine;
 Not *Homer's* Colours last so long as Thine.¹¹

This is a poem which makes its political argument – a celebration of the battle and the Whig policies behind it – by appealing to the emotional response of the viewer. The imperatives of Prior's lines, commanding Kneller to redraw his lines to 'exalt' his subject, and place the Duke 'dreadful in arms', suggests the impact the verse was intended to have: a representation which should overwhelm the onlooker or reader. Prior's instructions are ostensibly addressed to the painter – but in fact, they are really begging the imaginative engagement of the reader of the poem in creating the scene evoked. It is for us to visualise in the heightened colour and movement suggested, the passions of the hero, and the emotional resonances of his place in the battlefield. Like so many other verses of this type, Prior's poem is both an ekphrastic tribute to the artist, and a demonstration of

the superior representational powers of the poet. It begins with what is ostensibly, a compliment to Ormonde's heroism, which is so great that the picture 'is not like', and so Kneller must redraw his painting to capture the magnificence of this 'perfect hero'. But the comparison between visual and verbal is more than a way of flattering Ormonde, as Prior goes on to show how he can capture what Kneller, the painter, cannot. As elsewhere within this tradition, by aligning poetic and painterly representations of history, writers of advice-to-a-painter poems could use visual symbolism to present their own views of past events, whilst at the same time, by distinguishing poetry from painting, they could contrast their use of verbal narrative with the baroque painter's reliance on images.¹² What Prior's poem demonstrates very clearly is the ability of narrative to capture the unfolding story of this moment of battle. Whereas Kneller's image is frozen at one point, and in one perspective, Prior's poem on the same subject takes us from Ormonde's mighty conquest of his foes, through the moment of his wounding, fainting, and near death. Prior turns a single image into a story, and gives us multiple perspectives on what we see: we perceive from a distance the heaps of slain, and then move in for the detail of the half closed eyes, the deafened horse, and then the surrounding enemies, still fearful of approaching the great military leader. And because the poem, unlike the painting, can move around in time and place, Ormonde is at once the commanding hero of this piece, and the wounded victim, an aesthetic 'lovely sad object'.

In an excellent study of earlier seventeenth-century advice-to-a-painter poems, Noelle Gallagher has remarked that advice poems generally emphasise the physical over the psychological, and this is undoubtedly also true for some of the poems of this type written in the first decade of the eighteenth century – so, for example, Prior's Ormonde is more significant as a 'lovely sad Object' rather than a feeling being.¹³ Yet military panegyric also had the potential to show interiority alongside external spectacle. In *The Campaign*, Joseph Addison's celebrated offering on the battle of Blenheim, amidst the description of the battle, we are also given insights into the Duke of Marlborough's mind – and again, this is in apparent contrast with what can be achieved through visual description. Addison delineates for his readers the feelings of a man in action 'forming the Wond'rous Year within his Thought', and in doing so, gives interiority to a military leader known to most readers merely by his external actions:¹⁴

'Twas then Great MARLBRO'S mighty Soul was prov'd,
That, in the Shock of Charging Hosts unmov'd,
Amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair,
Examin'd all the Dreadful Scenes of War;
[...]
So when an Angel by Divine Command

With rising Tempests shakes a guilty Land,
 Such as o'er late o'er pale *Britannia* past,
 Calm and Serene he drives the furious Blast;
 And, pleas'd th'Almighty's Orders to perform,
 Rides in the Whirl-wind, and directs the Storm.¹⁵

These lines from *The Campaign* were the most widely-praised part of the poem, and were excerpted many times over the course of the eighteenth century, in literary criticism and in poetic collections and miscellanies. Writing of the passage in his periodical the *Tatler*, Richard Steele used it as the greatest example of the sublime style. He located its sublimity not in the visual depiction of the battle, but in the representation of Marlborough's psychological state, citing the opinion of a man who claimed that 'tho he ran thro' many Instances of Sublimity from the ancient Writers' he knew of no other occasion 'wherein the true Greatness of Soul, which animates a General in Action, is so well represented'. The image of the angel in the storm, he declares, 'sets forth the most sedate and the most active Courage engag'd in an Uproar of Nature, a Confusion of Elements'.¹⁶

Steele's identification of this image as an example of the sublime is an important context for understanding the aesthetic and emotional values of war poetry in this period. The sublimity of *The Campaign* lay in its ability to evoke a powerful response to an overwhelming scene of destruction. With its emphasis on affect, its rejection of formal harmonies in favour of transcendent expression, and its claims to imagine the unimaginable, the poetic sublime was able to capture the scale and the impact of warfare. As David Fairer observes, early eighteenth-century poets were drawn to the terrifying aspects of the sublime: to scenarios of destruction and apocalypse such as those found in Aaron Hill's *The Judgment-Day* (1721).¹⁷ Addison's evocation of the chaotic disturbance of the natural world is comparable with visions of apocalypse elsewhere in sublime poetry. But it is also significant that in this section from *The Campaign*, the apocalyptic is countered by the controlling figure at the centre of the chaos. The force of the lines is to draw attention to the sedate general, the eye at the heart of the storm, a sense which is reinforced by the echo of Nahum 1:3: 'the Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm'.¹⁸ Sublime war poetry gave its readers aesthetically-controlled images of chaos and destruction which emphasised the ultimate prowess of the military leader. Charles Johnson describes Marlborough as smeared with blood from battle, yet

Sedate and ever present to himself,
 His Blood does no tumultuous Pulses Feel
 His mind unshaken, tho' the King of Fears
 Ghastly ten Thousand Gorgon Forms presents.¹⁹

In his *Advice to the Poets*, Richard Blackmore writes of the ‘terrible delight’ to be found in such scenes, whose power is located in the effect they have on their readers, evoking both admiration and fear:

Give us his Picture, when engag’d in Fight,
Let him with glorious Slaughter smear’d, affright,
And please us too, with terrible Delight.²⁰

Seeing red: the emotional impact of war poetry

As these examples demonstrate, one of the characteristics of the poems written on the War of the Spanish Succession was their energetic embrace of the graphic detail of bloodshed, and triumphant relish of the slaying of the enemy. These details were explicitly designed to create maximum impact for the reader. So, for example, the 1709 *Advice to Mr. Vario, the Painter*, urges the decorative painter Antonio Verrio to depict

Horror in all its Shapes, thro’ their whole Army spread,
The Valiant flying, and the Fearful fled;
The Dying in their Pangs, and in their Blood the Dead.
Here paint surrend’ring Multitudes, and here
Ten thousand different sorts of Fear²¹

In *The Campaign*, Joseph Addison had described the ‘Thousands of fiery Steeds with Wounds transfix’d/ Floating in Gore, with their drown’d Masters mixt’.²² The impulse behind these descriptive passages is not to play down or sanitize the conflict, but rather, to make it more real, and more immediate, through detailed verbal re-description of the physical horror of conflict, and its emotional impact, the ‘ten thousand different types of fear’. This effect was further emphasised by the inclusion of spectators within many pictorial war poems, which provided an alternative way of conjuring the affective import of the scene described. By including potential viewers within the description of a painting, writers accentuated the gore and horror of battle by imagining it seen through innocent eyes. In Thomas Tickell’s *On the Prospect of Peace*, the narrator describes a future child inhabitant of Blenheim Palace looking on the images of Marlborough’s battles, perhaps painted by Godfrey Kneller, that would, he imagines, one day decorate the walls:

Of Churchill’s Race perhaps some lovely Boy
Shall mark the burnish’d Steel, that hangs on high;
Shall gaze, transported on its glitt’ring Charms,
And reach it struggling with unequal Arms,
By Signs the Drum’s tumultuous Sound request;

Then seek, in Starts, the hushing Mother's Breast.²³

The boy is first excited, and then frightened by the battlefields he sees before him: it is the mismatched imagery of child and mother, alongside the violent conflict on the walls, that brings home the full impact of war that is the desired effect of this and other imagined scenes.

The child, however, is not the only spectator who is drawn to the scenes of bloodshed:

Fair dames shall oft, with curious eye, explore
 The costly robes that slaughter'd generals wore,
 Rich trappings from the *Danube's* Whirlpools brought,
 (*Hesperian* nuns the gorgeous Broid'ry wrought)
 Belts stiff with Gold, the *Boian* Horse-man's Pride,
 And *Gaule's* fair Flow'rs, in humane Crimson dy'd.²⁴

In a rather shocking feminisation of warfare, Tickell imagines that future female visitors will be entranced by the rich aesthetic detail of the clothing of 'slaughter'd' foreign generals, and will gaze admiringly on the gold, velvet, and fabric whirling, bloodstained, down the Danube. The aesthetic pleasure that they will derive from this spectacle is distinctively different from the patriotic pleasure of the young male spectator. Such a gendering of emotional and aesthetic response is not unique to this poem. In William Harrison's *Woodstock Park* (1705), another tribute to Marlborough, and to the future (and, as it turned out, unrealised) adornments of Blenheim Palace by Kneller, the battle scene is more overtly sexualised:

But far, oh far distinguish'd from the rest!
 By Youth, by Beauty, and a waving Crest,
 Like young *Patroclus*, *Dormer* shall be slain,
 And great *Achilles'* Soul beshock'd again.
 Successful *Kneller*, whose improving Air
 Adds Light to Light, and Graces to the Fair,
 Thus may compleat the Glories of his Age,
 And in one Piece the whole soft Sex engage;
 Who shall in Crowds the lovely Dead surround,
 And weep rich Gems upon his streaming Wound.
 By sad Remembrance urg'd to fruitless Moan,
 And lost in *Dormer's* Charms, neglect their own.²⁵

From these lines it is hard to tell whether Harrison imagines that Kneller, who was actually renowned as a portrait painter, rather than a history painter, will include the weeping and admiring women surrounding Dormer's body within his painting, or whether they will cluster externally

around the finished image. But the inclusion of the mute, enraptured women is an intriguing development of the visual and verbal trope of the dying hero, who was so often the moral focus of both poems and paintings of war of this period, and who is here exploited for his aesthetic potential, becoming the centrepiece of a kind of erotic pieta.

Propaganda and image

One clear function of much of the verse produced in praise of the war was to project the conflict as a heroic endeavour that transcended the petty grounds of political debate. In the poems discussed so far, the greatness of the imagined battle was depicted as almost beyond description and thus beyond analysis: Charles Johnson describes the wondrous victories of the war as '... somewhat yet beyond our Hopes amazing/ That Speech wants Words, and Fancy thought to utter'.²⁶ The baroque idiom invited an affective response from its readers and viewers, rather than a reasoned consideration of political strategy. This served a distinct polemical agenda, since by emphasising the sublimity and heroic eroticism of violence, contemporary authors created a language of blood, sacrifice, and patriotism that belied the ongoing practical and political difficulties behind Marlborough's campaigns. Thus the depiction of feeling, in this context, is political. We can find an analogy for the monumental sublimation of political debate in the building projects of this era. The most visible cultural sign of Marlborough's military successes was the projected palace of Blenheim. In January 1705 Queen Anne had granted the military leader the former royal manor of Woodstock, along with some 22,000 acres of land in Oxfordshire, and funds to construct a house which would be not only the duke's family seat, but a national memorial commemorating and named after the battle of Blenheim, the year before. John Vanbrugh was appointed as the architect, and the initial estimate was for £100,000 – a figure dwarfed by the final sum. As we have seen, numerous panegyrics on the war imagined the rising splendours of the palace, adorned with paintings of the duke's victories. But the Blenheim building project was soon enmeshed in controversy. It became clear that the final costs would far exceed the initial estimate; Sarah Churchill became disenchanted with Vanbrugh's work; and when the public disapproval of Marlborough reached its peak in 1712, treasury payments for the works at Blenheim stopped altogether.

The house could be seen both as an eternal monument to martial achievements, and an emblem of the fragility of reputation and political fortune. By early 1709, Marlborough had suffered failure at Toulon, the loss of the naval officer Sir Cloudesley Shovell at sea, charges of maladministration in the Admiralty, the loss of Ghent in May 1708, and ongoing damaging political infighting at home between his wife and Queen Anne. As he was well aware, opposition to the war, and his leadership, was growing. His troops

had just suffered one of the most severe winters on record, when soldiers and horses died on the march and could not survive outside or in tents. When he got back to London in April 1709, he asked the queen's permission for a life appointment as captain-general, a position he had held only at the queen's pleasure since 1702. The queen demurred, replying that it would be useful to find a precedent. To all extents and purposes, Marlborough's glory days were over, his political and military capital spent. In this context, the need to assert culturally the power of victory and heroism was all the more pressing.²⁷ Marlborough returned to his campaign on the continent, and on 3 September 1709, he and Prince Eugene finally ended their siege of the city and fortress of Tournai, which fell after 69 days with over 5000 allied casualties. On entering the citadel, Marlborough saw a 30-ton marble bust of Louis XIV over the gate. He ordered it to be taken down and shipped to England, where it would adorn his future home at Woodstock, as a trophy. The piece now dominates the top of Blenheim's south portico, where it is placed over the taunting inscription 'Europæ hæc vindex genio decora alta Britanno' ('The assertor of the liberties of Europe dedicates these lofty honours to the genius of Britain'). Marlborough's polemical appropriation of Louis XIV's marble bust served a specific purpose as part of his defence of his conduct, and his desire to create an iconographic legacy for his achievements that would outlast the political controversy of the immediate moment. But it should also be seen as part of an ongoing cultural rivalry between England and France. Over the course of his reign, Louis XIV had commissioned buildings, paintings, tapestries, and sculptures designed to reinforce and legitimate his status as France's great warrior king.²⁸ Tim Blanning has argued that the French warrior king

...realised that states were centres of authority as well as power and could be effective only if their coercive capability was recognized as legitimate by their members. It was in pursuit of this legitimacy that he unfolded his grand cultural programme.²⁹

The representational culture of the court at Versailles influenced most of the rest of Europe.³⁰ In Britain, during the 1690s, many Whig writers had actively encouraged the idea of William III's rule as the reverse of the luxurious court culture associated with Louis XIV, who was presented by his opponents as ever eager to sponsor his own cultural mythmaking.³¹ The poet and diplomat Matthew Prior scoffed at the vanity of the French king: 'His house at Versailles is something the foolishhest in the world; he is strutting in every panel, and galloping over one's head in every ceiling'.³² William had to tread a fine line between commissioning cultural propaganda to display his military prowess, whilst also differentiating himself from the perception of Louis XIV as a narcissistic and self-serving patron. Richard Blackmore praises William as:

Reverse of *Lewis He* (Example rare!)
 Lov'd to deserve the Praise he could not bear,
 He shun'd the Acclamations of the Throng,
 And always coldly heard the Poet's Song.³³

Charles Montagu's encomium to William in his *Epistle to Dorset* also makes a comparison with the French monarch: 'Oh! if in *France* this Heroe had been born;/ What Glittering Tinsel wou'd his Acts adorn'.³⁴ Yet for all this rhetorical emphasis on the king's lack of interest in the arts, William was investing in major changes in contemporary cultural life. When William and Mary assumed the throne, they poured large sums of money into the royal household and into new building work, thus creating the impression of a lavish and thriving court culture. The paintings and craftsmanship at the palace at Hampton Court are the most obvious sign of this intended splendour: research based on the recent restoration of the King's Apartments reveals that William III commissioned artists from Versailles to create his own 'iconographic programme of self-glorification to rival that of Louis XIV'.³⁵ William III's aesthetic choices were very similar to his counterpart's. As Christopher Brown describes, William's artistic tastes were closely modelled on the gilded and highly decorated interiors of Versailles, and he consequently patronised the French Huguenot architect-designer Daniel Marot, and the baroque painter Antonio Verrio.³⁶ One of the ironies of the British cultural celebration of its military prowess in the wars between 1688 and 1714 was that although these conflicts were simplified rhetorically into a battle between England and France, Protestant and Catholic, when they assumed artistic form, they did so by imitating French Catholic style.

Culture and money

The advice-to-a-painter poems of the War of the Spanish Succession are part of this wider cultural contest between France and England. Their baroque aesthetic was in part in emulation of Louis's XIV's cultural programme – whilst simultaneously denigrating the heroic idiom of the iconography sponsored by the French king. This fusion of French style with English victory and money was taken up with enthusiasm by the rising Whig elite of the early eighteenth century. Over and over again poets urge the most celebrated decorative painters of the day to illumine the rising palaces of the Whig nobility with glorious scenes from the battlefield. As we have seen, these poems had a polemical function. Their affective language of the sublime created powerful images of military heroism, deflected criticism of the management of the war, and asserted the superiority of verse over paint. And they also linked violence, money, and power by connecting images of beautiful bloodshed to cultural patronage. Poets called on artists and patrons to blazon a heroic military confidence across

the palaces and public buildings being designed, often funded by fortunes made in the war.

And it came to pass: the new palaces of the early eighteenth century were embellished with images of victorious conflict in this vein. We might view the poems, the paintings, and the houses celebrating such victories in the context of the broader development of a largely Whig cultural patronage at this time, intended to establish not just a polemically triumphalist view of recent history, but to secure cultural authority in a broader sense – often by appealing to the emotional responses of readers and viewers, rather than their objective evaluation of recent history.³⁷ The cultural-political importance of an artistic celebration of recent military victory can be seen in the number of poems calling on Antonio Verrio to paint Marlborough's wars.³⁸ Verrio, born in southern Italy, was a product of the court of Louis XIV. He had worked at Versailles under Charles Le Brun, where he learned to paint in the rich baroque style associated with the French court. He came to England in the 1670s and secured a string of aristocratic and royal commissions, including the redecoration of Windsor Castle, Christ's Hospital, and Whitehall Palace. But his period in London ended abruptly in 1688, when his Jacobite sympathies took him out of royal patronage and into the country. He was eventually persuaded to return to paint for the crown, and came back to paint Hampton Court Palace, retiring with a royal pension shortly afterwards. His name appears repeatedly in the war poetry of Anne's reign, in which he is summoned to paint the victories of the Duke of Marlborough on the walls of the great Whig palaces. The man who had helped make first Louis, and then the Stuarts look great should do the same for later Whiggish military heroes. The poem *On Her Majesty's Grant of Woodstock Park &c... To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (1704) is subtitled 'In a letter to Signior Antonio Verrio at Hampton-Court'. The unknown poet urges Verrio to paint the Duke's victories high on the walls of the new palace at Blenheim so that 'here we behold, by *Verrio's* Pencil wrought / The num'rous Spoils from *Swabian* Conquests brought'.³⁹ Such was Verrio's cultural capital as an embellisher of recent history that other writers summoned him from beyond the grave: the poem *Advice to Mr Vario, the Painter. A Poem. On the Defeat of the French and Bavarians, by the Confederate Forces* (1709) was published two years after Verrio's death, in 1707.

Along with Verrio, the names most commonly invoked as exemplars of heroic historical painting in Britain in the early eighteenth century were Louis Laguerre, who had worked with Verrio, and James Thornhill. Both Thornhill and Laguerre, who were directors of Sir Godfrey Kneller's Whig-sponsored Academy of Painting, thrived in the baroque building boom of the early eighteenth century. Between 1700 and 1720 John Vanbrugh was the Whig architect of choice, and his baroque splendours became fitting emblems of the optimism and ambitions of post-Revolution Britain. As the palaces rose, they shaped the nation in the image of the new establishment. Vanbrugh began by designing Castle Howard for the Earl of Carlisle, and

moved on to Blenheim Palace for the Duke of Marlborough, Kimbolton Castle for Lord Manchester, Claremont for the Duke of Newcastle, and the gardens at Stowe, laid out for Lord Cobham.⁴⁰ Geoffrey Webb, Vanbrugh's modern editor, has remarked that his style 'stands in the same relation to orthodox classical architecture as the Heroic drama stands to Classical tragedy. Indeed, Heroic architecture is as good a description of his style as could be found'.⁴¹ For a generation convinced of the heroic dimensions of contemporary public life, such a style was the perfect idiom.⁴² The exterior dramatic splendour of the country house was perfectly matched by Laguerre and Thornhill's paintings within. Blenheim Palace did not end up with the decorative historical paintings by Kneller that were imagined by William Harrison and Thomas Tickell, but it was furnished with paintings celebrating the Duke's achievements by James Thornhill and Louis Laguerre.

The Duke of Chandos was another likely patron for patriotic Whig culture. Chandos had made his fortune in the post of paymaster during the War of the Spanish Succession, and rose from there to become one of the richest men in the country. His interest in investing in the commemoration of Marlborough's wars began early on, when in 1712 he commissioned a portrait of the duke of Marlborough from Godfrey Kneller. Chandos's later improvements at Cannons, his house in Middlesex, suggest the scale of patronage afforded by some of the new elite.⁴³ Given a dukedom by George I in 1719, he retired at the age of 45, and devoted himself to establishing a life of aristocratic grandeur at his newly built country home. And, unsurprisingly, the interiors were copiously decorated with allegorical and historical paintings, again by James Thornhill and Louis Laguerre. As Alexander Pope's satirical lines suggest, these painters were seen by their critics as intrinsically linked to the cultural ostentation of new grandees such as Chandos and the Churchills: 'On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,/ Where sprawl the saints of Verrio or Laguerre' ('An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard, Earl of Burlington', 1731).

The representation of war in early eighteenth-century panegyric poems, like the painterly forms it invoked, was designed for maximum impact. Poets aimed to translate the grandeur of recent military success into their own sublime style, an affective idiom that would encapsulate the heroism of their leaders, and put their actions beyond criticism or analysis. This sublime effect was created through a powerful combination of physical detail and painterly rhetoric. In imagining scenes as they would be depicted in visual arts, writers were doing more than rerunning an existing ekphrastic trope. They were trying to shape the depiction of recent history within an emergent cultural economy that was committed to the celebration, verbal, visual, and architectural, of modern military heroism, which often relied on emotional affect to make its polemical arguments. Blood and the terrible delight of warfare were an integral part of the birth of this modern Britain.

Notes

1. The fullest account of the war is still G. M. Trevelyan's, *England under Queen Anne*, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1930–4). See also Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) for more detail on the Allied perspective, and J. B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1968) for detail of the French involvement.
2. Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics Under Anne* (revised ed., London: Hambledon Press, 1987), 83. The two central Whig policies of the reign, the Regency Act of 1706, and the Act of Union of 1707, were designed to help safeguard a Protestant future. However, as Steven Pincus observes, the representation of the War of the Spanish Succession as a Protestant crusade was troubled by the Catholicism of the Habsburgs. Steven Pincus, Review of Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), 132–4.
3. Pia F. Cuneo, 'Images of Warfare as Political Legitimation', in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo (Brill, 2002), 89.
4. Charles Johnson, *Ramelies: A Poem* (1706), 4.
5. Joseph Addison, *The Campaign: A Poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (1704), 13.
6. Addison, *The Campaign*, 2.
7. Richard Blackmore, *Advice to the Poets. A Poem. Occasion'd by the Wonderful Success of Her Majesty's Arms* (1705), 22.
8. While the majority of the advice to a painter poems appeared between 1660 and 1688, 17 appeared under William III, and a further eight under Queen Anne. Mary Tom Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems 1633–1856: An Annotated Finding List* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1949), 17–18.
9. On the public function of these pieces for the earlier Stuart monarchs, see Edward Copeland, 'Absalom and Achitophel and *The Banqueting House Ceiling*: "The Great Relation"', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 11.2 (1987), 22–40.
10. Thomas Tickell, *A Poem to his Excellency the Lord Privy-Seal, on the Prospect of Peace* (London, 1712), 4.
11. Matthew Prior, 'On Seeing the Duke of Ormond's Picture at Sir Godfrey Kneller's', *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1709), 53–4.
12. For further discussion of this dynamic in earlier advice poems, see Noelle Gallagher, "'Partial to Some One Side": The Advice-to-a-Painter Poem as Historical Writing', *ELH*, 78 (2011), 79–101, at 86.
13. Gallagher, 'Partial to Some One Side', 86.
14. Addison, *The Campaign*, 4.
15. Addison, *The Campaign*, 14.
16. Tatler, 43, 19 July 1709, *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), i. 310–11.
17. David Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, 125–7.
18. Samuel Johnson, whilst praising the poem, comments on the repetitive nature of the simile, arguing that Marlborough is so like the storm, that the lines on the storm are merely repetitive. Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Addison', *Lives of the Poets* (1779–81), ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), ii. 130–1.
19. Johnson, *Ramelies*, 5.
20. Blackmore, 16.
21. *Advice to Mr. Vario, the Painter. A Poem. On the Defeat of the French and Bavarians* (1709), 2.

22. Addison, *The Campaign*, 12.
23. Tickell, *On the Prospect of Peace*, 13.
24. *Ibid.*
25. William Harrison, *Woodstock Park: A Poem* (London, 1705), 9.
26. Johnson, *Ramelies*, 5.
27. By the end of 1711, and the publication of Jonathan Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies*, Marlborough's military record had become besmirched with allegations of corruption and self interest.
28. See Julie Anne Plax, 'Seventeenth Century French Images of Warfare', *Artful Armies*, 131–155.
29. T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 33.
30. Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, 29–52.
31. On contemporary German distrust of Louis XIV's baroque court culture and patronage, see Georges Livet, 'Louis XIV and the Germanies', in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton (London: Macmillan, 1976), 60–81; 74–6.
32. Matthew Prior to Charles Montagu, 18 February 1698, *HMC Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, 5 vols. (London: HMSO, 1904–1980), iii. 193.
33. Richard Blackmore, *The Kit-Cats: A Poem* (London, 1708), 4.
34. Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Dorset* (London, 1690), 8–9.
35. Susan Jenkins, 'The Artistic Taste of William III', in *The Kings Apartments: Hampton Court Palace* (London: Apollo Magazines, 1994), 4–9; 9.
36. Brown, 'Patrons and collectors of Dutch painting in Britain', 27–28.
37. For a fuller discussion of the development of Whig literary and artistic patronage in this period, see Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), Chapter 6.
38. See, for example, *Advice to Mr Vario, the Painter. A Poem. On the Defeat of the French and Bavarians, by the Confederate Forces* (1709); *On Her Majesty's Grant of Woodstock Park &c... To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (1704).
39. *On Her Majesty's Grant of Woodstock Park ... In a Letter to Signior Antonio Verrio* (1704), 2.
40. On the changing relationship between patron and architect in this period, see Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1800* (Hambledon and London: London and New York, 2000), 109–44.
41. Geoffrey Webb, introduction to Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, ed. Bonamy Dobree and Geoffrey Webb, 4 vols (London: Nonesuch Press, 1927–8) iv; xxiii.
42. Again, not all Whigs were of one mind: in the *Characteristicks*, Shaftesbury promoted Palladianism as the most fitting style for new architecture, and in time, the Whig elite followed suit, embracing a more restrained neoclassicism in the works of Colen Campbell and William Kent.
43. See C. H. Collins Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949).

12

'In Brazen Bonds': The Warring Landscapes of North Carolina, 1775

Katrina O'Loughlin

Last night the air changed, and tho' the wind did not in the least increase, yet it became very chilly on deck, and this morning is so cold, that we are not able to leave the Cabin. I plainly find we are out of warm climates, and fast approaching the coast of America. I am sick at heart, my spirits fail me, but I will not give away to resentment. We are now actually on the American coast ... I can hardly hold the pen. I left June and found December.

Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 141.

In brazen bonds, shall barbarous Discord dwell;
Gigantic Pride, pale Terror, gloomy Care,
And mad Ambition shall attend her there:
There purple Vengeance bathed in gore retires,
Her weapons blunted, and extinct her fires

Alexander Pope, 'Windsor Forest', lines 414–18.

Sailing from the Caribbean to North Carolina in 1775, the Scotswoman Janet Schaw describes a mood of chilled foreboding that forces her, quite literally, to withdraw to the security of the ship's cabin. In her journal letters, preserved but not published until the 1920s, Schaw discloses a terrible 'sickness at heart', a visceral recoiling from the prospect of the coast rising before her. It is not homesickness that Schaw describes, nor estrangement in the face of unfamiliar landscape. In the 'foreign' landscape she has just left, Schaw had in fact encountered a reassuringly familiar scene of Scottish culture and sociability. The new terrain of the American colonies provokes a different order of suffering, an emotional response that is suffused with peculiar resentment. On making landfall, the violence of Schaw's antipathy is fully revealed:

At last America is in my view; a dreary Waste of white barren sand, and melancholy nodding pines. In the course of many miles, no cheerful

cottage has blest my eyes. All seems dreary, savage and desert; and was it for this that such sums of money, such streams of British blood have been lavished away? Oh, thou dear land, how dearly hast thou purchased this habitation for wolves and bears. Dearly has it been purchased, and at a price far dearer still will it be kept. My heart dies within me, while I view it ...¹

In this atmospheric account of the coast at Cape Fear in North Carolina, it is not only Schaw, but the land itself, which is lonely, oppressed, and anxious; the referent of this sullen scene and heart is the enormous burden of war. Schaw's immediate referent is probably the 'French and Indian War' of 1754–63, but the landscape simultaneously invokes the prospect of internecine violence for this British patriot: 'they are now on the eve of a War, or something else I dare not name'.² Contemplating this scene of imminent and immanent conflict puts the viewer's feelings past the power of representation: it is not only the cold, but anger, fear, and resentment that has Schaw 'barely able' to hold her pen. This sturdy Scotswoman seems unable to put the precise nature of her emotions on paper, but her fear is written clearly across the landscape.

This essay explores the signifying role of landscape and weather in Janet Schaw's emotional response to the civil conflict developing in the early months of 1775. It shares with recent work on the American Revolution what Sarah Pearsall describes as an 'insistence on the political relevance of emotional expression'.³ From the *Journal's* contrast between the idealized commercial sociability of Antigua and St Kitts, and the blighted, unpeopled, and antisocial landscapes of North Carolina, a vivid emotional vocabulary of civil discord emerges. Although mostly free of soldiers or the marks of military conflict at this, the very outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Schaw's evocation of landscape draws on long-established literary, classical, and biblical traditions to mediate the prospect and emotional violence of war. In particular the *Journal* displays the influence of older traditions of prognostication – the understanding of events through signs and portents discernible in the weather – while developing recognizably Romantic investments of political and spiritual meaning in natural landscape. Schaw's triangulation of the vocabularies of agriculture, (d)evolution, and landscape draws on the Virgilian georgic tradition, and particularly the English georgic identified by Chalker, Crawford, and Low, to describe an affective phenomenology of war.⁴ Of particular interest here is the *Journal's* appeal to cultivated and defamiliarised landscapes in mediating the emotional loyalties of conflict. The topography, agriculture, and creatures of the American colonial landscape are all tainted, in Schaw's account, by the revolutionaries' disloyalty and indolence. The violence and incivility Schaw 'discovers' in the landscape in the course of her visit secure her sense of betrayal and alienation from American republicans,

and create the conditions of possibility for a 'just war' between Britons and Americans. Schaw's *Journal* thus reveals the affective power of landscape as an early modern theatre of civil and ideological conflict, in which the War of Independence is represented as a series of irreconcilable differences in practice and feeling inscribed directly on the contested terrain.⁵

In 1774, Janet Schaw accompanied her brother on a sea voyage from Edinburgh to the West Indies and American colonies.⁶ Alexander Schaw was to take up a government post as customs agent in St Christopher's, and the pair were chaperoning the children of a family friend home to North Carolina. An unmarried Scotswoman in her mid-thirties, Schaw was well educated, immersed in literary culture, and curious about the world. She displays a romantic attachment to states of feeling vested in the natural environment, but is also witty and self-deprecating in the long journal letters she writes to a dear friend, also well-travelled, and almost certainly part of her Edinburgh social circle.⁷ The 'family' with whom Schaw travels is central to the identifications of her voyage: it includes the Schaws, the three children of North Carolina planter John Rutherford (a close connection of the family), Janet's servant Mrs Miller, and Alexander's 'Indian servant' 'Black Robert'. The Rutherford children are returning to Wilmington after a period of schooling in Scotland, and the Schaws also plan to visit a younger brother Robert who immigrated to America as a child.

Schaw's *Journal* relates a long sea voyage, composed of hardship and beauty in equal parts. The travellers secure a ship, their 'little Wooden Kingdom', for the exclusive use of the 'family' for their late season voyage, but they are disappointed to find the vessel cramped and dirty, and then horrified to discover – once well out of port – a large group of indentured Highland and Island labourers who have been smuggled aboard to be sold on in the American colonies.⁸ Violent weather exacerbates their discomfort: the *Jamaica Packet* is forced to turn northward to Orkney and the Shetland Islands, and they are beset again by storms through the Azores. Although generally a robust traveller, Schaw is horribly disoriented during these periods: in the midst of a particularly rough passage, she describes a state of violent disorder that moves from the physical space of the ship to the spirits of its passengers. The ship underwent 'such sudden and violent evolutions' she explains, that 'the whole elements seemed at war: horror, ruin and confusion raged thro' our unfortunate wooden kingdom, and made the stoutest heart despair of safety' (*Journal*, 47).

Schaw is equally susceptible however to the beauty and transcendental possibilities of the sea voyage, and later writes dreamily of the sensory pleasures of the ocean:

The weather is now so soft, that my brother and Miss Rutherford are able to amuse themselves with their musick. His German flute is particularly agreeable, and one would think, by the number of fishes that are

crowding around us, that he were the Orpheus of the water. If some of the sea-green nymphs would raise their heads and join their Voices, it would be a pretty concert.⁹

The luminous beauty of this 'new world' persists, and Schaw is deeply charmed on her arrival in the West Indies with the exquisite living of Antigua and Saint Kitts. The sociable creoles and thriving commercial culture of the plantations reciprocate Schaw's hospitable values and social identity, effectively cancelling the geographical differences: 'Here was a whole company of Scotch people, our language, our manners, our circle of friends and connections, all the same', she writes. 'We were intimates in a moment' (*Journal*, 82). Drawing themselves away reluctantly after just six weeks, Schaw's party proceeds to the North American colonies. Arriving at Cape Fear River on the coast of North Carolina in February of 1775, Schaw is increasingly anxious and pessimistic. Her fears manifest themselves immediately in the landscape: the white barren sand and 'melancholy nodding pines' comprise not a landscape *per se*, but a 'Waste' that directly recalls the georgic language of Alexander Pope's 'Windsor-Forest' in 'ages past': 'A dreary desert and gloomy waste / To savage beasts and savage laws a prey'.¹⁰

In such heightened terrain Schaw (perhaps inevitably) encounters an isolated community riven with politics. The growing republican movement seems perversely etched in every feature of the landscape, and she describes a natural and human environment wanting in order and industry. The sunny, fertile culture that had embraced Schaw in the Caribbean, is occluded by the hostile terrain of this unfriendly colony and 'unhappy land'. Schaw reveals herself as acutely aware of – and invested in – what we might now call 'affective atmospheres', the feelings that seem to press on one from 'outside' in the world, or that complex of affects that Karl Marx described (in similarly revolutionary terms) in 1856: 'the atmosphere in which we live, [which] weighs upon everyone with a 20,000-pound force'.¹¹ The experiential contrast between the easy sociability of the Caribbean and 'this habitation for bears and wolves' (*Journal*, 141) prompts Schaw to return to the questions of identity and politics of 'liberty' that she had explored in connection with the creoles of Antigua. She rejects America as a 'land of nominal freedom and real slavery', where the cost of living is 'lavished away' in human blood (*Journal*, 212). Although Schaw eventually discovers a territory rich in natural resources, she finds little of beauty in either the landscape or the society of North Carolina. The Schaws stay only nine months before the group is split and forced to flee separately in the face of republican agitation.

We know very little of Janet Schaw except for those connections and the forthright personality that emerges from her narrative. Schaw identifies firmly – and apparently unproblematically – as Scots British. In the

first of the long diurnal letters that constitute the published *Journal*, Schaw describes the genesis of this sense of self:

I had long taken root in my native Soil, yet it is not the spot of Earth that gave me being I call my Country. No! it is the Social Circle of such friends, as few can boast their brightest hours of prosperity were enriched with, it was these that constituted my happiness; the western world may shew me higher Scenes of riches, and Luxury may bid me view the difference, and how far they exceed us, but never can they afford my soul such evening Conversations as I have feasted on in the friendly Circle of our Cheerfull Hearth. (*Journal*, 21)

The deterritorialized understanding of British identity Schaw describes here is critical to understanding the depth of her injured response to the people and landscape of America. Like Antigua, America represents the possibility of 'Britain' on another soil. Schaw's powerful sense of transatlantic Scottish cultural community is supported by historical patterns of settlement, including the development of large Scots communities in North Carolina, and even a tendency for Lowland and Highland networks to gravitate separately toward coastal and inland regions.¹² As the Schaws' itinerary shows, strong bonds of kinship and friendship remained intact across the Atlantic, with people moving and trading between Scotland, the West Indies, and American plantations. This sense of cultural enmeshment is highlighted in the case of children like the Rutherfords, who are wholly educated in Britain and return 'home' to America as strangers.¹³ Alongside these familial and ethnic bonds runs a cultural identification with Britishness, what Brooke Newman describes as the 'localised but interconnected colonial cultures in the British Atlantic community'.¹⁴ The immediacy and emotional intensity of these bonds are at the heart of Schaw's sense of betrayal: for her the American conflict has all the features and emotional resonances of civil war. Schaw was not alone in this experience of self-alienation: Dror Wahrman suggests that 'the destabilizing effects of the American War had greater historical significance than those that accompanied the events in France a couple of decades later', arguing that for many Britons the Revolutionary War was experienced as profoundly disorientating and an 'unnatural confusion of fundamental identity categories'.¹⁵

For Schaw, the 'little Wooden Kingdom' of the ship thus represents an essential, even atomic, emotional unit which she had expected to find enlarged and reciprocated in the British Atlantic community. So strong is Schaw's affective identification with this global franchise of Britons that she can even mock herself at feeling the loss of complete strangers whom she imagines as affective companions. Passing a ship at sea on the voyage out, she describes her sensations as their ship pulls away from another vessel, barely met: 'As our course was different, we soon parted and every heart

felt a pang at losing sight of a ship we knew nothing of and being separated from people with whom we had no concern' (*Journal*, 46). 'Man is certainly by nature a kindly Social animal', she concludes, in language that echoes Adam Smith: 'The law of affection was planted in his breast for the best of purposes'. Schaw's idealized example of this global romantic sociability is seamen, and she commends the 'benevolence, sincerity and warm hearts to be generally met with in Sailors', repeating the popular refrain: 'A light heart and a thin pair of breeches/ Goes round the wide world, brave boys' (*Journal*, 46).

Schaw's patriotic emotional community is thus an ideological, cultural, and literary construction.¹⁶ Through the mechanism of her primary correspondent, she continues to address the 'Circle' she considers her real 'Country' in her journal letters. Manuscripts such as Schaw's – long, precarious, and highly newsworthy – were frequently passed among family and friends, and were very often written with this extended social audience in mind. As a part of a global British community, Schaw chastises her readers for their liberal naivety toward these growing political ruptures: she derides a 'mistaken mercy to a people who have a rooted hatred at you and despise your mercy' (*Journal*, 149). Although they are ostensibly private documents, Schaw's journal letters are thus also 'public' or semi-public texts in the eighteenth-century travel tradition, self-consciously addressing a community of readers on issues of shared interest and concern. Despite her early protestations ('I am not a politician ... though I may yet become one'), Schaw is a reporter and political correspondent *avant la lettre*. Her journal letters represent a continuation and expansion of those vital 'friendships and connexions' she most closely associates with British identity: 'Tho' it be a hundred to one you never see these letters', she writes, 'yet as they give me an idea of conversing with you, they afford myself infinite satisfaction' (*Journal*, 36).

While friendship and familial connections provide the compass points of Schaw's sense of self, it is the sensory world – particularly landscape, climate, and atmosphere – that contours Schaw's emotional response to events in America. As Schaw explains, feeling for her current situation is the natural arbiter of experience and moral sense:

I will not fail to write whatever can amuse myself; and ... every subject will be guided by my own immediate feelings. My opinions and descriptions will depend on the health and the humour of the Moment, in which I write; from which case my Sentiments will often appear to differ on the same subject. (*Journal*, 20)

Here, and precisely through Schaw's early 'apology', feeling is accorded a primary role in the mind's assembly of experience, and is also endorsed as a critical aspect of communicating that experience to others. 'Sentiment' has not only a powerful truth status, but a moral force: observations garner

authenticity as a result of their immediate and 'unmediated' impression on the senses. Landscape plays a central role in revealing these motile states of feeling in the *Journal*, and it is the affective power of landscape as a theatre of civil conflict that is especially compelling: Schaw's view of the North Carolina landscape as at first sinister, and then rich but wholly unhusbanded, emerges as a central configuration and register of her response to militant American claims to independence from Britain.

Schaw's alienation from the natural environment of the Cape Fear River is an aesthetic response which also constitutes a political validation of 'home', a trope recognizable in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial discourses. Elizabeth Bohls suggests that 'while aesthetic distance as an effect of formalism is a key feature of the metropolitan picturesque, in the colonial context the formal distance between subject and object intimates another: the geographical and cultural distance between colony and metropole'.¹⁷ But given Schaw's initial identification within a transatlantic British community, the *Journal* develops a complex set of vocabularies to describe and achieve this affective alienation. The dominant mode of landscape description in Schaw's *Journal* is the language and imagery of the Virgilian georgic, which exerted a pronounced influence on English writing from the late seventeenth century with the publication of Dryden's translation of the *Eclogues and Georgics*.¹⁸ As Kurt Heinzelman shows, the forms of this 'poem nominally about farming' – which in fact explores the figure of the human in the landscape, seasonal change, natural resources, and the cultivation of those resources for civil enrichment – constitute an important poetic component of discourses of 'improvement' featuring in multiple forms during the first two thirds of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The *Journal* is of course not a poem, but it is wholly recognizable in the terms Anthony Low uses to define the genre:

... georgic is a mode that stresses the value of intensive and persistent labor against hardships and difficulties; ... it differs from pastoral because it emphasizes work instead of ease; ... it differs from epic because it emphasizes planting and building instead of killing and destruction; and ... it is preeminently the mode suited to the establishment of civilization and the founding of nations.²⁰

In his genealogy of the English form, Low argues that to be 'truly georgic, a poem should come face to face with the realistic details of farming life, see them for what they are, yet accept them and even glorify them'.²¹ Schaw adapts this poetic register remarkably closely to the requirements of her prose *Journal*, and the civilising and nationalistic undertones identified by Low are made explicit. Schaw's is certainly not the 'rootless and etiolated rural spirituality' of which Low accuses the seventeenth-century English gentleman, but a robust – even rude – regard for practicalities, loudly

proclaimed: she rails against the colonists on their poor grasp of agriculture; their neglect of wide-scale clearing, manuring, crop-rotation; and their (mis) management of fruit trees.²² The settlers are scolded for their preference for leisured hunting rather than careful provision of meat, and Schaw insists on the importance of industrious housewifery; even the laundry practices are closely critiqued when Schaw realises her brother has not seen a 'bleaching-washing' of linens since he was a small child in Scotland. For Schaw, there is perhaps also an additional urgency and politics attached to this georgic elevation of husbandry, due on the one hand to the advancements made in agriculture (particularly in Scotland) during this period, and on the other to the ideological loading of the American New World as potential new Eden, now on the verge of being lost.

Crawford, Low and Heinzelman all emphasize the significance of the georgic as a *mode* rather than poetic genre, together with what Heinzelman describes as georgic's power as 'a protean discursive form', and the *Journal* might be considered emblematic of the signifying potential of this literary and affective discourse.²³ The flexible and generative potential of the mode is expressed in Schaw's adoption of key thematics to the very different forms of the personal letter and travel narrative, and her adaption of the affective georgic vocabularies of landscape to the prospect of war. While Schaw certainly invokes the 'work, invention, and civilization' currents identified by Low, and uses the apparent failures of agriculture to condemn American republicans, there is an additional dimension to Schaw's response to the colonial landscape that expands the symbolic possibilities of the georgic register. Schaw not only uses the apparent neglect of the rich resources of the land (in the desirable terms of transatlantic and British commerce) to diminish the colonists, this strange, abject, landscape becomes a vindication for British armed response, and perhaps finally a symbol of the very impossibility of such a colonial project.

Schaw's emotional alienation from the natural and political landscape of the colony at Cape Fear River resonates across multiple scenes and bodies of violent or menacing creatures: alligators, bears, even the birds become vicious or misleading in this colonial conflict. More ephemeral – although no less powerful – is the influence of the weather on Schaw's representation of the political climate in North Carolina. The chilled atmosphere at the coast quickly turns to a climate of oppressive heat, and even here Schaw carefully marks a difference between desirable West Indian and claustrophobic American affects: 'tho' the thermometer never rises to the same height as in the West Indies, yet the want of air makes it quite intolerable' (*Journal*, 173). The bitter cold and infernal heat not only work to produce the landscape and creatures as figures of war, they make the very atmosphere a readable sign of imminent disaster: 'So plain the signs, such prophet are the skies' insists Dryden's translation of Virgil (line 515), and Schaw duly reads them there. Yet from the georgic Schaw also elaborates

British-American landscape, identity and feeling at a precipice: this natural world is marked with a sense of danger and loss, but also a conviction that the colonial edenic ideal might be (re)attainable with labour and industry turned to the benefit of the whole community.

Schaw's narrative is comprised of three sections, roughly equal in length: the voyage from Edinburgh; her residence in Antigua and St Kitts; and her time in North Carolina. While the georgic vocabulary is consistent, Schaw's division of experience around the spectre of the American war is so powerful that it effectively rends the *Journal* in two – it reads almost as two entirely distinctive accounts. It is important to emphasize that this is literally an absent war: it has not happened yet, and does not 'happen' to Schaw in any immediate violent way.²⁴ There are no battles, no wounds, no deaths recorded; there are even few overt clashes. But the political and social struggle Schaw experiences in North Carolina is very real, and the possibility of war and its violent affects all-pervasive. This deflected, perhaps subterranean, nature of the conflict – the spectre or ghost of war to come – haunts the second half of her *Journal*. In it, the overt absence and implied presence of conflict create a peculiar narrative complexity: the modern reader knows that the war is imminent; and given the time-frames of delivery of packets to and from the colony, it is certainly possible that Schaw's correspondent knew the war was happening. Additionally, given that the *Journal* was published in its current form 150 years after it was composed in manuscript, we must consider that Schaw too incorporated aspects of later knowledge in her text. So the absence of a threatening war gains a powerful presence in Schaw's political imagination and a further epistemological valence in the modern reader's: as a result, the absent war seems repeatedly *pre*-configured in the landscape, people and cultural practices of the American colony. Schaw's *Journal* might be read then not as a reconstruction of the unimaginable horror of war, but as a preconstruction. It is at first a sublimation, and then an exploration and rehearsal of the conflict through the natural landscape. This eventually becomes a justification for military action on the part of British troops, not against their brethren, but against a defamiliarised and treasonous group of strangers.

The most immediate and forceful of Schaw's territorialization of fear is the marked contrast between North Carolina and her idyllic representation of the West Indies, and here the georgic virtue of labour is elaborated with eighteenth-century ideals of commercial sociability to produce an idealized and elite civility. Schaw finds the landscape of the Caribbean islands cultivated, bountiful, and exquisitely beautiful: 'everything most pleasing to the eye, or delightful to the Senses'.²⁵ The creoles appear to the traveller amiable, hospitable, and well-provisioned, qualities which (when conjoined) produce a form of incomparable domestic conviviality: she declares the Antiguans 'the best house wives I have ever met with' (*Journal*, 113). Antigua is opulent in natural resources and human industry, with neat and

pretty towns, a variety of pleasing landscapes, and magnificent plantation homes. Schaw describes a poetic and enchanting landscape of 'ten thousand charms' that captivate every sense: 'a delightful Vision, a fairy Scene or a peep into Elysium'. The very seasons are suspended, producing a single interlude of ornament and fertility: 'the three seasons of Spring, Summer and Autumn go hand in hand. The fruit and flower ornament the bush jointly' (*Journal*, 102).

Schaw's Caribbean register of georgic abundance, commercial prosperity, and moral virtue is displaced on arrival in the 'barren' and 'melancholy' prospect of North Carolina. Schaw is oppressed by the thought of having to surrender the Rutherford children, and the prospect of leaving her brother Alexander, but her dread seems to respond to something greater, which is left unsaid. Instead the fear and oppression in her narrative grows, expressed variously as a change of climate – 'warm' to 'cold' – and of season: 'June' to 'December' (*Journal*, 141). If her initial impressions of America are inauspicious, Schaw's first encounter with an 'American' ('a worthy inhabitant of the woods before us') shortly after arrival confirms all her sentiments. A highly-charged exchange between Schaw and this churlish master of the pilot boat describes a set of irreconcilable differences of knowledge, perception, and feeling. Where Schaw sees nothing and no one – a resounding absence – the 'Native' American sees a thriving community:

'Pray, Sir', said I to him, 'does any body live hereabouts?' 'Hereabouts', returned he in a surly tone, 'don't you see how thick it is settled.' He then pointed with his finger a vast distance, and after some time, I really did observe a spot that seemed to be cut amongst the woods, and fancied that I saw something resembling smoke. On this acknowledgement he answered with a sort of triumph, 'Ay, ay, I told you so, that there is Snow's plantation, and look ye there; don't you see another? Why sure you are blind, it is not above five miles off'. (*Journal*, 141)

In this scene the landscape literally describes the contesting accounts of its viewers. Schaw responds to this colonial insolence by immediately disparaging the local fortifications, in a way that is pointedly emasculating, but ends in a strangely self-defeating manner for a loyalist. Schaw's disgust underscores her sense of physical vulnerability in the colony: 'In figure and size this fort resembles a Leith timber-bush', she declares, 'but does not appear quite so tremendous ... If these are our fortresses and castles, no wonder the Natives rebel; for I will be bound to take this fort with a regiment of black-guard Edinburgh boys ... [armed with nothing] but their own pop guns' (*Journal*, 142). Schaw's fear and sense of exposure are registered in the strange, distorted scale of this environment. Her rhetorical destruction of Fort Johnston – the largest fortification in the area – seems a kind of ritual humiliation directed at both sides: the British are rendered foolish

by their flimsy building, and their underestimation of the rebels; the rebels are 'nativised' and their cause reciprocally diminished by the feebleness of their opponents. Only Schaw emerges triumphant from this scene, ahead of her regiment of Edinburgh boys. They alone seem capable of action in this makeshift, imprudent battle.

For Schaw, North Carolina represents a doubled 'contact zone'.²⁶ It is terrain marked not only by encounter with the new and unfamiliar (the European in the New World) but also a site of civil, and potentially military, conflict: of a human history of war and violence. If this looming conflict remains largely unspeakable, the landscape speaks volumes. The prospect of civil war hangs like a dark veil over everything: for Schaw every feature and every creature of this colonial landscape appears wild, savage, or dangerous. This incipient violence is partially sublimated at one point in the narrative through the graphic and extended destruction of an alligator. A heightened emotional vocabulary of battle is employed and Schaw describes the sleeping alligator as the subject of a carefully-planned siege:

Two of the Negroes armed with strong oars stood ready, while a third hit him a violent blow on the eye, with which he awaked and extended such a pair of jaws as might have admitted if not a Highland cow at least a Lowland calf ... (H)e received thousands of blows which did him no harm as he is covered with a coat of Mail so strong and compact that he is vulnerable no where but in the eye, and a very small opening under the throat and belly ... (He) was at last overcome by pushing out his eyes and thrusting a long knife into his throat'. (*Journal*, 150–51)

The destruction of the beast, arrayed like a soldier in his 'coat of Mail', is prolonged and brutal. Schaw's account is marked by equally violent swings in sympathy: it is a creature who both sins and is sinned against, so the violent mortification of the 'daring Villain' is only partially cathartic ('I could not see this without horror, and even something that at least resembled compassion') and becomes associated with the recurrent threat of 'tarring and feathering' in the narrative. Another ominous configuration of Schaw's anxiety emerges in the shape of a bear cub whose youth belies its incipient power: 'I have got a whelp, which was only a day old when its dam was killed', reports Schaw. 'Miss Rutherford is fond of it, but tho' only a fortnight old, it is too much for her already' (*Journal*, 176). Schaw's stated preference is for her pet American fawn, 'more beautiful than any I ever saw at home and tame as a dog' (*Journal*, 176).

The vulnerability and violence alternately attached to these American animals reflect Schaw's early ambivalence. In the comfortable security of the plantations belonging to her closest connections, Schaw begins to reassert her authority over this frightful landscape. Her awareness and evaluation of the landscape is transformed in concert with her mood, and a new

authoritative and instrumentalist note emerges in her account. There is a reordering of the landscape from oppressive and inchoate to a scene of lost opportunity. Although their land is rich in soil, natural resources, and commercial potential, Schaw judges the colonists ignorant and indolent in equal parts: land remains uncleared, fruits and vegetables uncultivated, and stock vulnerable; unable to rely on the industry of their masters, even 'the cattle must provide for themselves or starve'. Nature is not to blame for this unhusbanded scene: Schaw enumerates the bountiful game – wild Turkey, wild pigeon, partridge, Ortalon, and 'the finest ducks that possibly can be met with, and so plenty that when on wing sixteen or eighteen are killed at a shot' – but this biblical 'profusion is in general neglected' (*Journal*, 175). Despite severe limitations on meat available in the colony, Schaw asserts that it is only 'out of idleness' that the gentleman hunt deer, and 'nothing under a wild turkey is worth a shot' (*Journal*, 174).

In her polemic against colonial sloth, Schaw begins to discover fertile, even perversely luxuriant natural resources in the place of wilderness. Her exemplary image of this potential and neglect is a Wilmington garden:

... which nature has formed with the most beautiful exactness, and left nothing for Art but that of cleaning away the luxuriancy, which generally attends her works. This however is too much for the listless hands of indolence and this beautiful place is overgrown with brambles and prickly pear, which render it entirely useless, tho' a few Negroes with their hoes could clear it in a week (*Journal*, 177–8).

Most objectionable to Schaw is the lack of cultivation. Despite rich natural resources, the colonists seem to want industry or energy in their own cause, and revert rather than advance in the project of cultivation and civility. This is an inversion of natural and divine order, and Schaw's final blow is to praise the industry of slaves over that of their masters: 'they rear hogs, and poultry, sow calabashes etc, and are better provided for in everything than the poorer white people with us' (*Journal*, 176–7).

Schaw buttresses her findings with scriptural elaborations that transparently model a set of responsibilities for the inhabitants of this new Eden. In Schaw's parable, Adam is permitted to carry the seeds of the garden of paradise with him at his expulsion, but then discovers that these too are blighted. A compassionate Angel is sent to comfort the first Man and explains: 'the ground has been cursed for your sake ... yet the curse does not extend to your labours, and it depends on your own choice to live in plenty or in penury' (*Journal*, 161). The significance is nicely oblique: Americans are both the blighted seeds carried out of a European paradise ('harsh and very unpalatable'), and they are men of the first (re)creation who must understand that virtuous labour is essential to their continued being. 'Patience and industry', sermonises Schaw 'will get the better of every difficulty,

and the ground will bear thistles only while your indolence permits it ... the hand of industry improves even the choicest gifts of Heaven' (*Journal*, 161–2). Yet unlike Adam, Schaw's colonists do not 'bow in grateful acknowledgement' and see 'a new Eden flourish in the desert from [their] labour'. Even the built environment is a monument to civilization unachieved, and resembles a war-torn landscape: Schaw's biblical injunction is presided over by a set of ruins. Overcome by inertia, a Wilmington planter abandons his partially-built home; he and his wife live in a hovel while the 'handsome fabrick is daily falling into decay and soon will cease to exist at all', leaving no memorial.

Phil Shaw has argued that the 'embodied violence of atmosphere' in the *Journal* shadows states of claustrophobia and dislocation in Schaw's mind, but I suggest that these neglected landscapes of North Carolina also elaborate the negligence and estrangement of the colonists for more instrumental purposes. This lack of cultivation is as manifest in the persons of the 'natives' as in their landscapes: 'But tho' I may say of this place what I formerly did of the West India Islands, that nature holds out to them everything that can contribute to conveniency, or tempt to luxury, yet the inhabitants resist both', Schaw complains. This lifestyle poisons the very constitution – 'the blood is spoil'd and rendered thin beyond all proportion' – relaxing the nerves and enfeebling the body. As a result, and as a way of underscoring the irreconcilability of the colonists with their 'original stock', 'their appearance is in every respect the reverse of that which gives the idea of strength and vigor, and for which the British peasantry are so remarkable' (*Journal*, 153).

Here Schaw's botanical and anthropological observations converge in her diagnosis of the degeneration of good British rootstock. Her sister-in-law, Mrs Schaw, has become 'so rooted an American that she detests everything that is European', and, like those cursed seeds from the garden of Eden, American men have also degenerated inalterably. This is proved in Schaw's mind by the fact of miscegenation. Schaw could not fail to observe the same sexual mixing in the West Indies, but judged it there the 'alloy' to an 'otherwise fine character', and a kind of luxuriance into which these 'children of the sun' are alternatively seduced or tricked.²⁷ In America however, miscegenation becomes an example of perverted husbandry. Schaw concludes: 'I sincerely believe they are excited to that crime by no other desire or motive but that of adding to the number of their slaves' (*Journal*, 154). Sexual reproduction is nominated as the only form of grotesque harvesting the colonists manage. Here Schaw's earlier defence of plantation slavery as a form of enlightened commercial feudalism lapses momentarily – and tellingly – to isolate and condemn the American colonists.

Schaw's alienation from this environment and its 'nativised' colonists represents the fracturing of a larger 'British' landscape, comprised of England, Scotland, Antigua and the American Colonies. While Schaw travels she is

still mentally within this British realm, and so the colonial uprising looms as the troubling outbreak of civil war. Schaw's transatlantic 'British' identification perhaps seems strange to modern readers, but was part of a familiar rhetoric. For James Macpherson the insurgent colonists 'play upon words, and are no longer Subjects, but Rebels'; 'The Americans themselves have deserted their ground ... They assume the language of rivals, and they act as enemies'.²⁸ In this context, Schaw's strenuous evocation of the colonial landscape as alien and alienated vindicates her anger and hostility toward the colonists and distances her, as a British subject, from these incivil 'rebels'. The foreign landscape constructs the conflict as a foreign war (just, virtuous, and defensible), relieving loyal Britons of the stigma and social violence of a civil war. As an extraterritorial conflict, war becomes not only more palatable but perhaps even restorative: for Francis Bacon 'A Civill Warre ... is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keep the Body in Health'.²⁹

Schaw's *Journal* is immediately striking for the way in which it presents the colonial landscape of North Carolina as a vivid theatre of civil and ideological differences. Viewed as the dystopian counterpart of the benign Caribbean, Cape Fear reveals Schaw's profound emotional dislocation. Landscape and weather mediate immanent conflict, and a series of sublimated images of violent disorder articulate civil struggle. Yet the *Journal* does something else too. While it is clear that Schaw's emotional dispositions structure her environment, it becomes just as important to consider how the landscape shapes Schaw's emotional dispositions in the face of war. The shift from Schaw's diffused fears – echoed in the barren, oppressive, and claustrophobic scenery of the coast – to the luxuriant but uncultivated landscapes of the plantations, represent a political galvanization on Schaw's part, and a critical reconfiguration of the as-yet-absent war. Within the *Journal*, I would suggest, landscape comes to create the possibility of a war that was previously unthinkable.

The affective bonds through which Schaw understands and experiences herself as a Briton and Scot stretched easily to encompass the civil elite of the West Indies. However in the face of colonial agitation they break. The lack of 'civility' Schaw encounters in North Carolina, whether as commerce, courtesy, conversability, education, or agricultural husbandry, precludes any affective identification with the colonists. They, like their landscape, are made abject as 'natives' and American 'clowns', justifying active military intervention on the part of the British, and creating – for Schaw – the real emotional possibility and ideological space for war. The lack of civility manifest in the natural and cultural landscapes of North Carolina transforms the American War of Independence for Schaw from a civil war to an inter-nationalist conflict.

While the West Indies provides a climate of commercial sociability which encourages the forms of identification and exchange most valued by Schaw,

North Carolina cannot sustain such an identification. 'Barbarous Discord dwells' in the dark lineaments of republican sentiment. There too:

... hateful Envy her own snakes shall feel,
 And Persecution mourn her broken wheel:
 There Faction roar, Rebellion bit her chain,
 And gasping Furies thirst for blood in vain.³⁰

A Virgilian georgic register of landscape, conjoined with Romantic investment in atmosphere as a sentient echo of human thought or feeling, is interwoven with intense biblical imagery to produce a climate of disaffection and distrust that resonates throughout Schaw's writing. America is made abject, the psychic possibility of war is created, and war, inevitably, arrives.

Notes

1. Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality ... 1774–1776* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1934), 141.
2. *Journal*, 176; the American Revolutionary War of 1775–1783.
3. Sarah Pearsall, 'The Power of Feeling: Emotion, Sensibility and the American Revolution', *Modern Intellectual History*, 8.3 (2011), 659–72, at 660; see also Nicole Eustace, *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) and Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
4. John Chalker, *The English Georgic: A Study in the Development of a Form* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1969); Rachel Crawford, 'English Georgic and British Nationhood', *ELH*, 65.1 (1998), 123–58; and Anthony Low, *The Georgic Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).
5. My approach to Schaw's *Journal* draws on recent work within cultural geography theorizing emotion in relationship to space and place, and Mary Favret's suggestive studies of war and affect in the Romantic period. 'Emotions', argue Joyce Davidson and Christine Milligan, 'might be seen as a form of connective tissue that links experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique with(in) broader social geographies of place': 'Embodying emotion sensing space: introducing emotional geographies', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5.4 (2004), 523–32; see also John Urry, 'The Place of Emotions within Place', in *Emotional Geographies*, ed. Smith Davidson and Bondi (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 78–83; Steve Pile, 'Emotions and Affect in Recent Human Geography', in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35.1 (2010), 5–20; Mary A. Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Mary A. Favret, 'War in the Air', *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly*, 65.4 (2004), 531–59.
6. This short biography is taken from a longer discussion of Schaw's West Indian travel writing in my forthcoming book *Women, Writing and Travel in the Eighteenth Century: 'The Paper Globe'* (to be published by Cambridge University Press in 2015).
7. Schaw was probably raised, or at least spent considerable time in Edinburgh: in the *Journal* she makes reference to a regular Assembly presided over by

Mrs Helen Nicholas Murray that was also attended by Boswell in 1769; Schaw also returned to live in fashionable St Andrew's square in the New Town after her journey. Her *Journal* is genuine; three manuscript copies, including one dedicated to Alexander, confirm its provenance. See also Introductory materials to the University of Nebraska edition by Evangeline Walker Andrews (*Journal*, 1–18) and Stephen Carl Arch (*Journal*, v–xi), and Deirdre Coleman's *Maiden Voyages and Infant Colonies: Two Women's Travel Narratives of the 1790s* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1999).

8. For the significant numbers and influence of indentured labourers in the American Colonies, particularly the southern plantations see Abbott Emerson Smith's *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).
9. *Journal*, 59. This image of sociability as a form of interpersonal musical harmony reprises Adam Smith's description of ideal social exchange in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*: 'The great pleasure of conversation and society, besides, arises from a certain correspondence of sentiments and opinions, from a certain harmony of minds, which like so many musical instruments coincide and keep time with one another'. See Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 399.
10. *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations ... By Mr Pope* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1720), 9.
11. Karl Marx (14th of April 1856 at a political meeting in London), quoted in Ben Anderson, 'Affective Atmospheres', *Emotion Space and Society*, 2 (2009), 77–81, at 77.
12. For the complexity of Scots and British identifications in the eighteenth century see Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *The English Historical Review*, 116.468 (2001), 863–93; Colin Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: The Scots Covenanting Tradition and the Eighteenth-Century British State', *The English Historical Review*, 117.474 (2002), 1147–76; Dalphy Fagerstrom, 'Scottish Opinion and the American Revolution', *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History* (1954), 252–75; and Dror Wahrman, 'The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 106.4 (2001), 1236–62.
13. Ned Landsman argues that Lowland Scots, like Schaw, were a distinctive group even among these complex Atlantic identifications: for Lowlanders 'access to England's overseas empire was among their principal motives for becoming Britons': see Landsman, 'Nation, Migration and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas 1600–1800', *The American Historical Review*, 104.2 (1999), 463–75; for the education of West Indian and colonial children see also Chloe Aubra Northrop, 'Education, Material Culture, and Coming of Age in Eighteenth-Century British Jamaica', *Traverse*, 2 (2013), 60–79.
14. Brooke N. Newman, 'Gender, Sexuality and the Formation of Racial Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Caribbean World', *Gender & History*, 22.3 (2010), 585–602. See also Sarah E. Yeh, "'A Sink of All Filthiness": Gender, Family, and Identity in the British Atlantic, 1688–1763', *Historian*, 68.1 (2006), 66–88; and Matthew P. Dziennik, 'Through an Imperial Prism: Land, Liberty, and Highland Loyalism in the War of American Independence', *Journal of British Studies*, 50.2 (April 2011), 332–58.
15. Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 222.

16. For Rosenwein's development of the model of emotional communities, see her *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49. 2 (2010), 237–65; and Barbara Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context*, 1 (2010), 1–32.
17. Elizabeth A. Bohls, 'The planter picturesque: Matthew Lewis's *Journal of a West India Proprietor*', *European Romantic Review*, 13 (2002), 63–76.
18. See Anthony Low, 'New Science and the Georgic Revolution in Seventeenth-Century English Literature', *English Literary Renaissance*, 13.3 (1983), 231–59, at 231. Perhaps significantly for Schaw's adoption of the mode in North Carolina at the moment of colonial fracture with Britain, Rachel Crawford locates the revitalization of the georgic mode more specifically with 'the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707, which made the notion of Great Britain possible' see Crawford, 'English Georgic and British Nationhood', 124.
19. Kurt Heinzelman, 'Roman Georgic in the Georgian Age: A Theory of Romantic Genre', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 33 (1991), 182–214, at 182.
20. Low, *Georgic Revolution*, 12.
21. Low, 'New Science', 237.
22. Low, 'New Science', 238.
23. Heinzelmann, 'Roman Georgic in the Georgian Age', 29.
24. Mary Favret identifies this 'absence' as a common – almost defining condition – of Romantic wartime: see Favret, *War at A Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Warfare* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009). Another significant absence in the *Journal* is any trace of American Indians: they are simply not there, past or present. Republican colonists assume the role of 'natives' both in Schaw's terminology and their negative relation to the land.
25. *Journal*, 90. In marked contrast to the early eighteenth-century image of the British Caribbean as 'a realm of loose morals, broken families, and genders turned upside down.' See Yeh, 'A Sink of All Filthiness', 66–88.
26. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).
27. *Journal*, 112; Schaw concedes: 'Why should we blame these people for their luxury? Since nature holds out her lap, filled with everything that is in her power to bestow, it were sinful for them not to be luxurious' (*Journal*, 95).
28. James Macpherson, *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted Against the Claims of America ...* (London: Cadell, 1776), 3, 8 and 10.
29. Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 97.
30. *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, 25.

13

The Grievable Life of the War-Correspondent: The Experience of War in Henry Crabb Robinson's Letters to *The Times*, 1808–1809

Neil Ramsey

Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno have both argued that during the twentieth century, war and its mediatization contributed to the atrophy of traditional experience.¹ They saw the newspapers as reproducing the overwhelming shock that the mechanization of war had inflicted upon the soldier's sensorium, leaving audiences in a state of numb and apprehensive distraction, unable to draw upon or integrate their wartime experiences with any form of collective memory or wisdom. In describing the operation of wartime media, however, their focus was squarely placed on the First and Second World Wars. Adorno felt that the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had still been communicable in traditional terms. As a growing number of commentators have argued, however, these earlier conflicts can be recognized as the first media wars, the first in which war was rendered into a daily consumable spectacle to meet an unprecedented demand for war news.² Coinciding with the birth of the reading nation in Britain, they were able to be apprehended in intimate detail through the daily papers, journals, prints, panoramas, and theatre. The wars established many of the patterns by which modern war continues to be viewed.³

It is notable, then, that they were also the first wars to witness the appearance of a war-correspondent, when Henry Crabb Robinson reported in Britain's leading daily paper, *The Times*, from 1808 to 1809 on the early stages of the Peninsular War in Spain. Despite being the first journalist employed to report on war, Robinson's reporting has received very limited attention.⁴ This is largely because he wrote little about his first-hand experiences of war or combat, his reporting principally providing *The Times* with intelligence he collected from local sources in Spain.⁵ His reporting, in this sense, has been disassociated from later war correspondence of the nineteenth century, such as William Howard Russell's eyewitness accounts of the British army's suffering during the Crimean War in the 1850s. So too, Robinson lacked the public profile or influence of these later reporters.

The term 'war-correspondent' was itself not used until 1843, while its very definition by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'a journalist engaged by a newspaper to send home first-hand descriptions of the fighting', points to our broader understanding that the war-correspondent is inherently defined by the act of witnessing military combat.⁶

Susan Sontag has argued, however, that in order to fully comprehend the violence of war we need to do more than simply reflect upon first-hand images of war's suffering, which can as readily support as contest military conflicts.⁷ Benjamin and Adorno's concerns with war news and modern war experience provide one such way to shift our focus away from Robinson's failure to specifically witness acts of violence. Instead, this chapter considers how his reporting relates to the 'structures of feeling' that were taking shape at this foundational moment of modern, mediatized war.⁸ Rather than read Robinson's war correspondence in relation to the revelation or concealment of truth, it will consider how Robinson's correspondence framed a more 'general understanding' of war's violence by drawing attention, to adopt Judith Butler's phrase, to the grievability of life in war.⁹ It thus reflects on the ways in which Robinson's very 'failure' to supply information nonetheless allows his writing to reframe exactly how we can see war correspondence operating in the Romantic-era newspaper, to reconceptualize his location as the first war-correspondent and, indeed, the very ways in which we have come to value war correspondence more generally.

The war correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson

Robinson was an inveterate journalist of his time; his 33 volumes of diaries from 1811 to 1867 comprise one of the most detailed and extensive accounts of British literary and artistic circles in the early years of the nineteenth century. Best remembered for his friendship with Romantic poets, most notably William Wordsworth, Robinson was himself an aspirant author who nevertheless failed to publish anything substantive outside of his *Memoirs*. After a series of isolated writing employments he finally embarked upon a career as a lawyer in 1813, an occupation in which he continued for the remainder of his professional life. His writing had, however, included a number of letters to *The Times* while travelling through Germany in 1807 that recounted details of Napoleon's military campaigns. Although his letters were unremarkable in themselves, similar to much other private correspondence from continental travellers that appeared in *The Times*, they appealed to the paper's editor, John Walter, who hired Robins on the following year as a 'sort of foreign editor' to cover the subsequent French occupation of Spain in 1808.¹⁰

Walter's eagerness to cover the Spanish war was prompted by the widespread eruption of sympathy in Britain for the Spanish cause. In order to enforce its continental system and so deprive Britain of trade partners in

Europe, France had invaded Britain's ally, Portugal, in 1807, occupying the country within a matter of weeks. With its armies now located in the Iberian Peninsula, France took the opportunity to turn on its own ally, Spain, deposing the Bourbon monarchy in favour of Napoleon's brother, Joseph. Outraged by such blatant betrayal, the Spanish nation was soon in rebellion, a development celebrated in Britain as evidence of popular hatred of Napoleon. A British expeditionary force was despatched to Portugal in 1808 that successfully liberated the country, albeit through the notoriously controversial Convention of Cintra that allowed the French army safe passage back to France. General Sir John Moore's subsequent campaign later in the year to support the Spanish national uprising was, however, a disaster. Encountering overwhelming resistance from the French and believing themselves unsupported by their new Spanish allies, the British were forced to retreat to the coastal port of Corunna in order to be conveyed home by the British navy in January 1809. Pursued closely by the French as they retreated across the appallingly harsh terrain of Spain's northern mountains in the dead of winter, hundreds of soldiers and followers of the British army were either captured or perished, General Moore himself being killed at the Battle of Corunna.¹¹

Because he was located at Corunna throughout the course of these events, Robinson was not a direct witness to any military actions during Moore's campaign. He was not even an eyewitness to the Battle of Corunna that was fought on the outskirts of the town as a rearguard action before the British army was evacuated. During his time in Spain, therefore, his role as a correspondent was to provide *The Times* with information about military events that he collected from local sources such as Spanish papers, private correspondence, or simply the citizens of Corunna. Overall, he provided *The Times* with nearly 20 separate letters between July 1808 and January 1809, all of which were organised by the paper under the headline 'private correspondence', along with the date of each letter and a subheading, either 'Shores of the Bay of Biscay' or, during January 1809, 'Corunna'. Each of his letters took up between one and two columns of a page in *The Times*, and they predominantly referred to the size and movements of the contending armies in Spain and to the outcome of battles and sieges. Typical of his reporting is Robinson's letter dated 4 August, which appeared in *The Times* eight days later on the 12 August. Here he reports:

Dispatches have just been received from the Gallician army, which is now stationed in Castile, announcing the very important fact of the retreat of Marshal Bessieres from Pelencia towards Burgos ... In addition to this intelligence, the correctness of which is not doubted, it is affirmed that the army entrenched within the walls or in the neighbourhood of Madrid, has already begun its retreat ... from the Asturias we have received letters which bespeak the partial emancipation of the province.¹²

As this excerpt suggests, the information that he provides on army movements is normally brief and factual. He also frequently comments upon the sources or veracity of the news he is reporting, pointing out whether reports he has received have been confirmed, are vague, or have been 'too readily inferred' from developments.

Frequently, however, Robinson broadens his commentary out from statement of facts to offer his own opinions and provide supplementary details. Reporting in his letter of 26 September, for example, he observes:

[General] Blake is cautiously proceeding towards the coast of Biscay. The want of cavalry is severely felt by him; but he has, nevertheless, advanced within seven or eight leagues of Bilboa, which town is probably by this time relieved from its oppressors. It is supposed that the French will withdraw their force from the coast, at least as far as Barcelona ... They have again abandoned Burgos, and it is imagined are stationed between Vittoria and Pampelona.¹³

Here he integrates facts about military movements with details on the state of Blake's army and suppositions on the likely future movements of the French. Robinson also frequently supplements his reports with reflection on the emotional responses of the local Spanish population to news of the war's progress. His letter of 2 August, for example, opens with a discussion of the 'public mind' of the Spanish around Corunna with the British army's entrance into Spain, which he sees as 'full of hope and joy'.¹⁴ He also frequently discusses the anxiety and anticipation felt by the Spanish as they wait for verifiable news. On 10 September, for example, he reports 'From Biscay, the fate of which province we reflect upon with melancholy concern, we hear nothing with any certainty'.¹⁵

At times, Robinson even provides anecdotes and comments that he describes as being irrelevant from a 'military point of view'.¹⁶ He reports, for example, on the French seizure of a small cache of arms at Bilboa, which, although having no bearing on the strategic direction of the conflict, compels him to ponder the suffering of those who may have been captured by the French.¹⁷ When the British army arrives in Corunna he describes the gloomy scene formed by the soldiers and terrified inhabitants.¹⁸ With the French fast approaching and so with little intelligence of events able to reach the town, his correspondence comes to focus on the arrival of the soldiers and even his own movements about their encampments. He does not witness combat, but does relate his reactions to the imminent arrival of the French, reporting, for example, the 'terror' he shared with others in Corunna upon mistaking the distant explosion of ammunition stores for gunfire.¹⁹ Robinson's final letter is dated 15 January 1809, written amidst this scene of apprehension and confusion as he waits to head home to England aboard a British naval ship.

Private correspondence and the experience of war

Such intermixture of private correspondence with the public reporting of events was, in itself, common for Romantic-era newspapers. While the publication of despatches from military commanders or government officials constituted the most authoritative and widely disseminated war news, daily newspapers were heavily reliant on private correspondence for their supply of wartime intelligence.²⁰ The early nineteenth-century newspaper lacked even the most rudimentary standardization in its structure so that each page confronted the reader with a miscellaneous collage of news, reports and advertisements.²¹ In the same edition as Robinson's correspondence on Moore's arrival in Corunna, for example, *The Times* also featured two private letters from Spain, official despatches about the evacuation of the British army, bulletins from France and Portugal and an editorial commentary on the suffering of soldiers during the retreat. Featured on the very same page as Robinson's correspondence were the shipping news, an account of a fire at St James's palace and a report on the price of stocks. This lack of a standardized structure was exacerbated by the publication of foreign intelligence, where reports hastily published were frequently incomplete or contradicted by later reports.²² The underlying form of the paper was, precisely, its formlessness.²³

Benjamin has argued that this foundational lack of coherence in modern newspapers points to the fundamental lack of coherence in modernity itself, a concern that Kevis Goodman has extended to the Romantic era when newspapers first began to attain a mass readership.²⁴ Rather than contributing to a reader's wisdom or sense of tradition, a capacity Benjamin links to the traditional story, the newspaper only reports 'information', which has limited value beyond the day in which it is reported and read. Of course, Benedict Anderson has argued that by virtue of reading the same paper each day and at the same time, a shared sense of simultaneity and hence mutual co-existence came to exist amongst all members of the reading nation. Yet because this reading occurs in isolated domestic spaces and the interiority of silent reading, the 'lair of the skull', it only produces an imagined community with unknown members of the nation.²⁵ It is, moreover, a community built upon what Anderson, drawing from Benjamin, terms the empty, homogenous time of the nation's daily progression. News information, in this sense, subjects a reader's consciousness to a repeated series of 'shocks', as each day starts anew with no intrinsic, meaningful relations to previous days.²⁶ Newspapers thus simulate the ways in which modern urbanisation and industrialism dislocated individuals from traditions and subjected them to automated, anonymous processes, whether the individual jostled by strangers in a crowded city street or the industrial worker subjected to the mechanical rhythms of clock time and machines.

While Benjamin intrinsically associated modern life with such shocks, this sense of being overwhelmed by stimulus had been most starkly visible,

however, with the First World War. The war had seen all received wisdom, tradition, and culture, or *Erfahrung*, contradicted by the horrors of industrial warfare and the strategic stalemate of global conflict.²⁷ Benjamin was indebted in his thought to Freud's analysis of trauma in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, which Freud had in large part developed in relation to his analysis of soldiers who returned traumatized from the war.²⁸ Viewing consciousness as, in effect, a shield that absorbed or integrated excessive stimuli, Freud argued that the traumas of the war pierced through consciousness to lodge as memory traces that were not fully comprehensible or integrated with experience. Trauma thus occurs where an individual is exposed to life-threatening events and accidents, or 'shocks', for which he or she was unprepared, and which manifest as unconscious symptoms rather than conscious experience.²⁹ Generalizing this basic identification of war trauma with shock, Benjamin saw war as contributing to modernity's contraction of experience to *Erlebnis*, experience which has become atomized, limited, and isolated in time, unable to provide any meaningful guidance for the future or to serve within an ongoing sense of tradition.

Benjamin's concern with the social influence of media forms, however, meant that he saw war reporting as central to this reduction of experience.³⁰ This underlying medial dimension can be seen in the way Adorno readily adapted Benjamin's views on war to the Second World War.³¹ The war had, Adorno believed, similarly defied 'traditional' experience through its almost complete mechanization of weapons and human conduct. War news, however, was central to this reproduction of the war as a 'timeless series of shocks' that left their audience in a perpetual state of apprehension and uncertainty, war reportage serving as 'another expression for desiccated experience'.³² Notably, therefore, Benjamin and Adorno both draw an analogy between the traumatic shock of the battlefield and the shock effect of information circulating in national newspapers. Both are still aware of the traumatic effects of combat on soldiers, Benjamin famously claiming that soldiers returned silent from the war, traumatized by an experience they found radically incomprehensible and incommunicable.³³ But rather than elaborate on the divide between the experienced soldier witness and a civilian audience naively ignorant about war's truth, they see the newspaper as reproducing war's traumatic impact for its readers. The unprecedented experiences of industrial warfare, its shocks, are repeated in the industrialized shock experience of reading about war in the newspapers. Adorno even argued, similarly to Benjamin, that the publication of war books after the First World War represented a painful reconstruction of an 'inauthentic' memory, experience itself having been eviscerated by the wars.³⁴ The soldier, as much as the civilian, is left silenced by war, unable to make sense of wartime events that only 'cohere' through their location within the calendric dating of a nation at war.

Such reflections enable a reconsideration of Robinson's status as the first war reporter by shifting focus away from any concern with what he

directly 'witnessed', to a consideration of how his reporting might similarly be viewed in relation to the mediated nature of wartime experience. As Reinhart Koselleck has argued at length, the era of the French Revolution marked a profound rupture in the nature of historical experience; it was a decisive moment in the elaboration of the new forms of experience outlined by Benjamin in his critique of modernity.³⁵ The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were, likewise, unprecedented in their ferocity, scale and national participation, not only the first total wars but the first to circulate as a mass media experience in which readers routinely saw their lives determined by battles fought on the other side of the world.³⁶ These earlier wars did not figure in Benjamin's analysis, however, as they predate the deployment of industrial technologies that Benjamin saw as central to the traumatic effects of modern war. If, as Adorno pointed out, the Second World War was fought by industrial machines, the cuirassiers and lancers of the earlier Napoleonic Wars evoked knights on horseback.³⁷ Contemporary reflection on the Napoleonic Wars, moreover, still commonly drew upon traditional forms of knowledge to interpret events, whether of myth, biblical frameworks, or a classicism that, for example, saw Napoleon figured as a resurgent Alexander the Great or Julius Caesar.³⁸ Adorno's belief that the Napoleonic Wars had been communicable in traditional terms points towards a degree of continuity in how these wars were understood by Robinson's contemporaries that might give pause as to exactly how to situate Robinson's war correspondence in relation to the burgeoning of newspaper information and its desiccation of experience.

It is possible to see the persistence of literary tropes, for example, in the outpouring of occasional poetry published in the papers during the wars. An intimate relation between poetry and journalism existed in Britain's papers of the Romantic era and as Betty Bennett has shown, a primary focus of such poetry was the ongoing war with France.³⁹ This was a body of work that responded to fragments and themes of war news by drawing on cultural traditions surrounding war, focussing in particular on the ways in which ordinary lives were caught up in war.⁴⁰ Such poetry sought to enable readers to imagine the field of battle, but it also dealt with war by drawing on an established wartime cast of orphans, itinerant soldiers, widows, and popular songs, operating in much the same way that Benjamin reads the traditional story.⁴¹ Bennett even likens this poetry to the ballad revival of the late eighteenth century both in its poetic forms and its choice of subject matter. Rather than reproducing war as the isolating shock of information, such poetry mixed present wartime experience with longstanding, shared cultural memories of war. As never before, therefore, '[t]he poets of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars brought closer together the experience of the subject of the poetry, the reader, and the poet'.⁴² It is even possible that many of those composing such poems and ballads were soldiers, themselves able to interpret war not as trauma but as part of a broader cultural memory.⁴³

Like the ballad revival more generally in the Romantic era, however, such poetry was less about the continuity of oral tradition than a remediation of that tradition within print.⁴⁴ Although Benjamin has been seen as overly nostalgic for an idealised community in his reflections on the loss of *Erfahrung*, commentators on his work have also stressed that he believed that the loss of tradition was inevitable. Rather, his primary concern was with questioning how exactly new media forms might recast or move beyond the atrophy of experience, how *Erlebnis* might be given the weight of *Erfahrung*, to above all survive the destruction waged on experience by modern war.⁴⁵ Indeed, he had argued that the newspapers might one day redeem themselves simply in so far as they enabled readers to become writers so that information was no longer tied to disciplinary expertise.⁴⁶ For Jacques Rancière, we can draw on Benjamin not in order to contemplate a return to an ideal of collective experience, but rather to recognize the potential for new experiences contained in the appearance of new media forms, such as, it could be added, that provided by the war-correspondent.⁴⁷ An individual's writing on war might be viewed not simply as contributing to information, the circulation of ever more rigorous or far reaching intelligence on war, but as a means for imagining alternative forms of wartime experience, historical agency, and participation.⁴⁸

Goodman has drawn on Benjamin's analysis of news and information to consider how an unsettled, multivalent experience of history, what she views as a discordant 'structure of feeling', emerges in Romantic-era news that is both articulated in and negotiated through innovations in Romantic poetry.⁴⁹ Mary Favret has adapted Goodman's concerns by considering how history circulating in the newspapers was principally a history of war. She examines the ways that we can see multiple and competing temporalities within the records of that wartime history, each one lodging a divergent structure of feeling that can block but also reveal unique experiences or allow recognition of shared histories that run across different wars.⁵⁰ By similarly counter-posing Robinson's private correspondence against the nationalized narrative and temporality of war reported in *The Times*, it is possible to question the structure of feeling and experiences that he brings to war as one such reader who became a writer, to consider whether his war correspondence simply produces 'information' or whether it provided some capacity to reconceptualize a life at war, offering its own temporal structure and sympathetic affects.

Reframing the war-correspondent

It would, of course, be easy to overstate the capacity of the Romantic era newspaper to allow readers to become writers and thus re-imagine their historical agency.⁵¹ Reported in Britain principally via *The Times*, the wars unfolded as an 'epistolical miscellany' of despatches, speeches, foreign

journal reports, and private letters, a miscellany that was, however, largely inseparable from the explanation that *The Times* offered of each piece through its editorial commentary.⁵² For Benjamin, news information is always 'shot through with explanation'.⁵³ Information not only exists entirely within a singular moment, but is presented from within a defining context that limits its capacity to be understood from multiple viewpoints. Offering explanation of the war in precisely these terms, *The Times* resolutely sought to guide its readers through the 'disparate and ... incoherent set of letters' that made up wartime news, its editorial voice providing what Favret describes as an 'abstract supervisory mind' that rendered news intelligible by explaining its contextual relation to the homogenous, empty time of the nation at war.⁵⁴ With *The Times* proclaiming that most media on the continent had come under French government control, to even be able to read private correspondence about the wars was coming to be seen as a peculiarly British liberty, the paper itself emerging as a new kind of war hero who could determine its truth for the nation.⁵⁵

The Times contracted Robinson in an effort to improve its capacity to provide readers with fast and reliable information about the war, but his reporting was not wholly subsumed by the paper's editorial explanations. Robinson's reporting is distinct from the mass of private correspondence that constituted wartime news because he not only provides information but also offers his own editorial commentary on the news. He explains reports, identifies sources of intelligences, offers opinions and reflects upon his own anxious suspense in waiting for news, thus echoing the editorial commentary offered by *The Times*. Robinson even reports at times that he has nothing to report – placing himself entirely within an editorial role rather than acting as a source of intelligence.⁵⁶ Notably too, Robinson not only provides editorial commentary, but his reporting occurs in a regular serialized form through multiple editions of the paper. Robinson's editorial voice unfolds through time, forging its own narrative in distinction to that offered by *The Times* in making sense of the war.

Robinson's reporting thus brings the reader into intimate contact with Robinson himself. As he reports the arrival of Moore's retreating army in Corunna in January 1809, so he moves into contact with war as an immediate and at times frightening prospect. In his letter of 8 January he reports:

The continual arrival of British cavalry, some wounded, many sick, all fatigued and emaciated, forebode too clearly the approach of an enemy ... Our streets swarm, as a few weeks since, with English Officers; but the gaiety and splendour which graced their first entrance into Spain, have given way to a mien and air certainly more congenial with the horrid business of war.⁵⁷

Partly, Robinson's comments echo what had emerged as a broader national understanding of these developments in the campaign. Through its editorial

commentary, *The Times* similarly interpreted Moore's retreat to Corunna as a shift in the nation's wartime mood from enthusiastic hope of victory to a subdued grief and renewed national determination to defeat France. Yet however much the narrative development of Robinson's letters conforms to that of *The Times*, his letters also generate their own narrative structure, one in which war becomes less distant and abstract as it becomes more threatening, immediate and pervasive, appearing ultimately as an atmosphere of 'affliction and gloom'.⁵⁸ Rather than replicate a nationalized narrative, what he elsewhere refers to as the feelings of the 'public mind', he also exhibits his own growing apprehensiveness in the face of war's violence and the immediate impact of the 'horrid business of war' and its 'tale of horror'. He opens his letter of 6 January to announce that everything had changed – the citizens of Corunna are no longer alarmed for the fate of the country, but rather, are concerned simply for the town and their own safety, while any attempt to make sense of proceedings means looking into a 'distance' of 'uncertainty and obscurity'.⁵⁹ As ever more soldiers arrive in Corunna, so war becomes for Robinson an 'ominous scene', 'melancholy picture', or foreboding atmosphere of 'apprehension'.⁶⁰ He is submersed into an intimately immediate experience of war that he shares with the terrified inhabitants of Corunna.

The rationale of his assignment to Spain was that by being closer to war he would render it more intelligible, his correspondence in this sense participating in the production of news information about war. Yet Robinson's growing proximity to war is the very thing that renders it increasingly resistant to 'explanation'. He is unable to relate a narrative of war's progress and war appears in his final letters instead as a mode of affect in which he serves as an emotional more than an eye witness. He even at times declines to provide information altogether, choosing to withhold the names of officers who may have been killed on the retreat because he is 'unwilling to trust to verbal report' where it may disturb the 'feelings of individuals' who read his correspondence.⁶¹ He eventually embarks from Corunna on a British naval ship, only to have his final letter record his unexpected return to the town due to an 'untoward accident'.⁶² This letter is accompanied by *The Times's* editorial explanation of his unexpected return, the first such explanation of one of his letters, yet *The Times* is unable to work him back into a narrative of war and can only find value in his last letter as an 'interesting picture'.⁶³ Concluding well before the end of the war itself, which would rage for a further five years, Robinson's correspondence forms its own temporal arc out of his uncertain and anxious departure from the scene of war.

The Times's designation of Robinson's writing as private correspondence was a reference to its originating from a private individual rather than a government official or military commander. Private, in this sense, was not meant to imply that his letters were of a more intimate or personal nature than those of individuals acting in a public capacity. Yet as they come to

offer their own vision of war, so Robinson's letters behave more like private correspondence in the private sphere, where letters arrive from a correspondent in a more or less sequential manner and so help a reader to form or sustain a relationship with a correspondent. Behaving as an exemplary instance of such private correspondence, his reporting in effect reproduced *The Times's* own editorial voice which, Favret notes, similarly transformed the war into a kind of epistolary novel.⁶⁴ Yet where *The Times* functioned as an 'abstract, supervisory mind' as it explained news information to the nation, Robinson provides an individuated and affective experience of war. A narrative structure emerges out of his reporting that reflects the metafictional structure of Romantic irony. Although there are lengthy and complex discussions surrounding the theorization of Romantic irony, which there is little room here to explore in depth, in its simplest form it refers to writing in which the narrator becomes a protagonist in his or her own narration, thus calling into question the fictionality of a narrative and the boundaries between the world of the reader and that of the narration.⁶⁵ Robinson shifts in just such a way from a narrator to a protagonist within his own narrative, appearing as an embodiment of the abstract editorial voice he was supposed to maintain.

Paul Fussell has argued that war is always ironic because it is always worse than expected.⁶⁶ Although, similarly to Benjamin, he views the First World War as the most ironic because it was the most unprecedented, his views have come to underpin understanding of how the writing of all war's witnesses overturn myths and illusions about war through an ironic exposure of war's horror.⁶⁷ That Britain's wars had already become fundamentally mediatized by the time Robinson wrote his reports, was a development that could lend an almost mythological status to such acts of viewing war at first-hand.⁶⁸ Yet Robinson's correspondence sits awkwardly in line with this privileging of first-hand experience of war's truths. He recognizes the 'horrid business of war', yet, so too, he fails to witness war as anything more than an oppressive atmosphere. He is, indeed, plunged into the very uncertainties that constitute the daily experience of those who can only read about war, a world determined as much by the affects generated by media itself as those surrounding the course of the war, affects of rumour, supposition, apprehension and frustration as much as national jubilation or despondency.⁶⁹ Robinson's reporting at best offers a vestigial or even a failed version of the kind of ironic revelation that Fussell describes. But Benjamin and Adorno can help us see a certain 'failure' of this ironic mode itself, that it reproduces war's trauma in ways that leave its experience isolated in time and unable to build shared knowledge of war. As Lynne Hanley argues, following Fussell's analysis we have come to understand war witnessing through a 'structure of feeling' in which war is always defined through an ironic loss of innocence, with the result being that '[a]fter war after war after war, that innocence is recreated which the next war will destroy'.⁷⁰ From this perspective the

writing of war's witnesses, for all their revelation of war's truth, can do little to offer wisdom or guidance to those who will experience the next war. It does not then matter what Robinson witnessed; that he has also been occluded from our cultural memories of war even suggests that he could be rethought as an archetype of the war-correspondent – a figure bound up with the production of information and who cannot, therefore, offer insight beyond his own moment in history.

Yet if the war witness has produced a dominant structure of feeling that precludes the formation of shared experience surrounding war, might we then find value in Robinson's very failure to witness war as anything more than an atmosphere? Is it possible to see a distinct temporality in Robinson's letters, with its own structure of feeling that might allow us to recognize a shared history with his wartime experience? In her similar concerns with how images of war's horror produce discrete shocks (albeit in reference to war photography), Sontag argues that we can only resist war through narratives that interpret its suffering, that we need to move from specific images to develop a general and hence shared understanding of human suffering in war.⁷¹ Reflecting on Sontag's claims, Judith Butler has argued, however, that we do not need to see interpretation as a deliberate, subjective act, but can also recognize it taking place 'by virtue of the structuring constraints of genre and form on the communicability of affect'.⁷² Interpretation occurs through the normative schemes of intelligibility or frames that surround media images and reports of war, directing what can be seen and heard of war and allowing recognition of lives caught up in war as grievable or worthy of our sympathy.⁷³ The structure of Robinson's correspondence offers something like this interpretation of war as he shifts *The Times's* designation or framing of his writing as 'private correspondence'. Robinson's private correspondence comes to resemble the personal intimacy of private letters in ways that resist explanation within the terms of a nationalized narrative of war.

Robinson's correspondence might not directly or consciously interpret war or provide narrative coherence, as Sontag hopes, but it reframes war by foregrounding at least one grievable life, with its own temporal co-ordinates and affective mode. Robinson appeared again in print later in 1809, when he reviewed several responses to the Spanish campaign on which he had reported, including Wordsworth's writing on the Convention of Cintra and several collections of letters by British eyewitnesses to the events.⁷⁴ Reporting on the wars in markedly similar ways to Robinson, as a sequence of intimately private letters, these collections represent some of the first efforts in Britain to document a military campaign from a personal, rather than military historical, perspective.⁷⁵ Himself supportive of the war and Wordsworth's impassioned enthusiasm for its continuation, Robinson dismissed the collections because they offered an overly private, and defeatist, version of events. He does, however, acknowledge their capacity to work on the public mind, to encourage the reader to 'sympathise with the sufferings,

really severe, which the British soldier endured and of which it must be very gratifying to read a minute and heart-rending description'.⁷⁶ Robinson may have dismissed these collections of letters, and even sought to ensure that any sympathy they fostered was redirected into nationalist sentiments via support for British soldiers, but their appearance in the wake of his reporting suggests that his correspondence had opened up war to multiple perspectives and a wider recognition of sympathetic, grievable lives. His correspondence could be seen to have prompted a broader reconceptualization of war in relation to private lives and a human scale.

While such a reframing of war resembles the ironic mode Fussell describes, Robinson does not expose the illusions of a national narrative of war by revealing its shocking and horrifying truth. His Romantic irony exposes the fictionality of a narrative surrounding war simply by allowing his readers to see the life upon which that narrative was dependent. He disrupts the coherence of a national narrative of war with an apprehensive feeling of war, a feeling that was constructed, as it was for his readers, out of his own uncertainty, and confusion in the face of war news. We might reconsider the value of the war-correspondent, then, by shifting focus away from concerns with the truth of the war witness and the circulation of specific images of combat that, to follow Benjamin, operate by recreating the shock of the battlefield and its atrophy of experience. We can also locate the value of this correspondence in the ways that it enables the circulation of distinct temporalities, lives and shared understanding within war. It is in this sense that we might see war correspondence helping to form a general understanding of war's suffering across history.

Notes

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1. W. Benjamin, 'The Storyteller', in *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt and trans. H. Zohn (London: Fontana, 1973), 83–109; T. Adorno, 'Far From the Firing Line', in *Minima Moralia*, trans. A. Bunden (1951) <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1951/mm/ch01.htm> Accessed 14 November 2013. For a brief discussion of the relationship between Adorno and Benjamin on war and experience, see M. Jay, 'Is Experience Still in Crisis? Reflections on a Frankfurt School Lament', in *Cambridge Companion to Adorno*, ed. T. Huhn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 129–30.
2. See J. Christensen, *Romanticism at the End of History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000); M. Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010); J. Mieszkowski, *Watching War* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012). For a much earlier, yet still valuable account, see J. Matthews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).
3. Mieszkowski, *Watching War*.

4. In 1793, John Bell had reported in a series of letters for the *Oracle* on Britain's campaign in the Low Countries, but unlike Robinson he had not been hired by the paper to act as a foreign correspondent. See Matthews, *Reporting the Wars*, 41–3.
5. Matthews, *Reporting the Wars*, 197.
6. 'War-correspondent'. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921) <http://www.oed.com.rp.nla.gov.au/> Accessed 28 November 2013.
7. S. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003), 103.
8. L. Hanley, *War Writing: Fiction, Gender and Memory* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 27. The phrase originates with Raymond Williams; for recent discussions in relation to war writing of the Romantic era, see M. Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010).
9. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 103; J. Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006).
10. H. C. Robinson. *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-law. F.S.A, Selected and Edited by Thomas Sadler*, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Company, 1869), 263.
11. For an account of the campaign, see C. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).
12. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Shores of the Bay of Biscay', *The Times*, 12 August (1808).
13. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Shores of the Bay of Biscay', *The Times*, 7 October (1808).
14. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Shores of the Bay of Biscay', *The Times*, 12 August (1808).
15. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Shores of the Bay of Biscay', *The Times*, 26 September (1808).
16. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Shores of the Bay of Biscay', *The Times*, 3 September (1808).
17. *Ibid.*
18. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 23 January (1809).
19. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 23 January.
20. Matthews, *Reporting the Wars*, 197.
21. K. Goodman, *Georgic Modernity and British Romanticism: Poetry and the Mediation of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 74.
22. J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 91.
23. R. Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 122.
24. Benjamin, 'The Storyteller'; W. Benjamin, 'Some Motifs in Baudelaire', *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt and trans. H. Zohn (London: Fontana, 1973), 157–202; Goodman, *Georgic Modernity*, 74–8 and 98–101.
25. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).
26. W. Benjamin, 'Some Motifs in Baudelaire'; R. Wolin, 'The Disintegration of Experience. From "Benjamin's Materialist Theory of Experience"', *Theory and Society*, 11.1 (1982), 21–7.
27. W. Benjamin, 'The Storyteller'.
28. See A. Meek, *Trauma and Media: Theories, Histories, and Images* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 95.
29. C. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996), 59–60. Freud himself identified a modern

element to trauma, specifically linking trauma to mechanical concussions, such as rail accidents, or industrial war, while seeing the symptoms of trauma, the repetitive dreams of visions of the traumatic event, as an unconscious mechanism for mastering unprepared for shocks.

30. B. Witte, 'Literature as the Medium of Collective Memory: Reading Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*, "Der Erzähler", and "Das Paris des Second Empire bei Baudelaire"', in *A Companion to the Works of Walter Benjamin*, ed. R. J. Goebel (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), 91–111, at 96.
31. Adorno, 'Far From the Firing Line'.
32. Ibid.
33. W. Benjamin, 'The Storyteller', 84.
34. Adorno, 'Far From the Firing Line'. Adorno adds that during the Second World War, soldiers and civilians alike had become actors in a 'phony' documentary film, pre-empting Baudrillard's later claims about the media environment of the Gulf War in J. Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, trans. and intro. Paul Patton (Sydney: Power Publications, 1995).
35. R. Koselleck, *Future's Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. and intr. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). On the relationship between Koselleck's views of the French Revolutionary era and Benjamin's analysis of experience, see P. Osborne. 'Modernity is a Qualitative, Not a Chronological, Category', *New Left Review*, 192 (1992), 65–84.
36. J. Mulrooney, 'Reading the Romantic-period Daily News', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 24.4 (2002), 351–77, at 371.
37. Adorno, 'Far From the Firing Line'.
38. On Napoleon, see S. Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 13; on prophecies in relation to the wars, see Favret, *War at a Distance*, 81–97.
39. M. Favret, 'War and Everyday Life in Britain', in *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775–1815*, ed. R. Chickering and S. Förster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 395–410, at 403–4; B. T. Bennett, 'Introduction' to *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793–1815. With a New Bibliography of Additional Poems* (2004). Digital Text ed. Oriane Smith. Electronic ed. <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/warpoetry> Accessed 14 November 2013.
40. On this point, see also N. Hessel. 'The Opposite of News: Rethinking the 1800 "Lyrical Ballads" and the Mass Media', *Studies in Romanticism*, 45.3 (2006), 331–55.
41. On how poetry can be seen as similar to Benjamin's conception of the story, in its relation to the news, see J. Ramazani, "'To Get the News from Poems": Poetry as Genre', in *A Companion to Poetic Genre*, ed. E. Martiny (Chichester; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 5–6.
42. Bennett, 'Introduction', to *British War Poetry*.
43. R. Palmer, *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 273.
44. On the ballad revival, see Maureen N. McLane, *Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
45. A. Benjamin 'Tradition and Experience: Walter Benjamin's Some Motifs in Baudelaire', in *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin*, ed. A. Benjamin (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 133; H. Caygill, *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 31–3.
46. W. Benjamin, 'The Newspaper', *Selected Writings: 1931–1934*, ed. M. W. Jennings, H. Eiland, and G. Smith and trans. Rodney Livingstone et al. Vol 2, Part 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 741–2.

47. J. Rancière, G. Arnall, L. Gandolfi, and E. Zaramella, 'Aesthetics and Politics Revisited: An Interview with Jacques Rancière', *Critical Inquiry*, 38.2 (2012), 289–97, at 297.
48. Goodman, *Georgic Modernity*, 75–6.
49. Goodman, *Georgic Modernity*.
50. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 49–59.
51. Goodman, *Georgic Modernity*, 76.
52. M. Favret, 'War Correspondence: Reading Romantic War', *Prose Studies*, 19.2 (1996), 173–85, at 178.
53. W. Benjamin, 'The Storyteller', 89. Judith Butler has, however, drawn on Benjamin to argue that such context fails to ever fully delimit the meanings of war reportage, although her arguments are specifically focussed on war photography and its technical reproducibility. See J. Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2010), 9.
54. Favret, 'War Correspondence', 180–1.
55. 'London', *The Times*, 9 September (1808); Favret, 'War Correspondence', 180.
56. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 9 January (1809).
57. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 23 January (1809).
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 26 January (1809).
61. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 23 January (1809).
62. H. C. Robinson, 'Private Correspondence: Corunna', *The Times*, 26 January (1809).
63. *Ibid.*
64. Favret, 'War Correspondence', 181.
65. R. Immerwahr, 'The Practice of Irony in Early German Romanticism', in *Romantic Irony*, ed. F. Garber (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1988), 82.
66. P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7.
67. Fussell, *The Great War*, 33.
68. Mieszkowski, *Watching War*, 26.
69. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 15.
70. Hanley, *War Writing*, 27.
71. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 103; Butler, *Frames of War*, 67. Sontag's position does appear somewhat contradictory, however, as she also argues that we cannot imagine the horrors experienced by those who have been to war, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 113. For a fuller discussion of the complexity in Sontag's views on war photography, see Mieszkowski, *Watching War*, 134–43.
72. Butler, *Frames of War*, 67.
73. J. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 146–7.
74. H. C. Robinson, 'On the Spanish Revolution', *The London Review*, 2.4 (1809), 231–75.
75. On the campaign narratives appearing in Britain during the Peninsular War, see N. Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 33–41.
76. H. C. Robinson, 'On the Spanish Revolution', *The London Review*, 2.4 (1809), 273.

14

Afterword: Locating Emotions, Locating Wars

Mary Favret

Rage opens *The Iliad*. Here is Robert Fagles' English translation: 'Rage – Goddess, sing of the rage of Pelus's son, Achilles'.¹ Western culture's epic story of war begins with the emotion of an individual mortal and ends 24 books later with the burial of Achilles' Trojan rival, Hector. 'The rage of Achilles', writes Bernard Knox, '– its cause, its course and its disastrous consequences – is the theme of the poem, the mainspring of its plot'.² That one word, rage, looms then balloons into something much larger than Achilles himself. The presence of rage spawns a full world of emotions – fear, panic, despair, love, hatred, grief, pity, fascination, lust, resentment, awe, respect, pride – radiating from Achilles to his fellow Achaeans and enemy Trojans, even to the gods themselves. The poem offers a map of common emotions grown monumental, each a definite location on that map, a node in the larger drama. For Homer, mapping the world of emotion means mapping a world at war. Rage invites us into the all-encompassing world of epic warfare – its causes, its course, and its disastrous consequences. Like war, and inextricably bound to it, the emotion of rage in *The Iliad* both composes and shreds the map of the world.

In *The Iliad*, rage appears to sustain the epic representation of war and when rage wanes the 'terrible poem' can end.³ The late, magnificent set-piece of the epic shows Achilles moved to pity for Priam, king of Troy and father of his slain rival, Hector. Achilles shields the old man from the sight of his son's mutilated corpse:

He [Achilles] feared that, overwhelmed by the sight of Hector,
Wild with grief, Priam might let his anger flare,
and Achilles might fly into fresh rage himself,
cut the old man down and break the laws of Zeus. (607; Book 24, lines
684–87)

The danger is that any intensification of feeling might spiral into rage. Here rage is called forth by other emotions: in this instance, shock and grief

threaten to unleash new rage and thus new violence. The hero's foresight (his ability, as the wording suggests, to imagine Priam's feelings, but also his own: he casts himself in the third person) fends off the threat. Instead, Achilles and Priam both relinquish rage, allowing a 12-day reprieve from the fighting and allowing the epic to close. We learn two things here. First: the waning of rage may signal the end of *this* story, this grand work of art, but the Trojan War will continue, adventures and disasters will go on pursuing the Greek warriors even after Achilles's death. And second: the feeling of rage may catalyze the epic, but rage is just as likely to be the product of other emotions. No single causal sequence plots the emotional dynamics: is rage the *prima causa* of the epic, or its ground, or just another node on the map, crossed and re-crossed by lines leading toward and away from endless other emotional nodes?

The Iliad raises fundamental questions about the intimate relationship between emotion and war and its instability, questions which surface repeatedly in Western culture, as evidenced by the essays collected here. Already Homer confronts us with a question about the representation of emotion: *where* is emotion in war? How do we (how does anyone) locate it spatially? On the battlefield? In the tent or the prison? On the home front? On Mt. Olympus? In the atmosphere or 'climate'? If we move past geographical location, we need also ask, as Andrew Lynch does in his essay, where and by whom are the emotions of war felt? On the one hand we have a clear indication that the rage that initiates *The Iliad* is Achilles's rage, proper to him. Yet rage seems also to engulf entire armies, hardly separable from the impersonal 'force' which, Simone Weil has argued, governs the poem, converting men into senseless things.⁴ Homer in fact tends both to personify (as divinities) and objectify (as sheer force) emotions like rage. Book IV for instance finds the individual Greek leaders repeatedly erupting in anger against each other until heaven-sent Strife channels their ire against the Trojans:

and Terror and Rout and relentless Strife stormed too,
 - sister of man-slaughtering Ares, Ares' comrade-in-arms –
 Strife, only a slight thing when she first rears her head
 but her head soon hits the sky as she strides across the earth.
 Now Strife hurled down the leveller Hate amidst both sides,
 Wading in the onslaught, flooding men with pain. (160, IV: 511–16).

Emotionally charged yet not quite an emotion, 'Strife' performs many functions in this passage. It describes an objective state – the conflict on the ground – as well as a less tangible mood or condition that produces that state and its corollary feelings: hate, pain.⁵ Strife is also 'She', who has relationships in the way humans might (she is a sister and comrade-in-arms) as well as quasi-human agency (she strides and hurls and wades and rears her head). But then 'storming' and 'flooding' she/it also moves as a natural,

impersonal force. The metaphorical registers are tough to pin down – as is Strife itself, which begins as ‘a slight thing’ and swells enormous, filling earth and sky.⁶ Emphasis falls on the extraordinary mutability between what is acted and what is felt, what is personal and impersonal, embodied and disembodied, tangible and atmospheric, here and everywhere. Homer need not remind his audience that it was Strife (the Greek divinity Eris) who, feeling slighted, threw the Apple of Discord into a wedding party and thus, in at least one account, launched the Trojan War. (No wonder, as Katrina O’Loughlin shows, that Alexander Pope struggles to pin down Strife, or Discord, in his own ‘Windsor- Forest’, a poem celebrating peace after military victory:

In brazen bonds, shall barbarous Discord dwell;
Gigantic Pride, pale Terror, gloomy Care,
And mad Ambition shall attend her there. (O’Loughlin, 355).

But even here the mention of Discord breeds still more emotion: pride, terror, care). Is Strife – its cause, course and disastrous consequences – another origin for the war, or is it, like Rage, ever-shifting: internal and external to the fighting, exactly here in this one place and everywhere at once? Where does Strife or Rage come from? And where does it go? One place Strife and Rage go together, perhaps, is into the figure of Fury, examined in James Simpson’s essay here, ‘Pale Fire’. Detached from a heavenly source, Fury emerges in Lydgate’s ‘Siege of Thebes’ (1421–22) from purely human origins, even as it is associated with ‘historical determinism’.

When we turn away from Homer’s representations of emotion and war to their progeny in the medieval and early modern texts discussed in this collection, again we perceive how both terms defy simple placement in a Cartesian grid. Anamorphosis, with its radical upheaval of perspective, seems a more appropriate figure. Reading William Worcester’s fifteenth-century *Boke of Noblesse*, for instance, Catherine Nall tracks its rhetorical strategies – apostrophe, exhortation, etc. – to remind us that accounts of war not only depict but also produce emotional responses to warfare. Language aims to extract feeling from the scene of battle and its participants in order to transfer the intensity of feeling to a reading audience, imagined as a collective ‘people’ – as if the text itself were a porous medium for emotion. Porous, but not passive. Even as it conveys forceful feeling, Worcester’s rhetoric filters and transforms it: his goal is not to re-produce feelings of ‘doloure, anguisshe, and hevynesse’ but re-direct them to feelings of anger, indignation, and courage. Even as he exhorts the English to take back their lost lands, Worcester re-situates what Nall calls the ‘emotional landscape’. The *Boke of Noblesse* wants to effect in its readers ‘the kind of emotional change and transformation’ that will carry them into a new military campaign. A similarly concerted effort re-paints the ‘emotional landscape’ in

the patriotic, panegyric early eighteenth-century poems considered here by Abigail Williams. Williams shows how the sublime mode in particular is 'intrinsically connected to money, politics and patronage'.⁷ Laundered in these various ways, emotion retreats from, only to return to, the battlefield.

Though this may seem a stable (if lamentable) circuit, Worcester's text for instance betrays the difficulty of guiding the movements of emotion or, for that matter, warfare. At times, Nall suggests, Worcester's writing replicates the failures of the Lancastrian campaigns in France, his 'already rather torturous prose breaking down under the weight of extreme emotional pressure', as if syntax should suffer the crush of English defeat. Worcester's strategy appears to depend on an easy equation between the feeling of the reading audience and what Nall calls 'the nation' or 'people', but also on the concept of a generic 'every man'. In one particular moment of 'emotional transformation', Worcester unleashes other transformations as well. He bids 'every man' to exchange his 'passions of doloure' for liveliness, eager courage, manliness and fierceness, but that conversion requires another. 'Every man' must follow 'after the condition of the lion' for such feelings constitute 'vertu in the lion' and thus the virtue of 'all tho[se] that haunten armes'. The switch to animal sensibilities occurs again when Worcester urges 'you', the reader, to be 'furious, egre, and rampanyng [ramping; standing up in attack] as liouns' and to respond like a boar which, seeing its own blood, rouses itself to its full power and rage. In short, the imagined transfer of emotion not only travels through and between human individuals and collectives, it crosses between species; it invades the very structures of language. The charge or intensity remains, but the quality, character and form of feeling are restless and erratic.

A comparably vexed strategy appears in Joseph Addison's poetic tribute to the Duke of Marlborough, *The Campaign* (1704), presented in Williams' essay. Placing his hero on the field of battle, 'unmoved/amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair', Addison chooses an epic simile to depict what we might take as the warrior's emotional state:

So when an Angel by Divine Command
With rising Tempests shakes a guilty Land,
Such as o'er late o'er pale *Britannia* past,
Calm and Serene he drives the furious Blast;
And, pleas'd th'Almighty's Orders to perform,
Rides in the Whirl-wind, and directs the Storm. (14)

The concern here is that unmoved, the warrior has lost all humanity and human feeling: the simile transforms him into a heaven-sent Angel (remember *Strife*?). Marlborough has no inner state; his agency and feeling are absorbed into divine will. At the same time the emotional impact of the passage – and with it war itself – is converted into the physical destruction

wrought by nature: whirlwinds and storms. Caught between the supernatural and natural, where have war and emotion gone?

As the image of whirlwind suggests, perhaps the intensity of emotion, rather than the character of specific emotions, grants it affinity with warfare: as a metaphor, 'whirlwind' not only swirls all feeling together, it also elides feeling with the destructive violence of war. In Nall's account of Worcester, rhetoric works to elicit both strong pity and righteous anger from its readers, but in provoking intense feeling the text has to work to keep the two types distinct. Feeling's disrespect for boundaries produces tension here as well, for pity and anger can swerve from their appointed targets. Pity for discharged soldiers and devastated civilians could lose out to an anger that elevates into stunning rage, as we see with Achilles. On the other hand the noble soldier, though called to a proper sense of indignation and military courage, may feel called by pity to stay his hand and forgive his enemy. The boundary between strong emotions, then, can give way under force. If man can become a boar, a lion or an angel; if lamentation can be turned to 'ire', can pity be turned to ferocity? Or hatred to mercy? Rhetorical and aesthetic form works to express, elicit and direct emotion: but what if form, like so many other things in war, breaks down?

One attempt to pin down emotion in war is to isolate it. Isolation pulls emotion away from the strife of contending feelings that often characterize the battlefield. Additionally it removes emotion from the miasmic ubiquity associated with a general mood. Placing emotion even metaphorically in, say, a heart permits a reader to imagine a stable location for feeling – especially if that heart resides in a particular body. When, in Stephanie Downes's essay, Charles d'Orléans writes love poems as a prisoner of war, his very imprisonment lends a simplicity or clarity to his expression. Written at once from his heart and his prison, Charles's language of love gains sympathy precisely because it seems forever immobilized and internalized, hopeless of change. It can barely imagine any response – any feeling beyond its walls that will resonate with a similar intensity. Often Charles seems to be speaking only to himself in his lyrics; at other times, he uses apostrophe to address some inaccessible correspondent: 'O Fortune!' 'O Peace!' The movement of feeling in one ballad is particularly poignant, as each time the speaker's sighs reach out – toward 'Peace', 'Hope' or 'France' – they are pulled back at the end of each stanza to his own isolated 'heart'. At last the poet concludes that War itself blocks any emotional connection except, perhaps, hatred.

I hate war, have no reason to esteem it.

War has, rightly or wrongly, long made it difficult for me

To look at France, which my heart should love!⁸

Here we see emotion pulling away from classical representation toward something we recognize as more modern, which is to say more privatized and

psychologized. That shift in presentation and location, even as it seems to stabilize emotion, though, threatens to make feeling inert. Rather than catalyzing other emotions or filling and destroying worlds, the feelings of Charles d'Orléans' heart feed upon themselves, deprived of other nourishment.⁹

Of course, the form of the lyric already colours Charles's feelings in the tones of the personal, his vision of love and longing at best serves, Downes shows, as allegory for the endless fighting of the Hundred Years' War. Still, we observe in the subsequent centuries an increased desire to restrict feeling to the interiority of the human heart, soul or psyche. That narrowing restriction seems to abandon allegory for a much closer intimacy between emotion and war. Present in ancient times and revived by Renaissance humanists such as Erasmus and his circle, was a dramatically different way of looking at the emotion at work within any given individual:

Man is a battlefield within himself: reason is at war with the passions and these are in conflict with each other, when duty calls him in one direction and desire pulls him in another, and in addition he is swayed this way and that by lust, anger, ambition, and service. (Hiscock, 249)

As Hiscock stresses, references to such 'psychomachic struggle' started appearing prior to the Reformation and for some time afterward. Renaissance humanists suggested, Hiscock tells us, 'the perilous nature of the remorselessly changeful "passions" to which humanity was condemned in this mortal world – a world, which John Colet stressed, 'where all is black and cold, all naturally conflicting and opposed'. It's as if the political and religious conflicts of the era had invaded, or perhaps been distilled into, a theory of human emotion, a theory where both passion and reason remain forever locked in battle. This is not the model one finds in Homer, where emotions move and change restlessly but freely, and extend out into the world as readily as they reach into man or men or gods or nature. Note too that the notion of feelings moving between individuals or among collectives vanishes in this later account: the epic battle is fought within. Psychomachic warring dramatically shifts the ground of warfare to private and moral terrain.

Of course the humanists were aiming to understand human behaviour in a fallen world; their goal was not in this instance to write a history of battle or recount their experience of a campaign, let alone raise armies. Still, they articulated a powerful and influential understanding of emotions that kept the 'passions' fully within the realm of war, now understood in an inescapably personal way.¹⁰

Restricting the motion of emotions to 'each' individual psyche certainly brings us closer to modern concepts of sympathy where, as Adam Smith proposed in the mid-eighteenth century, we imagine a one-to-one correspondence between what each of us feels and what we observe in each other

person, putting ourselves in the other's shoes (and those shoes can fit only one of us at a time).¹¹ Smith develops his theory of 'moral sentiment' to propose that I imagine my own feelings as an 'impartial spectator' might, whose external view of me will help me regulate my passions. As James Chandler has recently argued, Smith thus articulated a 'new moral order' where a feeling or 'sentimental heart' could bring peace to the stubborn conflict the humanists perceived between mind and matter, reason and passion.¹² In a sense, 'sentiment' is the refined product which civilization has brought forth and separated from a cruder 'passion'; emotion, in this model, might be seen as the untreated element prior to this work of separation (like whole milk before it is made into butter and whey). Performing within a highly regulated system of cultural norms (which bear similarities to the 'market' as Smith had theorized it), and readily adapted to the emergence of mass media (print in the eighteenth century, and film in the twentieth) a 'sentimental heart' could, Chandler notes, provide a safe bridge between individual and social 'feeling'.

It is helpful to think of sentiment as a socio-cultural system of feeling, rather than a feeling per se. We can see its work in the last essay of the collection, Neil Ramsey's account of Henry Crabb Robinson as the 'first war correspondent'. Robinson's letters to *The Times*, written during the early stages (1808–09) of the Peninsular War, communicated little in the way of information but a great deal of his own, felt experience of war. Robinson's report as witness quickly mutates into the testimony of a sufferer beset with an uncertainty, apprehension, and sense of impotence not unlike the feelings of the local population. 'One grievable life' in this war – in this instance Robinson's representation of his own terrified state – 'communicates affect' to the paper's readers, satisfying the system of one-to-one sentimental identification.

Ramsey uses Robinson's Romantic-era journalism to open a door in our understanding of war correspondence – as well as war emotion – in the mass media, already a force in the Napoleonic era. Important mid-twentieth-century work by Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno, Ramsey explains, has perceived war journalism, produced within the mechanism of the daily news media, as replicating the 'series of shocks' (Benjamin) and 'evisceration of experience' (Adorno) of modern warfare itself. In this interpretation war correspondence has directly contributed to the isolation and alienation of the modern self. Bereft of valid, share-able emotion and torn from a felt connection to the past, the self within modern media culture resembles the traumatized victim of modern war. In other words, through its own ministrations of shock therapy, war reporting in the mass media has cut completely the durable if elastic bond between war and emotion and between the present and the tradition that I have been examining from *The Iliad* onward. Crabb Robinson's account, overtly beset by failure to provide information, awash in his own dread and vulnerability, forestalls that separation and offers an

alternative emotional response that feels still possible for us. But can that alternative secure the movement of emotion beyond a feeling 'one'? War in the Napoleonic era expanded the scale of war geographically and increased its human toll exponentially – in ways that align it with subsequent world wars in the twentieth century. Seated with our own paper or staring at our own screen, and faced with an overwhelming number of fallen bodies in foreign lands, are we left to discover the emotion of war only in one grievable life at a time?

The Journals of Scotswoman Janet Schaw, written on the eve of the American War of Independence, register that alienation differently from Robinson's reports; as O'Loughlin demonstrates, Schaw casts her own emotions of fear and betrayal onto the drear sands and scrubby pine forests of the colony of North Carolina, when she lands (at Cape Fear!) in 1775. Precisely as the socio-cultural system of exchanged feelings frays in the lead-up to colonial conflict, so Schaw's sentiments of attachment fade and a less refined passion, 'Barbarous Discord', looms in the landscape. For this re-location away from her inner but also socialized psyche and onto the very terrain where civil war is agitating, Schaw employs the tropes of classical and biblical literature – not only to fix wayward feeling in a definite place, but also to mediate its 'savagery' by channelling the secure touchstones of ancient western civilization. The alienation thereby produced – from her own feelings, place and history – appears almost wished-for in this context. Individual 'grievable lives' disappear into the oppressive climate Schaw conjures; they are glimpsed in the text as hunted animals – a boar or a bear.

The Iliad, for all the transport and externality and collectivity of its emotion, does end with our attention drawn to one grievable life: 'And so the Trojans buried Hector, breaker of horses' (614, 24: line 944). Yet that one life is buried only after a public display of feeling. The ritual wailing commenced by mother, wife and sisters announces the general and collective truth: in the midst of war, 'the whole city of Troy mourns' (612; 24: line 872). Hector feels no more and we are not asked to feel for him; but we are shown 'all his brothers, all his friends-at-arms' with 'warm tears streaming down their cheeks' (614; 24: lines 932, 934).

We ought to remind ourselves that it's not only Time or History that alters the relationship between emotion and war; it is also, to borrow from Judith Butler, 'the structuring constraints of genre and form on the communicability of affect'.¹³ The collection of essays here entertains the forms of drama and lyric, history and journalism, georgic, panegyric, and treatise – a crowd into which I have dropped epic. Even apart from historical context, each genre governs its own approach to war, taking it alternatively as total event, extended state, distant activity, fractured or disparate experience, or universal and predictable human phenomenon. Each, too, shapes emotion and conveys affect according to its own rules and tools. Though they do change with time, waxing and waning in their social efficacy, the forms and rules

of genre maintain a transhistorical force, call it tradition or convention, that holds on to the past as well as past structures of feeling even while modern sensibility tugs them away. Indeed, in their respect for traditional motifs and tropes, Schaw's or Robinson's writings, as O'Loughlin and Ramsey read them, can be seen to epitomize this collection as a whole. Covering a generative variety of texts from the medieval period up to the emergence of 'modern war', the collection recharges and revitalizes past attachments between and experiences of emotion and warfare. The cumulative and affecting force of these essays extends far beyond the present moment of their writing.

Notes

1. Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles and intro. Bernard Knox (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 77. Book 1, line 1.
2. Knox, Introduction, *The Iliad*, 3.
3. Knox, Introduction, *The Iliad*, 5.
4. Simone Weil, 'The Iliad, or the Poem of Force' (1939), in *Chicago Review*, 18.2 (1965), 5–31. https://d358g57815banh.cloudfront.net/SY3yQ6rm5uW_Fq4j67dc6wJ9d89IS.pdf. Accessed 25 April 2014.
5. Compare the representation of Strife here with Andrew Lynch's discussion of the representation of Peace in his essay in this collection.
6. An analogue for Homer's representation of Strife might be the painting 'Colossus', also titled 'War' (early nineteenth century), traditionally attributed to Francisco de Goya.
7. Nall's point about the purpose of Worcester's rhetoric is clear: 'Emotion is not being produced for the sake of it, but in order to advance a specific political agenda'.
8. The citations here are taken from Downes's translations in her essay in this collection.
9. Downes suggests that in his frequent appeals to 'Peace', Charles imagines it as a 'quiet union with the beloved, or as release from the "torment" of desire, which sometimes is, and sometimes is not, fantasised as the relief of death'.
10. Hiscock's paper makes much of the way the humanists developed Galen's medical teaching, especially the theory of the humours, in developing their theories.
11. Adam Smith, *A Theory of Moral Sentiments*. To see how Smith's vision of sentiment plays out in the setting of the American War of Independence, see Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). For a broad view of the work of sentiment in the Atlantic world, 1700–1800, especially among a waning warrior class, see Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears: The Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
12. James Chandler, *An Archeology of Sentiment; The Sentimental Mode in Literature and Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), xv–xvi.
13. Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2010), 67. Butler is referring to interpretation. Ramsey glosses her thought in a way that makes it apt here: 'Interpretation occurs through the normative schemes of intelligibility or frames that surround media images and reports of war, directing what can be seen and heard of war and allowing recognition of lives caught up in war as grievable or worthy of our sympathy'.

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