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Table of Contents

Editor's Foreword

Vanessa Wright

I am pleased to introduce volume four of *Cerae: An Australasian Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, which is themed around 'influence and appropriation'. During the preparation of this volume, the journal was awarded the Bryant Stokes Matilda Award for Cultural Excellence from the University of Western Australia. It was an honour to receive this award, which reflects the hard work and dedication of the current Executive Committee, but also that of previous committees whose work has shaped and developed the journal.

Many have contributed to the production of volume four; as Editor, I am grateful to all the members of the Executive and Extended Committee for their enthusiasm and commitment to the journal. I would like to thank Imogen Forbes-Macphail who has been involved with the journal from its inception and whose expertise and advice have been pivotal to the journal's development and success. On behalf of the Committee, I would also like to extend my gratitude to all who served as peer reviewers for this volume and to the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Western Australia for their ongoing support.

Aphra Behn: Cultural Translator and Editorial Intermediary

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Abstract: The complex production of translation and editorial intermediation is a timeless, often contentious issue. In the seventeenth century, Abraham Cowley and John Dryden dominated a debate that centred on fidelity to authorial copy. The self–supporting Aphra Behn, who translated from French in the late seventeenth century to earn an income, acknowledged this debate and indicated her preference for Dryden's translation practice of latitude in her epistolary dedication in the preliminary matter of Agnes de Castro: or, The Force of Generous Love *(1688), which was originally written by Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac and entitled* Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise *(1688). Behn's latitude respected authorial intention but adapted the text when literal translation proved difficult. This article dips below the discursive surface to provide a new way of analysing Behn's work. Comparing de Brilhac's original with Behn's translation reveals the latter's negotiation of the necessarily complex and at times conflicting role of cultural translator and editorial intermediary. Behn used stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene, paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation, and editorial techniques such as italicisation and capitalisation to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. Behn's practice not only acknowledged the commercial imperatives of the publishing industry but also typified her human nature.*

> Whether decried as the Eve–like traitress who helped deliver the great Aztec empire into the hands of the Spaniards, or reclaimed as a part of the Mexican heritage, [La] Malinche has the signal honor of being one of the few women who is remembered for her work as a cultural intermediary, a translator.

Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural identity and the politics of transmission*.[1]

Sherry Simon's recounting of the story of La Malinche (1505–29), the 'Mayan slave who became the interpreter of Cortes, and who participated in the negotiations leading to the European conquest of Latin America',[2] exemplifies not only the marginalised experiences of women in the early modern literary landscape but also the inherent responsibility of translators as cultural intermediaries.[3] As a consequence of their work, translators inhabit an 'in-betweenness', mediating between the originating literature and its distinct socio-political context and its transnational reception. Editors are similarly untethered: they liaise between authors and the publisher to bring copy to print, all the while nurturing content to ensure the clarity of authorial voice and meaning. For Aphra Behn, negotiating this necessarily complex and at times conflicting role — that is, cultural translator and editorial intermediary — from a position of marginalisation would have been especially difficult. Nevertheless, as England's first female professional writer, her published output of more than twenty plays and novels, poetry collections, and translations from French suggests otherwise.

This paper's objective is to gauge the nature of Behn's mediation as cultural translator and editorial intermediary. To appreciate the first, a comparative textual analysis of Behn's *Agnes de Castro, or, The force of generous love* (1688) is undertaken

[1] Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 38.
[2] Ibid., p. 38.
[3] See also Mary Helen McMurran, 'Aphra Behn from Both Sides: Translation in the Atlantic World', *Studies in Eighteenth–Century Culture,* 34 (2005), 1–23 (p. 1).

with both Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac's original *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise* (1688) and Peter Bellon's rival translation, *The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Casto*, which was released the same year. For the second, specific editorial 'devices' are analysed, such as capitalisation and italicisation, with reference to Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises, or The doctrine of handy–works applied to the art of printing* (1683), the first printer's manual to be published in England, which initiated the print trade's journey towards editorial standardisation. Through such evaluation, it becomes clear that Behn's translation of *Agnes de Castro* exhibits a latitude — middle ground or in-betweenness — through which she conducts her editorial intermediation.

APHRA BEHN'S 'UNENDING COMBINATION OF MASKS'

Janet Todd has in recent years insightfully described the indomitable Aphra Behn (1640–89): 'She is not so much a woman to be unmasked as an unending combination of masks'[4] — that is, 'playwright, poet, fictionist, propagandist and spy' and, of course, translator.[5] Behn's eclectic, atypical life as England's first female professional writer has understandably been well documented; for example, Heidi Hutner provides a succinct summary, albeit one yet to be substantiated in regard to her marriage and alleged imprisonment:

[4] Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (London: Bloomsbury Reader, 2013), p. 1. EBook.
[5] See also Mary Ann O'Donnell, 'Aphra Behn: the documentary record', in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn,* ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–11 (p. 1); Angeline Goreau, *Reconstructing Aphra: A Social Biography of Aphra Behn* (New York: The Dial Press, 1980), p. 3.

> By now, anyone familiar with Behn knows that she probably travelled to Surinam (the setting for *Oroonoko*), was married briefly to an unknown 'Mr. Behn', spied for Charles II in Holland, was briefly imprisoned at least twice, socialized with the male writers of her day, loved the bisexual John Hoyle, became one of the leading propagandists for the Tories during the Exclusion Crisis, and, against all odds, earned her living by her pen.[6]

Behn's published output was prolific by contemporary standards. Her novel *Love–Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* is considered 'the earliest, or one of the earliest, novels'.[7]

Behn's romance novella *Agnes de Castro* was published in London by William Canning in 1688 and was licensed on 24 May that year. According to Todd, 'With Canning she would be closely identified during her final years — indeed she became his major author'.[8] In regard to the French original, Behn's title page proffers only that *Agnes de Castro* had been '*Written in French by a Lady of Quality*'; however, the author is acknowledged to be Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac.[9] Brilhac's *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise* was published in 1688 in Amsterdam. Peter Bellon's rival translation *The*

[6] Heidi Hutner, 'Rereading Aphra Behn: An Introduction', in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism,* ed. by Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), pp. 1–13 (p. 3). See also Janet Todd, 'Introduction', in *Aphra Behn studies,* ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1–12 (p. 1); Jane Jones, 'New light on the background and early life of Aphra Behn', in *Aphra Behn studies,* ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 310–20.

[7] Todd, 'Introduction', in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. by Todd, p. 1.

[8] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 379. See also Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical society, by Blades, East & Blades, 1907), p. 63.

[9] Sonia Villegas López, 'Aphra Behn's Sentimental History: The Case Study of *Agnes de Castro, or the Force of Generous Love* (1688)', *SEDERI: Yearbook of the Spanish and Portguese Society of English Renaissance Studies,* 14 (2004), 239–48 (p. 240); Elizabeth Spearing, 'Aphra Behn: the politics of translation', in *Aphra Behn Studies,* ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 154–77 (p. 157); Jennifer Waelti–Walters, 'L'Inès de Castro de Madame de Genlis: Idéologie masculine, signification féminine', *Dalhousie French Studies,* 14 (1988), 32–51 (p. 50); Deborah Uman, *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), p. 118.

Fatal Beauty of Agnes Castro appeared in his two–novel anthology entitled *Two New Novels*, which was published by Richard Bentley in 1688 but licensed before Behn's version on 19 May. Given how closely the translations of Bentley and Behn were published, Todd's contention that Behn's *Agnes de Castro* amounts to 'hurried work'[10] is understandable — a critical examination to be conducted shortly confirms this. Additionally, Todd asserts that *Agnes de Castro* was Behn's 'most literal translation', whereas Mary Helen McMurran observes that 'Behn's translations expanded and amplified the originals to such a degree as they might not be considered translations as such', identifying *Agnes de Castro* as a specific example.[11] However, comparative analyses of the narratives of Brilhac, Bellon and Behn reveal that Behn's method approximates that practised in her translation in 1688 of *A Discovery of New Worlds*, originally written in French by Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle and entitled *Les Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*: that is, a latitude, an in-betweenness, that becomes the vehicle for her editorial intermediation. To appreciate this critique, it is necessary to consider briefly translation theories that were dominant from the mid-seventeenth century.

MID–SEVENTEENTH–CENTURY TRANSLATION THEORIES

It is well documented that female authors since the sixteenth century gained purchase in the male–dominated public domain through translation. As Simon states,

[10] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 394. See also Goreau, p. 291.
[11] McMurran, p. 8.

'Translation offered women an involvement in literary culture […] that did not directly challenge male control of that culture'.[12] European languages such as French, German and Italian were considered appropriate for women to study; classical languages, such as Latin and Greek, as Goodfellow observes, 'remained a fortress at the heart of masculine "formal education" well into the nineteenth century'.[13] Angeline Goreau extends this by concluding that Latin was 'the great dividing line between the sexes'.[14] Furthermore, women were encouraged to focus their endeavours on religious texts owing to, as noted by Tina Krontiris, Protestantism's democratic, albeit paradoxical, recognition of 'women's right to read and interpret the scriptures, and even to disagree with men in their interpretations'.[15] Hence, translations by women were predominantly religious in nature.[16] Additionally, their publication coincided with the increase in literary translations in the vernacular, as society became more literate; according to McMurran, 'this period saw the beginnings of vernacular translation, in the sense that living, spoken languages were now increasingly translated'.[17] Such deliberate placement of women creates further avenues of enquiry regarding marginalisation according to gender and genre, which

[12] Simon, p. 44. See also Douglas Robinson, 'Theorizing Translation in a Women's Voice: Subverting the Rhetoric of Patronage, Courtly Love and Morality', *The Translator,* 1 (1995), 153–75 (p. 153); Mirella Agorni, 'The Voice of the "Translatress": From Aphra Behn to Elizabeth Carter', *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 28 (1998), 181–95 (p. 181).

[13] Sarah Goodfellow, '"Such Masculine Strokes": Aphra Behn as Translator of "A Discovery of New Worlds"', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 28 (1996), 229–50 (p. 231). See also Simon, p. 50; Agorni, p. 184; Spearing, p. 154; Goreau, p. 24.

[14] Goreau, p. 31.

[15] Tina Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 8. See also Agorni, p. 181.

[16] Simon, p. 44; Krontiris, p. 10; Margaret P. Hannay, 'Introduction', in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Relgious Works,* ed. by Magaret Patterson Hannay (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1985), pp. 1–14 (p. 4); Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 32.

[17] McMurran, pp. 4, 7. See also Krontiris, p. 13.

was first articulated by Simon: 'We are led to wonder whether translation condemned women to the margins of discourse or, on the contrary, rescued them from imposed silence'.[18] From this, it is evident that women's legitimacy within the traditionally male-dominated literary sphere was a project in the making, as articulated by Betty Schellenberg: 'the writer as respectable professional, rather than as either cultivated amateur or disreputable hack, was a model in the making over the course of the long eighteenth century'.[19]

Translators' responsibility as cultural intermediaries derive from the definition of the term itself. Simon expresses this general point well: '[It] is important to stress that the meaning given to the role of the translator is itself historically and socially constructed, the significance of the work of cultural mediation tied to the dynamics of the connections which it enacts'.[20] That is, the term *translation* forms part of a wider etymological history that enabled its socio-political construction. McMurran acknowledges the symbiotic distinction between '*translatio imperii* (the transfer of power) and *translatio studii* (the transfer of learning)', both of which trace back to the ninth century and, under the *translatio* umbrella, involve 'the transfer of political and religious order […] as well as the transfer of civilization through language and literature'.[21] Simon offers diverse terminology from classical antiquity to the Renaissance and beyond, with more emphasis on translation's practice:

[18] Simon, p. 46. See also Agorni, p. 181.
[19] Betty A. Schellenberg, 'The professional female writer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789*, ed. by Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 37–54 (p. 37).
[20] Simon, p. 40.
[21] McMurran, p. 1.

> [The] idea of translation as an essentially *translinguistic* activity seems to have been suggested first by early Italian Humanists when they introduced the term *traducere* to replace a variety of already existing terms. Before this moment, translation was considered a *transtextual* operation, separate terms in Greek and Roman antiquity […] The Greek *hermeneuein* means both to 'explain' and to 'translate'; the Latin *interpres* refers both to the translator and the exegete.[22]

Such etymological history elicits numerous dichotomies — imperial conquest versus otherness, the claim of legitimising superiority of one language over another, and the authorising propriety of author or translator — all of which become socio-politically problematic when coupled with women gaining a literary voice in the public sphere through religious translation.

A consideration of *translation's* definition necessitates equal reference to its practice. The commentaries of Abraham Cowley and John Dryden express not only translation theories in the early modern period but also an inherent tension when practised — faithfulness to the original text versus deviation from it. In his preface to *Pindarique Odes*, which was published in 1656, Abraham Cowley (1618–67) identifies two methods of translation: 'servile' imitation (a word-for-word translation that is 'a vile and unworthy kinde of *Servitude*') and libertine (a freer translation that '[shoots] *beyond* the *Mark*'). Cowley favours libertine translation: his 'aim' as the translator of the '*Odes of* Pindar' is 'to let the Reader know precisely what he [Cowley] spoke, as what his *way* and *manner* of speaking'; he perceives imitative translation to be

[22] Simon, p. 42.

inadequate as he 'never saw a *Copy* better then [sic] the *Original*'.[23] As Muneharu Kitagaki has observed, 'Cowley's Pindaric experiment was based […] on a strict anti-literalism'.[24]

In his own preface to *Ovid's Epistles*, which first appeared in 1680, John Dryden (1631–1700) extends such treatment into a 'ternary model', as labelled by Line Cottegnies.[25] Dryden's model comprises metaphrase ('*turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another*'), paraphrase ('*Translation with Latitude*'), and imitation (where '*words and sense*' might not only differ but also be abandoned as the translator '*sees occasion*', '*taking only some general hints from the Original*').[26] According to Kitagaki, 'Dryden's use of the word [*metaphrase*] in the sense of literal translation […] is the first case which the [*Oxford English Dictionary*] records. Before Dryden, the word *metaphrase* meant either a metrical translation, or merely translation'.[27] He writes, furthermore, that '[we] see here, therefore, Dryden's efforts to establish critical terminology'.[28]

Dryden's own translation practice inhabits the middle ground: neither literal nor liberal translation, but one requiring certain autonomy to best accommodate the transference of meaning from one language to another. His observation that few word–by–word translations exist '*because there are so few who have all the Talents which*

[23] Abraham Cowley, *Poems* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1656), p. i.
[24] Muneharu Kitagaki, *Principles and Problems of Translation in Seventeenth–Century England* (Kyoto: Yamaguchi Shoten, 1981), p. 174.
[25] Line Cottegnies, 'Aphra Behn's French translations', in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 221–34 (p. 221). See also Spearing, p. 154; Agorni, p. 184; Simon, p. 51.
[26] Ovid and John Dryden, *Ovid's epistles*, ed. and trans. by John Dryden (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1680), p. xi.
[27] Kitagaki, p. 182.
[28] Ibid., p. 184.

are requisite for Translation'[29] approximates Cowley's belief that a translated copy is inferior to the original. Dryden's critique of imitation becomes clear towards the preface's conclusion: '*To state it fairly, Imitation of an Authour is the most advantageous way for a Translator to shew himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the Memory and Reputation of the dead*'.[30] Hence, for his own translation of Ovid's *Epistles*, Dryden admits '*the Reader will here find most of the Translations, with some little Latitude or variation from the Authours Sence*'.[31] That is, his latitude entails keeping the author '*in view* […] *so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense*'.[32]

Simon's portrayal of the 'in–between status' of translators and the inherent tension as cultural intermediaries reflects Dryden's residence in the middle ground: 'The dilemma of being caught between two worlds becomes the basis of the struggle to make art'.[33] Such untethered experience mirrors that already observed for correctors, as editors were commonly known. Moxon states in *Mechanick Exercises* that '*For the Laws of* Printing, *a* Compositor *is strictly to follow his* Copy'. Nevertheless, he tempers his strict protocol of remaining faithful with a caveat — the printer's house style overshadows all: '*the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd* Printers *to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as task and duty incumbent on the* Compositor, *viz. to discern and amend the bad* Spelling *and* Pointing *of his* Copy'.[34] While Moxon isolates compositors in this instance, he expects

[29] Ovid and Dryden, p. xix.
[30] Ovid and Dryden, p. xvi.
[31] Ibid, p. xix.
[32] Ibid., p. xii. See also Kitagaki, p. 189.
[33] Simon, p. 39.
[34] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy–works began Jan. 1, 1677, and intended to be monthly continued* (London: Printed for Joseph Moxon at the sign of Atlas, Ludgate–Hill, 1677), pp. 197– 8.

no less from correctors: 'He ought to be very knowing in Derivatives and Etymologies of Words, very sagacious in *Pointing*, skilful in the *Compositors* whole task and Obligation, and endowed with a quick Eye to espy the smallest *Fault*'. Despite the correctors' vital responsibilities, they remain physically disconnected from the process: 'The *Compositor* either carries him a *Proof*, or sends the Boy with it to his Appartment, which is commonly some little Closet adjoyning to the *Composing-room*'.[35] Therefore, correctors share professional space within the interdependent worlds of authors and the printing house but inhabit neither. How this pertains to early modern translators, such as Aphra Behn, is that, through the art of translation, deciding where to remain faithful and/or deviate, the practitioners become editorially responsible for the accuracy of the original content and the clarity of its meaning — that is, they function as both cultural translators and editorial intermediaries.

A study of Behn's 'Essay on Translated Prose', which appears in her preface to her translation of *A Discovery of New Worlds*, reveals her position on the translation trajectory. She writes: 'I have endeavoured to give you the true meaning of the Author, and have kept as near his Words as was possible; I was necessitated to add a little in some places, otherwise the Book could not have been understood'.[36] Behn's method emulates the latitude, or middle ground, of Dryden as communicated by her reference to the author's 'meaning' rather than the author's words. As Kitagaki relates, '[Behn] claims that hers was not a mechanical rendering into English but was a translation with discerning eye to the French text, which may contain printer's

[35] Moxon, p. 261.
[36] Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *A Discovery of New Worlds*, trans. by Aphra Behn (London: Printed for William Canning, 1688), pp. vii–viii.

errors'.[37] Cottegnies verifies this observation: 'Many of Behn's remarks as a practitioner of translation make good sense, as when she positions herself in the debate between literalism and imitation by opting for a mediation between the two'.[38] In contrast, Turner states that Behn's translation 'is, on the whole, a reasonably faithful version',[39] whereas Agorni is more definitive: 'Behn's translation of Fontenelle is extremely literal, as Behn herself makes clear in her preface'.[40]

But how is Behn's translation perceived more generally? McMurran typifies Behn's general translation style as imitation or, more specifically, amplification:

> Translators like Behn who practiced imitation and worked between living, spoken languages could be neither tied down to the original text nor disentangled from it. Rather than being criticized for this practice, Behn seems to have had her greatest success as a translator in revivifying the original texts by amplifying its voice and fusing this voice with hers.[41]

McMurran's observation of Behn's imitation is supported by Goodfellow: 'the liberty with her translations was another way in which she mediated between the original text and the text which, in her words, she made "her own" through translation'.[42] Later on in her article, Goodfellow's assessment of Behn's translation becomes more candid: 'Like many of her contemporaries, Behn found loose interpretation and paraphrase

[37] Kitagaki, p. 288.
[38] Cottegnies, p. 224.
[39] Margaret Turner, 'A Note on the standard of English Translations from the French, 1685–1720', *Notes and Queries,* 199 (1954), 516–21 (p. 517).
[40] Agorni, p. 187.
[41] McMurran, p. 9.
[42] Goodfellow, p. 230.

acceptable as translation, and she often used the opportunity translation afforded her for editorial commentary'.[43] While acknowledging the intriguing concepts integral to Goodfellow's first citation above — that is, Foucauldian definitions of authorship and the conflicting interplay between masculine and feminine discursive voices in the public sphere — an examination of *Agnes de Castro* yields not 'loose interpretation and paraphrase' to enable her editorial intermediation, but rather a latitude — a middle ground or in-betweenness, as mentioned earlier. Thus, through a brief comparative analysis of Behn's *Agnes de Castro* with both the original and Peter Bellon's rival translation that appeared the same year, this paper seeks to contribute to scholarship regarding Behn's translation, but from an editorial perspective.

AGNES DE CASTRO, OR THE FORCE OF GENEROUS LOVE

In her epistolary dedication to Sir Roger Puleston, Behn identifies her translation method for *Agnes de Castro*. She proposes a subtle translation that enables readers to experience the content as it was originally conceived, both visually and emotionally: '*[You] will see here Love, Fortitude, and Vertue, very naturally Painted; and a Truth which needs nothing Romantick to make it absolutely Moving*'.[44] That is, her translation respects the original author's intention by ensuring the accuracy of its meaning, though not at times its literal expression. However, she acknowledges risk to meaning when altering expression if required: ''*Twas a Lady that writ the Original, and, I hope, I have not*

[43] Goodfellow, p. 237. Goreau supports this: 'Aphra had a literary precedent for her procedure in Cowley's theory that "imitation" was more original than [literal] translation', see p. 254.
[44] Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac, *Agnes de Castro, or, The Force of Generous Love*, trans. by Aphra Behn (London: Printed for William Canning, 1688), p. vi.

taken off from the Lustre of her admirable Piece by putting it into our Language'.[45] To support this translation method, Behn is strategic: she utilises stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene and depict concurrent events; paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation; and editorial techniques such as italicisation and capitalisation to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. Each will be considered in this case study.

From the outset, Behn's language is quintessentially early modern: long sentences peppered with semicolons and frequent nominalisation. The resulting long-windedness undermines the intent of her translation method; it also contradicts her observations on the French language provided in 'Essay on Translated Prose'.[46] To demonstrate this in practice, reproduced below is the first paragraph of Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac's *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portuguese*:

> Quoi que l'Amor ne promette que des plaisirs, les effets en sont quelquesfois tristes. Il ne

[45] Brilhac and Behn, p. vi.

[46] She argues that, while Italian, Spanish and French all originate from Latin, Italian is the easier to translate as it is closest to English: '*For its mixture being composed of Latin, and the Language of the* Goths, Vandals, *and other* Northern *Nations, who over–ran the* Roman *Empire, and conquer'd its Language with its Provinces, most of these Northern Nations spoke the* Teutonick *or Dialects of it, of which the* English *is one also*; *and that's the Reason, that the* English *and* Italian *learn the Language of one another sooner than any other*; *because not only the Phrase, but the Accent of both do very much agree*' (see de Fontenelle and Aphra Behn, p. ii). Behn offers three reasons why French is the most difficult to translate into English. First, the more two nations' genius and humour agree, the more similar their idioms; therefore, for Behn, the languages that share closest affinity is unquestionable: '*and every Body knows there is more Affinity between the* English *and* Italian *People*, *than the* English *and the* French, *as to their humours*' (p. iii). Second, Behn contends that Italian and Spanish have remained unchanged for hundreds of years — '*not only as to the Phrase, but even as to the Words and Orthography*' — whereas French '*has suffered more Changes*' over an identical period; furthermore, she foresees countless more changes that people in one hundred further years will be incapable of understanding seventeenth–century French: '*I am confident a* French *Man a hundred Years hence will no more understand an old Edition of* Froisard's *History, than he will understand* Arabick'. And third, French authors '*take a liberty to borrow whatever Word they want from the* Latin, *without farther Ceremony, especially when they treat the Sciences*' (p. iv). According to Behn, the English do not practise such wilful linguistic irresponsibility: '*we not only naturalize their words, but words they steal from other Languages*' (p. v).

> suffit pas d'étre tendre, pour devenir parfaitement heureux ; & la fortune capricieuse qui traverse tout, respecte peu les cœurs passionnez, quand elle veut produire d'étranges avantures.[47]

Brilhac's first sentence functions as a topic sentence for both the paragraph and the novel in its entirety: 'Though Love promises only pleasures, the effects of it are sometimes sad' — such is the paradoxical nature of Love, where it sometimes effects the opposite of that originally, innocently intended. The longer second sentence elucidates this further: 'It is not sufficient to be tender–hearted in order to be perfectly happy; and capricious fortune, which crosses all, little respects passionate hearts when she wants to produce strange adventures'. Note Brilhac's active sentence construction: 'ne promette que', 'respecte peu', and 'elle veut'. While Bellon's translation, *The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Casto*, virtually adheres to Brilhac's original:

> Though Love promises nothing but Pleasures, the Effects of it are sometimes sad. A Tender heartedness is not sufficient to attain a Perfect Happiness; and that *Capricious* Fortune which crosses all things, has but very little regard to Passionate Hearts, when She is in the Humour of producing strange Adventures.[48]

Behn retains Brilhac's expression albeit with more freedom:

> Though LOVE, all soft and flattering, promises nothing but Pleasures; yet its consequences are often Sad and Fatal; it is not enough to be in love, to be happy; since Fortune who is

[47] Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac, *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1688), p. 5.
[48] Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac and Peter Bellon, *Two New Novels* (London: Printed for R. Bently, 1688), p. 5.

> capricious, and takes delight to trouble the Repose of the most Elevated and Virtuous, has little respect for passionate and tender Hearts, when she designs to produce strange Adventures.[49]

This comparison reveals the nature of Behn's latitude: she combines 'literal' translation to respect authorial intention with supplementary text to contextualise narrative. Regarding her literal translation, Behn's paragraph comprises one substantial sentence rather than two — the rhetorical application of three semicolons affords longer pauses where necessary — and a higher frequency of substantives. For example, instead of maintaining the verb *respecte*, and its contextual deficiency, to describe Fortune's capricious designs against passionate hearts, Behn nominalises it. Thus, moral agency becomes passive, not active. To provide context, Behn appears dissatisfied with only the 'Sad' consequences resulting from love: they are also 'Fatal'; both words function as a signpost to the ensuing action. Readers of *Agnes de Castro* soon learn that the peaceful existences of the unsuspecting and virtuous female protagonists — Princess Constantia, the wife of Prince Don Pedro, son of the king of Portugal, and her companion Agnes de Castro — are disrupted by the jealous intrigues of Elvira Gonzales, once a favourite of Don Pedro, and her brother Don Alvaro, the king's favoured courtier who covets Agnes. Don Pedro's own quiet yearnings for Agnes, which he forswears because of his duty to Constantia and country, become the means by which Elvira and Don Alvaro manipulate others. However, the siblings' manipulations ultimately prove unsuccessful: broken–hearted

[49] Brilhac and Behn, p. 1.

Constantia swoons and dies, and Don Alvaro assassinates Agnes one year after her reluctant, secret marriage to Don Pedro.[50] Hence, this dramatic signposting technique to create the narrative scene forms an integral part of Behn's editorial intermediation.

Behn's deviation from Brilhac's original with the use of 'Fatal' derives, in part, from her previous work as a playwright, from which she transfers dramatic techniques into her narrative. The first-paragraph example demonstrates how Behn, as observed by Joanna Fowler, translates 'the "dramatic scene" into the "narrative scene" by adopting a new style of narrative temporality, one that acknowledges both the cause and effect, and "allows for concatenation by means of interlinking units of narrative report"'.[51] That is, the insertion of 'Fatal' functions similarly to a Shakespearian chorus by communicating the effects, or 'consequences', of Fortune's intervention — hence, the general plotline — before the narrative begins. Furthermore, the addition of 'since' attributes a causative role to Fortune and signposts the resulting concatenation of events, or 'strange Adventures'.

Behn employs these 'temporal' markers not only for dramatic effect but also to emphasise concurrent action. For example, Brilhac describes Constantia's sadness immediately after her depiction of Don Pedro's moral conflict: 'L'affligée Constance languissoit dans une tristesse deplorable'.[52] Behn deviates from Brilhac by beginning her sentence with an adverbial phrase: 'In the mean time the afflicted Princess

[50] Villegas López describes the representation of Constantia and Agnes as 'heroic passivity', see p. 243.
[51] Joanna Fowler, 'Dramatic and Narrative Techniques in the Novellas of Aphra Behn', *Women's Writing,* 22 (2015), 97–113 (p. 98). Fowler's cited text originates from Monika Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 131. See also Claire Bowditch and Elaine Hobby, 'Introduction: Aphra Behn, New Questions and Contexts', *Women's Writing,* 22 (2015), 1–12 (p. 7).
[52] Brilhac, p. 28.

languisht in a most deplorable Sadness'.[53] Another instance occurs slightly earlier in the narrative, when Elvira pilfers the slumbering Don Pedro's verse, which announces his conflicted love for Agnes, and strategically places this in Constantia's chamber for her to discover. Brilhac writes: 'Elle fut chez la Princesse qui étoit à la promenade, & passant jusques dans son Cabinet, sans étre veüe, elle mit le papier dans un livre que la Princesse lisoit ordairement'.[54] Brilhac utilises the subordinate clause 'qui étoit à la promenade' adjectivally to announce Constantia's absence from her chamber, whereas Behn supplements the sentence to situate Constantia physically in the background: '[Elvira] therefore went immediately to the lodgings of the Princess, who was then walking in the Garden of the Palace; and passing without resistance even to her Cabinet, she put the Paper into a Book in which the Princess us'd to Read'.[55] Behn reinforces the simultaneous events by inserting the adverbs 'immediately' and 'then'. Comparing Behn's translation with that of Bellon reveals the extent of her adaptation: 'She went to the Princess Apartment, who was gone forth to walk, and passing to her very Closet without being perceived, she conveyed the Paper in a Book which the Princess did usually read'.[56]

While Behn exhibits latitude in her depiction of events, her translation of dialogue appears generally faithful to Brilhac's original. For example, when Constantia learns of Don Pedro's affection for Agnes, she states: 'Vous ne me verrez point attaché à vous faire des reproches; & ne pouvant posséder vôtre cœur, je me

[53] Brilhac and Behn, p. 16.
[54] Brilhac, p. 16.
[55] Brilhac and Behn, p. 9.
[56] Brilhac and Bellon, p. 15.

contenterai de chercher à m'en rendre digne'.[57] Behn translates this as: 'you shall never hear me make you any reproaches. And since I cannot possess your Heart, I will content myself with endeavouring to render my self worthy of it'.[58] The most apparent deviations here are her punctuation and replacement of the participle 'pouvant' (or 'being able to') with the auxiliary verb 'cannot'. Albeit more literal than Behn, Bellon's translation confirms her fidelity to authorial intention: 'You shall not find me inclin'd to make you reproaches; and not being capable of possessing your heart, Il'e rest satisfyed in endeavouring to render my self worthy of it'.[59]

Another example of Behn's literal translation occurs later, when Agnes attempts diplomatically to decline Don Alvaro's amorous advances. Brilhac writes: 'Je n'ai fait aucune réflection sur vos actions, répondit Agnez, avec toute l'indifference dont elle étoit capable, & si vous m'offensez, vous avez tort de vouloir que je m'en apperçoive'.[60] Behn translates this as: '*I never reflected on your Actions*, answered Agnes, with all the indifference of which she was capable, *and if you think you offend me, you are in the wrong, to make me perceive it*'.[61] Note Behn's recasting of Brilhac's sentence. Her translation becomes editorial intervention to provide additional contextual meaning: Don Alvaro's character is imbued with further malice.

An interesting aspect of Behn's production of *Agnes de Castro* is how she combines stagecraft and editorial techniques to drive the narrative: specifically, how she presents indirect narratorial reflection and dialogue among her protagonists.

[57] Brilhac, p. 20.
[58] Brilhac and Behn, p. 11.
[59] Brilhac and Bellon, pp. 18–19.
[60] Brilhac, p. 35.
[61] Brilhac and Behn, p. 21.

Monika Fludernik observes this in *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*: 'Behn's texts do not employ interior monologues or extensive free indirect discourse but tend to render the internal drama of her protagonists' minds chiefly by means of descriptive psycho–narration, with very few clauses of free indirect discourse interspersed with this narratorial version of internal events'.[62] Simply put, as Fowler ably translates, 'Behn's use of "descriptive psycho–narration" […] "integrate[s] the mental subject matter with the narrative discourse"'.[63] Fowler perceptively concludes that '[metatheatrical] techniques, such as […] asides, often disrupt and blur the boundaries between the actors and the audience'.[64] In Behn's translations, the disruption and blurring do not occur between actors and audience, but rather between Behn's roles as 'translator' and 'editor'.

Behn's first application involves a narratorial aside, rather than a dialogic one. She writes: 'And to advance this his Design, he agreed on a Marriage between his Son *Don Pedro*, (then about Eight Years of Age) and *Bianca* Daughter of *Don Pedro*, King of *Castille* and whom the Young Prince married when he arrived to his Sixteenth Year'.[65] Behn's adherence to dramatic tradition by placing this aside within parentheses is problematic, given the nature of her translation and contemporary editorial standards. Brilhac wrote this sentence as: 'Pour cela, il arrêta le mariage de son fils D. Pedre, qui n'avoit que huit ans, avec Blanche fille de D. Pedre Roi de Castille, que le jeune Prince épousa à seize'.[66] Thus, Brilhac's text featured commas to separate the

[62] Fludernik, p. 153.
[63] Fowler, p. 106.
[64] Ibid., p. 109.
[65] Brilhac and Behn, p. 2.
[66] Brilhac, p. 6.

subordinate clause from the principal rather than parentheses; Bellon followed suit. Why then did Behn make this alteration, particularly since de Brilhac's text is punctuated correctly and can be translated literally without harming authorial meaning? According to Jessica Munns, the paratextual 'foreword, in the form of epistles, dedications, and prefaces, is an appropriate place for Aphra Behn's very particular voice to be heard and for her very particular dilemma to be inscribed, because if her voice is itself marginal and contradictory, so too is the form in which it is heard'.[67] Similarly, such parenthetical asides, or commentary, by the narrator becomes the paratextual means by which Behn can travel, promoting her authorial voice within the conventionally male–dominated body text. In other words, Behn's paratextuality enables her editorial intermediation.[68]

Behn's paratextual empowerment is undermined, however, by error: she positions a comma after 'his son *Don Pedro*' rather than after the closing parenthesis that follows 'Age'. If applied accurately, the comma's grammatical purpose would be to separate the lengthy coordinating clauses; rhetorically, it would provide readers with a pause to absorb meaning — the prince's young age when his future marriage is arranged to his first wife Bianca.[69] An identical error occurs when Constantia discovers Don Pedro's verse placed in her book by Elvira. Brilhac's original text reads:

[67] Jessica Munns, '"Good, Sweet, Honey, Sugar–Candied Reader": Aphra Behn's Foreplay in Forewords', in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism,* ed. by Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virgina, 1993), pp. 44–62 (p. 54).

[68] Fowler offers a comparable interpretation: 'Behn's narrators do not […] limit their parenthetical observations to those that gesture towards movement and physicality, as might be characteristic of a stage direction. Instead, there is a fluidity in Behn's use of these moments of textual and narrative disclosure which frequently connects to the narrator's unrestricted position within the text and, by extension, the characters' unuttered musings', see p. 98.

[69] Behn's substituting de Brilhac's 'que' ('only) with 'then' removes the narrator's judgement and becomes factual.

'elle aprit que c'étoit Agnes de Castro, dont la seule amitié la pouvoit consoler dans son malheur, qui en étoit la cause';[70] Behn translates this as: 'she understood it was *Agnes de Castro*, (whose friendship alone was able to comfort her, in her Misfortunes) who was the fatal cause of it'.[71] The rhetorical and grammatical use of commas was well articulated in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by such grammarians as Robert Monteith[72], James Greenwood[73] and John Brightland.[74] For example, Greenwood wrote in 1717 that the '*Comma* is the shortest Pause or resting in Speech, and is used chiefly in distinguishing *Nouns, Verbs and Adverbs* […] It distinguishes also the Parts of a shorter Sentence'.[75] While it is impossible to determine why or how such error persisted during the production of Behn's *Agnes de Castro*, it is feasible to assume, given contemporary literature on grammar and punctuation and Behn's experience as professional author and translator, that she would have been familiar with the standard rules to apply commas. Indeed, Todd points to a precision in spelling and handwriting that conceivably extended to such matters as punctuation: 'Behn's spelling, like her handwriting, was more ordered, suggesting some training in script'.[76]

Behn's first dialogic aside features an error similar to one present in the

[70] Brilhac, p. 16.
[71] Brilhac and Behn, p. 9.
[72] Robert Monteith, *The True and Genuine Art, of Exact Pointing; as also What Concerns the Distinction of Syllables; the marking of Capitals; and Italick, or different Character: To be used, in Prints and Manuscripts, As well Latine, as English* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid Junior, 1704).
[73] James Greenwood, *An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar* (London: Printed by R. Tookey, 1711).
[74] John Brightland, *A Grammar of the English Tongue: with the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, Poetry &c. illustrated with Useful Notes; Giving the Grounds and Reasons of Grammar in General*, 7th edn (London: Printed for Henry Lintot, 1746).
[75] Greenwood, p. 227.
[76] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 22.

narratorial asides. When Don Pedro questions Constantia regarding her discovery of his verse, Brilhac writes: 'Madame, lui dit-il tout alarmé, de qui tenés-vous ce papier?'.[77] As mentioned earlier, Behn translates Brilhac's dialogue more or less verbatim; nevertheless, her conjectured objective to assert her authorial voice disrupts Brilhac's accurate punctuation and textual simplicity: 'Madam said he, (infinitely Alarm'd) from whom had you that Paper?'.[78] To be fair, though, not all of Behn's dialogic asides are constructed entirely inaccurately, particularly when they function as physical stage directions. For example, when Agnes de Castro suggests leaving Constantia's service to resolve their problems and Constantia rejects this immediately, Brilhac casts Agnes's response as: 'Vous êtes l'arbitre de mes actions, continua-t-elle, en baisant une des mains de Constance, je ne ferai que ce que vous voudrez'.[79] Behn faithfully translates this as: 'You are the Disposer of my Actions, continued she (in kissing the Hand of *Constantia*) I'll do nothing but what you'll have me'; albeit the sentence does require a comma after '*Constantia*)' to separate the subordinate commentary from the dialogue.[80] The repetition of such error speaks more to Behn's hurried work than to a compositor's erroneous intervention or to Behn's poor punctuation, as observed by Todd: '[Behn] heard that, yet again, a rival translation was "going by another hand". To get her book out first, she had no time to "supervise and correct the Sheets before they were wrought off; so that several Errata have escaped"'.[81]

[77] Brilhac, p. 18.
[78] Brilhac and Behn, p. 10.
[79] Brilhac, p. 44.
[80] Brilhac and Behn, p. 27.
[81] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 396.

For the presentation of dialogue, Behn switches between italics and roman, the latter with or without quotation marks. The first instance of italics involves Don Pedro, whose slumbering discourse is overheard by Elvira: '*Yes, divine Agnes, I will sooner die than let you know it:* Constantia *shall have nothing to reproach me with*'.[82] Behn's use of italics broadly reflects late seventeenth–century standard practice for quoted material. While Moxon overlooks this subject in *Mechanick Exercises*, printer John Smith recounts it approximately seventy years later in *The Printer's Grammar*: 'The chief, and almost only use for which Italic was originally designed, was to distinguish such parts of a book as may be said not to belong to the Body thereof, as Prefaces, Introductions, Annotations, congratulatory Poems, Summaries, and Contents'.[83] Behn similarly applied italics in the above example to distinguish dialogue from body text, which was set in roman. Three-quarters of *Agnes de Castro* exhibit this roman–italic alternation; an example of dialogue typeset in roman without quotation marks and run on within body text transpires during Agnes and Constantia's first discussion about Don Pedro:

> Madam, said she, by all your Goodness, conceal not from me the Cause of your Trouble: Alas *Agnes*, replyed the Princess, What would you know? And what should I tell you? The Prince, the Prince my dearest Maid is in Love …[84]

[82] Brilhac and Behn, p. 6.
[83] John Smith, *The Printer's Grammar* (London: printed for the editor; and sold by W. Owen, near Temple Bar; and by M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater–Noster Row, 1755), pp. 12–13.
[84] Brilhac and Behn, p. 12.

More specifically, Behn's roman–italic interchange appears to emulate the typography of early modern French fiction and printed plays. According to Vivienne Mylne, '[the] typographical devices used to help clarify the presentation of dialogue were: italics, dashes, *points de suspension, guillemets,* a new line for each change of speaker, and name–headings of the kind found in printed plays'. Italics, in particular, were an 'alternative to *guillemets* as an indication that the passage in question came from someone other than the author/narrator',[85] namely the protagonists in the narrative. Distinguishing between each protagonist was 'achieved by printing one character's remarks in italics and the other's in roman'.[86] A resulting disadvantage of dialogue typeset in roman and run on in body text is the potential to create ambiguity, namely either between the dialogue of each protagonist or between the dialogue overall and the narrative. For example, 'What, interrupted *Agnes,* (more surprised than ever) Is it then from Himself you have learnt his Weakness? The Princess then shew'd her the Verses, and there was never any Dispair like to hers'.[87]

Where Behn utilises quotation marks to separate dialogue from the body text, she employs mostly single quotation marks; however, double quotation marks figure as well. For instance, during Constantia's conversation with the King of Portugal after Don Alvaro's failed abduction of Agnes, Behn uses single quotation marks. Note that this first instance takes place on the thirty-eighth page:

[85] Vivienne Mylne, 'The Punctuation of Dialogue in Eighteenth–Century French and English Fiction', *The Library,* s6–I (1979), 43–61 (p. 45).
[86] Mylne, p. 46.
[87] Brilhac and Behn, p. 15.

> 'Madam, said he to her, let this fatal Plague
> 'remove it self, who takes from you the heart
> 'of your Husband, and without afflicting your
> 'self for her Absence, bless Heaven and me for
> 'it.[88]

Behn's first application of double quotation marks occurs further down the same page, when Don Pedro confronts Don Alvaro after the latter's failed abduction of Agnes. The first half of Don Pedro's dialogue is reproduced:

> "*Don Alvaro*, said the Prince to him, is it
> "thus you make use of the Authority which
> "the King my Father has given you? have you
> "receiv'd Imployments and Power from him
> "for no other end but to do base Actions, and
> "to commit Rapes on Ladies?

For both examples, Behn's positioning of opening quotation marks conforms to contemporary practice: initial left–hand inverted commas to commence a quotation and left-hand inverted commas at the start of each required line; although closing quotation marks after 'it' and 'Ladies?', respectively, are not present.[89] It is true that

[88] Brilhac and Behn, p. 38.
[89] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Concerning Quotation Marks* (New York: privately printed, 1934), pp. 4–5. See also C. J. Mitchell, 'Quotation Marks, National Compositorial Habits and False Imprints', *The Library*, s6–5 (1983), 359–84 (p. 365).

Moxon's only mention of quotations, albeit in a purely typographic sense, occurs in his definition of quotation quadrats in his dictionary, which also serves as his index and appears as end matter in *Mechanick Exercises*. He wrote: '*Quotation Quadrats*, Are *Cast* the height of the *Quotation*. They are *Cast* of different *Bodies*, that the *Compositor* may have choice of them to *Justifie* [sic] his *Notes* or *Quotations* exactly against the designed *Line* of the *Page*'.[90] Approximately seventy years later, Smith subcategorised quotation marks according to their editorial use: single inverted commas are employed for extracts 'or the substance of a passage' that supports the author's argument, and double inverted commas are used for verbal quotations.[91] However, Smith's text cannot be used as supportive evidence for Behn's single-double interchange, as both examples relate to direct speech. Mylne offers a convincing explanation as a result of examining twelve English novels printed before 1700 and seventy-nine novels from the eighteenth century: 'single and double quotes are used alternately as a further indication of the changes of speaker'.[92] In regard to the examples on the previous page, Behn's practice of switching from single to double avoids any dialogic confusion by distinguishing between two conversations on the same page, each involving different protagonists: first, Constantia's conversation with the king of Portugal, and second, when Don Pedro confronts Don Alvaro.

As mentioned above, the examples of single and double quotation marks do not feature closing quotation marks after 'it' and 'Ladies?', respectively. For modern readers, this neglect could amount to error, potential incompetence, or ignorance; for

[90] Moxon, p. 388.
[91] Smith, *The Printer's Grammar*, p. 90.
[92] Mylne, p. 59. See also Mitchell, p. 375.

Behn's seventeenth–century readership, however, this was not the case — closing quotation marks were not always applied. C. J. Mitchell observes this in 'Quotation Marks, National Compositorial Habits and False Imprints': 'Often, the end of a quotation was perfectly obvious, coinciding perhaps with the end of a paragraph, or made clear by the context'.[93]

Behn further establishes her editorial intermediation through an editorial practice that unfailingly reflects Moxon's instruction. The components of Behn's editorial practice to be considered here are her application of italics and capitalisation to create textual emphasis. In *Mechanick Exercises*, Moxon explains that body text typeset in roman requires proper nouns to be set in italic; in contrast, body text in italics necessitates proper nouns in roman. Nonetheless, all proper nouns begin with a capital: 'For *Capitals* express Dignity where-ever they are *Set*, and Space and Distance also implies stateliness'. Similarly, words of 'great Emphasis' are typeset in italic and, depending on the distinction to be conveyed, sometimes start with a capital. Nouns (identified as 'Things') of emphasis also begin with a capital; however, those of smaller emphasis can be set in roman.[94]

For proper nouns in roman body text, Behn italicises every instance in Brilhac's original, frequently spelling them out when abbreviated. For example, when introducing Elvira into the narrative, de Brilhac writes: 'Constance n'étoit pas la seule qui se plaignoit de D. Pedre. Avant le divorce de Blance it avoit rendu quelques soins à Elvire Gonçales, sœur de D. Alvar Gonçales, favori du Roi de Portugal'.[95] Behn's

[93] Mitchell, p. 367.
[94] Moxon, pp. 225–6.
[95] Brilhac, p. 10.

translation is: 'Nor was *Constantia* the only Person who complain'd on *Don Pedro*; before his Divorce from *Bianca*, he had expressed some Care and Tenderness for *Elvira Gonzales*, Sister to *Don Alvaro Gonzales*, Favourite to the King of *Portugal*'.[96] Behn elects only once to italicise a noun to convey additional textual emphasis. That is, after Constantia's death, however much Don Pedro resolves to forget Agnes and to not succumb to melancholy, he fails to erase her visage from his mind: 'her *Idea* followed him always, and his memory faithful to represent her to him, with all her Charms, render'd her always dangerous'.[97]

Behn uses capitalisation to impart textual emphasis also. A significant number of nouns begin with an initial capital, as evidenced by the excerpts so far reproduced; Behn also capitalises certain adjectives to assist with character development. Don Pedro's first wife Bianca is described as 'the Melancholy Princess' after their divorce.[98] The 'Charming *Agnes*' descends from an 'Illustrious'[99] family and is labelled 'Amiable *Agnes*' when she agrees to marry Don Pedro after Constantia's death.[100] Despite his shenanigans, Don Pedro is also considered to be 'Amiable'.[101] 'Elvira's jealous intrigues are 'Bold and Hazardous Enterprizes'.[102] Constantia becomes the 'Generous Princess' when she expresses her sympathy for her husband's turmoil and forgives his betrayal.[103] And 'Jealous *Don Alvaro*'[104] is described as 'Barbarous' when he

[96] Brilhac and Behn, pp. 4–5.
[97] Ibid., p. 57.
[98] Brilhac and Behn, p. 2.
[99] Ibid., pp. 4, 19.
[100] Ibid., p. 58.
[101] Ibid., p. 24.
[102] Ibid., p. 5.
[103] Ibid., p. 10.
[104] Ibid., p. 23.

performs his 'terrible Execution'.[105] Behn reserves maximal capitalisation for one word only: 'LOVE'. Behn applies this at two crucial moments in the narrative to embody LOVE's personification and signpost its 'Sad and Fatal' consequences.[106] The first appears in the prologue-like first paragraph: 'Though LOVE, all soft and flattering, promises nothing but Pleasures'. The second occurs when Don Pedro embraces his love for Agnes, regardless of his earlier guilt and despair: 'But LOVE soon put a stop to all the little Advances of *Hymen*, the fatal Star that presided over the Destiny of *Don Pedro*, had not yet vented its Malignity; and one moments Sight of *Agnes* gave new Forces to his Passion'.[107] Therefore, the first instance signposts the tragedy; the second substantiates it.

From this examination, the nature of Behn's cultural translation and editorial intermediation is apparent: the industrious Aphra Behn capitalised on the choices available to women in the late seventeenth century. As Todd observes, 'All her life Behn felt, simultaneously, that she had missed something of importance in not knowing Latin and Greek well and that what she was missing was unnecessary, since its primary result seemed an unwonted sense of superiority in its owners'.[108] As mentioned earlier, women studied European languages such as French, Italian, and Spanish, whereas men's education also comprised Latin and Greek. Women were encouraged to pursue vernacular translation and engage with religious texts because such work did not challenge the male-dominated literary sphere. Therefore, among

[105] Ibid., p. 60.
[106] Ibid., p. 1.
[107] Brilhac and Behn, pp. 11–12.
[108] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, p. 24.

her myriad other literary successes, the self-supporting Behn translated texts from French to earn an income. Behn conveyed her understanding of contemporary translation methods, particularly those of Abraham Cowley and John Dryden, in her 'Essay on Translated Prose'. Current scholarship appears divided on the issue of her translation practice: for example, Cottegnies and Agorni promote her fidelity to the author's copy, whereas McMurran and Goodfellow describe her imitation and loose interpretation, respectively. However, it is argued here that her translation method exhibited latitude, an in–betweenness that ensured the accuracy of the author's meaning, though not, at times, the expression. Behn expressed her preference for latitude in both 'Essay on translated Prose' and her epistolary dedication to Sir Roger Puleston in *Agnes de Castro*, and she implemented her latitude strategically. She utilised stagecraft techniques to create the narrative scene and depict concurrent events; paratextual asides to establish her authorial voice and editorial intermediation; and editorial techniques, such as italicisation and capitalisation, to further this intermediation and transmit meaning. While it appears that her editorial practice did at times result in error, such as her application of commas, her hurried production not only acknowledged the commercial imperatives of the publishing industry but also typified her human nature.

Necessary Abuse: The Mirror as Metaphor in the Sixteenth Century

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Abstract: Metaphor, or translatio, is one of the most prominent figures in classical and medieval rhetoric, and the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries inherited both a sense of its importance, and a complex admixture of attitudes about its cognitive and linguistic functions. This was enabled by the teaching of imitatio (μίμησις), 'the study and conspicuous deployment of features recognizably characteristic of a canonical author's style or content…', which emphasised intimate knowledge of as large as possible a library of texts. [1]

The close analysis involved necessitated memorising and internalising a wide variety of authorial models, which makes Renaissance authors ideal for a historical examination of one of the key tenets of an influential modern theory: that metaphor is fundamental to cognition. In this paper I survey some sixteenth-century uses as a metaphor of the mirror for counsel, against the background of Lakoff and Johnson's 'invariance principle'.

The mirror was a metaphor for many things at once in sixteenth-century literature: in John Lyly's 1591 play *Endimion* the mirror is associated with *Vanitas*, *Superba*, *Luxuria*, *Veritas*, *Prudentia*, and *Contemplation*.[2] Recent work on vision metaphors in European literature details the centrality of the mirror as a metaphor in the Renaissance.[3] At the

[1] Gian Biagio Conte and Glenn W. Most, 'Imitatio', in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* <10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.3266> [accessed 25 October 2016].

[2] Robert S. Knapp, 'The Monarchy of Love in Lyly's "Endimion"', *Modern Philology*, 73 (1976), 353-67 (p. 363–5).

[3] For example, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Rayna Kalas, *Frame, Glass, Verse: The Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections*, ed. by Nancy M. Frelick (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

same time as improvements in crystal glass technology allowed for ever clearer and more frequent self-regard, mirrors were seen as spiritually and psychologically distorting.[4] But this was not necessarily a bad thing. The mirror metaphor was not only an established topic for political criticism and self-reflection (as it is now called: a case in point), but also for the juxtaposition of ideals and realities and dialogue between them. The *loci classici* of the mirror metaphor can be seen in the mirror of St Paul, through which we see divine perfection 'in aenigmate', and the mirror of Narcissus, symbol of vain (in both senses), and ultimately fatal, self-regard.[5] Both of these traditions reflect Platonic doctrines of ideal forms of knowledge.[6] This study examines how the mirror of St Paul and the mirror of Narcissus worked together in sixteenth-century counsel.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argued in *Metaphors We Live By* that metaphor is central to cognition: we think by mapping metaphors from one domain of experience to another.[7] For example we speak, and think, of cognition in terms of vision, as people did in the sixteenth century (speculation, reflection, perception).[8] As vision requires a degree of illumination, a viewer, an object, and an eye or lens, these

[4] For example, Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, trans. by Katherine H. Jewett (London: Routledge, 2001) and Mark Pendergrast, *Mirror Mirror: A History of the Human Love Affair with Reflection* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

[5] *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum*: 'For *now we see through a glass*, *darkly*; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.' I Cor. 13.12.

[6] Anna Torti, *The Glass of Form: Mirroring Structures from Chaucer to Skelton* (Rochester, NY: Brewer, 1991), pp. 6, 9–10.

[7] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 3–4.

[8] See for example; John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, Or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Edward Blount, 1598), STC 11098; John Baret, *An aluearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (London: Denham, 1574), p. 234; and see Nancy M. Frelick, *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, pp. 3, 7–10, 11–12; Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil*, pp. 6–7.

elements are mapped on to intellection: we understand something 'dimly' or 'clearly', the person attempting to understand is the viewer, the topic to be understood is the object, and the means of understanding (sometimes the mind, sometimes the theory or medium) is the lens. While such 'conceptual metaphors' are not universal, once such a metaphor is established, it tends to persist.[9] New ideas, and indeed new metaphors, are mapped on to the sum total of previously existing meanings. To explain how this happens, Lakoff and Johnson proposed the invariance principle:

> Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain [in this case vision], in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain [intellection].[10]

While cognitive linguistics has advanced since the early 1980s, the invariance principle remains an influential idea in the discipline.[11] With the influence of the linguistic turn on historiography, a renewed interest in metaphor among historians is shown in several recent studies, such as Judith H. Anderson's study of three

[9] For example, some societies conceive of time as a circle, others as linear.

[10] George Lakoff, 'Conceptual Metaphor', in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, ed. by Dirk Geeraerts (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 185–238 (p. 199). First published as 'Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Andrew Ortony (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 202-251 (p. 215).

[11] Cognitive linguistics, including conceptual metaphor theory, has been developed mainly in linguistics with the perspectives of philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences. Conceptual metaphor theory and more broadly cognitive metaphor theory is therefore situated in this context. Subsequently cognitive metaphor theory has been applied to the study of literature and the development of cognitive poetics. See Gerard Steen, 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor—Now New and Improved!', *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9 (2011), 26–64; George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Mark Turner, *Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Peter Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics: An Introduction* (Abingdon: Psychology Press, 2002).

metaphors in the English Reformation, *Translating Investments*.[12] In extrapolating the theories of metaphor in the Renaissance, scholars have taken issue with cognitive linguistics' universalising premise.[13] One way to address this issue is to simply avoid applying modern theories to early modern material on grounds of anachronism. This may be one reason why cognitive metaphor theory, despite its universalising goal, has not so far been historicised. In this article, I would like to explore some similarities and differences between Renaissance theories of metaphor and cognitive metaphor theory. Although cognitive metaphor theory has of course developed and broadened beyond Lakoff's initial text, this article focuses on the invariance principle as an important tenet of that theory, comparing the invariance principle to the treatment of metaphor in Renaissance rhetoric. I will examine how this conceptual resemblance was used in the idea of counsel as a mirror for princes (and other individuals), and for Elizabethan society more broadly. For Aristotle, just as for Lakoff and Johnson, the creation of meaning through metaphor is a universal human capacity and a universal human pleasure:

[12] Judith H. Anderson, *Translating Investments. Metaphor and the Dynamic of Cultural Change in Tudor-Stuart England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).

[13] Judith Anderson finds Lakoff and Johnson's theory 'lacking a historico-cultural dimension' (*Translating Investments,* pp. 183, 212 n. 110). Similarly, Miranda Anderson finds that 'Both evolutionary psychology and cognitive linguistics literary approaches tend to operate without due attention to the historical (and geographical) variables also involved in literary and linguistic constructions' (Miranda Anderson, *The Renaissance Extended Mind* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 63), and in particular 'Lakoff and Johnson's concept of language has overly universalising and homogenising tendencies' (p. 25). Raphael Lyne's work finds cognitive metaphor theory useful for early modern literature: see for example *Shakespeare, Rhetoric and Cognition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). I would suggest that any attempt to describe a cognitive and/or linguistic phenomenon (such as metaphor) that is assumed to be universal, requires the explanation to be applicable across times and places. If so, an attempt to apply it therefore constitutes a useful litmus test for such a theory.

> metaphor especially has clarity and sweetness and strangeness [... A]ll people carry on their conversations with metaphors [...] for people are admirers of what is far off, and what is marvellous is sweet.[14]

This passage also introduces the idea that 'clarity and sweetness and strangeness' are not mutually exclusive qualities; the appeal of the 'marvellous' and the clarity of the familiar work together in metaphor. Mark Turner credits Aristotle with something like a proto-invariance principle, citing 'Aristotle's apparent characterization of [...] metaphor as the perception of similarity in dissimilar things'.[15] Aristotle originally noticed that a metaphor is constrained not to violate various things about the target. He expressed this by saying that the source must fit the target in certain ways, including what appear to be conceptual ways.[16] For Cicero, although 'metaphors were first established because of a shortage of words', metaphorical expression 'clarifie[s a] **resemblance** between this thing and the thing that we evoke by [...] the metaphorical word [...] Other metaphors [...] introduce some splendour [...]' (my emphasis). This appeal leads to common usage, where metaphors 'c[o]me to be used frequently because of their charm'.[17]

In *Institutiones Oratoriae*, Quintilian classifies metaphor as:

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[14] Aristotle, *On Rhetoric. A Theory of Civic Discourse,* ed. and trans. by George A. Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), III. 1404b–1405a, pp. 221–23. The translation and comparison of metaphorical idioms (*sputare il rospo*, for example) is a common human pleasure that illustrates the point.

[15] Turner, p. 55. Cf. Aristotle, 'the right use of metaphor means an eye for resemblances' (*Poetics* 1459a) <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0056%3Asection%3D1459a#note1> [accessed 30/10/16.]).

[16] Turner, pp. 54–5, paraphrasing Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1405a.

[17] Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, trans. by James M. May and Jakob Wisse (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001), III, 155–7, p. 270.

> A noun or a verb is transferred from the place to which it properly belongs to another where there is either no literal term or the transferred is better than the literal. We do this either because it is necessary or to make our meaning clearer or, as I have already said, to produce a decorative effect. When it secures none of these results, our metaphor will be out of place.[18]

Thus, for Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, three of the major influences on Renaissance rhetoric, metaphor adds clarity, significance and/or charm through interdependent resemblance and difference between the two terms. While metaphors foreground 'resemblance' between one thing and another (in modern terms, between source and target), it is the distance between them that confers splendour and therefore creates new meaning — provided there is sufficient existing resemblance to be recognisable and sufficient distance to strike the imagination. Lakoff defined this resemblance as 'topologically consistent image-schemata', as in the vision-intellection metaphor.[19] Any new metaphorical transference must clarify or reinforce some aspect of the source *at the same time* as it clarifies some aspect of the target. In this, Lakoff's invariance principle echoes classical metaphor theory.

These ideas remained current throughout the sixteenth century, as can be seen in English rhetorical textbooks that translated and engaged with the classical sources. For Thomas Wilson, Henry Peacham and George Puttenham, as for Aristotle, Cicero

[18] Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*, ed. by William P. Thayer, trans. by H. E. Butler, 8.6.4–6 <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/8B*.html#6.4> [accessed 15 December 2017.]

[19] Cf. Lakoff, 'Conceptual Metaphor', p. 199.

and Quintilian, metaphor works by transferring meaning from a 'natural' to an 'unnatural' domain, but this is only possible because of some [existing and recognisable] 'likeness', 'nearness' or 'affinity'. Metaphor is:

> an alteration [...] from the proper and natural meaning to that which is not proper and yet agreeth thereunto by some likeness that appeareth to be in it.[20]

> [...] from the proper signification, to another not proper, but yet nigh and like.[21]

> a kind of wresting [...] from his owne right signification, to another not so naturall, but yet of some affinitie or conueniencie with it.[22]

This sense of a proper signification and one 'like' it, appear cognate with Lakoff's source and target domains.

However, where no such resemblance seems to exist, the figure is called not metaphor but catachresis, 'abuse'. For Peacham, this is a '**necessary abuse** of like words' where no 'proper' term exists (my emphasis).[23] Puttenham omits 'necessary', and indeed the lack of necessity is the reason he calls it abuse.[24] Erasmus echoes the sense of necessary impropriety: a word used metaphorically 'is transferred away from

[20] Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric, for the Use of All Such as Are Studious of Eloquence*, ed. by Nicholas Sharp (1553), book III <http://www.people.vcu.edu/~nsharp/wilsded2.htm> [accessed 12/7/2016]. Printed in 1553, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1567, 1580, 1584, and 1585.

[21] Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593) (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1977) <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.03.0082%3Apart%3DTropes+of+words> [accessed 22 October 2016]. Printed in 1577, 1591, and 1593.

[22] George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 3.17 <http://ota.ox.ac.uk/text/3181.html> [accessed 22 October 2016]. Printed in 1589 and 1590.

[23] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson, 1577), STC / 348:04, sig. C4r.

[24] 'without any iust inconuenience': Puttenham, 3.17.

its real and proper signification to one which lies outside'.[25] In Angel Day's *English Secretary*, the same distinction, and the same similarity, is made between metaphor and catachresis. Metaphor is the transference of a word 'from the proper or right signification […] to another neere unto the meaning', and catachresis 'where wee accommodate a name to a thing that is not proper'.[26] Judith Anderson notes the occasional conflation of metaphor and catachresis in early modern rhetoric, and suggests that the difference seems to be in degree of 'nearness' to the 'proper natural signification'.[27]

Lakoff and Johnson refute what they call the 'Naming Position': 'that a metaphor is the use of a word to mean something it doesn't "properly" mean', because 'the position has the false consequence that metaphor has no conceptual role. In other words, it cannot be used in reasoning, conceptualizing, and understanding'.[28] However, subscribing to this position did not hinder Renaissance authors from using metaphor to reason, conceptualise, and understand. 'In cases of indeterminate target structure', Mark Turner allows:

> the metaphor has exceptionally wide power to *impart* meaning to the subject [...] by imparting to it through metaphor the image-schematic structure of a source. Much of

[25] Erasmus, *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*, trans. by Betty I. Knott, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, vol. 24 in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (University of Toronto Press, 1974–), (hereafter *CWE*), p. 333.
[26] Angel Day, *The English Secretary* (London: Printed by P[eter]. S[hort]. for C. Burbie, 1599). pp. 77–9. <https://archive.org/details/englishsecretary00daya> [accessed 24 October 2016]. Printed in 1586, 1592, and 1595.
[27] Judith Anderson, *Translating Investments*, pp. 129–65. See especially pp. 135–7 and p. 145.
[28] Lakoff and Johnson, p. 124.

> our abstract reasoning may or may not be a metaphoric version of image-schematic reasoning.[29]

As Lakoff and Johnson put it:

> To the extent that we use a conceptual [...] metaphor, we accept its validity. Consequently, when someone else uses it, we are predisposed to accept its validity. For this reason, conventionalised schemas and metaphors have *persuasive* power.[30]

In this, Lakoff and Johnson's explanation of metaphor's appeal seems to echo Wilson's:

> Thus as necessitye hath forced us to borowe wordes translated: so hath time and practice made theim to seeme moost pleasaunt, and therfore thei are muche the rather used.[31]

It is worth noting here that Wilson and his contemporaries were very conscious that *translatio* is the literal Latin translation for the Greek word 'metaphor', and in the sixteenth century 'translation' was a common way of referring to metaphor, the 'carrying over' of meaning from one referent to another. Here Wilson, Lakoff and Johnson describe the appeal, and centrality to cognition, of metaphors as they become familiar through usage.

[29] Turner, p. 61.
[30] Lakoff and Johnson, p. 63.
[31] Wilson, p. z3r < http://ota.ox.ac.uk/text/3153.html> [accessed 25 October 2016].

However, Aristotle's 'strangeness' was also an important part of metaphor's appeal and power. This aspect was much more heavily emphasised in the Renaissance schoolroom, which trained writers for public and professional life, than in modern linguistics. Students were urged to become familiar with a wide variety of models so as to be able to coin new usages that would be strange enough to give splendour, but 'yet of some affinitie'.[32] I would argue that metaphorical 'abuse' was found necessary in the Elizabethan period less for lack of words — there are many ways to neologise; for example loan words, calques and backformations were common — than because sufficient distance between image-schemata was needed for the metaphor to appeal to the imagination. As Peacham cautions 'that the similitude be not greater then the matter requireth, **or contrariwise lesse**' (my emphasis).[33]

The key to developing this skill, and to developing this affinity, was *imitatio*, the imitation of canonical authors, in particular stylistic characteristics, such as metaphor. For Erasmus:

> not polish alone but all the dignity of language stems from its metaphors [...]. Of the other ornaments of style, each makes its own peculiar contribution to its charm and flexibility; metaphor alone adds everything in fuller measure [...].[34]

[32] Puttenham, 3.17.

[33] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, sig. D4v <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.03.0082%3Apart%3DTropes+of+words> [accessed 25 October 2016].

[34] Erasmus, *Parallels*, trans. by R.A.B. Mynors and ed. by Craig R. Thompson, vol. 23 in *CWE*, p. 130.

Therefore, metaphor was one way that conceptual frameworks were transferred (or as Shakespeare's Bottom would say 'translated') from one author to another. [35] In *De Copia*, written for John Colet's St Paul's School, Erasmus exhorts the student to 'provide himself with extensive lists of striking metaphors culled from the best authors [...], These I myself have laboured to collect'.[36]

Erasmus' *Parabolae*, or *Parallels*, are a collection of metaphors taken from Greek and Latin authors for the embellishment of writing exercises and letters. In the preface to this text, Erasmus hinted: 'It will not be found out of the way to attach this book to my *Adagia* or, if so preferred, to my *Copia* as a kind of supplement'. [37] Both books were enormously popular throughout sixteenth-century Europe. It is easy to see why metaphor dominated Renaissance rhetoric.[38] Perhaps not too surprisingly, then, it was also instrumental in early thinking about cognition: 'For the Greek *parabole*, which Cicero latinizes as *collatio*, a sort of comparison, is nothing more than a metaphor writ large'.[39] Comparing and being able to imitate many styles is a similar mental operation to that demanded in the comparison of different 'strange' yet 'like' qualities, or in Lakoff's terms, image-schemata consistent with the topology of the target domain (in itself a metaphor: understanding as map-making).[40] The way this comparison worked

[35] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. i. 12–13.

[36] Erasmus, *Copia, CWE*, p. 335.

[37] Erasmus, *Parallels*, p. 134.

[38] Betty Knott, 'Introduction' in *Copia*, *CWE*, pp. 281–3. Knott comments: '*De copia* was before long adopted as a textbook of rhetoric in schools and universities throughout northern Europe; so widespread did its use become that it was worth pirating, summarizing, excerpting, turning into a question-and-answer manual, and making the subject of commentaries. Editions, both authorized and unauthorized, of the work in its various forms poured from the presses of Germany, the Netherlands, and Paris.' She then lists the main editions.

[39] Erasmus, *Parallels*, p. 130. Raphael Lyne has explored this further, particularly in *Shakespeare, Rhetoric and Cognition* and *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature*.

[40] Lakoff, p. 199.

in practice can be seen in the metaphor of the mirror, particularly in the way the mirror was used as a metaphor in Elizabethan notions of counsel, that is, the giving, receiving, and soliciting of advice. As we will see, counsel was based on the image-schema of 'the mind as possessing one or more figurative mirrors [...] no other model of the mind competed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with this paradigm'.[41]

This image-schema of the mind as a mirror allowed for different kinds of mirrors. Erasmus' *Parabolae* included references to the mirror as a reflection to be held up to an angry man (456B),[42] an example (85B),[43] and a 'flatterer' that 'reproduces whatever is set before him' (53A).[44] *Mirror* was a 'splendid' (in this context, boastful), book title, like *Summa* or *Jewel*.[45] In fact, as Herbert Grabes has shown, the mirror as a title denoted several recognised kinds of 'splendour' by the sixteenth century. Printed 'mirrors' could be encyclopaedic, showing everything: fantastic, showing imaginary things; prophetic, showing things as they would be, or didactic, showing things as they should (or should not) be.[46] Some of the earliest texts called mirrors were encyclopaedias and compendia, such as Vincent of Beauvais' thirteenth-century *Speculum maius*, a monumental work setting out to describe the nature, doctrine, and history of the world. Conduct manuals such as, the mirror for princes that showed rulers models of right and wrong behaviour, were also popular throughout the

[41] Maurice A. Hunt, *Shakespeare's Speculative Art* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 15.
[42] Erasmus, *Parallels*, p. 199.
[43] Erasmus, *Parallels*, p. 188.
[44] Erasmus, *Parallels*, p. 144.
[45] Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, trans. by Margaret Mann Phillips, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, vol. 23 in *CWE*, p. 67.
[46] Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, trans. by Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 39.

medieval period. Throughout the sixteenth century, a text called a 'mirror' or 'glass' could be a conduct manual,[47] biography,[48] textbook,[49] or social satire. These different literary functions and conventions were often combined and influenced one another, as the practice of *imitatio* helped to ensure. For example, in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559), biography functioned as a didactic mirror to those in office, as well as holding up an encyclopaedic, or all-encompassing, mirror to a changing society.

In 1602, Sir Richard Hawkins, a sea captain and explorer who had commanded one of Queen Elizabeth's ships against the Armada, wrote to the Queen, addressing her as a 'Mirror for Princes and my dread Sovereign'.[50] Elizabeth would have understood him to be invoking her as a mirror in the sense of a model or example, as Edmund Mather did when he addressed her as a 'Mirror of Clemencie'.[51] Elizabeth

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[47] Thomas Salter, *A mirrhor mete for all mothers, matrones, and maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie no lesse profitable and pleasant, then necessarie to bee read and practiced* (London: J. Kingston for Edward White, 1579).

[48] Anthony Munday, *Palmerin D'Oliua The mirrour of nobilitie, mappe of honor, anotamie of rare fortunes, heroycall president of Loue:... Presenting to noble mindes, theyr courtlie desire, to gentles, theyr choise expectations, and to the inferior sorte, howe to imitate theyr vertues...* (London: I. Charlewood for William Wright, 1588).

[49] *The mariners mirrour wherin may playnly be seen the courses, heights, distances, depths, soundings, flouds and ebs, risings of lands, rocks, sands and shoalds….* (London: John Charlewood, 1588).

[50] Richard Hawkins to The Queen, August 6, 1602. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire,* ed. by R. A. Roberts. Vol. 12: 1602. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), p. 285. <http://go.galegroup.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4306300653&v=2.1&u=unimelb&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Calendar> [accessed 24 October 2016].

[51] Edmund Mather to the Queen, [Jan. 29.] [1571–2]. Edmund Mather, *Submission. A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, Transcribed from Original letters and Other Authentick Memorials, Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley,* ed. by William Murdin. Vol. 2: 1571–1596. (London: William Bowyer, 1759), p. 207. <http://go.galegroup.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4304900160&v=2.1&u=unimelb&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Transcript> [accessed 24 October 2016]. Similarly, Holinshed calls Henry V a 'mirror of magnificence' (Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles: Richard II, 1398–1400: Henry IV and Henry V*, ed. by Robert Strachan Wallace and Alma Hansen (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 132) and Shakespeare calls him 'mirror of all Christian kings' (*Henry V*, II. Prologue. 6), noted in Hunt, p. 77. Elizabeth was at least somewhat familiar with Holinshed, as her counsellors certainly were. (Felicity Heal, 'Readership and Reception', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 355–74, (p. 361).

described herself as a mirror for princes in more complex terms, when in 1586 she wrote to James VI of Scotland to advise him against forming an alliance with France:

> Only natural affection [...] stirred me to save you from the murderers of your father and the peril that their complices might breed you. Thus, as in no counterfeit mirror you may behold without mask the faces of both beginners.[52]

Here Elizabeth evokes the mirror both as a false counsellor, and at the same time as a true reflection of the world and a tool for self-reflection and self-knowledge. She posits herself and her counsel as a mirror in which James could see his political dilemma and the lords surrounding him in their true proportions, while simultaneously implying that the lords are 'counterfeit mirrors'; counsellors that flattered a prince's vanity and led him, and the realm, into peril. Likewise, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Cassius positions himself to Brutus as a true mirror that will show Brutus his own 'hidden worthiness', a plain-spoken friend, and therefore, a good counsellor.[53]

Thus, we can see several image-schemata (in Lakoff's terms) common to mirrors and to counsel, whether directly in letters or more broadly in literature:

- A mirror reflects a situation as it is, without bias.
- A mirror reflects everything there is to be seen of something.
- A mirror reflects a situation only partially.

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[52] Queen Elizabeth to the King of Scotland, April 26, 1586. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, ed. by E. Salisbury. Vol. 13: 12C-1597. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1915), p. 293. <http://go.galegroup.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4306400897&v=2.1&u=unimelb&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Calendar> [accessed 24 October 2016].

[53] BRUTUS: 'The eye sees not itself/ But by reflection…' CASSIUS: '... you have no such mirrors as will turn/ Your hidden worthiness into your eye… I your glass, Will modestly discover to yourself/ That of yourself which you yet know not of.' *Julius Caesar* I. ii. 51–58, 66–70. Cited in Hunt, pp. 31–2.

- A mirror reflects the surface appearance of things, encouraging narcissism and ignorance.
- A mirror reflects the person looking into it.
- A mirror can be distorting.
- A reflection is always inverted.

All of these disparate resemblances were simultaneously consistent with, and indeed constitutive of, the topology of the mirror image-schema, and the domain of counsel. I suggest that this was possible by mapping the mirror onto a number of other image-schemata and thence onto the image-schema of counsel (that is, of the giving and receiving of advice) through the practice of literary *imitatio* and *collatio* of metaphors.[54] Key to this process was the double tradition of the Pauline mirror and the mirror of Narcissus. Mather makes explicit reference to one such image-schema when he refers Elizabeth to her own 'dread Sovereign':

> your Majestie [...] being a Mirror of Clemencie, will, [...] deal herein, as it shall please God, the Director of Princes to inspire your Heighnes with his devine Grace and Goodnes.[55]

[54] Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (1531) is the primary source here. See also the discussions of Elizabethan counsel in, for example,F. W. Conrad, 'The problem of counsel reconsidered: the case of Sir Thomas Elyot', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse and Disguise*, ed. By Paul Fideler and Thomas Mayer (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 77–110; Allyna E. Ward, *Women and Tudor Tragedy: Feminizing Counsel and Representing Gender* (Madison and Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013), pp. 6–7, 38–43, 52–3; Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 95–101; and Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 53–4.

[55] Mather's *Submission*, 29 Jan. 1571. *A Collection of State Papers... Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley,* ed. by William Murdin. Vol. 2: 1571–1596. (London: William Bowyer, 1759), p. 207.

In the chain of command of Elizabethan office, each person, including the monarch, was a mirror (reflection) of their superior, and a mirror (example) to their inferiors.[56] Through the influence and imitation of Aristotle, Neoplatonism, and medieval authorities such as St Bonaventure, the chain image-schema was blended with the Renaissance concept of vision:

> all of creation, including humankind, was thought of as so many specula, or mirrors, catching the rays of divine light/love as they stream from godhead and reflecting them downward to the creature beneath in a Great Chain of Being.[57]

This chain of mirrors has obvious echoes in that of the Pauline mirror, in which light corresponds to wisdom. How this worked in the practice of Tudor counsel is shown in William Baldwin's *The Mirror for Magistrates,* a collection of verse tragedies narrated by various unfortunates in English history, introduced by short prose links. The audience of 'magistrates', that is, any office-holders, are counselled to see themselves as deputies of God:

[56] See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The great chain of being: a study of the history of an idea: the William James lectures delivered at Harvard University, 1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), and E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1943), noting that they focused on continuities between classical, medieval and Renaissance thought.

[57] Joseph Mazzeo, *Medieval Cultural Traditions in Dante's "Comedy"* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1968), pp. 15–16, 20–21, quoted in Hunt, p. 23.

> For as justice is the chief virtue, so is the ministration thereof, the chiefest office: and therefore hath God established it with the chiefest name, honoring and calling kings, and all officers under them, by his own name, Gods. Ye be all gods [...] [58]

As in the source texts, the tragic figures are also, for the most part, noble. The *Mirror* is intended to remind its readers of the right way to behave, particularly in offices of authority, and of the divine origin of individual responsibility. The choices of historical persons in each succeeding edition are cited as evidence of this didactic message.[59] The individual tragedies for the most part are negative examples. Maurice Hunt suggests that the exemplary mirrors in the *Mirror*, or at least the kings that are mirrors (Richard II, James I, and Edward IV in the 1559 edition), are 'warnings for readers (especially princely ones)' because 'their virtues are few, or nonexistent'.[60] The metaphorical sense of 'mirror' as 'negative example' in political counsel persisted throughout Elizabeth's reign, as when Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's principal secretary, warned the Lord Chancellor of Scotland that the fate of:

> Don Antonio [King of Portugal] may serve for a lively example, wherein as a mirror he [Maitland] may behold his fortune falling into the like hard and distressed estate.[61]

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[58] Baldwin's dedication to the 1559 edition in William Baldwin, *The mirror for magistrates, edited from original texts in the Huntington library*, ed. by Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: The University Press, 1938), p. 65.

[59] See Paul Budra, *'A Mirror for Magistrates' and the 'de casibus' tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 25–30.

[60] Hunt, p. 87.

[61] Walsingham to [the Chancellor of Scotland], March 1587. Cotton Caligula D/I f.133. Don Antonio was at the time in exile and attempting to garner support from England against Spain, however he 'was in despair of the Queen's giving him help to undertake any enterprise himself, and was almost starving.' Bernardino De Mendoza to King Philip of Spain, 26th March 1587 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol4/pp43-59> (no. 48) [accessed 10 November 2016]. There

The same meaning occurs in a letter to Walsingham dated five years before, which shows the process Wilson described: 'time and practice' made 'words borrowed' 'the rather used'.[62]

Grabes classifies the *Mirror for Magistrates* as an admonitory mirror and it appears Baldwin intended it as such.[63] In the introduction, Baldwin's 'chiefest ende' was that the reader:

> [...] here as in a loking glas, [...] shall see (if any vice be in you) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore, whereby admonished, I trust it will [...] move you to the soner amendement.[64]

This illustrates an extra dimension to the metaphor. In Lakoff's terms, the chain image-schema is topologically consistent with the reflection image-schema. This combination allows each link in the chain of mirrors, that is, each reader, to be both positive and negative examples. This is evidenced in Duke Humfrey's exhortation to the reader in the *Mirror for Magistrates*: 'Note well the cause of my decay and fall, / And make a mirror for magistrates all'.[65] This 'decay and fall' is a negative example with the reader urged to become a positive mirror, in the sense that Elizabeth was asked to be a mirror of clemency.

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was a plot at the time to murder Don Antonio by poisoning his fortnightly enema: indeed, a hard and distressed estate.

[62] The abuses of Catholic armies are presented 'for a mirror [to the people of Flanders] not [to] let themselves be led over a precipice[…].' Rossel to Walsingham, Feb 4 1582. SP 83/15 f. 19.

[63] Grabes, p. 82.

[64] Baldwin, ed. Campbell, pp. 65–7.

[65] Baldwin, ed. Campbell, p. 445.

The chain image-schema also allows for simultaneous notions of counsel, as both a false and true mirror. The reader could see, as in a (true) reflection, the negative consequences of being deceived by Narcissan mirrors of false counsellors: 'Whereby the world may see, as in a glass, The unsure state, of them that stand most high, Which than dread least, when danger is most nigh'.[66] They also saw the consequences of being such a mirror:

> Where Judges and Justices may see, as in a glasse,
> What fee is for falshode, and what our wages was
> Who for our princes pleasure corrupt with meed and awe
> wittyngly and wretchedly did wrest the sence of lawe.[67]

As Edmund Spenser reminded Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene*:

> [...] true curtesie,
> Its now so farre from that, which then it was,
> That it indeed is nought but forgerie,
> Fashion'd to please the eies of them, that pas,
> Which see not perfect things but in a glas:
> Yet is that glasse so gay that it can blynd/ The wisest sight [...][68]

[66] Baldwin, ed. Campbell, p. 459.
[67] Baldwin, ed. Campbell, p. 73.
[68] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene, Book Six and the Mutabilitie Cantos*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield and Abraham Stoll (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007), p. 4.

Thus, the Pauline mirror, through which we see 'through a glass darkly', was usefully combined with the annihilating vanity of Narcissus. While explicitly addressing an audience of noble individuals, the *Mirror* is also positioned as a conduct mirror for the nation more broadly. The poems in the *Mirror for Magistrates* are referred to as tragedies and their sources are chronicles, thus mapping the mirror onto two established genres in the domain of history. National and/or world history was one of the most popular forms of the encyclopedic mirror. Of the three parts of the much-reprinted medieval *Speculum Maius*, which described the nature, doctrine, and history of the world, the *Speculum Historiale* was the most popular. In England, William Caxton's *Mirror of the World* (1481 and 1490) and John Swan's *Speculum mundi*, which went through four editions by 1670, were equally popular translations of chronicles. John Lydgate's 1430s *Fall of Princes* proceeded chronologically from Adam and Eve to the Battle of Poitiers (1356). The *Mirror for Magistrates* was printed as an accompaniment to a new edition of Lydgate, continuing Lydgate's chronicle 'since the tyme of kyng Richard the seconde'.[69] Subsequent editions added later individuals as well as more English historical figures. Each successive edition also left out particular figures.[70] It is clear, however, that the chronicle form remained, in the sense of a comprehensive history of the nation from Adam and Eve to the time of publication.

The *Mirror for Magistrates* draws explicitly on chronicles, and on *De Casibus* tragedy; that is the fall of the great, either as divine punishment for hubris or just

[69] According to the title of the first edition: Baldwin, William, ca. 1518–1563, *A memorial of suche princes, as since the tyme of king Richard the seconde, haue been vnfortunate in the realme of England*, (London: In ædibus Iohannis Waylandi, cum priuilegio per septenniam, 1554?).

[70] The principal editions (1559, 1563, 74, 78, 87, 1610) are surveyed in Lily Campbell's 'Introduction', pp. 5–19.

through the fickleness of fortune (or indeed, as divine punishment for having too much faith in fortune).[71] As well as extending the admonitory mirror into chronicle form, the *Mirror* also constitutes a larger tragedy of 'mundane irrationality'; that is, of the inescapable absurdity of the world.[72] Its models, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (c. 1431–9) and Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (*On the Fates or Misfortunes of Famous Men*, c. 1358) were collections of tragic biographies that showed in microcosm the postlapsarian trajectory of the human condition: 'the instability of fortune; and […] the certain death of men'.[73] It is not surprising, then, that literary critics, and to a lesser extent historians, have seen the element of tragedy in the *Mirror for Magistrates* as reinforcing the notion of obedience to orthodoxy.

The multiplicity and intersectionality of different linguistic modes in English history and their effect on shaping English identity is a major theme of recent scholarship. Catherine Nicholson suggests that early sixteenth-century English authors' sense of nationhood depended on a sense of balance between resemblance and strangeness learned from their studies of rhetoric:

[71] Notably Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke ...*, commonly known as Hall's Chronicle, first published in 1548 (London: In officina Richardi Graftoni typis impress., 1548. STC (2nd ed.) / 12722), and Robert Fabyan, *The new chronicles of England and France, in two parts, by Robert Fabyan. Named by himself The concordance of histories*, first published 1516 (London: Richard Pynson, 1516. STC (2nd ed.) / 10659). Both works were among the best known of the mid-sixteenth century.

[72] Grabes, pp. 172–3.

[73] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, ed. and trans. by Louis Brewer Hall (New York: Frederick Ungar 1965), p. 4. Quoted in Budra, p. 18. 'The fall of nobles, with eueri circumstaunce, / From ther lordshippes, dreedful and vnstable,... Therin to shewe Fortunys variaunce, / That othre myhte as in a merour see / In worldly worshepe may be no surete.' Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924–1927), Book 1 verse 8 <http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_ep/uvaGenText/tei/chep_1.0297.xml;chunk.id=d3;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d3;brand=default> [accessed 24 October 2016].

> even as [English authors'] study of ancient rhetoric and poetry taught them to recognise their estrangement from antiquity, it also taught them to perceive in that estrangement — or any estrangement of language — the essence of literary value.[74]

> Without the cultivation of a certain degree of alienation — without translation and metaphor — eloquence collapses into mere talk; taken too far, the exoticism of eloquence becomes affectation and absurdity.[75]

As noted earlier, Peacham and Puttenham speak of metaphor in exactly these terms, a translation:

> [...] from the proper signification, to another not proper, but yet nigh and like.[76]

> a kind of wresting [...] from his owne right signification, to another not so naturall, but yet of some affinitie or conueniencie with it.[77]

That is to say, for sixteenth-century authors, their sense of 'self and other' was predicated on how they understood metaphor.

Borrowing genre conventions from the established historical forms of chronicle and tragedy lends the *Mirror* the authority and scale of history. Similarly, explicitly calling the text a mirror maps other established meanings of the mirror, performance,

[74] Catherine Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues: Eloquence and Eccentricity in the English Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 11.
[75] Nicholson, p. 14.
[76] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593).
[77] Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 3.17.

true and false counsel, positive and negative example, on to the domain of national history.

While the *Mirror for Magistrates* is a cornerstone of the history of sovereignty and of literary history, particularly the history of drama, the change in title has rarely been discussed. In the first edition, which appeared in 1554 or 1555, but was suppressed, the title was *A Memorial of Suche Princes, as [...] have been unfortunate in the Realme of England*. Only the title page and one leaf of this edition survive. *A Memorial* did not appear until after the end of Mary I's reign in 1559, with a new title: *A Myrrour for Magistrates, wherein may be seen by example of other, with howe grievous plages vices are punished and howe frayle and unstable worldly prosperity is found, even of those, whom Fortune seemeth most highly to favour*. The prefatory material explicitly called it a mirror while it was still titled *A Memorial*. Whether or not the preface was rewritten between *A Memorial* and *A Mirror*, the new title did place the emphasis on the text as a form of mirror. Whereas a memorial is a static image-schema, a mirror is dynamic, interactive. Bart van Es argues that 'Historical collections such as the [...] *Mirror for Magistrates* were "mirrors" precisely because the message they bore changed in relation to their reader',[78] and that 'it was this continual effort of updating', this capacity to reflect the reader's political reality at whatever time it was read 'that gave the endless mirror expansions and collections their long lives.'[79]

[78] Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 145.

[79] Bart van Es, ''They do it with Mirrors': Baldwin's *Mirror* and Elizabethan Literature's Political Vanishing Act', in '*A Mirror for Magistrates' in Context: Literature, History and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 216–30 (p. 218).

Once established, genres can be combined in various ways, mapping conventions from one genre on to another: as we have seen in the *Mirror for Magistrates*' combination of *speculum principis*, tragedy, and national history. As with conceptual metaphors, the very establishment of genres prompts readers to question and complicate them. Much as Lakoff said of conceptual metaphors,

> Genres order and transmit history, but they can also alter the perception of real events or produce dissonance, especially where they disrupt expectations **or compete with adjacent forms for interpretive authority** (my emphasis).[80]

The emphasis on Fortune's fickleness in chronicles, when combined with the chronicle-as-mirror, lends itself not only to the tragedy of 'mundane irrationality' as noted by Grabes and Budra, but also to the exploration of ideas of deliberate false counsel and of performance.[81] Recent scholarship has questioned earlier criticism of the *Mirror for Magistrates* as a simplistic admonitory mirror reinforcing obedience to either Marian or Elizabethan orthodoxy, seeing in it both 'a conversation *about* power' and a conscious performance. [82] Baldwin was an experienced printer and publisher. As editor, the choice of the new title may well have been his: but whether or not he chose it, it is likely that it was chosen advisedly. It was a dangerous time to be a Protestant printer, writer, and preacher, but Baldwin was good at adapting to the fast-

[80] Tricia A. McElroy, 'Genres', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Kewes, Archer and Heal, pp. 267–83, (p. 269).

[81] Alexandra Walsham, 'Providentialism', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Kewes, Archer and Heal, pp. 427–42, (p. 432).

[82] Jessica Winston, '*A Mirror for Magistrates* and Public Political Discourse in Elizabethan England', *Studies in Philology*, 101 (2004), 381–400 (p. 382). Scott C. Lucas, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the Politics of the English Reformation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), pp. 39, 203.

changing circumstances, for example, working for the same publisher under Protestant and then Catholic management. He was also a shrewd artist: 'Even before *A Mirror* he had experimented with multiple frames for his texts and the interplay among authors' and printer's perspectives'.[83] The prose links in the *Mirror for Magistrates* display the pragmatic circumstances of the text's composition. The printer, Wayland, asked Baldwin to coordinate the work and Baldwin, somewhat unwillingly, agreed, finding seven fairly prominent contemporary authors to compose the tragedies. The work was done collaboratively, and historical figures appear in dreams to the group of assembled authors to 'make their moan' in the first person.[84] Whether these circumstances are fictionalised or not is less important than the verisimilitude on display. The *Mirror* is a frame within a frame within a frame. It exploits the elements of 'counterfeit' and 'reversal' that the mirror image-schema shared with the dream vision and false encomium, genre conventions common in satires such as the medieval *Piers Plowman* or Alexander Barclay's 1509 *Ship of Fooles*. Grabes sees the *Mirror for Magistrates* as satire in the *de contemptu mundi* tradition of the *Ship of Fooles,* because of its emphasis on tragedy and the fickleness of Fortune.[85]

However, for the authors and printers of the *Mirror,* satire was a fundamentally worldly imperative, as the poet Collingbourne states in the *Mirror*: 'I am that Collingbourne / Which rhymed that which made full many mourn: / The Cat, the

[83] Skura, p. 75.

[84] As invited by Baldwin (Baldwin, ed. by Campbell, p. 69), and as described in the complaints of Sir Roger Mortimer (Baldwin, ed. by Campbell, p. 81), and Richard Chaloner (p. 111).

[85] Grabes, p. 90.

Rat, and Lovel our Dog, Do rule all England, under a Hog.'[86] The poet was put to death for this rhyme, but posthumously pleads his loyalty:

> For where I meant the king by name of Hog,
> I only alluded to his badge the boar:
> To Lovels name I added more our dog,
> because most dogs have borne that name of yore.
> **These metaphors I use with other more**, As Cat, and Rat, the half names of the rest,
> **To hide the sense** which they so wrongly wrest.[87] (my emphasis)

As hinted by the conflation of metaphor and catachresis in the work of Peacham, Puttenham and Day, such 'wresting'[88] from the 'proper' or 'right signification'[89] was 'necessary abuse'.[90] Collingbourne argues that his metaphors were closer to the 'right' or literal meaning of the boar, the dog, cat, and rat, than to the 'further' pejorative meanings of these animals which his readers found (and executed him for). 'Satire, like tragedy, is a way of taking seriously man's condition', a constructed realm for negotiating between ideals and expedients.[91] In the case of the court poet Collingbourne, the satirical mirror is negotiating between the ideals and the expedients of several of the king's subjects: Lydgate, Boccaccio, and the chroniclers, who were no strangers to the vagaries of patronage and fortune; the nobility 'and all

[86] Baldwin, ed. by Campbell, p. 349.
[87] Baldwin, ed. by Campbell, p. 357.
[88] Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 3.17.
[89] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593); Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 3.17.
[90] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson, 1577), STC / 348:04, sig. C4r.
[91] Ellen Leyburn, *Satiric Allegory: Mirror of Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 137.

other in office'; and finally, authors and poets in general. As Ellen Leyburn noted: 'The appropriation of the same figure of the mirror by both satire and metaphor, with the implied extension to allegory, indicates a fundamental affinity in the need for indirect communication'.[92]

This need did not disappear with the succession of Queen Elizabeth. The *Mirror* was reissued eight times, the last in 1620.[93] It was a popular work referred to by Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, and the title was frequently copied in the late sixteenth century: Grabes notes an explosion of mirror titles after the publication of this text.[94] The mirror and the multiplicity of meanings it was accruing in this text and its 'progeny', through the contemporary emphasis on *imitatio* and comparison and the prominence of metaphor in rhetorical education, created a space for cumulative image-schemata.[95] At the same time, the Aristotelian idea of 'sweet strangeness' and subsequent conflation of catachresis and metaphor in rhetoric, kept the emphasis on difference and contrast between image-schemata. This in turn enabled the indirect communication that was so necessary for sixteenth-century writers, not just in literary creativity, but at the intersection of literature and the practice of counsel, as many of them were.

In 1572, the courtier George Gascoigne was refused admission to Parliament on the grounds that he was 'a common rhymer, a notorious ruffian, an atheist, and a

[92] Leyburn, p. 9.

[93] *The first part of the mirror for magistrates* (1574), *The seconde part* (1578), *The mirrour of Mutabilitie, or Principall part of the Mirrour for Magistrates* (1579), 1587, *A Mirror for Magistrates… Newly enlarged, with … a Poem annexed, called Englands Eliza* (1610), *The Falls of Vnfortvnate Princes* (1620).

[94] Louis R. Zocca, *Elizabethan Narrative Poetry* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 23, quoted in Grabes, p. 32.

[95] Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p. 304.

godless person.'[96] In 1576 Gascoigne published *The Steele Glas*, a verse satire on contemporary society that contrasted the old-fashioned steel mirrors with the new *cristallo* glass mirrors exported from Venice. Like Elizabeth, Gascoigne evokes the tropes of 'true' and flattering mirrors. Unlike the *cristallo* mirrors then dominating the English luxury market, which merely enabled vanity, his steel glass was made of tougher stuff, and the constant effort and polishing (that is, reading and thinking) required provided a truer reflection of the reader's soul.[97] In this, Gascoigne made use of the long established metaphor of the Pauline mirror, all the more valuable the more oblique it was: 'For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known'.[98] Obscurity, then, was not only narcissist artifice — though it was also that — but also had a Pauline mystical function. Mirrors were a means to vanity, to self-understanding, and also to spiritual development.

Gascoigne's literary mirrors succeeded in gaining him patronage and diplomatic work. His masque in 1575 at Kenilworth drew Elizabeth's approval, as did his didactic play *The Glasse of Government*.[99] In August 1576 he was sent to the Low Countries to report on affairs directly to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer. Walsingham and others of Elizabeth's councillors also read Gascoigne's reports, and his literary style passed into standard rhetorical textbooks: Puttenham

[96] 'Certain objections why George Gascoigne…', 1572, SP 12/86 f.235. In *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580*, ed. by R. Lemon. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1856), p. 444.

[97] Kalas, pp. 107–10.

[98] 1 Corinthians 13:12. Cf. Augustine, *De Trinitate,* Bk XV.

[99] Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), p. 172.

quotes him in the *Arte of English Poesie*.[100] The Queen's cousin also understood the spiritual value of mirrors in the same way as Gascoigne. In a 1578 letter to her priest, Mary Queen of Scots describes the priest's letters 'as a mirror or picture to represent to me daily [...] both the defect of my actions and the grace required for the accomplishment' of her royal duties.[101] For Mary, as for Elizabeth and for Gascoigne, the mirror of counsel was both an object of ideal and inversion, showing the audience what they should, and what they should not, be, as well as reflecting who they so imperfectly were.

The same applied to the stage. In 1579 Stephen Gosson, ex-playwright, published the *Schoole of Abuse*, in which he acknowledges the stage as a flattering mirror, in the same way as Gascoigne's crystal glass or Elizabeth's counterfeit mirror. Plays are ruinous to society, he wrote, not just a mirror of vice but a 'school of abuse'. And yet, plays can also teach virtue, representing to society a clear picture of their ideals and in Mary's words 'the defect of [their] actions'. Whereas ancient Roman and contemporary Continental theatre was a notorious hotbed of flattery and licentiousness, explained Gosson in enthusiastic detail, 'Nowe are the abuses of the worlde reuealed, euery man in a play may see his owne faultes, and learne by this glasse, to amende his manners'.[102] Thus, the stories enacted on the Elizabethan stage

[100] Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 166–8. George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, ed. by G. W. Pigman III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 564–740 passim.

[101] Mary to Father Edmund [Angier], Nov 21 1578. SP 53/11 f.12. In *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*, ed. by William K. Boyd, 13 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1907), V, 325.

[102] Stephen Gosson, *The schoole of abuse conteining a plesaunt [sic] inuectiue against poets, pipers, plaiers, iesters, and such like caterpillers of a co[m]monwelth;... : a discourse as pleasaunt for gentlemen that fauour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow virtue*. (London: T. Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke, 1579).

were understood, or at least advertised, to function in the same ways as the biographies in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The connection between history and performance was often direct: it has been argued that 'Holinshed's *Chronicles* gave rise to more plays than any other work, old or new, in the early modern period'.[103] Social mirrors like *The Steele Glas* and *The Schoole of Abuse* are generally considered satirical,[104] as mirrors for princes could also be.[105] In a mirror for princes, satire was intended to develop a prince's sovereignty over both his personal weaknesses and over the realm. The *Steele Glas* and the *Schoole of Abuse* suggest that literary mirrors functioned for society in the same way. Thus, mirrors in counsel could be encyclopaedic, reflecting society as it was; didactic, showing what the audience should, or should not, be; fantastic, showing things that did not exist; and prophetic. That they could be all of these at the same time suggests that these metaphorical meanings cohered.

Discussing the then prominent role of satire at the time *Hamlet* was written, Maurice A. Hunt complicates Grabes' acceptance of drama as a mirror of nature:

[103] Paulina Kewes, 'History Plays and the Royal Succession', *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Kewes, Archer and Heal, pp. 493–509, p. 493.

[104] Both because they are in satirical genres and because both Gascoigne and Gosson call attention to their 'reformed prodigal' personae. On Gascoigne, see Kalas, p. 107 and p. 114 n. 20; and Jane Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 155; on Gosson see Blaine Greteman, *The Poetics and Politics of Youth in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 60; Philip Sidney, *An Apology For Poetry (Or The Defence Of Poesy)*, ed. by Geoffrey Shepherd and R.W. Maslen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 23; and Dermot Cavanagh, 'Modes of Satire', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 380–95 (p.381). It has been argued that *The Steele Glas* 'set the precedent for creating Early Modern English literary mirrors reflective of sociopolitical abuses at the court and about London.' Hunt, p. 5.

[105] Cary Nederman, 'The mirror crack'd: The *speculum principum* as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages', *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 3 (1998), 18–38.

> Through Hamlet's satire, Shakespeare implies that a literal mirror must replace the mirror of drama when an age's diction, the language that makes up the dialogue of drama, is so artificial that it cannot reliably perform language's role in making drama reflect "the form and pressure of the age" without results beneficial to theatre-goers.[106]

This passage highlights the importance of language and drama to Elizabethans as mirrors, but as appropriate mirrors of 'the form and pressure of the age' with 'results beneficial to theatre-goers.' Rayna Kalas has suggested that English Protestant writers had to be particularly careful of the material and potentially idolatrous nature of language.[107] The established metaphor of the Pauline mirror simultaneously reinforced the idea of the mind as a false mirror, which distorts what it shows, as Francis Bacon formulated it in *Novum Organum*, and as a true mirror of its divine creator.[108] Ironically, the plethora of images and image-schemata available for the mirror metaphor allowed writers to make a case for the truth, and the falsehood, of their counsel at the same time. Such mirrors of 'mundane irrationality' seem far less irrational from this point of view.[109]

They were not necessarily mundane either.[110] A 1518 letter from Erasmus throws another, less worldly, light on the subject, showing the mirror as a conceptual

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[106] Hunt, pp. 48–56.

[107] Kalas, p. 2.

[108] *Novum Organum* I.XLI (Aphorism 41); cf. Corinthians 3:17–18 and 4:6. Noted in Hunt, p. 12. Graham Rees translates: 'And the human intellect is to the rays of things like an uneven mirror [*speculae inaequalis*] which mingles its own nature with the nature of things, and distorts and stains it [*eamque distorquet & inficet*].' Francis Bacon, *The* Instauratio Magna *Part II*: Novum Organum *and Associated Texts* ed. and trans. by Graham Rees with Maria Wakely (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), I.XLI (Aphorism 41), F3v, pp. 80–81.

[109] Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), p. 304. Quoted in Grabes, p. 173.

[110] Marcia Colish examines this idea in *The Mirror of Language (Revised Edition): A Study of the Medieval Theory of Knowledge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

metaphor for spiritual as well as literary *imitatio*. The letter is to Conradus Mutianus Rufus, a graduate of the University of Erfurt and at the time a canon of Gotha after having studied in Italy.[111] It is a short thank-you note both for a letter from Mutianus, 'the mirror of its fair-minded writer', and for a recent visit by Helius Eobanus, another Erfurt alumnus, who had brought letters from members of their circle and some writing of his own. The reference to Mutianus' letter as 'the mirror of its writer' here evokes a Renaissance commonplace, derived from Socrates; that of language as the mirror of the soul. In light of this, Erasmus' praise of Eobanus' poetry is telling. He shows 'an original vein of talent [...] you would think him a poet born, not made by practice. He has the same gifts in prose [...]'.[112] Despite Erasmus' copious exposition of how style is made by imitating the best authors for example, 'I think of him as Ovid reincarnate', this also reflects another aspect of the metaphor of language as a (Pauline) mirror, with lower forms reflecting the light of higher forms in the Great Chain of Being.[113] Language is the mirror, the means of reflection, but also the light reflected by the mirror. This apparent violation of the invariance hypothesis clarifies the relationship of stylistic talent and practice in Erasmian *imitatio*. Erasmus praises his friend as:

> uniting in [yourself] all I had previously loved or admired in others separately [...]
>
> your great gifts [...] you owe partly to hard work and partly to heaven [...].[114]

[111] Cf. Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, vol. 4 in *CWE*, p. 166, n. 9–10.
[112] Erasmus to Conradus Mutianus Rufus, Ep. 870, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. by R.A.B Mynors and D.F.S Thomson, vol. 6 in *CWE*, p. 132.
[113] Erasmus to Johannes Draconites, Ep. 871, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, p. 133.
[114] Erasmus to Helius Eobanus Hessus, Ep. 874, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, p. 142.

This passage is a neat encapsulation of the prevailing view of metaphor and linguistic meaning in the sixteenth century: an innate human capacity and indeed a divinely inspired imperative to give clarity and 'splendour' to their world through linguistic innovation, and the conviction that this originality could best be achieved by close reading, comparing and internalising the styles of a wide variety of models.[115]

For Elizabeth and her courtiers, Mary, the writers and readers of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Gascoigne, Gosson, playwrights and playgoers, and Erasmus, abuse was therefore necessary politically, creatively, historically, and spiritually. Certain resemblances between established image-schemata were repeatedly stressed and embroidered upon, others less so. The mirror metaphor and its many current meanings in sixteenth-century counsel is an example of how the source domain, the 'prevailing meaning', shaped the target domain through cumulative image-schemata, giving rise to new domains of meaning while — and because — they preserved the old meanings. The search for sweetness and strangeness, and the habit of comparison and *collatio*, both cemented conceptual metaphors and exploded them. This sense of 'the proper and natural meaning' as a background, foundation, or parent of new meanings by way of *imitatio*, allowed for a Renaissance theory of metaphor, and arguably of cognition, as cumulative. Lakoff and Johnson's invariance principle also shows a cumulative understanding of metaphor and cognition, however, it could be argued that the sixteenth-century practice of *imitatio* regularly violated the invariance

[115] Cf. Arthur F. Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), pp. 11–12.

principle, failing to 'preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain'. The same mirror, and the same counsel, could be a tool for self-knowledge and for self-deception.

As Mark Turner hypothesised:

> There is a system to imagination. Although infinitely variable and unpredictable, imagination is grounded in structures of invention either wholly unoriginal or with an originality that consists of exploitations within a known and unoriginal space. Were imagination free, we would take its products as unintelligible, meritless caprices rather than as significant, valuable achievements. Metaphoric imagination, including [...] in those poems we regard as most original, suggestive, and demanding, appears to be guided and made meaningful by an utterly unoriginal constraint so unrecognized in criticism and so daunting in its complexity that it cannot even be formulated, but must be gestured toward, with a heavy reliance upon the reader's intuitive sense of what it means: the image-schematic structure of the target is not to be violated.[116]

As we have seen, sixteenth-century rhetoricians conceived of *imitatio* not as a constraint, but as a system: a system of such robustness and complexity that it allowed for the image-structure of the target domains of its metaphors to be violated deliberately, and often. These violations of Lakoff's invariance principle formed some of the literature 'we regard as most original, suggestive, and demanding'. They also formed a cumulative array of conceptual frameworks that shaped both early modern

[116] Turner, p. 64.

and contemporary experiences of phenomena as universal and abstract as counsel, national identity, and language.

Signs of Prayer in *The Dream of the Rood*

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Abstract: The Dream of the Rood is a poem about the mental and emotional processes that underlie the experience of prayer. The poet is interested in how words and signs transform feeling and perception and produce the ability to experience God. The poet does this, I argue, using two literary tropes. The first is the setting, in the middle of the night, which is a familiar setting for private prayer in Anglo-Saxon narrative sources. The second is through the figure of the cross, which represents Christ as the 'Word of God' who, in prayer, gives words to the solitary mystic. The patterns of transformation seen in The Dream of the Rood – from fear and passivity to joy and expressiveness – follow a pattern that is also found in many accounts of nocturnal prayer, particularly in the Anglo-Latin poem De Abbatibus and in Felix's Life of Guthlac, as well as in Bede's writings. In each of these accounts, true prayer is a response to signs of God's presence.

Augustine of Hippo, in his treatise on Christian teaching *De Doctrina Christiana*, explains that God has revealed himself to mankind through many signs. Chief among the signs used by God are words. For this reason, Augustine concerns himself mainly with the interpretation of Scripture. Yet Augustine is also conscious of the fact that God's disclosure of himself took place most comprehensively not through the giving of Scripture but rather through the Incarnation when Christ, God's word, 'became flesh'. He describes this occasion using the metaphor of speech:

> When we speak, the word which we hold in our mind becomes a sound in order that what we have in our mind may pass through ears of flesh into the listener's mind: this is called speech. Our thought, however, is not converted into the same sound, but remains intact in its own home, suffering no diminution from its change as it takes on the form of a word in order to make its way into the ears. In the same way the word of God suffered no change although it became flesh in order to live in us.[1]

Augustine's writings present a picture of the world wherein physical reality, rightly used, becomes a point of interface between the mind of God and the mind of men. God transforms the heart using words and signs.

De Doctrina Christiana was an extremely rare text in Anglo-Saxon England, and scholars have recently questioned the extent of Augustine's influence on Anglo-Saxon thought.[2] Nevertheless, accounts of prayer from Anglo-Saxon England tend to be aware of the idea that emotional transformation and healing are related to God's self–disclosure through a variety of words and signs, and principally through his Incarnation. John's gospel, which begins with the pronouncement that Christ, the word of God, existed in the beginning, reminds us that God's revelation of himself is intimately related to words: speech, by which he created the world; the scriptures, through which he communicates; the incarnate Christ, through whom his salvation is accomplished. Surviving collections of private prayers from Anglo-Saxon England

[1] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. by R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1996), pp. 23–24.
[2] The knowledge of Augustine's works amongst the Anglo-Saxons has been the subject of some debate. Joseph Kelly has argued that familiarity with Augustine in Anglo-Saxon England was 'both broad and deep'. Joseph Kelly, 'The Knowledge and Use of Augustine among the Anglo-Saxons', *Studia Patristica*, 28 (1993), 211–16 (p. 216). Leslie Lockett, on the other hand, argues that, outside of a few very well-educated authors, including Bede, Augustine's work was not well known and not influential until the eleventh century. Leslie Lockett, *Anglo–Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 179–81.

attest to a fascination with the Incarnation and an attempt, through words, to connect with the physical suffering of Christ and with his redemption.[3]

The *Dream of the Rood* is a celebrated Old English alliterative poem concerning the death and burial of Christ, told through the figure of the cross using Anglo-Saxon heroic diction. The poem has long been understood as a poetic meditation on the practice of prayer, and critics have fruitfully explored the poem's deep liturgical resonances.[4] This paper argues that *The Dream of the Rood* is fundamentally about prayer, and the ability of prayer (which, more often than not, consists of words) to mediate between Christ and the individual. Words, particularly Scripture, provide mental and emotional healing in the poem and are thus deeply affective. It is conventional to think of affective piety as a later medieval phenomenon and yet, as Allen Frantzen has shown convincingly, 'felt prayer', the positioning of the self in relation to the natural order and God, and the *remissio peccatorum*, each of which have been considered eleventh-century phenomena, are ubiquitous in the Anglo-Saxon devotional tradition.[5]

Furthermore, this paper argues that the emotional catharsis of the dreamer is associated with the setting of the poem in the middle of the night, which was a conventional time for private prayer and visionary encounter with the divine. The representation of nocturnal prayer in Anglo-Saxon sources is particularly affective,

[3] See, in particular, Marie Schilling Grogan, 'Praying with *the Book of Nunnaminster*: Healing the Soul and Increasing the Body of Christ in a Medieval Benedictine Convent', *Magistra*, 20.1 (2014), 97–113.
[4] See Howard R. Patch, 'Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 233–57; Earl R. Anderson, 'Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Neophilologus*, 73 (1989), 293–304; Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*', in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo–Saxon World*, ed. by Sarah L. Keefer, K.L. Jolly, and C.E. Karkov (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), pp. 135–65.
[5] Allen J. Frantzen, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo–Saxon Penitentials', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 22 (2005), 117–28 (pp. 120–21).

with compunction, shock, awe, and fear being common features. In placing the dreamer's vision in the middle of the night, the poet relates the experience of the dreamer to the experience of many Anglo-Saxon mystics whose prayers in the middle of the night were the catalyst for transformational encounters with God.

I begin, therefore, with an outline of the meaning and purpose of nocturnal prayer in the Christian tradition that was largely inherited by the Anglo-Saxons. I will then outline the representation of nocturnal prayer in a variety of Anglo-Latin sources, before turning to an analysis of *The Dream of the Rood* and the ninth-century Anglo-Latin poem *De Abbatibus*.

NOCTURNAL PRAYER IN THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

The association of certain times of night with prayer predates monasticism and finds ample scriptural precedent. Christ commands his followers to 'keep watch' and asks them to remain awake with him in prayer the night before his crucifixion.[6] In Acts, Paul and Silas pray in prison at 'about midnight'.[7] Repeatedly, the psalmist commits himself to prayer at midnight.[8] Early Church Fathers, including Tertullian and Hippolytus, make reference to private prayer, either at midnight or at cockcrow, the hour before the break of dawn. These hours for prayer were understood metaphorically in Late Antiquity and, in the prayers of the Office and the liturgy, were suffused with the symbolism of light and dark.[9]

[6] Mark 13.35; Matthew 24.32.
[7] Acts 16.25–34.
[8] Psalm 118.62; Psalm 15.7; Psalm references in this paper refer to the Vulgate numbering.
[9] For the spiritual significance of various times of day, see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in the East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd edn (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), pp. 347–55.

Christ's death took place in the afternoon. According to Bede and others, this happened just prior to nightfall.[10] In staying awake in prayer, then, the Christian participates in the event of Christ's death and his descent into hell, which represents his final defeat of evil. The attention given to the Harrowing of Hell in homiletic, devotional and poetic texts produced throughout the Anglo-Saxon period suggests a vivid mindfulness of the descent of Christ into hell before the break of dawn, at the hour for nocturnal private prayer.[11] Mary W. Helms explains that the primary significance of nocturnal prayer lay in remembering the resurrection and awaiting the *parousia*, or second coming.[12]

Early monastics privileged prayer at night and, under the influence of the Desert Fathers, praying throughout the night became an ascetic and penitential exercise that was principally undertaken in private, usually in the hours before dawn or around cockcrow.[13] This tradition influenced the Irish practice of keeping vigil, which often included the singing of the whole psalter and was undertaken as an ascetic exercise. While the *Rule of Columbanus* includes prescriptions for communal prayer at night, an 'extra burden' remained, which enjoined the monk to pray in

[10] Bede, *Homilies on the Gospels: Book Two – Lent to the Dedication of the Church: Lent to the Dedication of the Church*, trans. by Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991), pp. 58–59.

[11] The Harrowing appears in the form of a dramatised prayer at the end of the ninth-century *Book of Cerne*. Later, a vernacular rendition of the story, which seems to derive from a similar source, appears in 'Blickling Homily 17' for Easter Sunday. In these two texts, the story is focussed on the prayers of the righteous dead and the penance of Adam and Eve, which releases them from hell. The entire *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which tells the story of the Harrowing, is translated into Old English in two eleventh-century manuscripts. See Thomas Hall, 'The *Euangelium Nichodemi and Vindicta Saluatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source*, ed. by J.E. Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 36–81.

[12] Mary W. Helms, 'Before the Dawn: Monks and the Night in Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe', *Anthropos*, 99. 1 (2004), 177–91 (pp. 185–86).

[13] See Helms, 'Before the Dawn' and Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 126–28 for the development of the night office. The tradition in Egypt, which came to influence Irish and Anglo–Saxon monasticism, was based on the recitation of the psalter throughout the night.

private at night.[14] John Cassian, whose work was well known in Anglo-Saxon England, explains that the devil 'does his utmost to disgrace them in that short hour [after the night office]'.[15] Cassian argues that monks are particularly susceptible to demonic temptation, sloth, and 'polluting' dreams at this time, for which reason monks should be encouraged not to go back to bed and await the morning office.[16] At the same time, the presence of spiritual protection in the night hours is also a part of this tradition. Hippolytus, writing in the third century, explains that 'the whole army of angels that serve God praise him at this moment (midnight) in union with the souls of the just'.[17] Prayer at night, then, brings the spiritual world into sharp focus. Without the distractions of the day, men and women become open to spiritual reality.

NOCTURNAL PRAYER IN ANGLO–LATIN LITERATURE

Anglo-Latin hagiographic literature frequently refers to prayer, sleep, and visionary experience. Praying at night is mentioned in narrative sources and even attributed to lay people. Oswald, according to Bede, was known to pray from morning until daybreak.[18] Oswald was a king, not a monk, yet Bede is still careful to mention the specific time of day at which he prays and the Latin terms that he uses (*matutinae* and

[14] As Josef Andreas Jungmann writes, 'in Ireland we have the phenomenon of an extra burden, in the shape of private prayer, to be undertaken by the individual monk, a burden which far outweighed what he was already expected to perform'. Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Christian Prayer Through the Centuries* (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), p. 37.

[15] Cassian, *Institutes*, trans. by Edgar C. S. Gibson in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post–Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace, 14 vols (New York: T&T Clarke, 1894) XI, 212–13.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Hippolytus, *Traditio apostolica*, cited in Irénée Henri Dalmais, Pierre Jounel, and Aimé Georges Martimort, *The Liturgy and Time*, trans. by Matthew O'Connell (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1986), p. 167.

[18] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 250–51.

laudis) have obvious connotations with the praying of the Office.[19] Likewise Asser explains that Alfred was in the habit of praying before daybreak at the shrines of saints.[20] In Bede, Egbert's tearful repentance comes in the morning (*tempore matutino*).[21] Egbert is able to reflect on his sins when he finds himself alone and awake while others are sleeping. Likewise, the penitent Adamnan receives a vision whilst occupied with psalms and vigils at night in which he is commended for his spiritual vigilance.[22] Both Leoba and Boniface are noted for their keeping of vigil and are said to have been awake in prayer before the regular hour for Nocturns.[23] Bede also relates Fursey's dream-vision, wherein 'from evening until cockcrow being out of the body he was thought to be worthy to behold the sight of the angelic company, and to hear their blessed thanksgivings'.[24]

Amongst the many references to prayer at night or in the early morning, before dawn, several themes emerge. Firstly, this form of prayer is more often private than communal. Secondly, it is often penitential and ascetic. This is perhaps most obvious in the behaviour of monks from a Celtic background such as Cuthbert and Drythelm,

[19] The terminology around the night and morning offices is confusing and reflects the ambiguous development of these hours for prayer. The night office is variously called Nocturns and Vigils, while the morning office is variously called Matins and Lauds, although in some traditions, these offices took place before the breaking of dawn. As we have seen, Prime could be properly considered as the morning office in Anglo-Saxon England. Jesse Billett has shown that the night office and Lauds formed a single office in Anglo-Saxon England, which were either completed before cockcrow (in winter) or began at cockcrow (in summer). Monks, rising from their 'second sleep', would sing Prime. It is clear from narrative sources that the hours just prior to dawn were extremely important times for private prayer. Jesse Billett, *Divine Office in Anglo–Saxon England, 587–c.1000* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 35–36.

[20] Asser, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great*, p. 32.

[21] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 312–13.

[22] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 425.

[23] Willibald writes that Boniface 'rose before the hour for night vigil to occupy himself in the laborious exercise of prayer'. *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, Being the Lives of S.S. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin*, ed. and trans. by C. H. Talbot (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954), p. 33; pp. 209–10.

[24] 'et a vespera usque ad galli cantum corpore exutus, angelicorum agmimum e auspectus intueri, et laudes beatas meruit audire'. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 272–73.

who spend the night reciting psalms neck deep in water, alone. Drythelm's practice is also the result of a near-death experience, which took place before cockcrow. Thirdly, this hour is often associated with contact with the spiritual realm, often on the verge of death. The practice of praying at night is associated with healing. Laymen and monastics frequently fall asleep while keeping watch and are healed in their sleep, usually through direct contact with the saints. Baduthegn, who is healed by Cuthbert's relics while sleeping near the tomb, felt Cuthbert's hand reach over him while he was asleep and awoke having been healed.[25] Likewise, an infirm man praying at Swithun's watched, according to Ælfric, until it was becoming day (*oðþæt hit wolde dagian*). At this point he fell asleep, and his friends saw the tomb trembling (*bifigende*) and a shoe being dragged off the sick man's feet. He awoke healed by Swithun.[26] Sleep, in these situations, does not disqualify them from the genuine encounter with saints and with God. This is seen clearly in Bede's account of Laurentius, who received a vision of St. Peter while keeping watch in his church even though he had fallen asleep.[27]

Three incidents from Felix's Latin *Life of Guthlac*, an eighth-century text, show in detail the relationship between prayer, divine intervention, and the hours before dawn. Guthlac prays at night three times in response to the temptations of the devil. In the first instance, Guthlac is awake at night meditating, and becomes overwhelmed by his perception of his own sin. This is described as a 'poisoned dart' sent by the devil.[28] Remaining in this state of affliction for three days (with metaphorical parallels

[25] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 446–47.
[26] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. and trans. by Walter Skeat (London: Trübner, 1881), pp. 448–51.
[27] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 146–48.
[28] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 94–97.

to Christ's descent following his death), Guthlac began to sing Psalm 17.7, 'In my distress I called upon the Lord', at nightfall on the third day.[29] He is then rescued by St. Bartholomew, who appears 'before his gaze in the morning watches'.[30] Guthlac's vision of St Bartholomew on the cusp between the night and morning is able to dispel the bad thoughts that plague him. The night is both literally and metaphorically the time of testing and mental torture, and persistence in prayer brings illumination and mental clarity. In this episode, the special words of the Psalms bring mental relief to Guthlac, while simultaneously protecting him from the assault of demons.

At another time, Guthlac is keeping vigil in the dead of night. He is interrupted by hoards of demons and taken to hell for part of the night. Guthlac sings Psalm 15.8, at which point the demons begin to beat him with whips. Bartholomew again appears to rescue Guthlac and take him back to his own dwelling. They arrive at Guthlac's home by dawn (*aurora*), implying that this experience has taken place in the hours just preceding dawn. After his enemies have been dispelled, Guthlac is able to give thanks and attend to his morning prayer (*matutinas laudes*). The final scene depicting Guthlac's keeping of vigil comes when the hermit, engaged in vigils and prayers at cockcrow meets a hoard of British-speaking demons.[31] At this point, it seems that Guthlac has fallen asleep, or at least into some kind of stupor. The saint dispels the demons with the words of Psalm 67.2, 'Let God arise, etc.'.[32]

[29] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, p. 96.
[30] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, p. 100–101.
[31] 'orationem vigiliis incumberet [...] gallicinali tempore.' Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, pp. 101–102.
[32] 'exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius'. Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, pp. 111–12.

At the end of the *Life of Guthlac*, we also find Æthelbald keeping vigil as he seeks intercession from Guthlac following his exile. Æthelbald prays at Guthlac's sepulchre, prostrate with tears and many words. Shortly after, when following his nightly prayers, Æthelbald enters a light sleep and is suddenly aroused by a great light.[33] This incident confirms the real presence of Guthlac at the sepulchre and emphasises the reality of his intercession. Felix calls this a *visione* and yet it remains unclear whether Æthelbald is awake or asleep.[34] These episodes in Guthlac's life, and several of the episodes in Bede, have a common narrative: mental, emotional, or physical turmoil is a catalyst for prayer. This might take the form of remembrance of sin or persistent fear, or an illness, and is sometimes associated with the presence of demons. There is, at times, an ambiguity between sleeping and waking. Prayer is coupled with the appearance of a heavenly comforter and is related to the change from one state of mind to another. Finally, prayer at night is associated with visionary experiences that allow for mental and emotional transformation. There is an interest in the power of words — often the words of the Psalms — which bring special illumination to the man or woman at prayer and protect them from demonic assault. These ideas exist alongside the conventional motifs already discussed: that the hours before dawn are associated with Christ's death and the harrowing, that the spiritual world is readily perceivable at night, and that the final judgment would take place in the middle of the night. This complex web of associations was reinforced by a devotional culture in which praying at night was privileged as an especially pious activity.

[33] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, pp. 148–51.
[34] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, pp. 138–42.

POETIC DREAM VISIONS: *THE DREAM OF THE ROOD* AND *DE ABBATIBUS*

The *Dream of the Rood*, which probably existed in some form by the eighth century,[35] opens with a proclamation that the poet will speak of the 'best of dreams' (*swefna cyst*) that he dreamed in the middle of the night (*to midre niht*) after the 'speechbearers' (*reordberend*) had gone to rest.[36] This opening sentence is loaded with associations and, already, parallels with the stories of Bede and Felix are evident. Often critics of the *Dream of the Rood* focus on the inactivity of the dreamer. Anne Savage, writing on the meditative tradition in Anglo-Saxon England, contends that there is a sharp distinction between mystical experience and meditation: 'The dreamer in *The Dream of the Rood*', she writes, 'is frankly asleep, not meditating in any sense of the word'.[37] Contrary to Savage, the time *midre niht* places the dreamer in *The Dream of the Rood* at a time that is conventionally associated with private prayer, visionary experience, and eschatological reflection on the final judgment. Bede, Felix, and a variety of other authors associate private prayer with the period between the end of the night office and dawn, variously called *uhtan*, *dægred*, and *ærmorgen* in Old English, and *matutinae*,

[35] Dating *The Dream of the Rood* has been the topic of some debate. Éamonn Ó Carragáin writes that each surviving fragment of *The Dream of the Rood* is 'best understood in the immediate context which comprises, respectively, the eighth-century Ruthwell Cross; the eleventh-century Brussels Cross; and the late tenth-century Vercelli Book'. Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*', p. 135. For the most recent and controversial counter-argument, see Patrick W. Conner, 'The Ruthwell Monument Runic Poem in a Tenth-Century Context', *The Review of English Studies*, 59 (2008), 25–49.

[36] *The Dream of the Rood*, 1–2. All excerpts are from *The Dream of the Rood: An Electronic Edition*, ed. by Mary Rambaran-Olm (2002) <http://www.dreamofrood.co.uk/frame_start.htm> [accessed 10 November 2015]. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

[37] Anne Savage, 'The Place of Old English Poetry in the English Meditative Tradition', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 91–110 (p. 91).

uigilis, *noctis intempesto*, and *galli cantus* in Latin. *Midre niht*, the term used in *The Dream of the Rood*, translates the Latin *media nocte*, which is frequently glossed as *uhtan*.[38] The Old English translation of the *Rule of St Benedict* sheds further light on the English terminology surrounding the night office. Benedict quotes Psalm 118 (*media nocte surgebam*) to justify night watches, which are called *nocturnis vigiliis* in Latin and *benihtlicum uhtsangum* in Old English.[39] Both of these terms capture the sense of the Latin *media nocte* and the Old English *midre niht*. *Uht* is a common setting for Old English poems, including *The Wanderer*, who is *ana uht* and *The Wife's Lament*, which defines itself as the expression of *uhtcearu*.

Recently, Francis Leneghan has argued that *The Wanderer* is a poetic meditation based on the experience of *hesychasm*, 'the harnessing of meandering thoughts prior to approaching the stillness of prayer'.[40] Perhaps, then, the poet's appearance alone before the dawn suggests that he was engaged in some form of spiritual activity or watching prior to his dream. At the very least, the poet remains alone at the conclusion of his vision and prays to the cross *to midre niht*. Nevertheless, Guthlac and Laurentius both experienced visions that came about when they fell asleep keeping watch. Isabel Moreira, in her study of dreams and visions in Merovingian Gaul, points out that visions and ecstatic experiences are rewards for prayerful contemplation, the primary purpose of which 'was spiritual and mental illumination'.[41]

[38] John Fleming, '"The Dream of the Rood" and Anglo–Saxon Monasticism', *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 43–72 (p. 52).
[39] H. Logemann (ed.), *The Rule of St. Benedict* (London: Early English Text Society, 1888), p. 46.
[40] Francis Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind for Prayer: *The Wanderer*, *Hesychasm* and *Theosis*', *Neophilologus*, 100.1 (2016), 121–42 (p. 121).
[41] Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 43.

Andrew Galloway has discussed the Gregorian tradition of dream theory, which posits a state of nocturnal clarity in which spiritual reality is perceivable — God's voice emerges only when the daily tumult is silenced.[42] Evagrius, whose spiritual teachings informed many of Cassian's writings, maintains that we see the spiritual world more clearly at night.[43] The depiction of night-time prayer discussed so far shows that the sense of the active presence of both saints and demons at night, and the ability to perceive them, was very much a part of the mindset of many Anglo–Saxons.

Let us now turn to the dreamer's vision, which consists in the first instance of a jewelled tree:

> It seemed to me that I saw a beautiful tree
> led up into the air, covered in light,
> the best of beams. That beacon was all
> covered with gold; gems stood
> fair at the four corners; there were five up on the shoulder-span.[44]

[42] Andrew Galloway, 'Dream-Theory in *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Wanderer*', *The Review of English Studies*, 45 (1994), 475–85 (p. 477).

[43] 'Ὁ ἐ ν τῇ διανοί ᾳ κό σμος κτιζό μενος μεθ' ἡ μέ ραν μὲ ν δυσδιά γνωστος εἶ ναι δοκεῖ , τῶν αἰ σθή σεων περισπωσῶν τὸ ν νοῦ ν, καὶ τοῦ αἰ σθητοῦ φωτὸ ς περιλά μποντος· νύ κτωρ δὲ ἔ στιν ἰ δεῖ ν αὐ τὸ ν περιφανῶς κατὰ τὸ ν καιρὸ ν τῆ ς προσευχῆ ς ἐ κτυπού μενον'. Translation: 'The world created in the mind seems difficult to see by day, the nous being distracted by the senses and by the sensible light that shines; but at night it can be seen, luminously imprinted at the time of prayer'. Evagrius, *kephalaia gnostica*, ed. and trans. by Luke Dysinger (Camarillo: St John's Seminary, revised September 2005), <http://www.ldysinger.com/Evagrius/02_Gno-Keph/00a_start.htm.> [Accessed on 20 November 2015].

[44] *The Dream of the Rood*, 3–9a: 'þūhte mē þæt ic gesāwe syllicre trēow / on lyft lædan lēohte bewunden, / bēama beorhtost. Eall þæt bēacen wæs / begoten mid golde. Gimmas stōdon / fægere æt foldan scēatum, / swylce þær fife wæron / uppe on þām eaxlgespanne'.

The transformation of the tree into the cross of Christ takes us firmly into the devotional context already suggested by the midnight dream. Michael James Swanton notes that the verb *begoten* is usually associated with water or blood, and thus prefigures the transmogrification of the tree into Christ's suffering and bleeding body.[45] The movement from contemplation to transformation begins with the dreamer's recognition of himself in this awe-inspiring vision: 'That victory-beam was wondrous, and I was adorned with sin, wounded with iniquity'.[46] The dreamer's emotional crisis deepens as he notices that the cross is bleeding on the right side:

> However, through that gold I might perceive
> the ancient strife of the wretched ones, when it first began
> to bleed on the right side. I was all troubled with sorrow.
> Because of that fair sight I was afraid[47]

Reality becomes fractured in the dreamer's vision; he perceives (*ongytan*) first 'ancient strife' (*ærgewin*), a complex compound probably referring to fallen, vindictive humanity and the suffering of the cross. By beholding this external object, the dreamer turns to self–reflection. Riddling and bizarre, the visual spectacle of a cross that is at once sweating and changing colour, now adorned with treasure and now adorned with blood and sweat, vividly represents the theme of meditative dislocation:

[45] Michael James Swanton, ed., *The Dream of the Rood* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 64.
[46] *The Dream of the Rood*, 13–14b: 'Syllic wæs se sigebeam, ond ic synnum fah, forwunded mid wommum'.
[47] *The Dream of the Rood*, 18–21b: 'Hwæðre þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte / earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan / swætan on þa swiðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed./ Forht ic wæs for þære fægran gesyhðe'.

> At times it was drenched with water,
>
> flooded with the going of blood, at times adorned with treasures.[48]

These words recall the image of the body at the Last Judgment in Vercelli IV, a homily from the same manuscript as *The Dream of the Rood*. The good soul speaks fairly to its body, which moves through *manigfealdum bleon*, first appearing as a small man, then as a beautiful man, then moving through various degrees of fairness until it finally:

> has a colour like gold and silver and like the most precious gems and stones. And after this is glitters like the stars, and glows like the moon, and shines like the sun when it shines most brightly.[49]

The evil body, on the other hand, 'sweats with very hateful sweat, and from him fall ugly drops, and he changes into many hues'.[50] Payne's identification of *The Dream of the Rood* as a conventional poem about the Last Judgment makes this common trope all the more striking.[51] It is particularly interesting that the cross sweats, as does the 'evil' body in Vercelli IV, and also shines with gems like the good body. Thomas H. Hall has identified these descriptions as suggestive of a 'purgative and purifying' process that both bodies must undergo — the good body to be perfected, the bad body

[48] *The Dream of the Rood*, 22–23: '[...] hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed, /beswyled mid swates gange, Hwilum mid since gegyrwed'.
[49] 'hæfð gelic hiw golde 7 seolfre 7 swa þam deorwyrðestan gymcynne & eorcnanstanum. 7 æt nehstan þæt he glitenað swa steorra, 7 lyht swa mone, & beorhtaþ swa sunna þonne hio biorhtust bið scinende'. *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. by D. G. Scragg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 96.
[50] 'swæt swiðe laðlicum swate, 7 him feallað on unfægere dropan, 7 bryt on manig hiw'. *The Vercelli Homiles and Related Texts*, p. 96.
[51] Richard C. Payne, 'Convention and Originality in the Vision Framework of "The Dream of the Rood"', *Modern Philology*, 73.4 (1976), 329–41 (pp. 330–32).

to be consumed finally by evil blackness.[52] Thus, the representation of the cross changing hue anticipates the crucifixion while also expressing themes of judgment and purgation.[53]

Through this portion of the vision, the poet has the dreamer in a passive mode — viewing, perceiving, and afflicted, with no avenue for response except to lie down, see the cross, and hear its words. The dreamer's break with reality and the intensity of his vision pushes him into the realm of affective engagement with the cross. *The Dream of the Rood* is centered on the 'paradox of a speaking tree'.[54] The dreamer, throughout the poem, is struck dumb by the wonder of the cross. Ironically, in the first line of the poem, the poet exclaims that he will *secgan*, speak, yet the verbs of the poem's opening all concern sight and perception — he beholds the tree and perceives his own sin. It is not until the cross speaks that the dreamer is offered any absolution from his state of dejection, in which he can do nothing but lay dormant until the tree speaks.[55]

The poet in *The Dream of the Rood*, although alone, is aware of the presence of those spiritual agents who, along with him, contemplate the cross:

> All those fair through eternal decree there

[52] Thomas H. Hall, 'The Psychadelic Transmogrification of the Soul in Vercelli Homily IV', in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riano (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 309–22 (p. 322).
[53] David Johnson interprets the entire dream vision, including the changed appearance of the cross, through the lens of eschatology and the final judgment. David Johnson, 'Old English Religious Poetry', in *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. by Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 159–87 (pp. 161–63).
[54] Andy Orchard, '*The Dream of the Rood*: Cross-References', in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. by Samantha Zacher and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 225–53 (p. 247).
[55] Fleming suggests that the phrase *licgende lange hwile* may refer to the dreamer praying prostrate. Fleming, '"The Dream of the Rood" and Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', p. 65.

> beheld the angel of the Lord. Nor was that a gallows for criminals,
>
> but holy spirits beheld it, men over the earth and all the fair creation.[56]

The most significant aspect of this section, from the perspective of nocturnal prayer, is the fact that the dreamer is no longer alone. Others who are contemplating the cross, including holy ghosts and holy men, accompany him. The dreamer has emerged into a state of communion with the saints *to midre niht*.[57]

A similar vision takes place at the same time of night in the ninth-century Anglo-Latin poem *De Abbatibus*.[58] The penultimate chapter of the poem concerns a vision seen by the poet, again, immediately after the other brothers have gone to sleep following nocturnal prayer, just before cockcrow, at the same time as the dreamer in *The Dream of the Rood*. The vision comes to Æthelwulf as a 'lurking dream':

[56] *The Dream of the Rood*, 9–12: 'Beheoldon þær engel Drhtynes alle / fægere þurh forðgesceaft. Ne wæs ðær huru fracodes gealga. / Ac hine þar beheoldon halige gastas, / men ofer moldan ond eall þeos mære gesceaft'. Interpreting 9b is difficult, principally because the plural *beheoldon* demands a plural subject. If, indeed, the angel of the Lord is the object of *beheoldon*, then some explanation is required as to what is meant by the *engel Drythnes*. Critics have suggested that this might be a reference either to Christ or to the Cross. Willem Helder offers an emendation of the text with the translation 'gems stood, beautiful on the surface of the earth, as likewise were five around the center of the cross, signifying the full glory of the angelic host', Willem Helder, 'The 'Engel Dryhtnes' in "The Dream of the Rood"', *Modern Philology*, 73.2 (1975), 148–50. This translation follows Raymond P. Tripp's rendering of the passage in his article ''The Dream of the Rood': 9b and Its Context,' *Modern Philology*, 69.2 (1971), 136–37. Several attempts have been made to emend the edition, but since none have made the passage any clearer it is generally taken as it appears in the manuscript.

[57] Michelle Brown argues that the theme of the *communio sanctorum* was a major feature of Anglo–Saxon devotional life and the guiding principle of the ninth-century prayer book known as the *Book of Cerne*. Michelle Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London: The British Library and the University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 16.

[58] *De Abbatibus* is an 819-line hexameter poem celebrating the achievements of the poet Æthelwulf's monastery, a subsidiary of Linsdisfarne somewhere in Northumbria. It is dedicated to Bishop Ecgberht and can thus be dated confidently to his pontificate, 803 to 821. *De Abbatibus* moves from a history of Æthelwulf's monastery similar to (and probably based upon) Alcuin's poem on the history of York to a description of the monastery in the poets' own day.

> It was the time of night when the cock announces the approach of dawn, and after I had relaxed my chill limbs in rest after the singing of hymns, a lurking dream came and stole before my eyes. Behold, suddenly a shining being appeared to be my leader. Frightened as I was, I approached and accompanied this person, who was shining in very bright vestments and radiant with fair face, and of my free will I placed my steps on unknown paths.[59]

This passage is replete with Virgilian imagery, which also seems to have informed Felix's description of the dream vision. Æthelwulf's dream is called a *somnus*, which, in Macrobius' scheme, suggests a prophetic dream with allegorical significance.[60] We are also told in the headings, which seem to be an original feature of the poem, that the *somnium* comes to him on a Sunday night — the conventional night for vigils and also the night most strongly associated with Christ's resurrection and second coming. The occurrence of a vision on a Sunday night, therefore, carries eschatological overtones that again occur in *The Dream of the Rood*.

This opening of Æthelwulf's *somnus* is strongly reminiscent of Sulpicius Severus' vision of St Martin, which also takes place in a dream at morning time (*matutinis*). Sulpicius finds himself overwhelmed by melancholy brought on by

[59] Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, ed. and trans. by Alastair Campbell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 54–55: 'tempus erat noctis, lucem cum predicat ales / algida post ymnos laxassem membra quieti, / furtiuus adueniens somnus subrepsit ocellis. / candidus en subito uidebatur ductor adesse. / hunc ego prepauidus niidis iam uestibus album / uultibus ac pulchris radientem gressibus ultro / callibus ignotis peditans comitatus adiui'.

[60] A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 10. Macrobius was probably known in the early Middle Ages but he was not nearly as widely read as he came to be in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus, we may note the possibility of some influence but cannot assume that Macrobius' dream theory is synonymous with 'medieval' dream theory. Andrew Galloway has discussed the influence of Gregorian dream theory on *The Dream of the Rood* and includes in his paper a detailed analysis of possible sources for Anglo–Saxon dream theory, including an evaluation of Macrobius' influence. See Galloway, 'Dream-Theory in *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Wanderer*', pp. 475–85.

'weariness of the present world, a terror of judgment, a fear of punishment', classified by Severus as a 'train of thought'.[61] Again, the focus on fear brought on by unrelenting thoughts indicates that Sulpicius begins his vision in the same place as Guthlac and the dreamer in *The Dream of the Rood*. Suddenly, Sulpicius describes falling into the 'somewhat light and uncertain' sleep of the morning hours in which 'one can feel that he is almost dreaming while he is awake'.[62] In this ambiguous state, Sulpicius receives a vision of St Martin, 'clothed in a white robe, with a countenance as of fire, with eyes like stars, and with purple hair'.[63] Martin appears much like Æthelwulf's *candidus ductor*. Having received consolation from Martin and from the presbyter Clarus, Sulpicius wakes rejoicing until a monk from Tours comes to inform him of Martin's death.[64] This is, to Sulpicius, a source of 'unbearable sorrow', yet his grief is also his comfort: he concludes the letter by stating that Martin's death brings him the hope of the saint's intercession.[65] Both the anonymous and Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* refer to the life of Martin, and the letters were sufficiently well known to suggest that both Bede and the anonymous author, and perhaps the author of *De Abbatibus*, were aware of the story.[66] This points to a long, persistent tradition of the dream vision in the hours of late night/early morning.

[61] Sulpicius Severus, Epistola II 'Ad Aurelium Diaconum', trans. by Alexander Roberts in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Phillip Schaff and Henry Wallace, 2nd series, 6 (New York: Cosimo Classics, 1896), pp. 19–20.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid
[65] Ibid
[66] 'Sulpicius Severus' *in Sources of Anglo–Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton, N.Y: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), pp. 158–59.

THE THEOLOGY OF PRAYER IN *THE DREAM OF THE ROOD* AND *DE ABBATIBUS*

The Dream of the Rood is, at its core, a poem about divine encounter. The poet shows how meeting with God moves the mind from a state of fear and dejection to a place of joy. In the beginning of the cross's speech, he explains how he was 'stirred up' (*astyred*) from the edge of the forest and hewn down from his trunk (*stefne*).[67] Literally, the cross is explaining the process of being cut down, yet here, in the dream vision framework, we can see that the poet evokes the language of sleep to link the plight of the dreamer with that of the cross. The cross, like the dreamer, is awakened. If we allow that the word *stefne* (trunk) might contain a pun on the Old English word *stefn* meaning voice, then the cross' awakening is related to his ability to speak. The cross' awakening is traumatic: he is taken from his home, seized by his enemy and forced, almost against his will, to participate in the death of 'the Lord of mankind' (*frean mancynnes*).[68] Of course, he is not *forced* to crucify Christ, *per se*, but does so out of obedience to his lord. He did not dare 'to break to bits or bow against the word of the Lord'.[69] The poet relays the cross' experience in highly affective language that resounds with trauma and emotional dislocation. The cross, sorrowful bearer of the young hero warrior Jesus, takes on Christ's human nature and becomes the suffering servant. Orchard notes 'the poet expects his audience to make specific connections between his characters'.[70] The cross, like the dreamer, is 'wounded with arrows' (*mid*

[67] *The Dream of the Rood*, 30.
[68] *The Dream of the Rood*, 33.
[69] The Dream of the Rood, 35-37b: 'Þær ic þā ne dorste ofer dryhtnes word / būgan oððe berstan, þā ic bifian geseah / eorðan scēatas [...]'.
[70] Orchard, 'Cross–References', p. 232.

strælum forwundod)[71] in the same way that the dreamer is wounded by his own sin.[72] The arrow image appears elsewhere, including in Guthlac's first vision, and is a conventional metaphor for demonic temptation.[73] Both the dreamer and the cross are *gedrefed* with sorrow (*[mid] sorgum gedrefed*), a verb that implies being afflicted but also moved, literally driven, by sorrow.[74] This metaphor of movement and internal turbulence also appears in Guthlac's life:

> Now when meanwhile the poisoned weapon had poured in its potion of black venom, then every feeling [*totis sensibus*] of the soldier of Christ was disturbed [*turbatus*] by it [...] and turning things over in his troubled mind [*turbulentum animum*] he knew not in what place to rest [...]. The servant of the Lord for the space of three days did not know whither to turn.[75]

Each of Guthlac's three visions resolves because of the saint's power of speech, which is naturally related to his ability to pray. Twice he recalls psalm verses that rescue him from despair and demonic attack. Once, returning to his morning prayers, Guthlac speaks words of thanksgiving and recites his prayers. Salvation, in these instances, consists of finding the right words, and divineencounter allows Guthlac to pray against demonic attack.

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[71] *The Dream of the Rood*, 62.
[72] *The Dream of the Rood*, 14.
[73] This image appears in Ephesians 6:11–17 and was popular in the Old English homiletic and poetic tradition: see, for example, the Old English poem *Andreas* line 391 and especially *Vercelli Homily IV*, lines 308 to 318, which contain a catalogue of different sins, each described as a different arrow in the devil's arsenal. See also Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 94–97. For a discussion of Vercelli IV see Thomas H. Hall, 'The Psychedelic Transmogrification of the Soul in Vercelli IV', in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riano (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003), pp. 309–22 (p. 322).
[74] *Dream of the Rood*, 20; 59.
[75] Felix, *Life of Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 97. Emphasis mine.

We find a similar movement from abjection to prayer in *The Dream of the Rood*. The figure of a speaking tree represents the revelation of God, mediated through the cross just as his very act of atonement was accomplished through the Cross. The appearance of lines from some recension of *The Dream of the Rood* on both the Ruthwell Cross and the Brussels reliquary cross adds a literal element to the speech of the cross: the Brussels Cross first person inscription reads '*rod* is my name; trembling, I once bore a powerful king, drenched in blood'.[76] The rood was fashioned, according to the dedication, 'to praise Christ for the soul of Ælfric, their brother'.[77] It has been noted that the attribution of speech to an inanimate object is an Anglo-Saxon commonplace.[78] Crosses in Anglo-Saxon England are frequently inscribed with prayers and so there is a symbolic, as well as a literal, dimension to the figure of the speaking cross.[79] Such crosses, literally, were erected as a form of prayer and a reminder to pray. The Ruthwell Cross is an exceptional example of this phenomenon, containing as it does a runic inscription related to some portion of the poem *The Dream of the Rood*. While it is unlikely that people were able to read these runes *in situ* when

[76] 'rod is min nam; geo ic ricne Cyning bær byfigynde, blod bestemed'. Michael Swanton, *The Dream of the Rood* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1970) p. 48. S. d'Ardenne, 'The Old English Inscription on the Brussels Cross', *English Studies*, 21 (1939), 145–64, 271–72 (p. 146). Éamonn Ó Carragáin believes that there were many recensions of this poem-model, some shorter and others longer; such a theory makes the sole extant text version of the poem preserved in the late tenth-century Vercelli Book simply a redaction of an earlier version that dates perhaps from as early as the seventh century. Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*', pp. 38–39.

[77] 'Criste to lofe for Ælfrices saule hyra beroþor'. d'Ardenne, 'The Old English Inscription on the Brussels Cross', p. 146.

[78] For a discussion of this trope see Bruce Karl Brasswell, '*The Dream of the Rood* and Aldhelm on Sacred Prosopopoeia', *Mediaeval Studies*, 40 (1978), 461–67.

[79] Generally, these take the form of reminders to pray, with the formula of a personal name and the command to 'ora pro anima', or words to the same effect. These inscriptions could appear in Latin or Old English, for example, the runic inscriptions of the Thornhill Crosses, dated somewhere between 750 and 850. Davd Howlett, *Insular Inscriptions* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe, 2005), p. 214. For more Old English commemorative runes, see R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 141–45.

looking at the cross, it may be that the runes signify the cross' power of speech and its ability to exhort men to prayer.[80] At the same time, the complex iconographic program of the Ruthwell Cross is related to the eremitic life.[81] The cross encapsulates the life of prayer.

The cross in *The Dream of the Rood* also represents the human nature of Christ.[82] The figure of Christ in the poem, Lord and 'young hero/saviour' (*geong hælend*), is unaffected by the suffering inflicted on the cross, and the dual representation of both the Cross and Christ is part of the complex theological imperative of the poem, and its meditation on the nature of the second person of the Trinity.[83] In the same way, the poem is also interested in the concept of the word of God (*verbum dei*). The idea of the Word is complex and multifaceted in medieval religious culture: Christ, in his person, is the Word of God, and his words (especially his words of prayer, such as the Pater Noster) are doubly so.[84] The Bible is also the word of God and, consequently, its words resound through the literary, material, and devotional culture of Anglo-Saxon England as powerful words of prayer. Likewise, the prologue to John's Gospel, which discusses the Word of God (*in principio erat verbum*), was held to have protective powers in the Middle Ages.[85] These first words of John's Gospel appear in later Anglo-

[80] Patrick W. Conner, 'The Ruthwell Monument Runic Poem in a Tenth-Century Context', *The Review of English Studies,* 59.238 (2008), 25–51 (p. 28). Conner argues for a tenth–century context for the Ruthwell poem, based partly on its use of vernacular.
[81] Meyer Schapiro, 'The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross', *The Art Bulletin*, 26.4 (1944), 232–45 (p. 235).
[82] See Rosemary Woolf, 'Doctrinal Influences on The Dream of the Rood', *in Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literatur*e, ed. by Heather O'Donoghue (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 29–48 (p. 39). Woolf discusses the theological imperative to emphasize the coexistence of Christ's humanity with his divinity in light of the Monophysite controversy of the seventh century.
[83] *The Dream of the Rood*, 39.
[84] Daniel Anlezark discusses the charm–like quality of the Pater Noster. *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. and trans. by Daniel Anlezark (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 26–27.
[85] Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 292. Augustine tells of a Platonist who was in the habit of saying

Saxon medicinal charms.[86] In Leechbook I.lxii.3, there is an instruction to write the text of John, suggesting a power accorded to the written word. The notion of the 'word' in the poetic and religious imagination is well expressed by the eccentric *Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*. In this poem, God's word is the Lord's prayer, and it is ascribed special powers. God's *cwide*, according to the poem, 'opens up heaven, blesses the holy, makes the Lord merciful, strikes down murder, extinguishes the devil's fire, kindles the Lord's [fire]'.[87] In this tradition, the word of God and, indeed, the words of God are powerful. Henry Mayr–Harting notes that the idea of God's words as sacred and needing to be used and pronounced correctly is a constant theme in Carolingian regulations.[88]

As a poem about prayer, *The Dream of the Rood* plays on the idea of words and God's word as the means of salvation. Critics have suggested that the image of the cross suggests not only an ornamental devotional cross but also perhaps a gilded

that this passage should be written in gold and hung up in all churches. Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 437.
The council of Seligenstadt in 1022 links the recitation of this passage explicitly with lay superstition: 'Quidam etiam laicorum & maxime matronae, habent in consuetudine, ut per singulos dies audiant evangelium, in principio erat Verbum, & missas peculiares, hoc est de sancta Trinitate, aut de sancto Michaele: & ideo sancitum est in eodem concilio, ut hoc ulterius non fiat, nisi suo tempore, & nisi aliquis fidelium audire velit pro reverntia sanctae Trinitatis, non pro aliqua divinatione: & si voluerit ut sibi missae cantetur, de eodem die audiant misas, vel pro salute vivorum, aut pro defunctis'. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1758–98), pp. xix; 398. <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb37252744r> [accessed 19 November 2015].

[86] Leechbook I.lxii.3, in Oswald Cockayne (ed.), *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863) II, 136–7. See also Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 118–19.

[87] 'heofonas ontyneð, halige geblissað / Metod gemiltsað, morðor gefilleð / andswæceð deofles fyr, Dryhtnes onæleð' (39–42). Anlezark (ed.), *Solomon and Saturn*, pp. 62–63.

[88] Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Praying the Psalter in Carolingian Times: What Was Supposed to Be Going on in the Minds of Monks?', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG*, ed. by Benedicta Ward and Santha Bhattacharji (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 77–100 (p. 81).

Bible.[89] In *The Dream of the Rood*, the cross is powerful because it enables men to experience Christ himself and, crucially, to pray to him. The cross warns the dreamer of the fate of the men who will not know what to say to Christ. This, however, is not a problem for those who bear the beacon within their breast and who have learnt to distinguish the way of the kingdom from earthly paths. Fleming here points to the monastic way of self–denial — *per crucem ad lucem*.[90] Yet there is a more specific reference here to the power of the cross to give speech to men, those who would wish to give an answer to the Lord on the day of judgment. They need not fear who have experienced communion with the cross and with Christ, those who, like the dreamer, come to be able to pray happily. Furthermore, the ultimate redemption of the dreamer comes through his opportunity to meditate on the scriptural story and to experience the emotion of the Passion as if he were there, since the cross functions, in J.A. Burrow's words, 'doubly as a surrogate for both the dreamer and Christ'.[91] Extant witnesses to the tradition of private prayer in Anglo-Saxon England point to deep and sustained meditation on the life of Christ, and particularly on his Passion, as the basis for private prayer.[92]

Immediately following the words of the cross, therefore, it is logically consistent that the dreamer responds by praying with joy to the cross. In doing this, he obeys the first of his commands:

[89] Barbara Raw, '*The Dream of the Rood* and its connections with Early Christian Art', *Medium Ævum*, 39.3 (1970), 239–56 (p. 242).
[90] Fleming, '"The Dream of the Rood" and Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', p. 50.
[91] J.A. Burrow, 'An Approach to "The Dream of the Rood"', Neophilologus, 43 (1959), 123–33 (p. 127).
[92] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 290. The Gospel lections in the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library Ll.I.10) and the Book of Nunnaminster (B.L., Harley 2965) begin with the evening before Christ's death and end either with his assumption (Cerne) or his burial (Nunnminster).

> Then I prayed to the cross with friendly spirit,
> with great zeal, where I was alone
> with little company. My mind was
> impelled on the way hence, it experienced very many
> times of longing.[93]

Swanton writes that 'catalysed by his vision, the poet's resolution forms the directly devotional basis of the poem's conclusion. The visionary no longer lies passive and silent'.[94] No longer paralysed and unable to pray, his encounter with the cross has affected an emotional transition.

The final command of the cross is not merely to pray, but to tell men about his vision.[95] This command is fulfilled in the composition of the poem. Given the complex transmission history of *The Dream of the Rood*, it is possible that the whole poem or segments of the poem were transmitted orally or memorised. Indeed, we know Alfred was instructed to memorise Saxon biblical poetry.[96] Anglo-Latin prayer books from the early ninth century show us that engagement with the Bible sat at the centre of private prayer in Anglo-Saxon England, as too do the accounts of Guthlac singing psalms at night.[97] *The Dream of the Rood* shows a similar interest in Christ's Passion as a catalyst for prayer and, indeed, his Passion is the only reason why one is able to pray to God at all. In a sense, then, the poem is about prayer and is also in itself the outcome

[93] *The Dream of the Rood*, 123–26a: 'Gebæd ic mē þā to þām bēame blīðe mōde / elne mycle, þær ic āna wæs mæte werede. Wæs mōdsefa / āfysed on forðwege, feala ealra gebād / langunghwīla...'
[94] Michael James Swanton, ed., *The Dream of the Rood* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 77.
[95] *The Dream of the Rood*, 95–105.
[96] Asser, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great*, 23, trans. by Alfred P. Smyth (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 14.
[97] Asser, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great,* pp. 6–9.

of prayer, since it provides evidence of a mind no longer condemned by fear but enlightened by divine revelation and the love of God. The setting of this poem *to midre niht* offers a conventional setting for such a transformation to take place.

In *De Abbatibus*, the movement from crisis to comfort comes through a vision of the cross:

> The venerable cross rose up shining on a very long stem from the top of the table. A golden plate yellowed with tawny gems, and upon it emeralds shone full bright. The cross shone with reddening gold and shining gems from the east. A sparkling vestment of linen covered the top of the tomb, which had the consecrated bones of a saint held in the heart of its interior.[98]

Campbell and Orchard have briefly noted some superficial similarities between this passage and *The Dream of the Rood*.[99] An adorned cross appears in both poems. Both poems depict a similar movement from fear to prayer mediated through engagement with the cross. While Æthelwulf's cross does not speak with words, his description of the church, which merges the symbolic and the literal, the earthly and the heavenly, is a picture of eternal reality that takes Æthelwulf from fear and silence to prayer. Furthermore, as Robert Gallagher points out, there is a theme running through the

[98] 'crux ueranda nitens precelso stipite surget / uertice de mense nimium candente smaragdo. aurea cum gemmis flammescit lammina fuluis. / [...] / haec rutilo ex auro gemmisque nitescit opimis / ex oriente, micans de bisso culmina tume uestis contexit, cuius que nescio sancti / membra dicata qui tenuit sub uiscere uentris'. Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, pp. 56–57.
[99] Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, p. 56. Orchard, 'Cross–References', p. 226.

whole poem wherein the poet suggests that the way to 'achieve salvation [is] through introspective thought and spiritual solitude'.[100]

Stopping before the cross, Æthelwulf finds himself terrified, deprived of a leader and unable to speak:

> As I was searching into these things and distinguishing them from my dull mind, behold, my leader had left me suddenly and, departing from the church, disappeared into thin air. And I, afraid, bent my face close to the ground, calling on Christ: 'have mercy, I pray, and remember to save a frightened man whose enemies press against him'. Henceforth, turning my eyes away to the right, where there was a chair, which shone, and was adorned with gilt carvings and a venerable old man had seated himself upon it. In front of his face, an altar decked with garlands of golden flowers sent dedicated gifts to God, the highest one, and at the top it had the sign of a tall cross.[101]

Æthelwulf's prayer alludes loosely to the psalms in its plea for mercy and protection against enemies. Curiously, there are no obvious 'enemies' in this narrative, save Æthelwulf's fears alone. His identification of 'enemies' in the context of psychological turmoil is reminiscent of saints' prayers against demonic temptation and suggests a link between emotional unrest and spiritual attack, also seen in the life of Guthlac. Campbell translates the word *cor*, which is usually heart, as mind.[102] Æthelwulf

[100] Robert Gallagher, 'Aediluulf's *De Abbatibus*: A Soteriological Reading', *Quaestio*, 9 (2008), 129–43 (p. 142).
[101] 'talia dum cernens stupido de corde rimarem, / ecce repente meus ductor me linquerat atque degrediens templo uacuis se condidit auris. / ast ego pretrepidus faciem cum pronior aruis / inserui rogitans Christum, 'miserere precamur / hostibus aduersis pauidum seruare momento', hinc oculos uertens partem qua dextera monstrat / aurigeris solium splendescere rite tabellis / quo senior quidam uenerandus membra locabat. / ante suam faciem fuluis redimita coronis / ara dicata deo mittebat munera summo / quae crucis excelse porrexit uertice signum'. Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, pp. 726–36.
[102] Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, pp. 56–57.

ascribes to the *cor* what are arguably mental functions — searching and distinguishing — as well as calling it dull (*stupido*).[103] Phillips, writing about Old English terminology, points out that 'with verbs of thought and speech, *on heortan* [in the heart] and *on mod* [in the mind] can be used seemingly interchangeably'.[104] In the life of Guthlac, it is the *mod* that is repeatedly tortured and the mod that is eventually set free. Likewise, in *The Dream of the Rood* the poet's *mod* is *bliðe* (happy) at the end of the poem.

Æthelwulf's vision continues for some fifty lines until he finds his old teacher, Eadfrith, who takes him to an altar. The vision concludes with an image of the Eucharist. Eadfrith blesses the sacred cup with 'pious prayers' and Æthelwulf, drinking the wine, 'sent to the skies praise and thanks unto the Lord'.[105] Æthelwulf, upon waking, begins to write what he has seen. This vision is represented as the catalyst for his poem.

The similarities between these poems and other hagiographic materials suggest a shared devotional context wherein private prayer between the hours of nocturns and matins offered unique opportunities for transformative prayer, mediated by interaction with the real presence of Christ and his saints in the spiritually charged hours of night. Sarah Foot has noted that hagiographic texts 'incidentally reveal not only the approximate timing of the ordinary offices but also the fact that the less ascetically religious were accustomed to return to bed in the intervals between

[103] Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, pp. 56–57.
[104] Michael Joseph Phillips, 'Heart, Mind, and Soul in Old English: A Semantic Study' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1985), p. 124.
[105] Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, pp. 60–61.

them'.[106] Robert E. Burlin has argued that *The Dream of the Rood* 'as a whole rests firmly upon a clear development of the theological symbolism of the Cross and upon a pattern of contemplation which suggests a possible link with the ascetic tradition of the early Northumbrian Church'.[107] This paper has suggested a further point of intersection between *The Dream of the Rood* and works produced between the seventh and ninth centuries, arguing that they have in common a shared understanding of the potential for nocturnal prayer and associated visions to affect thoughts and feelings. Burlin further suggests that *The Dream of the Rood* 'might be the product of a contemplative who is attempting to express a real experience in available literary terms, but it might equally be the work of a poet who is exploiting the materials of his craft to convey the sort of experience for which he has merely an imaginative understanding'.[108] The author of *The Dream of the Rood*, I suggest, is using poetry not only to express his experience but also to share his experience with others.

Augustine writes that:

> in this mortal life we are like travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy we must use this world, not enjoy it, in order to discern 'the invisible attributes of God, which are understood through what has been made' or, in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things.[109]

[106] Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo–Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 199.
[107] Robert E. Burlin, 'The Ruthwell Cross, The Dream of the Rood and the Vita Contemplativa', *Studies in Philology*, 65.1 (1968), 23–43 (p. 42).
[108] Robert E. Burlin, 'The Ruthwell Cross, The Dream of the Rood and the Vita Contemplativa', p. 38.
[109] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. by R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 17.

The Dream of the Rood and *De Abbatibus* are examples of the process of reflecting on real and imagined devotional experience through literary traditions addressing nocturnal prayer. In so doing, the authors are able to represent the way that the act of prayer transforms perception to bring direct contact with the divine. Both authors present us with a multiplicity of words and signs through which the incarnate God might speak, whether through a cross, through architecture, through scripture or through the symbolic presence of his saints. The practice of composition becomes, in the final instance, the logical conclusion of such an experience, and the act of reading the poem becomes an encounter with the living Word of God that can itself transform the thoughts and feelings of the reader.

Ralph Berry, *Shakespeare's Settings and a Sense of Place* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016). Print, 144 pp., US$30.00, ISBN: 9781783168088.

Review

Ralph Berry's latest book asserts Shakespeare's fascination with settings and locations, arguing that they 'structure, and sometimes define, the drama' (p. xvi). He takes a broad approach to his subject matter by exploring stage spaces that Shakespeare was familiar with (including Berry's own suggestion of Haddon Hall as an 'envisaged' setting for *Richard II*), as well as addressing the settings that he chooses, both in England and internationally (p. 36). As Ralph Berry suggests, Shakespeare probably never left England and yet a number of his plays imaginatively travel across Europe, situating characters everywhere from Denmark to Italy to Scotland. Berry nevertheless proposes that visiting these locations that Shakespeare himself never saw can enrich how we understand the plays and even provide new insights into the locations that he wrote for. Indeed, Berry comments on the affective experience of place, noting that the phrase 'Denmark's a Prison' took on a 'never before felt […] resonance' in the claustrophobic space of the inner courtyard at Kronborg Castle, which is 'enclosed on all sides by the palace elevations.' Berry concludes that 'This is a play where doors close, not open. They act as barriers. Nobody gets out of Elsinore if the authorities want to keep them in' (p. 4). Indeed, Berry's familiarity with each of these locations appears to be the organising principal behind the book: he acknowledges that there are many more settings worthy of discussion, but offers the particular insights of his own first-hand experience in having visited each location.

It should be acknowledged that Berry's book is not a typical scholarly work. It does not situate itself within a wider scholarly milieu, drawing only occasionally

from insights gleaned from other critical works. Each chapter offers minimal notes, if any, and the introduction makes no claim to originality. It is also noteworthy that the acknowledgements state that half of the chapters (One, Two, Three, Four, Six, and Twelve) have all been published elsewhere and appear unrevised in this book. Chapter Twelve was published recently, in 2015, in *Notes and Queries*, but the other chapters range from 1998 to 2005. This means that the opening four chapters republish material that is at least a decade old and may have profited from an update for the current book. Indeed, Chapter Four (published in 2005) describes the momentum behind E. A. J. Honigmann's *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* building over 'recent years,' but the notes only reference the 1985 book (p. 29). It would have been useful to update the notes to assert the continuing impact of this research.

Nevertheless the book does give the reader an accessible account of Shakespeare's particular fascination with places. The chapters are succinct and yet wide-ranging, offering the reader a taste of the cultural, religious, and economic contexts that underpin these locations. Each chapter is thoughtfully organised around the places, rather than the plays, allowing the reader to appreciate how Shakespeare returned to certain locations with different goals, and perhaps had places in mind when he wrote specific plays. The effect is to foreground locations themselves as important to Shakespeare, a goal that Berry enthusiastically pursues.

The chapters themselves read as discreet essays. The introduction provides little guidance on the organisation of the chapters, and the reasoning behind the order is not immediately evident. Indeed, in lieu of explicitly describing the organising principle behind the chapters, readers either take each chapter in isolation from those preceding and following it, or is forced to try and create such links for themselves. It would perhaps have been useful to group the locations according to those that function predominantly as settings and those that are stage

spaces, and further to divide the settings between those that Shakespeare was intimately familiar with and those that he imaginatively created through contemporary accounts. Instead, the book opens with two chapters on Kronborg Castle as the setting for *Hamlet* — the first focussing on the castle itself, and the second upon a modern performance — and then the next chapter explores the performance space in Middle Temple, followed by another chapter arguing that first Shakespeare may have been familiar with Haddon Hall and second pictured the space while writing *Richard II*. The next eight chapters shift between settings and stage spaces without discussing the differences between spaces that Shakespeare's plays were performed in and settings that Shakespeare may have been thinking of as he wrote his plays. The introduction also sees him acknowledge that he has 'added' two chapters on Jonson. Rather than considering how Jonson's sense of location complements his discussion, he simply states that Jonson's staging of London 'contains a vista on the same scene that Shakespeare knew' (p. xiv). While these two chapters are interesting, Berry does not really present a case for why Jonson's approach to location is important for a study of Shakespeare's settings.

Some of the assertions that Berry makes are difficult to substantiate because he does not seem to have always tested his ideas. In the introduction, he makes an interesting distinction between place-names and locations. Where Shakespeare used a number of place-names to stand in for what feels essentially to be an English setting — such as *Love's Labour's Lost's* Navarre and *Twelfth Night's* Illyria — Berry distinguishes locations as an 'imaginative and visual apprehension of setting' (p. xvi). Yet in his final chapter Berry seems to leave open the question of whether, beyond the issues of patronage that he discusses, the location of Jonson's *Entertainment* actually matters: could it have been on any family's property? As Berry himself suggests, the place has a sense of '*genius loci*' but the 'precise spot in

the grounds […] where Queen Anne beheld the Entertainment is not I think discoverable today' (p. xiv). Similarly, he never seems to consider the limitations of visiting locations that were only imagined by Shakespeare. While visiting places may help to confirm how accurate (or indeed inaccurate) Shakespeare's travel knowledge may have been, Berry perhaps eclipses the imaginative travel that Shakespeare invites his audiences to participate in. That is, if Shakespeare's apprehension of place is so detailed and evocative — while never having actually visited these places himself — might it not be unnecessary, and even impossible, to travel to such settings? Berry, no doubt, has his own reasons for believing that physically experiencing these locations adds something to the plays, but it would have strengthened his case to have at least addressed the delights and fascinations of early modern mind-travelling for Shakespeare's audiences as much as Shakespeare himself.

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Megan Cassidy-Welch, ed., *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). Print, 252 pp., £33.99, ISBN: 9781138811157.

Review

In the introduction and first part to this volume, the editor, Megan Cassidy-Welch, clearly states the intent of the work: to discuss the construction and transmission of the memory of the Crusades, in its forms of communicative memory (a term introduced by Jan and Aleida Assman meaning the recollection of an event still within living remembrance) and cultural memory, that is remembrance after the fact. In order to do this the body of the work is articulated in three parts: analysis of bodies of textual, material, and artistic sources for the Crusades; analysis of bodies of people who remembered the Crusades; and analysis of crusader cultural memories. While the book, as observed by the editor, principally focuses on the heyday of the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, examples in the discussion range as far as the twentieth century, connecting the methodologies examined across periods.

In the second part, 'Sources of Memory', we encounter therefore the discussion of a variety of contemporary sources for the Crusades. In 'Preaching and Crusading Memory' Jessalyn Bird discusses the complex network of biblical references, political interest and geographical influence which shape the preacher's attitudes to reworking and universalising the crusader experience. In 'The Liturgical Memory of July 15, 1099', M. Cecilia Gaposhkin describes how the capture of Jerusalem was worked into Christian liturgy as both earthly and heavenly city, both fulfilment of prophecy and prefiguration of salvation to come in the apocalypse. From ecclesiastical texts the discussion moves on to artistic artefacts: in 'Crusades, Memory and Visual Culture' Elizabeth Lapina takes as a case study depictions of saintly interventions in battle to discuss the iconographical impact of the Crusades,

while Anne E. Lester in 'Representations of Things Past' discusses how objects, 'conduits of memory' (p. 74) both function as remembrance and signifiers of the Crusades, but can also metamorphosise and acquire new meaning with the passing of time. The second part concludes with a discussion of narrative sources: in 'Historical Writing (or the Manufacture of Memory)', Darius von Güttner Sporzyński analyses the main eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, the histories written afterwards, and takes the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* as an example of narrative influenced by crusader chronicles. Lee Manion concludes the section in 'Perpetual Memorye' with a discussion of crusader romances, in particular the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Willehalm*, and Caxton's Renaissance romances.

The third part, 'Communities of Memory', opens with an examination of the complex politics of patronage, devotion and conversion in monasteries that dealt with crusader memories, through the case study of Adjutor of Tiron, in Katherine Allen Smith's 'Monastic Memories of the Early Crusading Movement'. James Naus and Vincent Ryan discuss memories of royal crusading in 'High Stakes and High Rewards', focusing on Richard I of England as an example of an influential crusader king, while Rebecca Rist analyses Jewish attitudes to Christian violence and ecclesiastical protection in chronicles of the Crusades. Nicholas L. Paul and Jochen G. Schenk close this section with their survey of 'Family Memory and the Crusades', which deals with crusader dynasties and the transmission of crusader legacies within family networks and geographical regions.

Part IV, 'Cultural Memory', deals with the remembrance of crusades after the fact, often reaching out with its analysis to the present day. This is the case in Jonathan Harris' 'A Blow Sent By God', which analyses how Byzantine chronicles of the First Crusade written in Nicaea came to dominate the dialogue and shape the discourse about the schism of Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches into the 21st

century; Ana Rodríguez' analysis of 'Remembering the Crusades While Living the Reconquest' is more limited in time, but it ranges across the centuries of the Iberian fight against the Muslim polities in the peninsula to highlight the complex and often contradictory relationship between the papacy and the kings of Spain. In 'The Muslim Memory of the Crusades' Alex Mallet underlines how Muslim chroniclers often focus on the failings of Muslim rulers rather than Christian aggression in their discussion of the crusades. Finally, in 'Appropriating History' Carsten Selch Jensen charts how memory of the Baltic Crusades has figured in the national narratives of Latvia and Estonia up to time of the Soviet Union.

The volume is remarkably coherent in its choice of pieces: all essays focused on the importance of overlapping networks of reference and meaning in the construction and transmission of memory. Even those who focused on the Middle Ages sought to connect their theme to a more contemporary equivalent, as Elizabeth Lapina did, for example, by opening her discussion of propaganda images with a reference to Lord Kitchener's WWI posters (pp. 49–50).

While the chapters are brief, they read as both restrained but appropriate discussions of specific case studies and an introduction to complex methodologies of work, as Lester's sophisticated discussion of the use and abuse of jewellery and relics did with material culture as a source for memory studies. Taken as a whole, the work successfully achieves a survey of small but well-balanced case studies, the examination of different kinds of source materials and methodologies, and gives ample scope to a diverse range of starting points for examining crusader memory in its many forms.

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James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, eds., *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1690* (London & New York: Routledge, 2016). Print, 258 pp., £110.00, ISBN: 9781472478269.

Review

The study of early modern women's correspondence has been positively revolutionised over the past two decades, and the field shows no signs of slowing down. In recent years, as James Daybell and Andrew Gordon note in their authoritative introduction to this volume, scholarly attention has been directed, in particular, towards the material, linguistic, and regional aspects of correspondence, as well as the possibilities offered by the digital humanities. The editors, with good reason, position this collection at the 'forefront' of these developments: their introduction does an excellent job of unifying the twelve essays, written from a range of disciplinary perspectives, around a shared interest in employing innovative approaches to examine the 'complex categories' of gender and agency in early modern letters.

Despite the expansive focus suggested by the title, the contributions concentrate primarily on England, with occasional forays into Ireland and, in one instance, across the Atlantic. They are evenly spread across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though only Barbara Harris' brief but masterful survey of 423 letters written by early Tudor aristocratic women deals in any depth with the initial decades of this period. Nevertheless, the volume covers an impressive amount of ground. It is divided into three parts: the first considers letters as 'objects', exploring some of the methodologies scholars can bring to bear on their study; the second examines letters as vehicles for the transmission of knowledge and authority; while the final section focuses on letter networks and the 'social relations of correspondence'.

Two of the most noteworthy contributions are located in Part I. James Daybell's essay situates itself within the burgeoning body of research on the 'materiality' of early modern letter-writing, examining the ways in which the physical features of women's letters were 'inflected by a range of factors such as social status, cultural convention and social practice, as well as by gender' (p. 56). It deftly explores the gendered dimensions of five areas of 'material meaning': scribal status, handwriting, paper, manuscript space, and signatures; in doing so, it demonstrates that a sensitivity to the physicality of letters is essential if we wish to understand the full complexity of the socio-political meanings and epistolary strategies of women's correspondence.

Despite its much narrower focus, Melanie Evans' contribution is similarly methodologically fruitful. Using two scribal letters of Elizabeth I as a case study, Evans sets forth a socio-linguistic methodology which has the potential to help scholars uncover individual 'voices' in collaborative correspondence. By comparing the orthography, epistolary conventions, and linguistic features of these two letters with Elizabeth's autograph correspondence, Evans discerns the presence of Elizabeth's individual voice (or idiolect) in the scribal texts, thus opening the way for a more complex understanding of the Queen's epistolary agency, and, indeed, of collaborative authorship more broadly.

A number of essays elsewhere in the volume do much to enlarge our understanding of the epistolary strategies women used to exercise agency in inherently politicised arenas. Gemma Allen draws our attention to the genre of women's letters of counsel, and to the ways in which Ladies Anne Bacon and Elizabeth Russell were able to use their humanist learning to circumvent contemporary strictures on women's advice. Johanna Harris' excellent contribution similarly deals with the subject of counsel, analysing a little-studied advice letter

written by Lady Brilliana Harley to her son. Harris shows that Harley made skillful use of both textual and *material* strategies — including the omission of the gendered terminology typical of mother's advice literature — in order to intervene in wider debates about spiritual and civic conduct. Michelle DiMeo, meanwhile, explores how Katherine, Lady Ranelagh, 'manipulated' epistolary conventions in order to navigate another conventionally male domain: medicine, and to establish her authority as a medical practitioner.

While these contributions centre upon on elite and (as their authors acknowledge) exceptional individuals, others expand the focus. Marie-Louise Coolahan makes a welcome foray into Ireland, examining the diverse ways in which Irish women used letter-writing as a 'mode of action' during the Confederate and Cromwellian wars (1641–1653). Andrew Gordon's contribution uses the 'epistolary traffic' of Frances Devereux, Countess of Essex, and her sometime gentlewoman Jane Daniell to examine the 'competing uses of correspondence between two women of different status and situation' (p. 201). Particularly welcome are the three essays which look beyond women letter-writers to the function of women in correspondence networks more broadly. Of these, Rachel McGregor's astute analysis of the ways in which Roger Ascham and his correspondents exchanged descriptions of learned women (including Elizabeth Tudor) as a means of safely negotiating the formation of *amicitia* (friendship), is particularly stimulating. Marjon Ames' persuasive discussion of the crucial role of letters in the early Quaker movement — a 'web of communication' (p. 208) fundamentally created and sustained by Margaret Fell — and Cedric C. Brown's examination of the place of letters in the 'pious friendship' of John Evelyn and Elizabeth Carey, are also intriguing, though (given the volume's focus) some assessment of the gendered dimensions of these epistolary relationships would have been welcome.

The volume concludes with a postscript written by Daybell and Kim McLean-Fiander, joint directors of the British Academy/Leverhulme funded Women's Early Modern Letters Online (WEMLO), which, in outlining the 'challenges and possibilities' of the project, 'looks to the future' of the field. While still a work in progress, WEMLO promises to be an invaluable resource, providing 'a digital union catalogue and editorial interface for early modern women's correspondence' (p. 234). It is already possible, through the project's partnership with Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO), to search the full EMLO catalogue by gender, and to browse an expanding list of female-only correspondents; in the months since the publication of this volume, for instance, a catalogue of the correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart has been launched, consisting (at present) of an immense 1210 letters.

Women and Epistolary Agency is a welcome contribution to the flourishing literature on early modern letter-writing. It sheds new light on the gendered dimensions of correspondence, and presents some novel paths for further exploration. The collection will be valuable reading for any scholar working on early modern women or letter-writing: scholars who will, no doubt, observe the continuing development of the WEMLO project with keen interest.

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George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.) Print, 262 pp., £24.99, ISBN: 9780812223699.

Review

This book is an intensive and comprehensive study on the ecclesiastical history of papal authority from late antiquity to the Middle Ages. The special connection between the apostle Peter and the popes of the Roman Church is considered as a new papal theory. The discourses (referring to papal letters, treatises, and biographies) from the historical figures of Leo the Great (bishop of Rome, 440-461), Gelasius I (492-496), and Gregory the Great (590-604), are rhetorically explored by George E. Demacopoulos to argue that 'the escalations of papal rhetoric, almost always linked directly to a Petrine claim, were often born in moments of papal anxiety or weakness' (p. 2) and that the specific claims of the Petrine discourse contributed to its survival.

Chapter One surveys the earliest narratives about Peter and features aspects of the Petrine legend that would prove most useful for bridging Petrine and papal authority in subsequent centuries. The author examined three elements of the Petrine legends, the external recognition of Petrine privilege, and the cultic practices associated with Peter's tomb. Among the early Christian texts, the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*, and *Martyrdom of Peter* failed to mention Peter as a bishop or the existence of a Roman episcopate. However, the *Pseudo-Clementines* and *First Clement* are seen to claim the authority of Peter, Paul, and Irenaeus of Lyon. Here, the *Pseudo-Clement's Epistle to James* is presumed to be one of the earliest elaborations of a Petrine legend, differentiating the Roman See and the Roman bishop from other sees and bishops. Based on this, Demacopoulos maintains that although there was a connection

between Peter, Rome, and the Roman bishop as early as the late second century, the bishops of Rome themselves started to link their authority to the Petrine legacy from the middle of the fourth century. Leo's narrative decisions in his formulation of Roman authority are discussed in Chapter Two; his writings survive in relatively complete editions. The extant 140 letters are presumed to be genuine. As Leo was one of the earliest pontiffs to employ the figure of Peter, his use of the topos was typically confined to a specific set of diplomatic circumstances. A large number of Leo's sermons corresponding to the Christian feasts of Holy Week, Christmas, Pentecost, Lent, the September fast, and the Feast of Sts Peter and Paul adopted the Petrine topos as a form of rhetorical performance and self-presentation. In particular, *Sermon* 82 is seen 'as a sophisticated appropriation of key elements of an "imperial" discourse for the purpose of promoting Petrine authority' (p. 44). Four *homilies* also depict Peter as a forceful tool for the publicity of Roman episcopal authority. When the Christological controversies dominated the theological debate of the Eastern Church during the fifth century, the Petrine discourse enabled Leo's rhetorical choices to achieve his diplomatic goals. Demacopoulos maintained that 'Leo's initial development of the Petrine topos between 441 and 443 may have been born of anxiety over the extent to which other episcopal leaders would accept his authority' (p. 71).

Pope Gelasius I was the first pope to propose a specific model for church/state interaction, through which he offered the most assertive of late ancient papal claims to ecclesiastical authority. Chapter Three 'raises the possibility that Gelasius' assertions of papal authority do not document ecclesiological or political realities, but instead encapsulate a discourse of papal ambition born of frustration […] either at home or abroad' (p. 74). Such results, according to *Tractate 6*, were caused by the personal experience that 'he neither enjoyed the respect of the Senate

nor had the full support of the Roman clergy' (p. 74). Yet, *The Invention of Peter* introduces Gelasius as the pontiff most involved in the ecclesiastical and political affairs of Italy, Sicily, and the Latin-speaking Balkans. Unlike the previous part, Chapter Four describes how the sixth-century papacy rarely enjoyed its privilege over the secular rulers of Italy or the empire. Especially, the so-called Laurentian schism, which began with the contested papal election between Symmachus and Laurentius in 498, weakened the papal authority religio-politically. The *Novellae*, representing new laws, reforms or clarifications of previous laws, typically characterized the See of Rome as little more than the administrative office of a provincial church. Although the majority of ecclesiastical legislation often emphasized the bishop of Constantinople as the authority, it is argued that the popes of Rome in this era were subjected to the concerns of Theoderic (ruler of Italy, 493–526) and Justinian (the Byzantine, or Eastern Roman, emperor, 527-565).

The final chapter focuses on Gregory who, like many of his predecessors, employed assertive elements of an inherited Petrine discourse in times of international weakness. His theological treatises proved that the pope developed new ways to promote and utilize Peter's shrine and relics. The Peter of Gregory was believed to perform miracles through his tomb and chain filings used during his imprisonment. The four test cases of the Sicilian clergy, Germanic aristocracy, Eastern clergy, and Roman emperor were used to demonstrate the notion that 'Gregory's use of the topos was, at best, inconsistently effective in achieving its immediate goals' (p. 135). The pope is understood to have been able to maximize the rhetorical force of the Petrine topos and transform it into a multidimensional resource, constituted in terms of space, time, and memory. Ultimately, this volume has been limited to three major papal figures, but the broad knowledge and different aspects of the Petrine legacy transmitted to Western Europe in the later Middle Ages

are useful for readers and students of ecclesiastical history, rhetoric, philosophy, papal studies, medieval politics, discourse studies, and classics.

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Adriana Destro and Mauro Pesce, eds., *Texts, Practices, and Groups: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the History of Jesus' Followers in the First Two Centuries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017). Print, 918 pp. €131.37, ISBN: 9782503569017.

Review

There are many exegetical sources on the teachings of Jesus and canonical traditions, but this volume is comprehensive and informative on the socio-political environment of Jesus' followers and their communities, explored through the multidisciplinary scientific structure of sociology, cultural anthropology, history, philosophy, and cognitive studies. Thirty-nine articles, presented at the first annual meeting of Berrinoro (2014) used ancient literary materials for a historical reconstruction of the first two centuries. Adriana Destro and Mauro Pesce (the editors) 'consider the close connection with the new epistemological and methodological perspectives in the field of human science' (p. 11), to underline the developed interpretations of Jesus and early Christianity in the modern age.

Texts, Practices, and Groups is divided into two parts: 'Texts and Groups' and 'Anthropology, Methodologies and Modern Historical Perspectives'. For dating early Christian texts, documentary papyri and archaeological dates are quoted to reconstruct the basic social situations, the civil and political organisations, the economic conditions, and the rituals and the religious practices. Marcion's Gospel is considered as having a close relationship with Luke, even though he was a cult-founder of Christianity. Simone Paganini supports the insight that the Dead Sea scroll text of 4Q521 parallels *Lk* 7:22, like the relationship between *Mt* 21:31c-32 and Q. It is argued that the ancient texts should be read in the light of socio-anthropological and historical perspectives, in order to rebuild the urban and rural environments, to highlight all the conditions of characters and to examine the close

relationship between social practice and symbolic systems. The organizational aspects of the fishing industry surrounding the lake of Galilee is reflected in the context of the era, when day-workers possibly had a low income, but owners of boats and nets or fishing contractors were certainly in a much better economic position.

The case studies of Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians (11:2–6 and 12:7), the sayings cluster of Mark (11: 22-25), the *Logion* 71 of the Gospel of Thomas, and three intertextual connections ('*Mt* 27: 49 and *Jn* 19:34', '*Mt* 27: 55-56 and *Jn* 19:25–27,' and '*Mt* 5:32 and *Jn* 7: 53–8:11') are seen as the early texts of Jesus' followers and their groups. The famous Areopagus speech of Paul (*Acts* 17: 16-34) is analysed to identify the original intention of the author (Luke) within the dual concept of sharing Judaic heritage and Hellenistic philosophy. The gnostic text of the *Adversus Valentinianos* is, likewise, maintained to be close to the Greek Irenaeus proved by Tertullian's *De Carne Christi*.

As religious practices reflect the social practice of early Jesus' followers, Luca Arcari regards the view of selective memories, in that Revelation 1:7 as a narrative process is based on the traditional memorial frame of Zechariah 12:10, and that emotive memories of the visionary Jesus are referred to *Rev* 1: 4–7, 11, 16–17 and 5: 6–10. The figurative studies on Marcus' Thiasoi, Theodotus' death (*Hist. eccl*. V,16,14–15), the first vision in the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, the Pythia and the ancient action of dance, are demonstrated in the ritual perspectives of 'magician,' 'gnostics,' 'Montanism,' 'ecstasy and heavenly journey,' 'vision,' and 'body'. The history of Jews and Judaism in the Roman-Hellenistic period is also explored by Dario Garribba (on the *vexata quaestio*), Marco Vitelli's images of Jesus and James in Josephus' *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, Laura C. Paladino's interpretation (of the *Acta*

Alexandrinorum), and Maurizio Marcheselli (on Boyarin's view of the relation between Christianity and Judaism).

The subject of religious forms and identities at the beginning of the second half of the volume is approached by the methodology of anthropological studies. For example, the individual characters (Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and the centurion) placed at the centre of the stories are considered as part of the literary transposition of a memorized 'past world' for narrating the death of Jesus. Despite its irrelevance to the narratives of the first two centuries, the Wichí versions of believing, called *testimonios*, have been understood as re-establishing the order of things in a convert's life and the surrounding world in the Argentine Chaco. Similar to the Italian building narrative of Clarisse Eremite Monastery, the two monastic studies of Canadian Dominus Tecum and French Notre-Dame, from an economic perspective, 'apply a production rationale, not only for survival, but also for production, investment, and rationalization' (p. 624).

The contributions of two scholars (Fabrizio Vecoli and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli) are devoted to the current methodological debate on the history of early Christianity. Especially, Urciuoli sustained the six styles of (pre-Constantinian) Christian political subjectivation: 'the vocation politician,' 'the man of the world,' 'the *loyalist sub condicione*,' 'the untrustworthy subject,' 'the apocalyptic opponent,' and 'the ideological endorser of the empire'. Among them, the first, second and last style of political subjectivation are argued to fit well with the public sphere. The method of Christian archaeology has been applied in the four articles of Carlo Carletti, Paola De Santis, Antonio Enrico Felle, and Maria Amodio. The epigraphic productions (including Flavia Sophe's epitaph, Didascalic inscription of the 'wedding feast', Ancotia Irene's epitaph, Ancotia Auzesis' epitaph, and Licinia Amias' stele) are depicted as 'a direct indicator of endogenous and exogenous

dynamics, characterizing in space and time the formative processes of one or more Christian identities' (p. 716).

The last section focuses on the modern interpretation of Jesus in which 'the characterization of the contemporary state of research as a period after the 'third quest' is understood as misleading' (p. 19). The study of the historical Jesus before H. S. Reimarus was seen as being attested from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Here, Mauro Pesce maintains that the historical figure in the modern age should 'be understood not in the frame of a linear historical evolution that proceeds by subsequent phases, but in the light of a social history that takes into consideration the conflicting attitudes of different intellectual and academic institutions' (p. 793), such as Catholic faculties, Protestant faculties, and independent institutions. The early modern text of Caesar Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici*, as an example, was analysed in the historical context of counter-reformation. The religio-cultural conflict was also supported by the case study of Baruch Spinoza's (Jewish philosopher) approach to the historical Jesus, for he was traditionally known as an atheist and 'denier' of God and Providence. Thus, this volume that approaches the historical figure of Jesus and the new religion created by his followers from a multidisciplinary perspective, creatively providing a wider knowledge of the social and cultural context of the first two centuries for those readers who are interested in social science, comparative studies, history of biblical interpretation, cultural studies, systematic theology, and modern philosophy.

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Greti Dinkova-Brunn and Tristan Major, eds, *Teaching and Learning in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Gernot R. Wieland*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) Print, 245 pp., €90.00, ISBN: 9782503568430.

Review

This *festschrift*, published in honour of the prolific Anglo-Latin scholar, Gernot Rudolf Wieland of the University of British Columbia, is another fine contribution to the field of Latin pedagogical studies. The topic, examining the minutiae of how Latin grammar and rhetoric was taught and how different subjects were conveyed through Latin, has seen solid scholarly activity of late, in particular in the works of Rita Copeland, Marjorie Curry Woods, Martin Camargo, Manfred Kraus, to name only a few. Brepols has been especially busy publishing collections in this area, most notably the 2009 special edition of *New Medieval Literatures*, *Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts*, and the 2013 collection of essays, *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom*. In other words, *Teaching and Learning in Medieval Europe* could not have emerged at a better time.

The volume begins with a detailed introduction by Tristan Majors, providing a summary of Wieland's work and contributions as well as their reception. This openness regarding scholarly debates current in the 1980s is useful as it allows the reader to trace the development of the topics in question. Though some of the essays appear disconnected and serve to reflect Wieland's varied interests, they are held together by a common thread that emphasises the need to study medieval literature in a manner that does not entirely divorce it from context. Another theme is the attention almost all the contributors pay to glosses and commentaries, examining the interplay between an original text and its readers. The essays, however, go far

beyond the boundaries of 'teaching' and 'learning' and busy themselves primarily with the reception and consumption of literature in various forms. As such, the 'teaching' and 'learning' of the title should be read as general intellectual traditions of the Middle Ages rather than solely the activities that occurred in and around the medieval classroom.

The first essay in the section on medieval glossing traditions is a fine discussion on the nature of medieval glosses by Sinéad O'Sullivan. This serves as an introduction to some of the key points on how glosses were manipulated and used in order to create a kind of prosopography of knowledge for the medieval reader. David Townsend's chapter, 'Passing over Queerness: Silence and Sexual Heterodoxy in Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*', seeks both to resurrect interest in this exceptionally popular classroom text and to examine how silence in commentaries and text did not necessarily mean topics such as homosexuality were being ignored. Siân Echard then presents a thorough examination of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*, concentrating on how the text deals with the themes of change and decay. Notable in this discussion is how content is reflected in the grammatical and linguistic choices of Geoffrey, and how alterations described in the narrative are also echoed in the physical layout of the text and later attracted the attentions of glossators. Last in this section is Lucia Kornexl's '*Qwerby knowyst…?*—Tracing the Origin of "Signs" in Late Medieval English Grammar Texts'. Kornexl considers the development of 'signs' or 'cue words', which draw attention to specific grammatical constructions for both beginner and advanced medieval readers of Latin. First used as glosses in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, they continued to be used in grammatical treatises throughout the later Middle Ages in England.

Moving on to the section on Anglo-Saxon literature, Tristan Major explores the work of Ælfric of Eynsham in the context of self-translation, primarily how

modern work on the topic can be applied to pre-modern multilingual authors. Major clearly elucidates the problems with such an approach and confronts these issues through an examination of Ælfric's Old English letters. Next, Frans van Liere looks at the readers of eleventh-century translations of sections of the Bible from Latin to Old English, in this case the Hexateuch. Focusing on the accretion of glosses appearing in one particular manuscript (British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.IV), van Liere interrogates them regarding both intended readers and actual readers. His conclusion overlaps nicely with Wieland's scholarship and demonstrates that, even into the twelfth century, a high-status manuscript was being used actively in the classroom. Patrizia Lendinara's 'A Poem for All Seasons: Alcuin's "O vos, est aetas"' traces the transmission of a minor poem by the Anglo-Saxon cleric. Though it traditionally circulated with Alcuin's *De dialectica* and *Disputatio de rhetorica et virtutibus* suggesting a dialectic/pedagogical intent in its composition, Lendinara instead argues that it was never intended solely for that purpose and that it was an original poem with an independent circulation.

The final two sections of the volume, concentrating on texts and their contexts and manuscripts open with Scott G. Bruce's examination of how physical texts were kept in the close possession of medieval churchmen, even when captured by Muslims, as was the case of Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, in 972. This is followed by Alexander Andrée's brief but informative meditation on the importance of aptitude and memory for medieval scholars and teachers in the twelfth century. Next, Gregory Hays provides an accessible introduction to commentaries on Walter Map's *Dissuasio Valerii*, while Michael Herren discusses the significance of an out-of-date but popular colloquies and phrasebooks supposedly intended to help Latin speakers grasp some Greek (at least). He also provides an edition of one of these books from eleventh-century Avranches. The collection is completed by Greti Dinkova-Bruun's

'How Do Waters Stay Above the Firmament?: British Library, MS Additional 62130 and its "*De aquis supra firmamentum questio quedam*"'. This essay considers the nature of pre-scholastic debate and inquiry where amassing several points-of-view on a topic and discussing them in turn was more important that achieving resolution to the initial question.

All in all, this is a timely volume that is of interest to a wide range of scholars.

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Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Print, 285 pp., US$55.00, ISBN: 9780812248432.

Review

Elf Queens and Holy Friars is a book that deals with the reception of fairy belief by the Medieval Church and its clash with that of the people that lived with these ideas, or, as Richard Firth Green phrases it, in the introduction: 'the struggle between the official and unofficial cultures of the Middle Ages' (p. 2).

For this purpose, Firth Green has divided his book into five chapters and a postscript, starting with the chronological evolution of fairy belief and the variations across different European geographic areas. In the second chapter he defines both cultures mentioned above, and then uses both primary and secondary literature to explain how they understood said belief. After having settled this initial debate, the next chapters 'offer readings of various aspects of fairy belief' (p. 2), such as the typology of *incubi* and changelings. He finishes by discussing fairyland, the place fairies are believed to inhabit, and where they take humans they have abducted. For this last chapter, he relies heavily on the example of Arthurian legend. This is all seen through the filter of the Church as evidenced by the primary sources the author resorts to. The book ends in a postscript where Firth Green moves the narration further, past the official chronology of the Middle Ages, evidencing the influence of the topics discussed previously and giving a glimpse as to how they continued evolving.

The author defines from the beginning of the book what he understands as 'fairy', given the complexity of the term and its different nuances according to context and timeframe. Firth Green takes advantage of this complexity to enlist different opportunities for further research: 'If fairies are demons, it follows that

demons, or at least some demons, are fairies, and this insight opens up a world of still largely unexplored ecclesiastical material for investigation' (p. 16).

He also takes into account the different methodological approaches adopted for the study of fairy belief, such as literary analysis and studies of '*ferlies* as things' (p. 12). He then reconciles both branches with his own idea of how this topic should be researched: first *ferlies*, then literary studies.

Firth Green is consistent in the manner in which he constructs his arguments throughout the book. His paragraphs begin by making a statement, which he then supports with evidence from primary sources, engaging in discussion with secondary literature when it is pertinent. Even though this is a useful way to explain different theses to the reader, the extracts could be explained further in order to tie each argument together before proceeding to the next one.

Even though Firth Green relies heavily on primary sources, he is also critical of them. He keeps in mind that there is a bias in the texts he is quoting because of the nature of their authors who are 'members of a clerical elite who officially did *not* believe in [fairies]' (p. 13). He also justifies his use of these sources in spite of their prejudice, by stating that 'the attempts of such people to rationalize, negate, or dismiss fairy beliefs can tell us a great deal about both their vigor and their ubiquity' (p. 13).

It has been mentioned earlier that Firth Green also engages in discussion with secondary literature. It is particularly valuable that he does not dismiss the sources with which his views clash. Instead, he uses the same methodological approach of resorting to primary texts in order to provide evidence for why his thinking is different to that of other scholars. This structure allows the reader to participate in an active dialogue with the text as it presents different angles from which the topic is understood which can then be used to generate a new one.

In the later chapters, Firth Green often references topics discussed in the earlier ones, such as the brief return to *incubi* fairies from Chapter 3 that he makes in Chapter 4, or the use of a quote from the first chapter as evidence for arguments in the fifth one. This aspect results in a cohesive text that keeps the reader involved and that also appeals to a sense of complicity between reader and author.

The language and tone, whilst academic, is not overly complex, and makes it easy to engage with the text. Students who wish to become versed in the topic will find a comprehensive study that makes use of a vast body of primary sources and, whilst far from an annotated bibliography, the secondary literature quoted would also help when approaching the subject. Academics with knowledge in the original languages of the quotes Firth Green presents (Latin, Middle English and Old French) can engage in a different type of discussion with the text. *Fairy Queens and Holy Friars* is a book that can be valuable to scholars at different stages and doing studies in the subject from different methodologies.

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Daniel M. G. Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots and Other Clergy in England, c. 900–1200*
(Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2017). Print, 320pp., £110.00, ISBN: 9781472423757

Review

The figure of the warrior cleric is not an unfamiliar character in medieval studies, with the iconic image of Bishop Odo of Bayeux and his club at the Battle of Hastings readily brought to mind. The problem, according to Daniel Gerrard in the foreword to this volume based upon his 2010 PhD thesis, is that scholars have tended to view the ecclesiastical office of such men as a mere curiosity, treating them primarily as members of the nobility. Gerrard proposes to amend this oversight by introducing a number of case-studies (Odo being prominent among them), examining the practicalities of these clerical contributions to warfare, and analysing the societal reception of clerical involvement in secular conflict. It is this methodological framework that defines the three sections of the book.

Before continuing to a summary of the three sections of Gerrard's work, and an outline of his thesis, it is worth noting the coincidence of two substantially overlapping volumes being published within a year of one-another. In 2016, the Boydell Press published a volume by Craig M. Nakashian entitled *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000 – 1250: Theory and Reality*. Gerrard and Nakashian both note the short-fall in focused scholarship on the fighting cleric as conceptualised within the social context in which they operated, and seek to redress that short-fall. Yet more than this, both historians focus their attention upon the same geographical region, similar temporal parameters, and access many of the same exemplars of the fighting cleric, arriving at similar conclusions relating to the ambiguous societal and political space these clerics filled. It is thus in methodology

that the two books are distinguished, for while Gerrard advances the topic thematically, Nakashian approaches the warrior cleric of Angevin England from a distance, tracing the evolution of the fighting priest chronologically from the first millennium. While neither book renders the other redundant, it remains that, in comparison, the authors do cover much of the same ground.

Gerrard's introduction provides a brief summary of the state of current scholarship relating to clerics in war. However, the author's primary intent is to highlight the dichotomous relationship between clerics as feudal vassals within secular contexts, and clerics as faithful observers of canon law in ecclesiastical contexts. In so doing, Gerrard rejects the simplistic categorisation of the military activities of clerics as either 'a function of land tenure' or a criminal enterprise (p. 21). Rather, he proposes to demonstrate that the theological and political justifications underlying clerical involvement in war were contextually fluid, as was the societal reception of that involvement.

Part 1 – 'Occasions and participants' – contains only one chapter. In it, Gerrard undertakes to provide the case-studies that contextualise the analyses of the practical realities and societal perceptions of clerics in war that comprise the bulk of the book. Identifying the episodic nature of England's political milieux between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, Gerrard considers the historical evidence for the warrior cleric in each of late Anglo-Saxon England, the Conquest generation, the Anarchy, and under Angevin rule. By providing examples of fighting clergy across this rapidly shifting political landscape, the author seeks to demonstrate that clerical participation in war was neither uncommon, nor easily categorised.

Part 2 contains four chapters that examine the practical contributions of the clergy in war: as providers of fighting men (2); as commanders of fortresses (3); as the wielders of spiritual weapons (4); and as men invested with direct military

command (5). Chapter 2 addresses the obligation of ecclesiastical lords, across the full period under consideration, to provide the king with troops for the lands they held, like their secular counterparts. In doing so Gerrard highlights some of the unique problems that faced the clerical overlords when raising said troops and delegating appropriate leadership. Chapter 3 looks to the matter of castle administration. Gerrard argues that ecclesiastical magnates did not only administer castles held by right of land ownership, like secular lords, but were granted mandate over castle defence on campaign as functional military commanders. Chapter 4 deals with a more common form of clerical involvement in war – that of accompanying clergy, offering intercessory prayers, hearing confessions, giving sermons, and bearing religious standards. While Gerrard's overview of the topic is skilful, his argument, based on the hyperbole of the 1137 entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that the perceived power imbued by these clerics waned during 'the Anarchy,' is unconvincing. Chapter 5 addresses the matter of ecclesiastical leadership in the field of battle and his conclusion, not unlike the one he reaches in chapter 3, is that ecclesiastical magnates were actively engaged by the king as campaign commanders.

Part 3, comprising of three chapters, then turns to perceptions of clerical involvement in warfare – canonical (6), political and judicial (7), and narrative (8). Gerrard makes clear the contextually conflicted nature of the figure of the warrior cleric. Canon law expresses a variety of opinions relating the clerical involvement in secular law, but invariably frowns upon the practice. Meanwhile, kings actively sought the involvement of clerical lords as commanders in battle and rewarded them for their loyalty and successes. Narrative reaction to clerical militancy therefore is reliant upon motive. Where the warrior cleric displays hubris and fights

for personal gain, his actions are frowned upon, and where he fights loyally to the king's benefit, his actions are lauded.

Gerrard has produced a book that, while an interesting and thoughtful exploration of the warrior cleric, does not resolve the fundamental duality of political consent and canonical prohibition. His conclusion that ecclesiastical magnates cannot be viewed as undertaking the same fundamental military responsibilities as secular magnates is somewhat vague, while the argument that clerics as a broader group fulfilled many roles on campaign is not entirely innovative. Nonetheless, as a resource to provide a useful framework for further research into the role of warrior clerics, it performs admirably.

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William Chester Jordan and Jenna Rebecca Phillips, eds., *The Capetian Century, 1214–1314*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 22. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017). Print, 362 pp., €100.00, ISBN: 9782503567181.

Review

It cannot be denied that the history of France between 1214 (the battle of Bouvines) and 1314 (Philip the Fair's death) is an overanalysed topic. This collection by some of the foremost historians on the subject will not change one's mind. At times, *The Capetian Century* feels like a who's who in the field of Capetian studies, yet the selection of contributors is undeniably slanted toward the institutionalist disciples of Joseph Strayer, rather than presenting a balanced view of the scholarship. Indeed, both William Chester Jordan's introduction and Elizabeth Brown's essay focus as much on Strayer and his students as they do on the history of Capetian France. It is also clear from the limited depth of many of the chapters that they were adapted directly from papers presented at The Capetian Century conference held at Princeton in 2014. The resulting work, therefore, is more of a survey that contributes little new to the field and is unnecessarily constrained by chronological bookends.

The book itself is well-crafted, both aesthetically and organisationally. Jordan initiates the study by assessing the basic institutional historiography of thirteenth century France, making an argument that two things are still needed: 'fleshing out where details are unclear and where apparent contradictions remain and [...] further interrogation more generally' (pp. xi–xii). The four sections of the book — Royal Patronage and Expressions of Kingship, Power and its Representation, Philip the Fair and his Ministers, and Crusaders and Crusading Orders — then attempt to address these needs. Each chapter includes citation information on the first page for easy referencing and a bibliography at the end, with short-form footnotes

throughout. Illustrations also support several of the chapters. The collection concludes with a comprehensive index that aggregates material from all fourteen chapters.

Part I is the most traditional of the sections, with three contributors being Jordan's students and all relying heavily on archival material. William Courtenay begins by focusing on the relationship that developed over the thirteenth century between the monarchy and the University of Paris, using the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* as his basis. Anne Lester, meanwhile, looks at the special arrangement between the Capetians and the Cistercians, which has largely been underemphasised in comparison to mendicant orders. Similarly, Sean Field explores the convergence in the mid-thirteenth century of the role of royal confessor with that of papal inquisitor. Concluding this section, Cecilia Gaposchkin examines representations of kingship and crusading in four moralised bibles, full-colour images from which illustrate her arguments. The exploration of under-examined topics makes this section possibly the most original in the volume.

An article by Xavier Hélary opens Part II, arguing that an increasingly chivalric environment in thirteenth century France persuaded the nobility to support the king's military efforts and that the French defeat at the battle of Courtrai in 1302 ended this trend. A short piece by Hagar Barak follows in which she argues, borrowing largely from John Baldwin, that the Capetians became progressively less reliant on the upper nobility from the reign of Louis IX onwards. By far the most complex chapter in the book is Brigitte Bedos-Rezak's study of the theory of consent in late medieval France. Her breadth of terms — many undefined — and the complex sentences she employs render her arguments incomprehensible to all but the most learned scholars. Thus, this section presents a mixture of new research, old conclusions, and topics that will likely only interest specific audiences.

The prolific Elizabeth Brown begins Part III with an essay ostensibly focused on Philip the Fair's chief ministers, Guillaume de Nogaret and Enguerran de Marigny, but what she actually produces is a self-reflective discussion of the historiography of research into Philip himself. Julian Théry-Astruc follows with a discussion regarding how Nogaret appropriated papal prerogatives for use by the French king. His chapter is the most thoroughly cited in the book and may also be the most original. In contrast, Élisabeth Lalou's chapter is essentially a survey of Robert Fawtier's collection of primary- and secondary-source documents known as the *Corpus philippicum*, which has been housed at the Sorbonne since the historian's death in 1966 and has been used by myriad researchers of the reign of Philip the Fair. Part III is certainly the most homogeneous section in the book and the translations into English of Théry-Astruc and Lalou's articles greatly increase the value of the collection to non-French readers.

The final part is the least related to the book's premise. Jochen Burgtorf begins by comparing the literature surrounding the Montaigu family in an attempt to address apparent contradictions in their history and restore their place among the canon of important crusading families. Similarly, Paul Crawford investigates why the family of Renaud de Châtillon has been largely dismissed as knightly upstarts when, in reality, they were well-connected both before and after their members journeyed to the Holy Land. Concluding the book with more of an amalgamation of previous research than an original work in itself, Helen Nicholson's study of the Templars explores the lingering issue of what happened to the surviving knights after 1307. Despite the nonthematic nature of this section, the unique subject matter makes it by far the most illuminating.

It is unfortunate that chapters by Alexis Charansonnet and the late John Baldwin, two historians who also spoke at the conference, were not included in this

collection. The absence of Charansonnet's discussion on the Anglo-French rivalry leaves a void in the final product, while Baldwin's discussion on the consequences of the battle of Bouvines would have introduced this study well. In the end, Jordan's hopes for this volume remain unfulfilled. Little has been clarified and further interrogation has revealed nothing groundbreaking. The result is a book that collects articles on niche topics that may guide researchers toward useful resources but does not advance the field of Capetian history in any new direction.

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Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Print, 368 pp., £58.00, ISBN: 9780812248340.

Review

The opening to Matthew's Gospel in London, British Library, Arundel MS 104, vol. II (fol. 251r, second column) starts with an elaborately historiated initial 'T', bearing the *animalia* for the four evangelists. This is reproduced on the front cover of Kelly's *The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment*, accompanied by 251r's foliate border, and the result is magisterial. It's a little disappointing that the sheen of the manuscript's gold leaf is not reproduced.

The aims of Kelly's monograph appear accordingly magisterial: his title is broad, and the concerns of his seven chapters varied. Like Matthew's Gospel, the first chapter opens with a search for the ancestry of Kelly's position on the Middle English Bible: deftly summarising centuries of the debate on the translation's orthodoxy, Kelly picks up Dom Aidan Gasquet's neglected late nineteenth-century conclusion that the MEB is likely to have had little or no connection to Wycliffe's teaching and heterodox followers. Chapter 2 aims to redress the critical flaw in Gasquet's initial articulation of his hypothesis – his neglect of the Wycliffite treatise on translating sacred scripture with the incipit *Five and Twenty Books*, a text often presented as a prologue to the MEB. Kelly demonstrates that this 'Simple Creature' is unlikely to have contributed any more to the MEB than four New Testament books in the late version, leaving the greater part of its translation project secure in its absence of heterodoxy.

Building on this suggestion of an orthodox project with unorthodox commentary, Chapter 3 takes the form of an overview of the potential use for an English Bible translation in late fourteenth-century Oxford, as a project with similar concerns to Wycliffe's work but which did not assent to his heterodoxy. Chapters 4 and 5 return to the issue of the text's legality in the context of Wycliffism: Chapter 4 surveys a breadth of positions on English scriptural translation present shortly after the composition of the MEB, whilst Chapter 5 builds on this consideration to examine Archbishop Thomas Arundel's 1407 provincial constitutions and their pertinence to the MEB. Kelly concludes that Arundel was opposed to innovative translation of the scriptures to reflect Wycliffite ideas, in reaction to the treatise *Five and Twenty Books* itself and in anticipation of such texts as the *Longleat Sunday Gospels*, rather than with regard to the existing MEB. Chapters 6 and 7 lead the study back to the initial subject of the long-contested orthodoxy of the MEB after its composition, by examining its treatment in heresy trials across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Whilst there is little to fault in this monograph's argument for the absence of any clear connection between the MEB and heterodoxy, it does not really amount to the scale of reassessment promised by the title and authoritative visual recollection of Matthew's Gospel in Arundel MS 104. There is a disjunction between the book's title and presentation, which promise a monumental reassessment of the MEB, and the course of Kelly's argument, which concerns the MEB's orthodoxy and legality.

Further to this, the MEB itself is strangely absent from the book. As he primarily attends to previous scholarship, *Five and Twenty Books*, and episcopal legislation, Kelly rarely examines or even quotes its text at all. When he does so it tends to be that

presented in Forshall and Madden's 1850 edition with his own modernised spelling – the text from the edition is often presented in end notes, but not consistently. The unusual decision to modernise Middle English spelling throughout the monograph is briefly announced in the preface, following a note which directs a reader to Kelly's 2004 note 'Uniformity and Sense in Editing and Citing Medieval Texts'. This respelling proves to be a very extreme reception of Kelly's own advice, following the brief injunction 'If, however, you wish to respell a medieval text (especially prose) entirely in modern spelling, for the sake of clarity and ease of reading, say so, and do it without any sense of shame or guilt'[1] (pp. xi–xii) I advocate no sense of shame or guilt in editing whatsoever, and this approach does have a certain appeal. Kelly consistently compares the MEB to the Douai-Rheims as a translation project divorced from narratives of Protestant reform and liberation, and his modernisation follows the conventional adaptation of the Douai-Rheims. It nonetheless run against the logic of Kelly's concern that 'coeval or identical texts which are cited for comparison look as if they come from different worlds; specifically, some seem distinctly "older" than others'.[2] Rather than making passages from such texts look like they come from different worlds, Kelly's approach in this work goes so far as to make passages from texts composed and circulated centuries apart look like they come from unduly similar worlds; extensive visual differences in their language are systematically ironed out.

[1] Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Uniformity and Sense in Editing and Citing Medieval Texts', *Medieval Academy News*, (Spring 2004), 8–9 (p. 8).
[2] Kelly, p. 8.

This coincides with Kelly's treatment of the MEB as composed of a neatly divided early version and a late version produced between 1375 and 1400, with the outlying cases of a proto-early version possibly produced by 1374 and a unique revised late version in the form of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 277 (c. 1415-1430). The actual material condition of the MEB as a very large body of manuscripts using a language which varied greatly in reproduction is rarely considered; there is an extent to which the printed Douai-Rheims is left to stand as too neat a parallel. Consequently, the particular conditions of production which fundamentally shaped the production, form, and reception of the MEB are consistently and subtly elided.

None of these concerns should be allowed to overshadow the monograph's important contribution to scholarship on the subjects it does treat in depth. Kelly's treatment of both the linguistic habits exhibited in *Five and Twenty Books* and the provincial legislation around scriptural translation is acute, well-substantiated, and very impressive. This is an important and strong piece of work. It simply remains the case that this does not quite amount to a full reassessment of one of the most important pieces of English writing from the later middle ages.

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Ryan Lavelle and Simon Roffey, eds., *Danes in Wessex: The Scandinavian Impact on Southern England c. 800–c. 1000* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016). Print, 272 pp., £45, ISBN: 9781782979319.

Review

The result of a conference also entitled *Danes in Wessex* at the University of Winchester in 2011, this collection of thirteen essays represents the first such volume to deal exclusively with Scandinavian engagement with the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. Its 2016 release was well-timed to coincide with the millennial year of Cnut's English conquest, perhaps the most blatant intrusion of a Danish political elite into the royal estates of Wessex; and thus Æthelred II and Cnut occupy a prominent role across the contributions within volume. Yet Wessex had a long history of contact with Scandinavian aggressors before 1016, and the incursion of the Viking army of Guthrum into the lands of Alfred the Great in 878 is similarly ubiquitous to discussions of the Scandinavian impact upon Wessex. Unsurprisingly, Guthrum and Alfred join Cnut and Æthelred as critical historical touchstones for the contributors. The conflicts between these leaders have been well studied in earlier scholarship and by no means has the impact of Viking raiders and Scandinavian settlers upon Wessex been previously ignored. However, as Ryan Lavelle and Simon Roffey note in their introduction, scholars have often treated Wessex as a region which retained a fundamental and near-undisturbed Anglo-Saxon identity (p. 1).

This common narrative is a conceptual over-simplification that stems from the contrasting experiences of the West Saxons and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the midlands and the north. The well-documented Wessex resistance to hostile Scandinavian incursions and the subsequent rise of the Wessex dynasty seems to sit in sharp contrast to the success of Scandinavian raiders and settlers in the northern kingdoms. The inter-disciplinary contributions to this volume seek to expose the

true complexity of the Scandinavian — West Saxon relationship. Ranging from landscape archaeology to charter analyses, from legal examination to literary investigation, the chapters collected in *The Danes in Wessex* reveal a kingdom that, though never losing its independent Anglo-Saxon character, was nonetheless fundamentally altered by interaction with Scandinavian raiders, settlers, and conquerors.

The volume has no map that attempts to sketch the nebulous borders of the West-Saxon Kingdom over the three-century period covered. This is scarcely a surprise — individual contributions provide maps specific to the area under discussion; however, any attempt to portray Wessex as a specific geographical entity delineated by boundaries would necessarily be fictionalised. It is perhaps a little more surprising that, as they set the framework for the content that follows, Lavelle and Roffey similarly make no attempt to set any geographical parameters within the introduction. However, as they note, any single definition enforced upon their contributors would have been unable to account for variations over time (p. 1) — for context, we will understand Wessex as that territory of South-Western England primarily governed from the royal city of Winchester. Fortunately, the editors do not seek to avoid setting other terminological guidelines for the studies within the volume — and they make especial note of the semantic fluidity of the terms 'Viking', 'Viking Age', and even 'Dane'. Of these it is the distinction between two Viking Ages that is most important to understanding Scandinavian — Wessex relations. While Lavelle and Roffey argue that, for Wessex, the two Viking Ages are intrinsically linked, they also make clear that the Viking aggression that brought Alfred and Guthrum into conflict in the ninth century must be held as distinct from that which culminated in Cnut's conquest in the eleventh century. This delineation is maintained throughout the volume.

The inter-disciplinary nature of the volume allows for great variety in approach and case-study, but several were especially noteworthy representatives of their fields. In chapter five, John Baker and Stuart Brookes examine 'Anglo-Saxon strategic landscapes' through the lenses of 'infrastructure', 'intelligence', and 'mobilisation'. By 'infrastructure', the two authors refer to route-ways and the logistics of communication. Pre-existing Roman route-ways and rivers likely facilitated the movement of Viking raiders, and thus dictated both the arrangement permanent defensive structures in Wessex, and the reactionary campaign movements of the West Saxon army. On the topic of 'intelligence', the authors examine the use of lookouts and beacons in coordinating effective defensive activity, while 'mobilisation' considers the process of gathering troops, and how landscape facilitated or hindered muster. In taking this threefold approach, Baker and Brookes argue that it is possible to see the larger picture of a West Saxon shift toward militarisation. While the rapid militarisation of Wessex may have been a reaction to the Viking raids of the first Viking Age, the legacy of a militarised Wessex was a regional hegemony that evolved in a centralised state under a stable dynasty.

In chapter nine, Ann Williams (who has two chapters in the volume) looks at a pivotal figure of the second Viking Age, Thorkell the Tall. Thorkell was a Scandinavian war leader who was notably active in England, first as a confederate of Cnut's father, then of Æthelred, and finally of Cnut. Williams focuses on his career under Cnut and his role in Cnut's campaign of conquest. By tracing Thorkell's movements through the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Liðsmannaflokkr*, and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, amongst other sources, she established those few things that can be stated with confidence of the elusive figure, countering his often-embellished reputation.

In chapter eleven, C. P. Lewis provides an analysis of land-ownership of Wessex as recorded post-1066 and, parsing significant data and providing multiple tables, establishes the Danish origins of significant numbers of Wessex land-holders. As he states, 'even a cursory examination of Domesday reveals scores of Wessex landowners with Danish names' (p. 173). But this is far from a cursory examination, and Lewis identifies ninety-two landholders in Wessex in 1066 who had Danish origins, ranging from the huge estates of the magnate class, through to theigns, and rich farmers. Lewis establishes the presence of a significant Danish elite within a region often considered to have been a paradigm of Anglo-Saxon lordship. Here Lewis makes clear the point that ultimately thematically unites the varied contributions to the volume: the Scandinavian impact on Wessex from the time of the first Viking Age was significant and sustained.

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Sara McDougall, *Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800-1230* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Print, 336 pp., £65.00, ISBN: 13: 9780198785828.

Review

Sara McDougall's new book on bastardy in the Middle Ages is a fundamental contribution to the field of family history, remarkable for the breadth and number of examples provided across Europe and the Mediterranean throughout four centuries, the in-depth analysis of literary, documentary and legislative sources considered, and the convincing nature of the case she puts forward.

The volume opens with a survey of the last fifty years of studies on the topic, highlighting how scholars have had the tendency to read backwards the sources about illegitimacy, presenting as true throughout the Middle Ages a clear-cut attitude towards illegitimacy as an unerasable stigma that prevented children born out of wedlock from inheriting. First, the author flags an inherent problem with this presentation, namely the lack of a widely accepted definition of legitimate marriage in canon law before the late 13th century, which makes defining which children were and weren't born out of wedlock complex before this point. Secondly, McDougall points out how, even when marriages were denounced as illegitimate or invalid, stress was put by Church writers on the sinful parents rather than the children resulting from their unions which were regarded as innocent. Finally, the author first puts forward the case she will seek to substantiate throughout the volume: that before the 13th century it was a combination of factors, primary among them the social status of one's mother, that determined the status of children of marriages or unions of uncertain legitimacy, and that even acknowledged bastardy did not automatically prevent someone from inheriting property or even a throne (defining what she calls "being throneworthy", p. 81).

The first chapter then proceeds to examine the language of illegitimacy, showing how the terms now most commonly in use, *bastardus* and *illegitimus*, did not appear until later (11th and 12th century respectively). Other terms examined, such as *nothus*, *spurius*, *naturalis*, *mamzer*, are shown in their evolution from imperial Roman law and Judaic law to medieval sources. Emphasis, argues McDougall, was placed not on the circumstances of a union but rather on the respective social standing of its members, with particular stigma placed on the children of socially different parents (thus William the Conqueror was called bastard '*sanguine obliquo*', because of his uneven blood, pp. 46–7). The ground is further complicated by the varying vocabulary applied to female companions, from *concubina* to the classical *pellex*, and to the state of thinly veiled polygamy still extant into the 11th century.

The book then proceeds to review a number of different kin groups, establishing how different inheritance mechanisms affected different attitudes towards children of illegitimate or uncertain unions. Thus the Merovingian model, in which the bloodline justifies the throneworthiness of anybody who can boast a Merovingian male ancestor, is supplanted by the Carolingian one, in which an uncertain claim is boosted by careful consideration of both the male and the female bloodline, privileging children of prestigious families in the female line. Then kin groups are considered for which inheritance seems to have worked in a highly contextual way, without any stable protocol, such as the Capetian, Ottonian, and Anglo-Saxon rulers. The importance of a mother's kin is reaffirmed with the Anglo-Normans, and the *causes célèbre* of Matilda of England and Bohemond of Taranto are reviewed.

A watershed is then identified in the 12th century, first with the canon law writing of Ivo of Chartres, who emphasised forgiveness for the children and rather explicitly condemned the sinning parents, as in the case of Phillip I and Bertrade de

Montfort, and then a series of papal pronouncements on the topic of illegitimacy. McDougall highlights how such pronouncements were reactive, the result of a specific appeal to the papacy rather than of papal involvement with private marriage, and contingent on political expediency rather than canon law, as with the odd Anstey case. The elastic attitude to illegitimate marriages is shown with the cases of Marie of Boulogne and Ramiro of Aragon, both professed members of the clergy who had children to ensure descendants for their lands.

A firmer watershed is finally identified in the 13th century, in which the reduction of forbidden degrees of kinship both more firmly defined 'legitimate' marriage and put a stop to easy annulments from the papacy. The process of legitimisation is then discussed, further crystallising the status of illegitimate children by putting forward a clear process for clarifying their status. This power, however, is shown to be shared by clergy and laity, and to be used contextually.

Finally, the book closes with the examination of two theatres, the Crusader and the Iberian, in which canon law was repeatedly flouted to ensure descendancy in an unstable political context, showing the willingness of clerical authority to compromise on the matter of legitimate marriage and legitimate inheritance on the edge of Christendom, where enduring influence was held to trump the finesse of the law.

Throughout her analysis, McDougall accumulates an impressive breadth of case studies, from comital and noble houses as well as royal, which together contribute to making a strong and convincing case for her premise. The only drawback of this otherwise impressively comprehensive volume is the lack of discussion of the stigma clearly attached in literature to illegitimacy, even in cases in which this did not affect an illegitimate child's chance of inheriting (see again William the Conqueror). However, McDougall's volume remains a ground-breaking

and sorely-needed contribution to the field, and one which clearly will affect kin studies across Europe and the Medieval Mediterranean.

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Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules, and Resistance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Print, 312 pp., US$65.00, ISBN: 9780812248173.

Review

In *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth Century Church*, Catherine M. Mooney, Associate Professor of Church History at Boston College, provides a fresh perspective on both Clare and the development of the order which now bears her name. Mooney challenges perceptions of Clare as sole founder of the 'Poor Clares', portraying her instead as involved in a series of complex negotiations between papal regulation and the spiritual self-determination of Clare's Order of San Damiano and other women's orders. Mooney presents readers with a 'micro-study' of the history of the Order of San Damiano and its growing identification with mendicant ideals. However, she also suggests that Clare's attempts to establish a *forma vitae* ('way of life') for her community formed part of a wider movement in which communities of religious women struggled to maintain their own spiritual ideals while ultimately subject to papal control.

Mooney's study consists of nine chapters, over the course of which she charts the progress of Clare's life as well as that of the Order of San Damiano, examining key texts from each stage of its development. Chapter 1 focuses on Clare's early life, her relationship with Francis of Assisi and her decision to embrace the life of a 'penitent' (a word carefully chosen by Mooney to encapsulate the diverse groups in search of the *vita apostolica*). Chapter 2 examines Clare's early involvement with San Damiano, whilst Chapter 3 demonstrates how this community came to be, with Mooney painting a picture of a papal order meant to ensure conformity among the women of Clare's community. Chapter 4 focuses on San Damiano's continued

development from 1226-30, a period which saw the death of Francis. Chapter 5 shifts the narrative focus back to Clare herself in a close examination of her four surviving letters to Agnes of Prague. In chapter 6, Mooney delves deeper into the debates about which rule the Order should conform to, including Agnes of Prague's attempts to create and establish a new *forma vitae* for her monastery. Chapter 7 continues to explore these controversies, addressing Pope Innocent IV's issuing of a new *forma vitae* and the possible reasons for its failure. Chapter 8 provides an in-depth look at the 1253 *forma vitae* often attributed to Clare herself, as Mooney attempts to tackle the question of its 'true' authorship. Finally, Clare is given the 'final say' in chapter 9, with an exploration of her final letter to Agnes of Prague, as well as the *Testament* and *Blessing* attributed to her. Yet a study of these documents, too, raises fundamental questions about their authorship, and thus the way in which modern-day perceptions of Clare have been constructed.

The tension between Clare's real-life persona and her hagiographic portrayals lies at the heart of Mooney's argument – that her role in the development of the Order of San Damiano was significantly more complex than is often imagined. As such, one of the book's great strengths is its firm foundation in, and close critical examination of, the texts from which details of Clare's life have been gleaned. From the first pages, Mooney shows a flair for the literary; in response to the pun-filled description of *Clara claris praeclara meritis* ('Clare outstandingly clear with clear merits'), she offers a pun of her own, 'the truth about Clare is not so clear to me'. Her careful examination of the blurred lines between 'history' and 'hagiography' serve not only to illuminate Clare's presentation as a literary figure, but also possible details of her life that her hagiographic portrayals may adapt or obscure. Additionally, Mooney takes care not to take modern historians' interpretations of Clare's actions as axiomatic, arguing that her portrayal as a 'valiant woman' itself

serves as a form of hagiographical hyperbole. Instead, she returns to the original Latin sources in which Clare appears, providing critiques of long-established translations and adding her own. Through peeling away the layers of interpretation that have contributed to Clare's construction as a saintly figure, Mooney brings some 'clarity' to the woman behind the hagiographic accounts, even as she shows the boundaries between such accounts and 'reality' to be less than clear.

Whilst Mooney approaches her sources with caution and an eye for detail, the very textual limitations that she identifies mean that her analysis, too, can sometimes approach conjecture. For example, she at times relies heavily on the testimony of Clare's fellow penitent women prior to her canonisation as some of the few eyewitness accounts of the saint's life. However, whereas she is careful to show how such accounts differ from later hagiographic portrayals, she does not offer much close analysis of the sisters' possible motivations for portraying their beloved 'abbess' in a certain way. Further, the book's stated purpose as a 'micro-study' necessarily means that it focuses on the inner workings of the Order of San Damiano. However, this does contribute to an impression of an incomplete picture of how the struggle for control over the order formed part of wider attempts by communities of religious women to assert spiritual autonomy, and how such attempts played out beyond those orders that identified with Franciscan ideals. Yet it is precisely this incompleteness which invites further consideration of interactions between the papacy and other women's communities. Mooney's study thus functions as a call for a more nuanced view of the ways in which female religious negotiated their spiritual environments.

Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church demonstrates a fundamental shift in the perception of both Clare and the order to which she devoted her life. By consciously moving away from portrayals of Clare as a lone, saintly figure in the

growth of 'her' order, Mooney allows for a more nuanced picture of Clare as working both within and against papal authority. Furthermore, this perspective enables a host of other personalities to emerge within the narrative of the order of San Damiano, including popes and cardinals, monks and nuns, as well as Francis of Assisi himself, whose relationship with Clare and her order more generally is shown to be more ambiguous than might be expected. The book's methodology also paves the way for further 'micro-studies' of women's religious communities, offering the opportunity to form a 'clearer' picture of the lives of the individuals who made up these communities and their negotiations with attempts at papal regulation. In attempting to deconstruct Clare's hyperbolically 'valiant' portrayals, Mooney reminds readers of religious women's capacity to shape their own spiritual environments and provide their own forms of resistance to higher authorities' attempts at control.

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Brian Stock, *The Integrated Self: Augustine, the Bible, and Ancient Thought*. (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017). Print, 280 pages, £52.00, ISBN: 9780812248715

Review

In his latest work, *The Integrated Self*, Brian Stock continues his long-running project of reading Augustine. In this text, Stock — one of the leading scholars on the subjects of spiritual contemplation and reading in history — sets his focus on the notion of the self. Augustine has traditionally been the point of reference to which scholars return when reflecting on Western traditions of reading and meditation, and in this study he is framed as a major force in shaping conceptions of the self.

The central contention of this collection of essays is that in the years leading up to Augustine's conversion to Christianity in the spring of 386, he abandoned a dualistic view of the body and soul and developed the notion of an 'integrated self'. In this model of the self, mind and body operate as two independent halves rather than in different roles as in the dualistic view stipulated. Stock defines Augustine's model as not purely theoretical, but pragmatic. Throughout his many works Augustine developed a detailed programme of self-improvement through which an enlightened state could be reached, requiring the individual to undertake a series of spiritual exercises and mystical contemplation.

Each of the essays in this collection address a different aspect of Augustine's model of the self with Stock engaging in a number of close reading exercises. The breadth and scope of these essays is impressive, drawing from a wide selection of Hellenic, Latin, and early Christian authors. Stock sets the historical parameters of his scholarly investigation between the birth of Cicero in 106 BC and the death of Augustine in AD 430. This study is thus not only concerned with Augustine, but also the writers that preceded him. The *Integrated Self* presents a detailed examination of

the rhetorical and philosophical techniques that emerged from antiquity, illustrating how Augustine adapted the teachings of this era into his own writings.

As Stock demonstrates in this study, Augustine's idea of the self was largely shaped through his use of *lectio divina* (divine reading) and Socratic self-examination. Through combining these exercises, Augustine arrived at this possibility of the 'holistic self', a notion that had emerged out of the Stoic and Epicurean schools of thought. However, Stock argues that Augustine devised this notion primarily through contemplation of the Bible, rather than through the traditional intellectual path of Greco-Roman scholasticism. Through this method, Stock argues that Augustine offers the finest Christian response to Socratic learning in this period.

The first three chapters are primarily concerned with establishing this concept of *lectio divina*, and highlighting its intellectual origins. 'Reading with the Whole Self' presents John Cassian and Benedict of Nursia as developing an early concept of a holistic self, constructed as a single entity of both mind and body. The asceticism and spiritual meditation techniques that these two figures propagated are framed as the foundation for Augustine's notion of the self. As Stock illustrates, it was only under Augustine that the techniques presented by these early Christian writers were adapted into a broader framework of spiritual contemplation.

Chapter 2, 'The Contemplative Imagination', covers how Augustine figured Cicero's and Quintilian's writings on the imagination into his own concept of 'creative imagination'. This is primarily achieved through Augustine's transformation of Greek *phantasiae* (memory through images) into its Latin variation *imaginato*, to which Stock provides illustrative examples from *Confessiones.* In Chapter 3, 'The Philosophical Soliloquy', Stock investigates how Augustine used the exercise of inner dialogue, *soliloquium*, to further delve into the philosophical and

spiritual considerations of the self. The reflections that Augustine offers in texts such as *De Ordine*, *Soliloquia,* and *Confessioness* are unique in that they present a Christian interpretation of traditional Hellenic and Latin philosophical techniques. It is in these first three chapters that Stock highlights Augustine's intellectual lineage, positioning him as the Christian successor to some of the greatest thinkers of the classical era.

Chapter 4, 'Self and Soul', studies Augustine's reflections on the relationship between these two notions, focusing on two of his early works, *De Immortalitate Animae* and *De Quantitate Animae*. Stock notes that it is difficult to pin down Augustine's philosophical sources for understandings of the soul but nevertheless points to the influence of Seneca, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius. These figures presented the view that our knowledge of the self is largely the result of the interweaving of our personal memories. Augustine further developed this principle, applying it to his interpretation of the soul. This chapter largely serves as an anchor for this text, expanding *The Integrated Self*'s primary argument on the self to include conceptions of the soul.

Chapter 5, 'Rhythms of Time', addresses Augustine's concept of 'harmony' in relation to his construction of the self and soul. Harmony appears as a modified form of ancient Stoic doctrine in Augustine's writings, while also bearing some resemblance to the Platonic theory of time. However, in the Augustinian model, the Stoic idea of the natural as the principle creative force in the universe is replaced with that of God. Furthermore, Augustine posits time as the central force behind universal harmony. Rather than looking to *Confessioness* for Augustine's understanding of time and harmony, Stock highlights *De Musica*. In this text, the soul is represented as possessing a form of self-awareness in which it is in harmony with the divine spirit. Augustine posits the singing of a hymn as an example of his

theory on harmony as this act brings together a number of spiritual exercises into one particular contemplative experience.

Chapter 6, 'Loss and Recovery' shifts its focus to modern society's fascination with mind-body medicine, building on the discussions of the holistic self that are presented throughout *The Integrated Self*. Stock argues, rather convincingly, that this modern aspiration to 'mindfulness' is carried out in a similar fashion to which Augustine presented his notion of an integrated mind and body model, albeit with some key differences. It is in this chapter that Stock highlights the prescience of this study, illustrating that these debates about the self are just as relevant now as they were in late antiquity.

The Integrated Self concludes on a rather poignant note, warning that modern society has forgotten the wisdom of the ancients. Stock asserts that we have lost the initiative to ask probing questions in preparation for spiritual crisis, unlike the ancients who spent their entire lives in spiritual meditation. This point is entirely justified by the extensive analysis of Augustine that Stock establishes throughout this study. What Stock illustrates in *The Integrated Self* is that Augustine was writing within a rich philosophical tradition, infusing centuries of Greek and Roman thought with emerging Christian theological notions. It is in this sense that Stock masterfully communicates the enduring legacy and relevance of Augustine of Hippo.

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Stefan Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100-1400*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press). Print, 299 pages, US$55.00, ISBN: 9780812248968.

Review

The medieval Crusades are fertile ground for nostalgic fantasy and partisan fear-mongering, and their history is indelibly inked into our culture in the same dreamy, romantic shades as the Pre-Raphaelite painting on the cover. The war-bound knight and lovelorn lady of Edmund Blair Leighton's 'God Speed' offer an appropriate visual summary of the argument by University of San Diego professor Stefan Vander Elst (PhD, Princeton, 2006). His New Historicist reading of crusade literature claims that the 'holy warrior and the courtly lover' coexist in crusading motivations and ideologies. Responding to John Gower's claim that the Crusades had ultimately failed due to motivations of personal prowess and romantic or sexual desire, Vander Elst seeks out evidence of crusading motivations as they were cultivated and propagated through both traditional chronicle narratives as well as romance literature. He believes that, despite Gower's concerns, genres such as the *chanson de geste* and the adventure cycles helped provide ideological inspiration to Crusaders instead of hindering the movement.

In the first half of the book, the author discusses the use of *chanson de geste* elements in crusade literature as a means of inspiring successive generations of Western Christians, opening with a contextualization of the post-First Crusade Holy Land in Chapter 1. Vander Elst asks what incentives motivated people to take up the Crusade and how that motivation was disseminated. He finds his answer in 'retelling the events of the First Crusade' through the 'interpretive matrix' of romance literature. (p. 13) In Chapter 2, Vander Elst opens his textual analysis with

the *Gesta Francorum*, and claims that the text recalls a previous 'literary image' of conflicts between Christian and Muslim communities such as those found in the portrayals of Franks and Saracens in the *Chanson de Roland*. By doing this, Vander Elst suggests the *Gesta* justified the twelfth-century Christian occupation of the Holy Land with a 'double claim', a 'religious' one as Christ's heirs and a 'secular and historical one' as heirs to Charlemagne's Franks (p. 48–9). From the *Gesta*, Vander Elst moves to Robert of Rheims' *Historia Iherosolimitana* in Chapter 3. Here, the introduction of a theological framework signals the Crusade's status 'as a new Exodus' while the 'secular martial history' Robert incorporated from the *chanson de geste* tradition suggests the Crusaders are as capable and worthy of their cause as the Franks of the earlier songs (p. 57). European Christian success in the Holy Land is the fulfillment of a pattern of Biblical history where God acts on behalf of his chosen people to guide them to their divinely prophesied home. Finally, in Chapter 4, Vander Elst examines the Old French Crusade Cycle and identifies a shift away from crusading as communal responsibility towards an individual genealogical duty. Linked to inheritance, crusading became necessary to maintain the Christian state and to guarantee the safe transfer of 'material conquests' from one generation to the next (p. 77). The *chansons de geste* of the Crusade Cycle thus began to fold extensive genealogical epics into Crusade narratives for aristocratic audiences.

Part II focuses on the use of chivalric romance literature to reinvigorate the legacy of the Crusades as the early motivations faded from memory. Highly significant to this development was the changing role of women within the texts. All but absent in the *Gesta* and *Historia*, women and love transform from afterthoughts to Crusading 'motivations' in later literature (p. 103). In Chapter 6, Vander Elst digs into fourteenth-century romance texts that sought to reform chivalry by reaffirming Crusading ideologies, with Arthurian texts as a 'model' for that reformation (p. 128).

Focusing on the Teutonic Nicolaus of Jeroschin's *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, Vander Elst identifies the introduction of chivalric romance elements as a way for the author to appeal to his audience. These elements expand the crusade narrative and purpose from just the salvation of souls to include 'romance adventure', or crusading as 'love service' (p. 146). In the Second Old French Crusade Cycle explored in Chapter 7, he identifies how the literary geography of Crusading is being distanced from physical reality and increasingly displaced into the world of fiction (the 'world of Arthur'), which only strengthens the link between Crusading and chivalric adventure (p. 170). Finally, in the last chapter, the author reads Guillaume de Machaut's *La Prise d'Alexandre* and identifies the image of a perfect Crusader – a man of both 'Mars and Venus' reign, for whom 'the Crusade is a crucible, a proving ground where one can find the adventure necessary to gain honor and love' (p. 186). For Vander Elst, Machaut's text is the culmination of more than two hundred years of ideological evolution reflecting the changing needs of the European Christian community through Crusade literature and propaganda.

Vander Elst has produced an impressive first book. He maintains a strong narrative built upon a solid foundation of close readings of primary texts with a comprehensive collection of secondary scholarship to fall back upon. Not only are his textual analyses sophisticated and clearly laid out for his audience, but he offers deep historical contexts to justify his readings. However, one weakness of the book is that he allows for no alternate readings of the texts. The inclusion of an example that contradicts his reading would strengthen his argument; it would seem less like a carefully curated collection of primary texts and more like an open field within which a general trend can be identified. His identification of the ideological relationship between crusade propaganda and chivalric literature provides a fertile starting point for deeper examinations of rhetorical strategy and literary responses

to contemporary events that can be replicated and reproduced both synchronically and diachronically to collections of texts. The journey of crusading literature from epic and into the world of romance, not to mention the causes of this development, has never been more clearly delineated.

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