

EDITED BY

SUSAN BROOMHALL

GENDER AND EMOTIONS  
IN MEDIEVAL AND  
EARLY MODERN EUROPE:  
DESTROYING ORDER,  
STRUCTURING DISORDER



GENDER AND EMOTIONS IN MEDIEVAL AND  
EARLY MODERN EUROPE: DESTROYING ORDER,  
STRUCTURING DISORDER

*In memory of Philippa Maddern (1952–2014)*

*Scholar, leader, mentor, friend.*

# Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder

*Edited by*

SUSAN BROOMHALL  
*The University of Western Australia*

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2015 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

Copyright © Susan Broomhall 2015

Susan Broomhall has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editor of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

#### **British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

#### **The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:**

Gender and emotions in medieval and early modern Europe : destroying order, structuring disorder / edited by Susan Broomhall.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4724-5327-3 (hardcover)

1. Emotions--History. 2. Sex role--Europe--History. 3. Social structure--History. 4. Civil society--History. 5. Europe--Civilization. 6. Civilization, Medieval. 7. Renaissance. I. Broomhall, Susan., editor of compilation.

BF511.G463 2015

303.3'20940902--dc23

2015009338

ISBN 9781472453273 (hbk)

ISBN 9781315583884 (ebk)

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	<i>xi</i>

Introduction: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder: Gender and Emotions <i>Susan Broomhall</i>	1
--	---

## **PART I: STRUCTURING EMOTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE**

1 'Now evil deeds arise': Evaluating Courage and Fear in Early English Fight Narratives <i>Andrew Lynch</i>	17
2 Order, Emotion, and Gender in the Crusade Letters of Jacques de Vitry <i>Megan Cassidy-Welch</i>	35
3 Married Noblewomen as Diplomats: Affective Diplomacy <i>Tracy Adams</i>	51
4 Ordering Distant Affections: Fostering Love and Loyalty in the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici to the Spanish Court, 1568–1572 <i>Susan Broomhall</i>	67

## **PART II: CHRONICLING FEELINGS OF DISASTER AND RUIN**

5 Emotions and the Social Order of Time: Constructing History at Louvain's Carthusian House, 1486–1525 <i>Matthew S. Champion</i>	89
---	----

- 6 A Landscape of Ruins: Decay and Emotion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Antiquarian Narratives 109  
*Alicia Marchant*
- 7 'O, Lord, save us from shame': Narratives of Emotions in Convent Chronicles by Female Authors during the Dutch Revolt, 1566–1635 127  
*Erika Kuijpers*
- 8 Recasting Images of Witchcraft in the Later Seventeenth Century: The Witch of Endor as Ritual Magician 147  
*Charles Zika*

### **PART III: ALIGNING CHILDREN, FAMILIAL, AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES**

- 9 'That the boys come to school half an hour before the girls': Order, Gender, and Emotion in School, 1300–1600 175  
*Annemarieke Willemsen*
- 10 An Ordered Cloister? Dissenting Passions in Early Modern English Cloisters 197  
*Claire Walker*
- 11 'Will we ever meet again?' Children Travelling the World in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 215  
*Claudia Jarzebowski*
- 12 Gendered Power and Emotions: The Religious Revival Movement in Herrnhut in 1727 233  
*Jacqueline Van Gent*
- Select Bibliography* 249
- Index* 257

# List of Figures

4.1	Attributed to the studio of Alonso Sánchez Coello, <i>Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catharina, Daughters of Philip II of Spain</i> , c. 1569–70	73
5.1	<i>Genealogy of Christ from Adam</i> , in <i>Speculum biblie demonstrativum genealogie domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>	92
5.2	Dieric Bouts, <i>Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee</i> , 40.5 x 60cm, Oil on Wood, c. 1445–50	98
5.3	<i>Crucifixion</i> from the Carthusian Monastery of Louvain, Stained Glass, 66 x 49.5cm, c. 1525–1530	100
7.1	Map of the Netherlands in 1566 with the four convents discussed	132
8.1	Georg Daniel Heumann/Johann Melchior Füßli/ Johann Andreas Pfeffel, <i>The Witch of Endor Calls Up the Dead Prophet Samuel</i> , engraving, c. 1733	148
8.2	Master IT [Johann Teufel?], <i>Conjured by the Witch of Endor, the Prophet Samuel Addresses King Saul</i> , woodcut, 1569	152
8.3	Joseph Werner II, <i>Samuel's Ghost Appears before King Saul and the Witch of Endor</i> , pen and brush, black and grey ink, heightened with white on grey-brown paper, 1677, 34.8 x 22.8 cm	155
8.4	Gabriel Ehinger and Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, <i>Conjured by the Witch of Endor, the Ghost of Samuel Addresses King Saul</i> , proof print of engraving with pen and brush additions in blue-grey ink (by Schönfeld), c. 1670	156
8.5	Bernard Picart and Quiriyn Fonbonne, <i>The Witch of Endor Calls Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul</i> , engraving	158
8.6	Georg Christoph Eimmart the Younger, <i>The Necromancer of Endor Conjures Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul</i> , engraving	160
8.7	Pieter Schut, <i>King Saul has the Witch of Endor Conjure Up the Prophet Samuel to Divine his Future</i> , engraving	163
8.8	Artist unknown, <i>The Witch of Endor Conjures Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul</i> , engraving	166

- 8.9 Romeyn de Hooghe, *King Saul Collapses on Hearing the Message of the Prophet Samuel, Conjured Up by the Witch of Endor*, engraving 167
- 8.10 Melchior Küsel, *The Witch of Endor Conjures Up Evil Spirits, as King Saul Approaches*, engraving 168
- 8.11 Gottlieb Spitzel, *The Abominable and Diabolical Activities of Witchcraft*, engraving 169
- 8.12 Diederich Lemkus, *The Foolish Tricks of Diabolical Magic and Witchcraft* 171
- 9.1 Dirck Vellert, *Mixed school*, 1526 176
- 9.2 Medieval and later names incised in church bench. Zwolle, Church of St Michael 180
- 9.3 Grammar school attached to the Church of St Gertrudis in Workum, sixteenth century 182
- 9.4a Self-portrait of a school boy, from the concealed find at Alpirsbach, end of sixteenth century 183
- 9.4b Schoolboys having a meal, from the concealed find at Alpirsbach, end of sixteenth century 184
- 9.5 Three piss pots excavated in the boarding house *Domus Parva* in Zwolle, fourteenth century 185
- 9.6 Bowl, spoon, knife, and lice comb excavated in the Leiden grammar school, fifteenth–sixteenth century 186
- 9.7 Sign-board of a teacher, Ambrosius Holbein, 1516 192
- 9.8 School with girls and mistress holding paddle. Prayer Book, Flemish, c. 1450 193
- 11.1 Route of Anna Christina Bering and her two children through Russia and Siberia 217

# Acknowledgements

This volume emerges through the financial support and fellowship provided by the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, 1100–1800 (project number CE110001011). The Centre has supported directly or indirectly many of our interests in discovering how emotions make history, and has enabled many of the contributors of this volume to meet and exchange ideas over the past three years.

Colleagues at the Centre's headquarters at The University of Western Australia have particularly provided support and assistance, as well as shared ideas and thoughts on emerging research. Thank you to Director Andrew Lynch, Deputy Director Jane Davidson, Centre Manager Tanya Tuffrey, and staff Pam Bond and Katrina Tap, who form a large part of the social and emotional glue that binds us together and make the Centre such an enjoyable place to be. I would not have been able to achieve this work without the tireless and dedicated editorial assistance of Sarah Finn, Joanne McEwan, and Lesley O'Brien. I am sincerely grateful to them.

This volume exists because of the courageous Founding Director of the Centre, Winthrop Professor Philippa Maddern.<sup>1</sup> Pip passed away on 16 June 2014, after a determined battle against cancer that she refused to let define her or impede her from the work that she loved so much. Generations of students, early career scholars, and colleagues in the humanities, and especially medieval studies, in Australia were mentored by Pip, and benefited from her support, guidance, and carefully considered advice. She fought hard for women's studies, for history, for the humanities, for staff and student rights on campus. She was equally determined in her research about ordinary medieval people – especially the marginal, the vulnerable, and those often deemed the hardest to find in the records. Pip wanted to know about women, children, blended families, domestic violence, the environment. Her scholarship reflected her love of the archival sources, and in more recent years, became a model of collaborative endeavour. Our focus in this volume on gender, emotions, and order and disorder of various kinds stems from themes that were at the heart of her own work. In her last years, Pip led the complex, expansive, interdisciplinary work of the Centre with

---

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.historyofemotions.org.au/about-the-centre/research-roles/memorial-page-for-founding-director-philippa-maddern.aspx>.

her endless intellectual curiosity and unlimited enthusiasm, expressed in her characteristic phrase: 'I don't see why not'.

She was also a very dear friend, who created an ever-expanding family that accommodated us all. The authors of this collection were privileged to know Pip as our friend and we dedicate this volume to her memory.

## Notes on Contributors

**Tracy Adams** received a PhD in French from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1998. Associate Professor in French at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, she has also taught at the University of Maryland, the University of Miami, and the University of Lyon III. She is the author of *Violent Passions: Managing Love in the Old French Verse Romance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); and *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France* (Penn State University Press, 2014).

**Susan Broomhall** is Professor of Early Modern History at The University of Western Australia. She was a Foundation Chief Investigator in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, 1100–1800, and currently holds an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship. She is the author of a series of works on early modern France and the Low Countries, including most recently, on gender and emotions (with Jennifer Spinks) *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries: Feminising Sources and Interpretations of the Past* (Ashgate, 2011); (with Jacqueline Van Gent) *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (Ashgate, 2016); and, as editor, *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650–1850* (Routledge, 2015), *Authority, Gender and Emotion in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Palgrave, 2015) and (with Sarah Finn) *Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge, 2015).

**Megan Cassidy-Welch** is an Associate Professor of History at Monash University. She holds degrees from the University of Melbourne and the University of London. She is the author of *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Brepols, 2001); *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150–1400* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); *Remembrance Projects: War Memory and the Crusades, c. 1215–1250* (in progress); co-editor with Peter Sherlock of *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Brepols, 2008); and co-editor with Anne E. Lester of a special issue of *The Journal of Medieval History* entitled ‘Memory and the Crusades: Rethinking Past and Present’ (2014). Megan’s expertise is in thirteenth-century European social, cultural, and religious history.

**Matthew S. Champion** is a Research Fellow at St Catherine's College, Cambridge, where he is currently writing a history of time's sounds of from 1300 to 1600. He is particularly interested in how liturgy, devotional objects, images, and music shaped temporalities in medieval and early modern Europe, and in the history of religious reform and heresy in the fifteenth century.

**Claudia Jarzowski** is a professor of early modern history and the history of emotions at the Free University of Berlin (Germany), and has recently published (with Thomas Max Safley) *Childhood and Emotion in Transcultural Perspectives, 1450–1800* (Routledge, 2013). Her research includes early modern kinship and family relations, questions of how emotions can be conceptualised from early modern perspectives, and also gender relations. She is also Partner Investigator in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions and was granted a Distinguished International Visitor Fellowship at The University of Western Australia in 2013. She has published in English and German.

**Erika Kuijpers** is a lecturer in history at VU University in Amsterdam. She is the author of *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam* (Uitgeverij Verloren, 2005) and has published widely on the history of migration, literacy, and premodern labour markets. From 2008 to 2013, she worked at Leiden University researching personal memories of the Dutch Revolt, in the context of the VICI research project 'Tales of the Revolt: Memory, Oblivion and Identity in the Low Countries, 1566–1700' (see [www.earlymodernmemory.org](http://www.earlymodernmemory.org)). She is co-editor of *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Brill, 2013) and is writing a monograph about the way early modern witnesses and victims of war dealt with traumatic memories.

**Andrew Lynch** is Professor in English and Cultural Studies at The University of Western Australia and Director of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. He has recently published *International Medievalism and Popular Culture* (Cambria, 2014), co-edited with Louise D'Arcens and *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe* (Brepols, 2015), co-edited with Michael Champion.

**Alicia Marchant** is a research associate in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Western Australia. She is the author of *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* (York Medieval Press/Boydell & Brewer, 2014), and is currently compiling an edited collection that explores intersections between the history of emotions and the history of heritage.

**Jacqueline Van Gent** is a professor in gender studies at The University of Western Australia and Senior Research Fellow in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, 1100–1800. Her research explores empire and gender in the early modern and late colonial period, women and religion in early modern Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and Germany, Moravian missions and indigenous encounters, power, gender, emotions, and masculinities. She is author of *Body and the Self in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Brill, 2009), and (with Susan Broomhall) editor of *Governing Masculinities: Regulating Selves and Others in the Early Modern Period* (Ashgate, 2011) and (also with Susan Broomhall) author of *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (Ashgate, 2016).

**Claire Walker** is a senior lecturer in history at The University of Adelaide, and an Associate Investigator in the Australian Research Council Centre for the History of Emotions. She has written extensively on the exiled English cloisters in France and the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, publishing *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). She has also co-edited *Moral Panics: The Press and the Law in Early Modern England* with David Lemmings (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) and with Heather Kerr, *Fama and her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe* (Brepols, 2015).

**Annemarieke Willemsen** studied Art History and Archaeology at Nijmegen University (The Netherlands) and received her PhD in 1998 for a study into medieval children's toys. Since 1999, she has been the curator of the medieval collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. She has published extensively on medieval and early modern children, play, education, and fashion.

**Charles Zika** is a Professorial Fellow in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, and a Chief Investigator in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, at the University of Melbourne. His research interests lie in the intersection of religion, emotion, and visual culture in German-speaking Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and at present focus on sacred place, natural disasters, and witchcraft. He is the author of *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Routledge, 2007). His last two books, *The Four Horsemen: Apocalypse, Death & Disaster* (edited with Catherine Leahy and Jennifer Spinks, 2012) and *Celebrating Word and Image 1250–1600* (with Margaret Manion, 2013), relate to recent exhibitions.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Introduction

# Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder: Gender and Emotions\*

Susan Broomhall

States of emotion were vital as a foundation to society, employed as a force of order to structure diplomatic transactions, shape dynastic and familial relationships, and align religious beliefs, practices, and communities. While these structuring purposes could invoke expressions of love, friendship, and loyalties, other emotional articulations and experiences such as courage, righteous anger, grief, and sorrow, might be drawn upon intentionally to provoke war, violence, and disorder, particularly during religious crises or political movements. Moreover, it was understood that states such as fear, terror, anger, or simply uncontrolled passions had the potential to destroy order, creating undesirable disorder and instability that had both individual and communal consequences. These had to be actively managed, through social mechanisms such as children's education, acculturation, and training, and also through religious, intellectual, and textual practices that were both socio-cultural and individual.

This collection suggests that the ways in which emotions created states of order and disorder in medieval and early modern Europe were deeply informed by contemporary gender ideologies. We thus explore how gender *and* emotions operated to effect real or perceived forms of order and disorder in medieval and early modern Europe. We examine these concepts in chapters that highlight the critical roles that gender ideologies and lived, structured, and desired emotional states played in producing both stability and instability.

The field of historical emotions study is expanding rapidly. Emotions in the past have been of long-standing interest to historians, as demonstrated by the analyses of fear in early modern Europe by Delumeau, Roberts, and Naphy, Rosenwein's collection on anger in the Middle Ages, and the essays edited by Philippa Maddern and Andrew Lynch on engendering love and war across the medieval and early modern period.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, there is a new focus emerging

---

\* This research was supported by the Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions (project number CE110001011).

<sup>1</sup> Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in*

in recent scholarship that places emotions themselves – not as individual states so much as clusters, regimes, and sets of practices – under the spotlight. Its aim is to bring a more rigorous analytical lens to the study of emotions, often adopting and adapting a range of techniques that stem from psychological, cultural, sociological, and anthropological scholarship.<sup>2</sup> An area that has not received significant historical attention to date is the relationship of emotions and gender in the medieval and early modern period.<sup>3</sup> Yet gender research is a vital and dynamic area of premodern research, and can offer much to the study of historic emotional expressions and experiences. The premodern period has been the focus of a great deal of study in terms of its social structures, violence, social tensions, and religiosity, revealing a perceived sense of disorder and consequent attention to control and ordering mechanisms by contemporary communities. This collection investigates how these forces were connected, and how they functioned to create or destabilise such structures, or operated in moments of violence, war, and other kinds of physical and social destruction.

---

*the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Philippa Maddern and Andrew Lynch, eds, *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1995); William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, recent collections by Susan Broomhall, ed., *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2007); Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet, eds, *Le Sujet des Emotions au Moyen Age* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008); Jonas Liliequist, ed., *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012); Susan McClary, ed., *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Expressive Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Elena Carrera, ed., *Emotions and Health, 1200–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Susan Matt and Peter Stearns, eds, *Doing Emotions History* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Andrew Lynch and Michael Champion, eds, *Understanding Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Susan Broomhall, ed., *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Philippa Maddern, Joanne McEwan and Anne M. Scott, eds, *Performing Emotions in the Medieval and Early Modern World* (in development).

<sup>3</sup> See Susan Broomhall, ed., *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2015). Similarly, this has been tackled only recently in modern psychology. See Agneta Fischer, *Gender and Emotion: Social Psychological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and in cultural/historical terms: Stephanie A. Shields, *Speaking from the Heart: Gender and the Social Meaning of Emotion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Stephanie A. Shields, Dallas N. Garner, Brooke Di Leone, and Alena M. Hadley, 'Gender and Emotion', in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotion*, eds Jan E. Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (New York: Kluwer, 2006); Stephanie A. Shields, 'Passionate Men, Emotional Women: Psychology Constructs Gender Difference in the Late 19th Century', *History of Psychology* 10 (2007): 92–110.

## Order and Disorder

Order was generally a desirable state.<sup>4</sup> It produced stability at an international level across Europe, within the family unit, in civic organisations, in school rules, in religious communities, and within the souls of the faithful. A desire for order and control was reflected in the myriad ranks, hierarchies, and social ordering systems of medieval and early modern Europe. As Philippa Maddern reminds us, ‘medieval family theorists ... viewing patriarchy as both natural and desirable, portrayed the well-ruled family (including servants) as the metonym and guarantee of good order in the individual, society and universe.’<sup>5</sup> These organisational structures were fundamental to individual experiences of life and of feelings.

---

<sup>4</sup> The literature of gender and social order alone is vast. See Susan Dwyer Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560–1725’, in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 196–217; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Philippa Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1442* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Max Reinhart, ed., *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 1999); Nancy Shields Kollman, *By Honor Bound: State and Society in Early Modern Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Emlyn Eisenach, *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2004); Ulinka Rublack, ‘State-formation, Gender and the Experience of Governance in Early Modern Württemberg’, in *Gender in Early Modern German History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 200–217; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Merry E. Wiesner, *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1998); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, eds, *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Philippa Maddern, ‘“In myn own house”: Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography’, in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 45. See also Philippa Maddern, ‘Interpreting Silence: Domestic Violence in the King’s Courts in East Anglia, 1422–1442’, in *Domestic Violence in Medieval Texts*, eds Eve Salisbury, Georgiana Donavin, and Merrell Llewelyn Price (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 31–56; and Philippa Maddern, ‘Order and Disorder’, in *Medieval Norwich*, eds Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon, 2004), 188–212.

Many of the forms of order examined in this collection were aimed at communal achievement, designed to bring together a diverse group of individuals in a coherent structure or for a shared purpose. We thus explore order, stability, and organisation within family units, religious institutions, communities, and societies from monasteries to the Moravians, and in civic charitable structures such as schools. But these concepts of order and stability also find meaning here at a broader level, where in diplomatic terms ‘good order’ was the goal of hundreds of individuals representing different courts, dynasties, and nations, all operating to a recognisable formulation of emotional performance and expression. There were concerns and fears at every level, for uncontrolled passions, unexpected expressions of feeling, or unanticipated participants in these practices could undo the best efforts at establishing and maintaining order.

Other emotional articulations and acts designed to promote order were targeted at the personal and interior and these could be highly individual. They ranged from the mortification practices of nuns striving to control their passions, to the displays of courage rather than cowardice on the battlefield emphasised in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English literature. Although their aim might be expressed and experienced at the individual level, their benefits extended to the wider communities that such affective displays and practices would sustain or even enhance, whether by creating a conducive communal living environment or by preparing men to engage in war.

While order was the desired state, not all disorder was undesirable, especially if it shook up cohorts, groups, and societies and re-formed them in ways that suited its proponents.<sup>6</sup> War and fighting, particularly when these achieved religious, ethical, or political goals, could be enflamed by the judicious cultivation of particular states of violent passions, as long as their causes were moral. Similarly, the break-up of the family unit that saw children and parents separated could be perceived as desirable, even though some of the emotional consequences – at least for some of the unit’s members – were fear, longing, sorrow, and pain. The intensity of religious feelings of children weeping ecstatic tears in the Moravian movement, for example, generated new power and confirmed the direction of its leadership, while securing status for the young girls who were its chief affective exemplars.

---

<sup>6</sup> Karen Nelson, ed., *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013).

## Emotional Practices and Powers

What emotions do forms a key aspect of this collection's analyses. Some authors tackle this by emphasising the role of emotional practices and performances in aligning individuals to a common identity or cause. Joanna Bourke argued over a decade ago for the power of emotions 'to align people with others within social groups, subjecting them to power relations'.<sup>7</sup> Emotions, like ideologies of gender, can be interpreted as cultural-historical discourses of power. Catherine A. Lutz has argued that feminist approaches to emotion must pay 'attention to the material, institutional and cultural capillaries of power through which discourses of emotion operate'.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Catherine de Medici, analysed by Broomhall, emphasised the emotions of family in an effort to draw Philip II of Spain into closer political union, and used the tools of emotional expression and practices such as gift exchange, and personal, hand-written letters to align herself with those in the Spanish household of her daughter and granddaughters.

Other contributors demonstrate how emotions regulated individual experiences into socially acceptable and informed expressions or performances. They mirror Monique Scheer's emphasis on the bodily dimensions of emotional expression as social constructions: the 'embodied effect of our ties to other people, as well as to social conventions, to values, to language'.<sup>9</sup> This view highlights the role of emotions in ordering individual experiences to contemporary social realities, but as Kuijpers argues in her chapter on the chronicles of nuns during the Dutch Revolt, nuns *learned to practise* different styles of emotional behaviour. This connects to explorations of the experience of individual feelings in group environments by contributors here whose analyses are informed by the work of researchers such as Barbara H. Rosenwein and Benno Gammerl on emotional communities and styles.<sup>10</sup> These concepts may be helpful in explaining the range of emotional engagements experienced and enacted by any one individual in particular contexts, times, and places. Implicit in the rules of these communities or styles are acceptable forms of emotional control and expression for particular individuals. These do not imply shared feelings among all members of a social group – whether they be religious communities, families, diplomatic cohorts, or

---

<sup>7</sup> Joanna Bourke, 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History', *History Workshop Journal* 55, no. 1 (2003): 125.

<sup>8</sup> Catherine A. Lutz, 'Feminist Emotions', in *Power and the Self*, ed. Jeannette Marie Mageo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 197.

<sup>9</sup> Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 207.

<sup>10</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no. 2 (2012): 161–75.

school environments as explored here – but rather shared codes of expression and performance for emotional content.

Other authors, though, explore how individual affective output, sometimes from unexpected ‘performers’ or in unanticipated forms, disordered gender ideologies, existing emotional structures, and social orders. Van Gent’s analysis of the ecstatic Moravian revival movement in the late 1720s, led by young girls, suggests the creation of a new identity and purpose for the congregation at a time of political disunity (albeit one that eventually asserted the leadership of Count Zinzendorf). The work of William M. Reddy on ‘emotives’ offers the idea of a statement of emotion that is not precisely the same as the feeling that it describes. In this way, Reddy provides for the possibility of a ‘residuum’ of feeling that is not completely socially scripted but that may be an ‘initial reservoir of possibilities for change’; that is, for ‘emotional deviance’.<sup>11</sup> In her study of the control of nuns’ passions, Walker proposes that mysticism may have offered an opportunity to express an individual affective counterpoint to the prevailing emotional regime of the convent, one that could offer a powerful, new, spiritual voice. In the chapters to follow, we thus explore the potential social power of emotions: to empower individuals to enact or reject order, ideologies, and emotional states.

Finally, we recognise that, in certain circumstances, emotions could generate non-action as much as action. Some feelings rendered people passive, melancholy, and inert. As Sianne Ngai has discussed in the modern context, some ‘non-cathartic states of feeling’, such as envy or paranoia, function to suspend rather than facilitate action.<sup>12</sup> Marchant’s analysis of antiquaries suggests that contemporaries interpreted some obsessive material and textual behaviours as mental disorder, although she argues that their texts could also be read as deeply personal structuring tools for individual minds. In each case, attentive to these different models of emotional expression, performance, and power, we aim to show what people tried to do with the emotions they documented, whether they generated physical acts or textual expressions. Moreover, we explore how they made these articulations in varied forms, and what these achieved in terms of bringing order to their own lives, to their communities, and more broadly, to their social structures.

---

<sup>11</sup> William M. Reddy, ‘Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions’, *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 334–5; and William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

## Texts and Acts as Practices of Emotional Management

These chapters employ cultural history approaches to analyse literary and visual texts, material culture, and archival sources such as letters and chronicles, in order to examine how perceptions of order and disorder were fundamentally structured through gender and emotional states. The opportunities for and forms of affective performance and practice available in these sources were distinct to boys, girls, men, and women, but they were also inflected by race, age, social status, confession, and personal circumstances of individuals.

Importantly, we recognise that these sources are not simply evidence of emotional experiences but that in many cases, they were also themselves structuring tools doing the work of emotional management. Both Kuijpers and Champion demonstrate, for example, how chronicle accounts documenting acts of violence, war, and desecration were also texts that actively managed negative emotional content and aligned it with Christian morals and experiences in a spiritual framework. Likewise, the letters of Jacques de Vitry studied by Cassidy-Welch, or the familial correspondence analysed by Jarzebowski, each in their own way aimed to reach a like-minded readership to validate, comfort, and alleviate strong negative feelings.

Lynch, Cassidy-Welch, and Marchant offer divergent views of how men's feelings – courage, cowardice, panic, fears and excitement about combat and crusade, sorrow at loss and decay – could be eased or actively provoked, and ultimately controlled, through textual practices that created emotional order from moments or memories of potential chaos. These chapters echo the analyses of Kuijpers and Champion on the perceived importance of the moral and ethical orientation of feelings in order to understand their power for positive ordering, redemption, or even fruitful disordering, in relation to religious beliefs. Marchant's analysis of the writings of antiquaries and Cassidy-Welch's study of de Vitry's letters both explore fear and grief at perceptions of ruin and human transience, which was structured through texts and genres appropriate to the emotional expression and forms of masculinity of intellectual and ecclesiastic men at different times. Witness the contemporary uncertainty of how to understand the antiquary, that figure of ridicule whose obsession with the decay of material culture reflected a potentially unstable melancholy and disorder of the mind. His lack of control over his passion for the past represented, for contemporaries, a failure of emotional control and an inability to engage with a wider social environment.

The realm of the court, and its diplomatic handbooks and correspondence, are explored in the context of national and dynastic relations and the cause of peace. Adams and Broomhall both examine the work of elite women who actively employed specific affective performances and behaviours to enhance early modern international diplomacy. Often, they did this by applying long-held

gender ideologies of marriage, family, and household and the expected emotional labour of maternal, wifely, filial, and other familial roles, to national contexts.

A focus on children's gendered experiences and emotions to produce forms of social order is also highlighted in the work of a group of authors.<sup>13</sup> Broomhall, Willemsen, Jarzebowski, and Van Gent explore differing forms of children's schooling, training, and acculturation to gender ideologies and desired emotional regimes appropriate to their different societies, status, and circumstances. These were all attempts at emotional management, which were intended to produce social, familial, even national, stability in future generations. Van Gent's analysis of young women in Moravian communities demonstrates how successfully specific emotional cultures and styles could be deployed by children themselves to achieve desired aims, just as Walker emphasises how some expressions of passions by religious women could be positively framed as spiritual experiences, rather than feared as disorderly acts of a mortified woman in the communal environment of the convent.

In such ways, we show varied methods by which medieval and early modern populations managed fears and tensions at both individual and social levels. They did this through means that could be communal, such as schooling, religious acts, and chronicle writing, or personal, such as letter-writing, diary-keeping, and individual religious devotions. Personal and communal were not separate realms, but dialogic: each had the power and potential to inflect emotional experiences in the other.

## **Gender and Emotion**

This collection demonstrates how gender ideologies palpably informed emotional states, leading both gender and emotion, together and independently, to shape perceived forms of order and disorder. As recent studies have shown, gender operated in complex and diverse ways to order the lives (and thus emotions) of individuals at this era.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, psychologist Stephanie A. Shields

---

<sup>13</sup> The study of children's experiences and feelings at this period is the focus of emerging work. Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, eds, *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Early Modern Age, Volume 3: 1450–1600* (Oxford: Berg, 2010); Philippa Maddern, 'Between Households: Children in Blended and Transitional Households in Late-Medieval England', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 1 (2010): 65–86; Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas Max Safley, eds, *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures, 1450–1800* (London: Routledge, 2013); Philippa Maddern and Stephanie Tarbin, eds, *Material Worlds of Childhood in North-Western Europe c. 1350–1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> See Ulinka Rublack, 'Meanings of Gender in Early Modern German History', in Rublack, *Gender in Early Modern German History*, 1–18; Megan Cassidy-Welch and Peter

has argued powerfully that emotion and gender operate in dialogue with one another. In a study that moves from the late nineteenth century to the present, Shields suggests that the very process by which we learn and then practise emotions is fundamentally shaped by gender.<sup>15</sup> Here, we assess how concepts of masculinity and femininity regulated emotional expression and performance, but also how assumptions about women and men, their place in social hierarchies and organisations, and their capacity for communal collaboration shaped the regulation mechanisms for emotional content – from schools and families to convents and courts.

Authors also highlight woman's dual role as both a feared threat to social order and generator of disorder on the one hand, and as a mediator of tensions and a means to restore social order on the other. Zika's analysis of the woman of Endor emphasises how a coalescence of male fear and the prevailing views of the sexes merged to create a powerful new visual vocabulary of the witch in the seventeenth century, which gendered disorder more broadly. Van Gent highlights the unusual power of young women to disrupt prevailing power dynamics through their perceived special ability to access emotional states of spiritual ecstasy. By contrast, chapters by Adams and Broomhall demonstrate the authority and influence of elite women to work for peace and order, through their deployment of emotional vocabulary appropriate to the marital roles and reproductive labour that applied to women at almost every social level.

Mediating work such as preventing conflicts, grieving the lost, and nurturing future generations smoothed social tensions and restored social order.<sup>16</sup> And, as the chapters here show, men, women, and children all conducted emotional management of these kinds, although they did so in gendered ways. Children were critical to these manoeuvres, symbolically and socially, as chapters focused on their education and acculturation explore.<sup>17</sup> So too were men, as Cassidy-Welch shows in her chapter on the emotional labour of Jacques de Vitry, and Champion in his study of monastic chronicle authors. They demonstrate how men found means in their own textual contexts and social practices to manage fraught emotional content and calm social disorder. Affective performance was

---

Sherlock, eds, *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Marianna Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo, eds, *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013); Broomhall, ed., *Authority, Gender and Emotions*.

<sup>15</sup> Shields, *Speaking from the Heart*; Shields et al., 'Gender and Emotion'; Shields, 'Passionate Men, Emotional Women'.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, on the importance of women's mourning, Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Prisoners of War after Agincourt: Gender, Mourning and Cultures of Captivity in Fifteenth-Century France', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 12 (2003): 9–22.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, the essays by Ariane Baggerman and Kelly Whitmer in Jarzebowski and Safley, *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures*.

by no means the preserve of a single sex. As the analysis by Lynch shows, while battle courage was a crucial element of masculinity in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English texts, it also held wider meanings for male and female readers as a socially beneficial and ethical quality. Nor were emotional exemplars always the same sex as the individuals by whom they were expected to be modelled. Mary Magdalene, as Champion outlines, was proffered as one of several cross-gendered models for male monastic affective experience, and the intense somatic emotional display of Moravian young women described by Van Gent eventually became a significant spiritual experience for that community more broadly.

From the elite and ceremonial contexts discussed by Broomhall and Adams, the intellectual and religious environments assessed by Walker, Champion, Cassidy-Welch, Van Gent, Marchant, and Kuijpers, and the civic communities and scientific societies examined by Jarzebowski and Willemsen to the more popular cultural, visual, and literary readings explored by Lynch and Zika, these detailed case studies, from across Europe, collectively show the pervasive force of gender ideologies and emotions as they co-operated to generate order and disorder.

## **The Power of Emotions and Gender**

In this collection, we understand the structuring of emotions into specific emotional states, and the imposition of gender ideologies, as works of power. Thus, we explore who had power to effect disorder or order through these means. We ask who had the ability to enforce their lived, desired, or preferred emotional states or practices, and in what circumstances? Which emotional and gender practices operated at the individual level, held communal resonance, or took on a broader or more visible role, be it in print, in politics, or in religious or social leadership? Conversely, feelings of disempowerment and lack of emotional control provoked some of the behaviours and practices that this collection explores, whether they manifested in ritual acts, writing in new or traditional forms, or through unique spiritual expressions. Thus, we engage with a wide range of sources through which we can understand these acts and expressions as practices of affective and emotional control: in visual and literary genres, in print and manuscripts, letters and chronicles, through material culture, in structured social systems and communities such as trading companies, village schools, or religious congregations, and through acts, negotiations, and the movement of people.

We explore these questions in three themed parts. In the first part, chapters explore the ways in which emotions were structured in the cause of war and peace. Andrew Lynch explores how courage and cowardice held emotional valency in direct relation to ethical and political considerations in Anglo-

Saxon and Early Middle English literature of war and conflict, and suggests they had far wider social and communal resonance for the audiences of these texts than simply in combat. Megan Cassidy-Welch explores how the letters of Jacques de Vitry attempted to order the chaos of combat on crusade into coherent narrative form by reifying masculine martial virtues and by expressing his own emotional responses to the horrors of war. As she argues, articulation of his emotional experience in such ways forms part of the construction of his gendered subjectivity.

The chapter by Tracy Adams shifts our gaze to the world of the court, examining how the marriages of elite women were expected to function as forms of political regulation – an affective diplomacy – but could also be seen by contemporaries as a key source of social disorder among dynasties. She analyses how the text of Anne de France negotiated the moral and practical complexities of women's diplomatic work, which operated primarily through emotional manipulation and performance. Susan Broomhall's exploration of the correspondence of Catherine de Medici with courtiers and the King of Spain shows the practice of Catherine's emotional rhetoric in letters and her affective performances and practices in material and visual forms. Her particular form of political intervention in these years resided in the emotional power afforded by her role as grandmother to the two young children of her daughter Elisabeth. This familial role, an acknowledged position of respect for women from which she could offer advice and articulate concern, provided Catherine with an emotional mechanism to promote 'good order' between the kingdoms of France and Spain.

In the second part, our attention moves to texts that expressed and visualised feelings generated by disaster and ruin. Matthew S. Champion analyses the late medieval chronicle of Louvain's Carthusian House, which shifts from an ordering of time based on the construction of the monastic cells to a radically personalised and highly emotive catalogue of extraordinary events, violent crimes, and disasters clustering around the advent of the sixteenth century. Central to this construction, Champion argues, was the deployment and representation of normative emotional responses to monastic life. By considering this nexus of the social world of the monastery, the ordering of time, and the deployment of emotions in the history of Louvain's Carthusians, Champion draws together intersections between the history of time, the history of emotions, and the construction and maintenance of social order in the difficult times surrounding the year 1500. Alicia Marchant reconsiders the long-held notion of early modern antiquarian texts as narratives that were ahistorical and subjective, in order to argue that emotions and emotionality were central to the significance of the historical narrative, and a potentially sophisticated means of historicising the material objects described. She explores notions of objectivity, order, narrativity, and the relationships of emotions such as longing,

melancholy, and sorrow to material and textual cultures in the antiquarian text. As does Champion, Marchant sees past and present as collapsed in these texts for key emotional purpose.

These themes are likewise pursued by Erika Kuijpers in her analysis of the chronicles of nuns during the Dutch Revolt. Unlike contemporary war chronicles, these hybrid convent texts offer rich emotional expression, as they describe iconoclasm and other acts of religious violence that provoked fear and sorrow, and the stories of suffering and salvation of the convent community. Kuijpers argues that these expressions may derive from the examples of suffering in the liturgical texts used in convents, but they also shared elements of narrative techniques and stylistic devices with a wide variety of oral and textual sources to which the authors had access. Charles Zika traces the trajectory of a new image of witchcraft in the seventeenth century, the witch of Endor, which adapted the iconography of the biblical story of the woman of Endor and the necromantic and divinatory services she provided for King Saul as a model for the visual representation of witchcraft in general. Zika explores why the witch of Endor seemed so opportune a figure for artists and others in the later seventeenth century as an agent of moral disorder, and the significance of allusions to gender in its adoption.

Our final part explores how children, families, and religious communities became aligned in gendered ways through practices of emotions. Annemarieke Willemsen examines the emotional implications of the practical and moral content of school rules and organisational models, while also highlighting the care and attention paid to the social and emotional development of children as children, and as future participants in urban society. She examines the complex and potentially close emotional role of teachers as 'second fathers' with an expectation of care and a responsibility for punishment of their charges. Claire Walker explores how early modern English convents on the continent developed their own regimes of emotional conduct and performance, which were designed to achieve communal order for their special form of household organisation. Here too, written rules and guidebooks formed part of a set of practices of emotional management, structuring daily life and affective experiences of the women involved, in particular to control their passions. However, Walker's analysis shows the challenges nuns faced in living according to these instructions, and their consequent affective disruptions, and sometimes dissent, recorded in letters, histories, and spiritual diaries.

Claudia Jarzowski's chapter sheds light on the emotional experiences of parents and children who embarked on early modern world travels as a family unit, and those who did not. Her examples of the Bering and Forster families show two different models of parental choices that suggest alternative assumptions about the prioritisation of emotional proximity in relation to other developmental needs of children, as well as order within the familial unit. The

correspondence and memoirs associated with these cases also highlight the varied emotional toll of distanced parenting for the biological mothers and fathers involved, and the importance of social parents who, as with Willemssen's teaching staff, were expected to take on both practical and emotional management of children in lieu of their biological kin. Finally, Jacqueline Van Gent explores the Herrnhut children's awakening in 1727 within the Moravian community as an ecstatic movement that was prophetic in nature, urging the congregation to repent their sins, bury their conflicts, and work towards forming a cohesive community. Significantly, this revival was initiated and led by young girls, then gradually extended to include the whole congregation. Van Gent argues that these young girls forged a spiritual and political space for themselves in the politically torn, newly established community of Herrnhut, contesting the authority of their fathers, and enabling the establishment of a new social order in Moravian communities that was characterised by an alternative gender order with more direct social agency for women.

Together, these studies aim, firstly, to render more complex, yet more precise, the contemporary nature of the relationship between gender and emotions in the contexts under examination, and secondly, to analyse how they could function both to destroy order but also locate structure from disorder in medieval and early modern Europe.

This page has been left blank intentionally

# PART I

## Structuring Emotions of War and Peace

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 1

# ‘Now evil deeds arise’: Evaluating Courage and Fear in Early English Fight Narratives

Andrew Lynch

This chapter looks at the representation of courage and cowardice in a range of Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English literary texts on war and fighting. Recent scholarship has pointed valuably to the physio-psychological discourse of fear, bravery and anger in Anglo-Saxon literature.<sup>1</sup> I also remark below on the long-term propensity for scholars to treat war literature of the period in the context of a ‘heroic’ display of masculinity. In this study, I take a different approach, arguing that the emotional valency of courage within these early English texts relates mainly to its attachment to a wider ethical regime, one that is made visible in their language and literary strategies as a powerful principle of both poetic and cultural order, and which ultimately evades gendered definition. Within these texts, battle courage is always a crucial element of masculinity, but my analyses will suggest that the fuller meaning of courage and cowardice that they depict takes readers well beyond the battlefield or any simple physical display of gendered requirements.

Near the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon poetic fragment, *The Battle of Maldon*, come these well-known lines:

Ʒa Ʒæt Offan mæg ærest onfunde  
Ʒæt se eorl nolde yrhðo geƷolian,  
he let him Ʒa of handon leofne fleogan  
hafoc wið Ʒæs holtes and to Ʒære hilde stop.<sup>2</sup>

An even better known passage from the poem comes near its end, when most have already fled in fear from the fight, the earl is dead, and the survivors are facing their deaths. Byrhtwold, an ‘old retainer’, exhorts them: ‘Hige

<sup>1</sup> See Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 54–109.

<sup>2</sup> *The Battle of Maldon*, in *The Cambridge Old English Reader*, ed. Richard Marsden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 251–69, lines 2–8: ‘When the kinsman of Offa first realised that the nobleman would not tolerate cowardice, he let the loved hawk fly from his hands towards the wood and walked to the battle’. Translations are the author’s own.

sceal þe heardra, heorte þe cenre, | mod sceal þe mare, þe ure mægen lytlað.<sup>3</sup> J.R.R. Tolkien, the poem's best-known interpreter, through Théoden and the Riders of Rohan, called this statement 'an ancient and honoured expression of heroic will'.<sup>4</sup> S.A.J. Bradley speaks of 'the choice [to flee or stay] that is at the heart of this poem and, perhaps, of the whole A[nglo-]S[axon] heroic ethos'.<sup>5</sup> Bruce Mitchell, writing on 'Life in the Heroic Society', while doubting the realism and the wisdom of these warriors' decisions to die for their dead lord, finds the typical soldierly values of 'bravery, loyalty, mutual trust', and 'contempt for cowardice and treachery'.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the passage is too well known. It has been quoted on the webpage of the British far-right anti-immigration Freedom Party, and the 'White Pride' organisation Stormfront's British site. Just as Byrhtwold's speech can be taken out of context to defend something supposedly inherent in 'whiteness' or 'Britishness', it can be taken to define a narrowly 'heroic' view of earlier English literature, and a narrow view of what courage means within that literature.

The term 'heroic', as applied to Anglo-Saxon poetry, has been beset by ambivalence. In the usage of H. Munro Chadwick, the 'heroic age' was the age covered by 'the heroic poetry and traditions of the Teutonic peoples'.<sup>7</sup> Historically, it was applied to the period between about 300 and 600 CE. Its poetic survival was mainly in Anglo-Saxon texts written down much later, but these were not truly 'heroic' in Chadwick's view because, except for the fragment known as *The Fight at Finnsburh*, 'all of them contained Christian allusions' and were therefore too late to be directly from the 'heroic age'.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, despite Chadwick's usage, the term 'heroic', often supported by images of the Sutton Hoo war-gear, continues to be used to discuss Anglo-Saxon culture, and there have been many attempts to discriminate Christian-influenced values in Anglo-Saxon literature from a pure 'heroic' strain, or to discuss their hybrid or transitional formations.<sup>9</sup> In these discussions, the high value put on courage has rightly been seen as an enduring, though complex, cross-cultural element.

<sup>3</sup> *Maldon*, lines 312–13: 'Our intention must be more resolute, our hearts braver, our courage greater, as our power grows less.'

<sup>4</sup> J.R.R. Tolkien, 'The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son', in *The Tolkien Reader* (New York: Ballantine, 1966), 124. The translation is Tolkien's.

<sup>5</sup> S.A.J. Bradley, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Dent, 1982) (hereafter Bradley), 518.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *An Invitation to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 199.

<sup>7</sup> H. Munro Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 7.

<sup>8</sup> Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> For examples of the latter, see Mitchell, *An Invitation*, 193–243; Edward B. Irving, Jr, 'Christian and Pagan Elements', in *A Beowulf Handbook*, eds Robert E. Bjork and John

Since fortitude was one of the Christian ‘moral’ or ‘cardinal’ virtues (along with temperance, justice and prudence), and not one of the ‘theological virtues,’ it could be appreciated by Christians as part of the conduct of good but misguided pagans who did not know Christ. Some medieval commentators would concede that certain pagans had shown greater moral virtue than Christians.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, just as fortitude does not stand alone as a moral virtue in early Christian thought but is linked to the three others,<sup>11</sup> the courage of a (possibly) pagan hero such as Beowulf, or that of the ‘Christian’ biblical heroine Judith, is accompanied in this literature by insistent demonstrations of other virtues: truth, loyalty, discretion and concern for the welfare of their peoples. Furthermore, because courage is considered essentially a moral quality, as I shall indicate, its incidence is not limited to men or to warriors; it is, primarily, a socially oriented and communal concern, taking on a variety of forms and exemplars, and so in its literary articulations it is potentially of relevance to a much wider audience than the standard uses of ‘heroic’ might suggest.

To begin with, although courage is a masculine gender essential in medieval English war literature, it is not necessarily something that was regarded as innate, even in high-ranking men. *The Battle of Maldon* provides a good example. Anglo-Saxon battles were predominantly fought on foot, hence Earl Byrhtnoth’s command to ‘gangan’ (‘walk’)<sup>12</sup> to the battle. But his command to drive the horses far off is apparently to remove a means of fleeing from the fight, a means which one Godric, son of Odda, employs later on. Lack of courage is clearly anticipated. Offa has predicted earlier that day that ‘many’ will fail to live up to their formal boasts of help in battle, and so it happens.<sup>13</sup> Godric, forgetting the many horses that Byrhtnoth has given him in the past, rides away on the earl’s own horse (which must have remained nearby), and seeks refuge in the forest, along with his two brothers and many more. The poem registers this move as both horribly indecorous – the cowardly thane riding on the brave lord’s horse and rich saddle – and ungrateful. Then ‘formoni man’ (‘very many men’) wrongly think that it is Byrhtnoth himself who has ridden away and flee also.<sup>14</sup> A large proportion of the army is clearly ready to believe that the great

---

D. Niles (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 175–92; Lawrence Beaton, ‘The Wanderer’s Courage,’ *Neophilologus* 89 (2005): 119–37.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Alastair Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1982), 31–60.

<sup>11</sup> See R.E. Houser, ‘The Virtue of Courage (Ila lae, qq. 123–140); in *The Ethics of Aquinas*, ed. Stephen J. Pope (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 305–6.

<sup>12</sup> *Maldon*, line 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Maldon*, line 200.

<sup>14</sup> *Maldon*, line 239.

earl himself has fled, for all his intolerance of cowardice in others.<sup>15</sup> Given the behaviour of several military leaders of Æthelred's disastrous reign (978–1016), as described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, they can hardly be blamed.<sup>16</sup> Some men are apparently always expected to run, but this time it has been 'manna ma þonne hit ænig mæð wære'.<sup>17</sup> These repeated shameful admissions bind the narrative together through their acknowledgement that cowardice is a norm rather than an aberration: the poem is an instance of what Stephen Morillo, admittedly speaking of a period two centuries later, calls 'the multivalent expectations of cowardice that permeated the psychology of [medieval] battle'.<sup>18</sup> In Janet Bately's view, the vocabulary of bravery in *Maldon* describes '[n]ot what people [the poem speaks only of men] are, but what they need to be'; its repeated negative usages 'stress what we would call bravery by reminding the audience of its converse'.<sup>19</sup>

So the fragmentary poem's opening claim that the young man who releases his hawk (a symbol of upper-class leisure) and walks towards the battle<sup>20</sup> shows by this action that he will fight bravely later on seems challenged in retrospect: those who bravely remain at the fight are a loyal few not to be identified till Byrhtnoth has died and the rest have fled, with 'the army divided, the shield-wall broken'.<sup>21</sup> As one of the stayers says then, 'Now it can be known who is brave',<sup>22</sup> or perhaps he means 'Now the one who is brave can make it known', suggesting that the test of courage is still not complete. Inner courage is a conscious mental and emotional disposition, a matter of 'hyge', 'mod' and 'heorte', but still seen as demonstrable only by direct external action, in a common and long-lasting medieval view.<sup>23</sup> Long after *Maldon*'s time, the late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman romance *Ipomedon* gives it as a maxim that 'prowess must be shown

<sup>15</sup> *Maldon*, lines 5–6. See Stephen Morillo, 'Expecting Cowardice: Medieval Battle Tactics Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006): 65–73, at 69–70.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the cowardice of the Alderman Ælfric in 992 and 1003, and the behaviour in 993 of three leaders of the army who 'were the first to run away' when battle threatened. See *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. H.A. Rositzke (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 81–4.

<sup>17</sup> *Maldon*, line 195: 'more men than might be at all fitting.'

<sup>18</sup> Morillo, 'Expecting Cowardice', 66.

<sup>19</sup> Janet Bately, 'Bravery and the Vocabulary of Bravery in *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon*', in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr*, eds Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 294, 277.

<sup>20</sup> *Maldon*, lines 7–8.

<sup>21</sup> *Maldon*, lines 241–2.

<sup>22</sup> *Maldon*, line 215: 'nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy'.

<sup>23</sup> S.H. Rigby, 'Worthy but Wise?: Virtuous and Non-Virtuous Forms of Courage in the Later Middle Ages', in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 35 (2013): 329–71, at 336.

otherwise than in speech.<sup>24</sup> Since there was no clearer or more common way than combat for men to show they were brave, all men could be suspected of cowardice if they had not been tested by fear in that way. As S.H. Rigby says:

writers such as [the twelfth-century commentator] Giles [of Rome] simply took it for granted that humans were innately fearful. It is precisely this inherent tendency to fear which makes the fortitude involved in overcoming it into a virtue.<sup>25</sup>

In the conclusion of *Maldon*, given that defeat is certain, and complete shame threatens, such a demonstration of courage is necessitated – it has been called ‘propagandist’<sup>26</sup> – and provided by a comprehensive band of stayers. These men act to avoid shame, certainly, but their expressed resolution to stay mainly emphasises battle service as a repayment of loyalty and love – not to leave Byrhtnoth; to avenge him; to die by his side, as Offa does: ‘He læg ðegenlice ðeodne gehende.’<sup>27</sup> Their emotional reading of the situation is in line with Richard Abels’s views on Anglo-Saxon attitudes to cowardice:

[It] was not a specific moral failing concerned with fearfulness in war ... [A]ctions that one might term ‘cowardly’ were presented as failures to perform military duties owed a lord due to insufficient love and loyalty ... The shame lay in a man’s willful choice, when faced with danger, to turn his back on the duty he owed his lord. The moral failure was the willful refusal to fulfill the duty owed to lords, kinsmen, and friends, to undertake on their behalf their hard work and risk of battle.<sup>28</sup>

It may be for this reason that the complex physical associations of Anglo-Saxon fear words – suggesting, for instance, coldness, paralysis and pallor, which have been subtly explored by Javier E. Díaz Vera – are often absent in the context of battle cowardice where we might most expect to find them.<sup>29</sup> Questions of motivation and consequence – of the broader context of action – form

<sup>24</sup> A.J. Holden, ed., *Ipomedon* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), lines 1191–2: ‘autrement estuit mustrer | La prûesse que por parler’.

<sup>25</sup> Rigby, ‘Worthy but Wise?’, 40. Rigby also cites Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 165–6.

<sup>26</sup> Bradley, 519.

<sup>27</sup> *Maldon*, 294: ‘He lay like a thane by his lord’s side’.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Abels, ‘“Cowardice” and Duty in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006): 29–49, at 31–2.

<sup>29</sup> Javier E. Díaz Vera, ‘Reconstructing the Old English Cultural Model for Fear’, *Atlantis. Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 33, no. 1 (2011): 85–103.

a higher poetic order than the aspects of courage represented purely within physical combat.

As Alasdair MacIntyre has argued, courage is a requisite of many early societies; it underwrites the generosity and loyalty ‘necessary to sustain a household and a community’ or a military expedition, or to be a good friend.<sup>30</sup> In that respect, although *Maldon* is a late poem, and Christian – Byrhtnoth commends his soul to God and prays that the ‘helsceaðan’ (‘hell-foes’)<sup>31</sup> may not harm it – its ethical understanding of courage seems similar to the understanding in what is likely a much earlier work, the fragmentary *Fight at Finnsburh*, which Bradley suggests may be ‘what A[nglo-S[axon] heroic poetry was like before it adopted a Christian perspective.’<sup>32</sup> The main overt difference is that the older poem praises both sides in the fight for their brave loyalty to their leaders, whereas *Maldon* maintains a complete contrast of sympathies between its brave English defenders and the anonymous heathen ‘wæl-wulfas’ (‘slaughter-wolves’)<sup>33</sup> from the sea. They get no praise for fighting hard against Christians, and typically, their victory is partly attributed to deceit.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, each poem encodes a difference between the combatants’ conduct within the battle and the circumstances and motivations that give rise to it. In *Finnsburh*, both sides are loyally brave in arms, but the exterior motivation of the fight is made a separate poetic issue, with differing emotional effects. In *Maldon*, that distinction is also present but drawn in another way: unlike those Christians who fight bravely, the Vikings are not said to show courage because, as pagan raiders, they are not considered to have the correct motive or justification for fighting; they cannot be understood as rightly loyal, merely savage.

In *Finnsburh*, the Jutes’ leader, Hnæf, a guest of the Frisians, his hereditary enemies, realises his troop is being treacherously attacked in their guest-hall:

Nu scýned þes mona  
waðol under wolcnum. Nu arisað weadæda  
ðe ðisne folces nið fremman willað.<sup>35</sup>

Then, with a ‘but’ introducing a change in poetic register, Hnæf exhorts his warriors to battle:

<sup>30</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd edn (London: Duckworth, 1985), 122–3, quote at 166.

<sup>31</sup> *Maldon*, line 180.

<sup>32</sup> Bradley, 507.

<sup>33</sup> *Maldon*, line 96.

<sup>34</sup> *Maldon*, line 86.

<sup>35</sup> *The Fight at Finnsburh*, in *Cambridge Old English Reader*, lines 7–9: ‘Now the moon shines, wandering behind the clouds; now evil deeds arise, which will accomplish that people’s hatred’. Translation here is the author’s own.

Ac onwacnigeað nu, wīgend mine;  
 habbað cower linda, hīcgeaþ on ellen,  
 wīndað on orde, wesað onmode.<sup>36</sup>

Although Anglo-Saxon fighting vocabulary is notoriously slippery,<sup>37</sup> a distinction seems to be created here between necessary courage within this battle and the dark context of malice in which it occurs. ‘Courage’ or ‘strength’ (‘ellen’; Latin *vis, virtus, fortitudo*)<sup>38</sup> is a requirement of loyalty at a moment of crisis; the warriors fulfil it admirably, but the motivation of this fight is still the ‘nið’ (‘envy’, ‘malice’)<sup>39</sup> of the Frisians, and the emotional value of the event is governed by a sense of its extreme destructiveness. That difference is maintained by a discursive distinction: the fighters are highly approved: ‘drihtlice cempa’ (‘lordly warriors’);<sup>40</sup> ‘freolic feorh’ (‘noble being’);<sup>41</sup> ‘deormod hælep’ (‘spirited hero’).<sup>42</sup> But the surprise attack on guests is called ‘weaðæda’ (‘deeds of sorrow’, or ‘deeds of evil’),<sup>43</sup> with ‘wea’ equivalent to Latin *malitia*.<sup>44</sup> ‘Nið’<sup>45</sup> is afoot, and the ensuing fight is said to sound like ‘the din of slaughter’,<sup>46</sup> or even, perhaps, ‘of murder’.<sup>47</sup> Such a disjunction in the terms that make up the emotional effect of the fight generates a potential for bitter irony: for instance, the phrase ‘godra fela | hwearflicra’,<sup>48</sup> which Bradley translates as ‘good and lively men’, is applied to a heap of dead Frisians above whom the raven is circling.<sup>49</sup> If in *Maldon* it is

<sup>36</sup> *Finnsburh*, lines 10–12: ‘But awake now, my warriors! hold your linden shields, let your thoughts be of courage, turn forward and be resolute’.

<sup>37</sup> See Bately, ‘Bravery’, 293.

<sup>38</sup> Antonette diPaolo Healey, ed., *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online* (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2007), ‘ellen’, noun. See also Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, eds Thomas Northcote Toller (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2010), ‘ellen’: ‘Strength, power, vigour, valour, courage, fortitude; *vis, robur, vigor, virtus, fortitudo*’.

<sup>39</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ‘nið’. 1: ‘envy, hatred, enmity, rancor, spite, ill-will, jealousy’.

<sup>40</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 13.

<sup>41</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 19.

<sup>42</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 23.

<sup>43</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 8.

<sup>44</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, wea. 1: ‘woe, misery, evil, affliction, trouble’.

<sup>45</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 9: Latin ‘odium’; ‘hatred’, ‘spite’, ‘malice’.

<sup>46</sup> *Finnsburh*, line 28: ‘wælslihta gehlyn’.

<sup>47</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ‘wæl-sliht’: ‘Slaughter in battle, slaughter, carnage’; ‘wæl-slihta’: ‘A murderer’.

<sup>48</sup> *Maldon*, lines 33–4.

<sup>49</sup> Bradley, 509. Following *Cambridge Old English Reader*, my translation adopts ‘hræs’ (‘fell’) as the reading in line 34 of the poem.

disgraceful to show cowardice in a good cause, in *Finnsburh* there is something appalling about the results of loyal courage in a fight set on by pure malice.

The much fuller exploration of feud fighting in *Beowulf* involves the same story as an *exemplum*.<sup>50</sup> It develops the sense of destructive waste by focalising the narrative through Hildeburh, Hnæf's sister, who has been married to the Frisian king Finn as a 'peace-weaver', and who is taken home at last with her brothers, sons and husband dead from the fighting in what the *Beowulf*-poet calls 'morþorbealo maga' ('the slaughter of kinsmen')<sup>51</sup> and 'morþorhetes' ('murderous hate').<sup>52</sup> As we have seen, once a fight starts a warrior must courageously fulfil his promise to repay his lord's gifts with deeds, but *Beowulf* also makes clear that solemn promises are broken in order to continue feuds. After the first fight, Finn and Hnæf's surviving retainer Hengest swear oaths to each other to keep the peace: 'Ða hie getruwedon on twa healfa | fæste frioðuwære',<sup>53</sup> but nothing is firm in this arrangement. Hengest broods all winter on revenge. When spring arrives, his friends set up a quarrel with the hot-tempered Finn. They kill him, despoil his hall, and take Hildeburh back. As the poet says, she had no cause to commend the 'treowe' ('good faith')<sup>54</sup> of the Jutes. *Beowulf* predicts a very similar outcome from the Danish Hrothgar's alliance of his daughter Freawaru with Ingeld of the Heathobards. Some old warrior with a grudge will cause trouble and 'then on both sides the oath of the earls will be broken; then deadly hate will well up in Ingeld'.<sup>55</sup> *Beowulf* sees feuding as endemic to the warrior societies of the old North. Without needing to invoke Christian ideology directly, it associates this particular feud with treachery, oath-breaking and unwelcome slaughter. As in the earlier poem, the battle courage that a retainer is called on to show in keeping his formal promise to fight for a lord is treated as a separate matter from the 'murderous hate' behind feuding itself. The display of loyal courage within the fight does not excuse a wider failure to uphold 'good faith'. If the lords for whom men fight are breaking faith then the fight itself takes on a darker emotional tone, perhaps all the darker because the warriors' courage is otherwise praiseworthy in itself.

---

<sup>50</sup> Fr. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg* (Boston: Heath, 1950). Translations are taken from E. Talbot Donaldson, trans., *Beowulf* (London: Longmans, 1966), given by page numbers.

<sup>51</sup> *Beowulf*, line 1105; p. 19.

<sup>52</sup> *Beowulf*, line 1079; p. 20; *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, 'morþor-bealu': 'deadly hurt, murder'; 'morþor-hete': 'murderous, deadly hate'.

<sup>53</sup> *Beowulf*, lines 1095–6; p. 20: 'Then on both sides they confirmed the fast peace-compact'.

<sup>54</sup> *Beowulf*, line 1072; p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> *Beowulf*, lines 2063–5: 'Þonne bioð abrocene on ba healfe | aḡsweord eorla; syḡðan Ingelde | weallað waelniðas'; p. 36.

For a Christian sanction against this ‘morþorhete’, the *Beowulf*-poet need have looked no further than Genesis, its principal scriptural reference point. God’s command to Noah in the Anglo-Saxon scriptural paraphrase of Genesis 9:4–6 warns:

Ælc hine selfa ærest begrindedð  
 gastes dugeðum þæra þe mid gares orde  
 oðrum aldor oðþringedð. Ne ðearf he þy edleane gefeon  
 mod-geþance, ac ic monnes feorh  
 to slagan sece swiðor micle,  
 and to broðor banan, þæs þe blod-gyte,  
 wæl-lfyll weres wæpnum gespedeð,  
 morð mid mundum.<sup>56</sup>

The point the *Genesis*-poet makes is that such killing is not a service to the Lord that deserves reward, but a disservice, understood as bringing deprivation of the future benefits (‘dugeðum’) of the soul. The familiar terms condemnatory of killing appear again – ‘wæl’ and ‘morð’ – and ‘þy edleane’ (‘in the reward’) suggests God’s ‘edleanes dæg’ (‘day of retribution’), as the Anglo-Saxon Gospels translate Luke 4:19 – ‘dies retrubutionis’ – in a satirical inversion of the good thane’s expected recompense for battle.

In the major body of Anglo-Saxon literature that is specifically religious, or strongly marked by Christian teaching, the themes of courage and cowardice are metaphorically extended but not essentially changed. As Abels says, even in ‘the works of Bede, Aldhelm, Æfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan of York ... “cowardice” was understood as a disinclination to fulfill one’s obligations because of sloth and the effeminacy associated with it rather than debilitating timidity.’<sup>57</sup> By and large, the Christian poetry of the Anglo-Saxons does not offer an adversarial critique of the loyalty of the brave warrior, but transfers his ethos into a wider context, in which loyalty to the heavenly ‘Lord’ (God) is paramount, as in *The Seafarer* which promises good Christians the heavenly counterpart of a warrior’s ‘praise’ and ‘glory’ (‘lof’ and ‘blæd’), amongst God’s elite companions (‘mid dugeðum’).<sup>58</sup> When cowardice features in Christian texts, an equivalent

<sup>56</sup> *Genesis*, in *Old Testament Narratives*, ed. and trans. Daniel Anlezark (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), lines 1521–8: ‘Anyone first deprives himself of the benefits of the spirit, who with the spear’s point forces the life out from another. Nor need he rejoice in contemplation of the reward, for I will seek out the human life from the killer more powerfully, and from the brother-slayer, for bloodshed, carried out with weapons, a murder with hands.’

<sup>57</sup> Abels, “‘Cowardice’ and Duty”, 31.

<sup>58</sup> *The Seafarer*, lines 78–80, in *Cambridge Old English Reader*. See Beaston, ‘Wanderer’s Courage’, 132: ‘Though the wanderer’s courage in the face of the hardships of

discourse is invoked. Writing of Christ and Peter, Ælfric asks in his *Homilies*: ‘Why would the almighty Ruler ever tolerate ... His chosen thane’s ... forsaking Him so often out of cowardice?’<sup>59</sup> It is a reasonable question: the Laws of King Cnut, for instance, punished cowardice in battle with forfeiture of possessions and life.<sup>60</sup> ‘Cowardice’ extends to cover the sense of sloth or slackness leading to inaction or ineffective action in other fields. For instance, Wulfstan’s *Sermon to the English* says that the Britons were conquered, in part, through the ‘lyðre yrhþe’ (‘base cowardice’) of the clergy who kept silent when they should have spoken up.<sup>61</sup> The essence of such cowardice is not lack of physical courage but the will to allow wrong, not to do what one should, for whatever reason.

Throughout its narrative course from creation to Abraham, the Anglo-Saxon poetic expansion of Scripture, *Genesis*, shows a remarkably flexible and ironic development of the theme of false courage and a false ‘heroic’ mindset. Not content with the glory of the angels, Lucifer makes a rash boast that he is greater than God. Cast into hell with his followers for disloyalty, he looks for a loyal retainer to help him trick the hated human race out of Paradise:

Se þe þæt gelæstedð, him bið lean gearo  
 æfter to aldre, þæs we her inne magon  
 on þyssum fyre forð fremena gewinnan.  
 Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne.<sup>62</sup>

Satan’s generous promise of the future benefits of eternal punishment is all the funnier for its use of ‘heroic’ terms: a gracious lord; a courageous retainer loyally repaying his benefits and earning promotion to the status of chief hearth-companion, in a travesty of Christ sitting at God’s right hand. The ‘heroic’ diction is here controlled by massive ironies of context: Satan’s own arrogant disloyalty to his Lord has already cost his followers the benefits they once possessed from

---

his exile life is a courage that includes wisdom, patience, reticence, prudence, equanimity, and forethought, he may very well see it primarily as an extension of the kind of courage that he once demonstrated in battle. ... [H]is new sense of nobility is likely to be understood in terms of the warrior nobility he knew when he was a member of his lord’s *comitatus*’.

<sup>59</sup> Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies, The Second Series, Text*, ed. Malcolm Godden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), xiv, lines 139–42: ‘Hwi wolde æfre geðafian, se ælmyhtiga wealdend ... þæt his gecorena ðegen ... hine for yrcðe, swa oft wiðsoce?’

<sup>60</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1840), 130.

<sup>61</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *Sweet’s Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 92.

<sup>62</sup> *Genesis*, lines 435–8: ‘Whoever achieves that, a reward will be ready for him forever afterward, of whatever goods we can obtain here within these fires from now on. I will let him be seated beside me’.

God, not from him. Their only hope of future ‘happiness’ is to be able to lord it over a fallen humankind as their slave race in Hell. A further irony praises the ‘firm intention’ (‘hyge strangne’) of Satan, reminiscent of the exhortations in *Maldon*, when his real outlook is ‘lapwende-mod’ (‘with a mind turned to evil’).<sup>63</sup> What the *Genesis*-poet seems to be suggesting through his satirical oppositions here is not only that Satan offers a bogus version of true heroism, as one would expect, but that he, and those ‘loyal’ to him, any beings who have arrogant daring without loyalty, may be unable to perceive that they do not participate in the true economy of courage. When Satan calls his troops together in revolt, the false heroics are extensive:

Bigstandað me strange geneatas, þa ne willað me at þam striðe geswican,  
 hæleþas heard-mode. Hie habbað me to hearran gecorene,  
 rofe rincas; mid swilcum mæg man ræd geþencean,  
 fon mid swilcum folc-gesteallan. Frynd synd hie mine georne,  
 holde on hyra hyge-sceaftum.<sup>64</sup>

The poet employs such dialogue, and sometimes ‘free indirect speech’ or ‘stylistic contagion’, to provide a sense of how Satan and his emissary perceive their actions, as examples of warriors who cannot discriminate between true and false courage. Malevolence – not just anger but ‘ill will’, a disordered will that hates the good – does not inspire real courage. Those who cannot love the good of others are indeed likely to fail in any action that is not motivated by narrow self-interest, and so to be ‘cowardly’ in the sense of *ineffective to do good*, and therefore the ‘braver’ they are in a narrow sense the more socially destructive they can become.

An even more extreme satire on false courage is in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Judith*, a companion to *Beowulf* in MS Cotton Vitellius A XV, where the effective actions of Judith, ‘ides ellenrof’ (‘the bold woman’),<sup>65</sup> ‘mid elne onbryrde’ (‘inspired with courage’) by God,<sup>66</sup> contrast with the drunken posturings of the Assyrian general Holofernes, who is nevertheless given all the superficial epithets of the hero – ‘goldwine gumena’ (‘gold-friend of warriors’), ‘egesful eorla dryhten’ (‘awesome lord of men’), and so on.<sup>67</sup> As Michael Griffith

<sup>63</sup> *Genesis*, lines 447–8.

<sup>64</sup> *Genesis*, 284–8: ‘Strong companions stand by me, tough-minded warriors who will not fail me in the strife. They have chosen me as their master, the brave soldiers; with such supporters one can consider plans, undertake them with such as these. They are my zealous friends, loyal in their hearts’.

<sup>65</sup> Mark Griffith, ed., *Judith* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), lines 109, 146. Translations are from Bradley.

<sup>66</sup> *Judith*, line 95; Bradley, 498.

<sup>67</sup> *Judith*, lines 21–2; Bradley, p. 497.

says, *Judith* offers a challenge to this ‘perversion of the heroic chieftain’ through the triumph of its female protagonist, whom he calls ‘an unpromising figure for heroic representation,’<sup>68</sup> yet I would argue that in its own way the Christian poem is at one with the general view of truly courageous actions as necessary, benevolent and socially beneficial, and therefore less gender-bound than the term ‘heroic’ implies to Griffith. Through following Judith’s example, the epithets of heroic praise given to her come eventually to be earned also by the Israelite men, actual soldiers, when they have ‘stopon styrnmode, stercedferhðe’<sup>69</sup> to defeat the Assyrians in battle. The conclusion of the poem is therefore not so much a “baptism” of the heroic’, in Bruce Mitchell’s phrase,<sup>70</sup> as a restatement, within a Christian religious context, of the ethical aspect of courageous military action in the broader early English view. Women did not officially fight battles in Anglo-Saxon culture, but, given the chance by Scripture, the Anglo-Saxon poet had no problem with treating a woman as truly courageous and heroic, while revealing a falsely motivated masculine ‘heroism’ as no true courage at all.

I have suggested that there is nothing narrowly ‘heroic’ about the attitudes of Anglo-Saxon war writing. I suggest also that the attitudes to courage and cowardice in battle that it displays do not radically change in the centuries after the Conquest. The link between courage and fidelity, and cowardice and treachery, persists into Middle English texts under wider literary influences, including French epic and romance, and even after Aristotelian notions of courage as a mean between cowardice and rashness, and of cowardice as a bad habit of succumbing to fear or an occasional involuntary weakness, begin to modify the earlier notion of cowardice as a willed decision: in a late fourteenth-century English romance such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, cowardice and the nature of true courage are vital and extensive ethical concerns.<sup>71</sup> It might seem tempting to contrast the subtle moral analysis of a sophisticated poem like *Gawain*, which pointedly avoids combat scenes, with the simpler all-out aggression in battle that is a masculine norm in thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century ‘historical’ texts like Lazamon’s *Brut* and *Of Arthur and of Merlin*. But the ideas of courage obtained from summaries of the ‘story’ and general ethos of such texts are not the same as those to be found through close experience of their structures and language; their individual literary ‘performances’ of courage are more complicated affairs. While the necessity for bravery in war is unquestioned, its representation *in situ* engages a wider emotional and ethical range and keeps a potential for negative reflections.

<sup>68</sup> *Judith*, line 67.

<sup>69</sup> *Judith*, line 227; Bradley, p. 501: ‘Stern of mood they advanced ... hardened of heart’.

<sup>70</sup> Mitchell, *An Invitation to Old English*, 248.

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion, see Andrew Lynch, ‘Beyond Shame: Chivalric and Arthurian Narrative’, *Arthurian Literature* 23 (2006): 1–17.

The very indispensability of strength in battle as political and gender currency for elite male figures in the expectations of these narratives makes it less of a discriminator between them than other aspects of their actions propose. What they *do* with their strength counts for more, and in the most admirable characters, such as the good kings, we do not meet the words for courage or prowess without finding them accompanied by other good qualities. A good king in *Lazamon* combines battle strength with steadiness and justice: ‘Þes wes ræh, þes wes strong; þes wes stið an þonke. | þes cuðe alle þa domes þe stoden inne Rome.’<sup>72</sup> The phrase ‘stið an þonke’ (literally ‘unbending in thought’) means ‘of firm purpose’, and seems equivalent to ‘anræd’ (‘with one intention’; ‘single-minded’) used in praise of Byrhtnoth in *Maldon*, lines 44 and 132, but it is carefully qualified with wisdom. The gifts that the elves give *Lazamon*’s Arthur at his birth are military prowess, authority as ruler, long life and generosity, which in itself implies loyalty, since good service must be richly rewarded.<sup>73</sup> Texts such as the *Brut* are not philosophically complex, but, like some modern philosophers, they are well aware of the potential dangers of courage unaccompanied by other qualities;<sup>74</sup> they offer what might be thought of as a pragmatic this-worldly version of the cardinal virtues: fortitude, prudence, temperance and justice. Typically of a later, French-influenced romance, *Sir Orfeo*, which sits alongside *Of Arthour and of Merlin* in the Auchinleck Manuscript, adds courtesy to the list, while making loyal promise-keeping its major theme.

A good example of the contextualising of battle prowess amongst other necessary qualities is provided by narrative sequences about the British usurper Vortigern in both *Lazamon*’s *Brut* (written sometime between 1199 and 1225) and *Of Arthour and of Merlin* (c. 1300). *Lazamon*’s treatment of the story is based on Wace’s mid-twelfth-century *Roman de Brut*, a rhyming version of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1138). It stresses the fatal combination of power and treachery in Vortigern, who is ‘swiðe strong’ (‘very strong’),<sup>75</sup> an epithet often used by the poem in praise. But as *Lazamon*’s story progresses, Vortigern becomes increasingly the ‘swike’ (‘deceiver’, ‘traitor’). The term ‘war’, meaning ‘prudent’, part of a standard term for wise kingship – ‘war and wis’ (‘prudent and wise’) – is applied to him mainly in the repeated sarcastic phrase ‘of ueele war’ (‘prudent in evil’). Epithets that normally relate to battle strength appear as negatives in the description of Vortigern’s reign,

<sup>72</sup> G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, eds, *Lazamon: Brut*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963–78), I, 277, lines 5029–30: ‘He was brave, he was strong; he was resolute. | He knew all the judgements that were upheld in Rome’. The translations here are the author’s own; some changes to punctuation have been made.

<sup>73</sup> *Brut*, lines 9608–16.

<sup>74</sup> See Amélie Oksenberg Rorty, ‘The Two Faces of Courage’, *Philosophy* 612 (1996): 151–71.

<sup>75</sup> *Brut*, line 6609.

much amplifying Wace's 'moult fu orguillus' ('he was very arrogant').<sup>76</sup> They associate his malevolent courage with his inability to bring peace to the land, specifically his failure to rid it of the Picts whom he himself has brought in to aid his accession to the throne: 'He wes wod, he wes wild; he wes ræh, he wes bald. | Of alle þinge he hæfde his iwille, bute þa Peohtes neoren næwere stille.'<sup>77</sup> To call a king 'bold' should mean praise. Even 'mad' and 'wild' are praises in the right contexts in *Lazamon*, and he commonly uses 'ræh' to mean 'brave' or 'warlike'. But here, like a matching list of 'cardinal vices', these terms speak of the king's treacherous perversion of prudence, temperance, justice and (especially) fortitude, and the linked failure of his military policy.

The direct source for the Vortigern story in *Of Arthur and of Merlin* is the French *Estoire de Merlin*. (In one manuscript, Lincoln's Inn Library, Hale MS 50, the Vortigern and Merlin story seems to be treated as a stand-alone work.) The British king Constantine is a great warrior who proves his goodness by defeating pagan Saxon invaders. He has an eldest son known as Moyne ('Monk'), a holy man and a good scholar, but quite unsuitable to rule. He is unwisely taken from a monastery to wear the crown when Constantine dies. This creates an opportunity for the scheming steward Vortigern:

Stronge he was and wizt [brave] ywis,  
 Fals and ful of couaitise [covetousness].  
 Þe king he hadde yserued [served] long  
 And for he was so wizt and strong  
 In him [Vortigern] was al his [Constantine's] trust at nede.<sup>78</sup>

Certainly, Constantine makes a bad error in asking his nobles to accept the incompetent Moyne as king, but he makes a worse one in trusting Vortigern merely because of his strength in battle when the more basic need is for loyalty. When battle strength is the single virtue, then friends are indistinguishable from enemies. Vortigern deals with Moyne by treacherously refusing to help him against invading Saracens – 'he feigned him þat he no miȝt'<sup>79</sup> – then profits from the ensuing defeat and discontent by replacing him as king after indirectly instigating his murder. Though Vortigern is personally brave, through this falsehood he effectively replicates the behaviour of a coward. He acts like those military leaders in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, mentioned above, who

<sup>76</sup> Wace's *Roman de Brut. A History of the British*, trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), line 6689.

<sup>77</sup> *Brut*, lines 6858–9: 'He was mad, he was wild; he was fierce, he was bold. He had his will in everything but the Picts were never quiet.'

<sup>78</sup> O.D. Macrae-Gibson, ed., *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), I, lines 81–5.

<sup>79</sup> *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, line 129: 'he pretended he could not.'

feign sick or absent themselves to avoid facing the Danes. The poem sarcastically highlights his combination of bravery and evil: ‘Po bispak him Fortiger | Gode kni3t hardi – and pautener.’<sup>80</sup> ‘Pautener’ (variously associated with ‘beggar’, ‘liar’, ‘traitor’, ‘cowardly hawk’ and ‘coward’) occurs quite frequently in Anglo-Norman and Middle English insults; it means the exact opposite of a ‘good brave knight’.<sup>81</sup> Moyne has earned a personal reputation as a coward – a ‘breþelynge’ (‘wretch’) and ‘conioun’ (‘foolish’ or ‘unmanly’ man) – who is ‘so adrade he is neize wode’,<sup>82</sup> but Vortigern’s false nature is shown to create still worse effects. He allows the ravaging of the country by the invading Saxons, starts ‘contek and strif’ (‘battle and strife’)<sup>83</sup> amongst the British through instigating Moyne’s death, and later brings on years of civil war after he hangs the 12 barons who have killed Moyne for him.<sup>84</sup> The hangings take place immediately after the feast celebrating his victory over the Saxons. In this setting of ‘grete delite and noble play’,<sup>85</sup> the unusual failure of military prowess against invaders to unify the land is strikingly evident: the great feast that celebrates a monarch’s national and even imperial control is a staple of such narratives. The whole destructive process is compounded when Vortigern invites the Saxons back, this time as allies against his British enemies, with the promise of half his possessions: ‘Dis couenaunt was made stedfast’<sup>86</sup> is the poem’s wry comment on the treacherous pact. So Vortigern’s vicious bravery puts half Britain under alien control. He might as well have cowardly surrendered to the Saxons in the first place, since his voluntary offer of half all he owns matches the outrageous demands for tribute that pagan invaders make in texts like *The Battle of Maldon*<sup>87</sup> and Ælfric’s *Life of St Edmund*: ‘Nu het he þe dælan þine digelan gold-hordas | and þinra yldrena gestreon ardlíce wið hine.’<sup>88</sup> Byrhtnoth the battle-leader and Edmund the Christ-like martyr king both die rather than agree to such demands.

Vortigern’s conduct offers in this way a travesty of conventional royal virtues: courage, authority, generosity, concern for the land, and loyal accord with his barons. ‘[L]oue of hert’ exists only between himself and his Saxon partner,

---

<sup>80</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, lines 193–4: ‘Then Vortigern spoke, the good brave knight – and wretch.’

<sup>81</sup> See *Middle English Dictionary*, ‘pautener(e)’ (n.(1)), online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED32665>.

<sup>82</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, lines 164, 205–10: ‘so afraid he is nearly mad’.

<sup>83</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, line 237.

<sup>84</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, lines 355–410.

<sup>85</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, line 358.

<sup>86</sup> *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, line 431.

<sup>87</sup> *Maldon*, lines 29–41.

<sup>88</sup> W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1881), II, 318: ‘Now he [Hinguar, the Viking leader] commands you to share your secret gold-hoards | and your ancestral treasures readily with him’.

Hengist.<sup>89</sup> They are equally wreckers of the people, as Merlin prophesies: ‘His kin and eke þin | Schal don wo to Bretouns kyn.’<sup>90</sup> To complete the picture, Vortigern marries Hengist’s daughter, turns pagan himself, and is burned to death, with his whole misbelieving family, in an attack on his castle by the younger sons of Constantine. Vortigern is always described as ‘brave’, and Moyne is clearly a coward, yet the emotional trajectory of the story, for all its evident enjoyment of a good fight, is plotted along a broader narrative arc, to do with the restoration of ‘right’ and retribution for ‘false’ behaviour. The thematic emphasis on religious and national unity heavily inflects, indeed controls, the emotional evaluation of battle courage. In this context, Vortigern’s prowess is merely a disguise for treachery and a means of showing the virtues he does *not* possess. Treachery in a brave fighter replicates all the effects of cowardice because, in the long-standing view that these English poems exemplify, both states stem from selfishness: ‘insufficient love and loyalty.’<sup>91</sup>

A conclusion to be drawn from these analyses is that the major emotional valency of courage in medieval English literary texts on war relates to an appreciation of unselfish loyalty, social benevolence, promise-keeping, and the efficient performance of duty rather than sheer physical courage per se. These texts’ core idea of courage can therefore extend easily beyond literal battles, and so beyond attribution to warriors alone or to men. No one was braver or more heroic, for instance, than the female virgin martyrs of medieval hagiography. Since the ability to overcome fear is necessary for promise-keeping and duty in battle, in that sense courage *is* loyalty. Yet where battle courage is present and loyalty is lacking – for instance in cases of oath-breaking or treachery – the emotional register of courage is darkened and may even be transmuted into its shameful opposite. A second, related, conclusion is that the emotional value of courage terms is not a constant, but dependent on specific narrative and thematic contexts for its effects.<sup>92</sup> By no means do the same words necessarily have the same emotional impact. That is partly to do with the quirks of vague and sometimes formulaic poetic diction,<sup>93</sup> but mainly it occurs because courage in the medieval view is a practical and teleological virtue, a necessary means for doing right in particular situations, and its evaluation is therefore inherently a

<sup>89</sup> *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, line 475.

<sup>90</sup> *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, lines 1671–2: ‘His relations and yours also will cause grief to the race of Britons.’

<sup>91</sup> See Abels, ‘“Cowardice” and Duty’, 31–2, quoted above.

<sup>92</sup> Similar comments have been made about Chaucer’s work. See William Rothwell, ‘When “Courage” Might Not be a “Virtue” at Any “Price” in the England of Geoffrey Chaucer: Anglo-French and Middle English’, in *Present and Future Research in Anglo-Norman: Proceedings of the Aberystwyth Colloquium, 21–22 July 2011*, ed. David Trotter (Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University, 2012), 52.

<sup>93</sup> See Bately, ‘Bravery’, 283.

matter of narrative rather than of fixed schemata.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes, as in *The Fight at Finnsburh*, separate registers of terms for courage and treachery maintain a distinction between the emotions that they evoke. Yet in texts like *Genesis*, *Judith*, the *Brut* and *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, the same words for battle-strength, courage, and glory change their emotional value according to their particular application to situations, characters and actions whose nature is also revealed and evaluated in other ways. The complex poetic realisation of these narratives invited readers to reflect on what courage truly meant, including contexts where the test of courage was not literal battle, and to take care about which versions of it truly deserved their emotional allegiance. A strong, masculine right arm was not nearly enough to qualify for that. The tendency was persistent. Well into the later English medieval period, attitudes to physical courage distinguished between 'manly' and 'unrightful' cases, as Philippa Maddern's research has shown.<sup>95</sup> To write and read of courage in such a way was, in good measure, to participate in a shared exercise of moral and social ordering.

---

<sup>94</sup> See L.H. Yearley, *Mencius and Aquinas: Theories of Virtue and Conceptions of Courage* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 133–4; and MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 178: 'The medieval world is the one in which ... the connection between the distinctively narrative element in human life and the character of the vices comes to the forefront in human terms.'

<sup>95</sup> See Philippa C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1472* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 79–89.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 2

# Order, Emotion, and Gender in the Crusade Letters of Jacques de Vitry

Megan Cassidy-Welch

Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70–1240) was a vociferous supporter of crusading in the early thirteenth century. He preached both the Albigenian Crusade and what would come to be known as the Fifth Crusade, which was called by Pope Innocent III in 1213 to recover Jerusalem and other Holy Land territories. Educated in the generation of scholars taught by Peter Chanter's circle at the University of Paris, Jacques was also a fairly prolific writer throughout his life, composing hagiography, letters, some 410 model sermons, *exempla*, and two histories.<sup>1</sup> Jacques began his ecclesiastical career as a canon regular at Saint Nicholas of Oignies in the diocese of Liège, and in 1216 was elevated to the position of Bishop of Acre in the Holy Land. He travelled to Italy that year where he was consecrated by Pope Honorius III in July. Jacques set sail from Genoa bound for Acre in October 1216. From there, he accompanied the armies of the Fifth Crusade to Egypt, where he was present at the siege and capture of the port city of Damietta and was in the crusader camp when Francis of Assisi arrived on his failed mission to convert the Egyptian sultan, Al-Kamil. He returned to Acre after the crusade and returned to Europe permanently in 1225. Jacques was created Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum in 1229. He died in Rome in 1240.

Historians have long recognised Jacques de Vitry as an influential and prominent figure of the early thirteenth century. His *vita* of Marie of Oignies has attracted particular attention in the context of women's spirituality in the Low Countries, while his sermons *ad status* and advocacy of the early mendicant orders have ensured his place as one of the more significant communicators

---

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Maria Oignacensis* (1215); *Historia Orientalis* (completed 1220–21); *Historia Occidentalis* (1223–26). He wrote various model sermons and *exempla* from 1226–40 (for English versions of the latter, see Thomas F. Crane, ed., *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (London: David Nutt, 1890)). Most of the sermons remain unedited but significant studies and some editions have been completed by Jessalynn Bird and Jean Longère in a range of shorter publications. For an outline of Jacques's writing see John Tolan, 'Jacques de Vitry', in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. D. Thomas (Brill, 2014), online: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/jacques-de-vitry-COM\\_24582](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/jacques-de-vitry-COM_24582).

of reform monasticism around the time of the Fourth Lateran Council. New research by Jan Vandeburie is now paying closer attention to Jacques de Vitry's history writing, and although an updated scholarly biography of Jacques remains to be written, he is a figure who looms large in the wider landscape of high medieval religion.<sup>2</sup> His involvement in the crusading movement is but part of a longer career which seems to have been devoted to voicing and disseminating the principles of reform and renewal so characteristic of the long twelfth-century 'Renaissance'.

This chapter focuses on the six surviving letters written by Jacques de Vitry after 1216. These letters are especially valuable documents for the course of the Fifth Crusade as they cover the period from 1216 (his first letter was written on board the ship that carried him to Acre and his second from Acre in March 1217) to 1221, when the crusaders were forced to surrender. His last four letters were composed from the battlefield (in September 1218, September 1219, March 1220, and April 1221), and these are particularly interesting in providing an eyewitness account of the sequence of events, the rationale and justification for various strategic decisions, and, eventually, the disaster of defeat. The letters are addressed to multiple recipients, including Pope Honorius III, his former Parisian teachers, John of Nivelles, the beguines of Oignies, the Cistercian nuns of Aywières and their abbess, Leopold the Duke of Austria, and to various unnamed friends. They survive in manuscript form (11 mostly thirteenth-century manuscripts) and in an edition by R.B.C. Huygens, which has been used in subsequent translations into French and English.<sup>3</sup>

In many ways, Jacques de Vitry's crusade letters reflect the conventions of the medieval epistolary genre, which, as is well known, was highly structured and

---

<sup>2</sup> Philipp Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1902) is the only biography of Jacques. Jan Vandeburie's in-progress PhD thesis, entitled 'Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*: Reform, Crusading, and the Holy Land after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215–c. 1291)' examines the 18 thirteenth-century MSS of Jacques's *Historia Orientalis*. It will provide a useful complement to Hinnebusch's older work on the *Historia Occidentalis*. See J. Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition* (Freiburg, 1972); an edition of the *ad status* sermons was produced by J.-P. Pitra, *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis: altera continuatio*, 2 vols (Paris, 1888), II. The errors in Pitra's edition are noted in Jessalynn Bird, 'The Religious's Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad status* and *Historia Occidentalis*', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 210, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, 1160/1170–1240, évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre* (Leiden: Brill, 1960); Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, trans., *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); G. Duchet-Suchaux, trans., *Lettres de la cinquième croisade* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). There is a seventh letter (numbered Letter Three in Huygens's edition), but its attribution to Jacques has long been disputed.

formal. There was a standard five-part structure to letters (salutation, expression of goodwill, the *narratio* or description of circumstances leading to the composition of the letter, the petition or request for action from the recipient, and the conclusion including the valediction), and Jacques's letters conform to this standard. But as many historians have pointed out, these elements were sometimes played with and adjusted according to the nature of the relationship between writer and audience, the nature of the request, and the intentions of the letter-writer. Although the famous rules of letter writing, the *ars dictaminis*, purported to set down the formal parameters of epistolary texts, letters were also personal documents, in the sense that their composition reflected much of the subjective purposes of the individual composer. This is worth noting, as the public nature of medieval letters together with their stylistic conventions sometimes causes us to forget that individuals are still present in letter writing, whether or not the letter was dictated. At the same time, even the structured elements of medieval letter writing modelled elements of oratory, which must have been appealing for a preacher like Jacques. For instance, the persuasive and informative work of both shares a common origin in rhetoric; they were performative, in other words.<sup>4</sup> In some ways, then, medieval letters might be understood as a textual and an oral genre, as formal but not always formulaic, and as public but necessarily invested with the individual imaginings of the author. Indeed, as Katherine Kong pointed out in her study of letters in medieval and early modern France, premodern letters did more than ask for things and report news: they 'offered a way to represent the self in relation to various others.'<sup>5</sup> The expression of the self in medieval letters was also one way of voicing affective experience. This is highly visible in the letters of women, such as Catherine of Siena. But it is also visible in the letters of men, too, particularly those who wrote about their own experiences in challenging situations such as war. The translation of inner feeling to outward manifestation as it appears in epistolary form can tell us much about how medieval people used affect to construct their own gendered subjectivities.

Jacques de Vitry's crusade letters offer a compelling example of how self-expression, or the communication of subjective experience, was integrated into the epistolary form. As an elite participant in the Fifth Crusade, Jacques's letter writing communicated his own experience as well as imposing a certain narrative and temporal order on the events through which he lived. The sequence of Jacques's crusade letters also demonstrates the sometimes subtle interplay of

---

<sup>4</sup> Martin Camargo, 'Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?' in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 173–89.

<sup>5</sup> Katherine Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 1.

the personal and the collective; the letters order events but they do so through the voice of Jacques himself. As a consequence, the emotional language (or the articulation of interior feeling) embedded in some of the letters furnishes modern readers with some particularly valuable insights into the links between the individual and his audience. Indeed, it is the suggestion of this chapter that Jacques de Vitry used his own emotional reactions to the crusade as a way of making sense of what were sometimes chaotic and distressing events. In so doing, Jacques de Vitry's letters impose more than chronological or even eschatological order on the Fifth Crusade. They also voice how a successful crusade ought to play out, and how a successful crusader should conduct himself. By reifying masculine military prowess and pious virtue, and by expressing his own emotion, Jacques communicated a powerful and edifying story of the value and meaning of thirteenth-century crusading. In this chapter, I am tracing how Jacques sought to order the events of the crusade in letter form while simultaneously giving voice to his own experiences. The epistolary form certainly provided Jacques with an appropriate narrative framework to integrate both these elements of reportage and self-expression. Order, then, is understood here as the composition of both narrative and subjectivity.

### Representing Types of Warrior

Jacques de Vitry wrote the first of the four letters from Egypt outside the port city of Damietta in two stages, the first on 14 September and the second on 22 September 1218 (Letter Four in Huygens's edition).<sup>6</sup> This letter was addressed to the Pope and to his 'most beloved friends in Christ', friends who remain unnamed, but who were probably members of the Acre community from which Jacques travelled. In this letter, crusaders are represented in a number of ways, both as individuals and collectively. At the start of the *narratio* section in Letter Four, Jacques expresses concerns that men who had taken the formal crusading vow had abandoned the 'army of the Lord' even before they had made the decision to sail to Egypt. These men are described as 'weak and faint-hearted'; they seek 'consolation in various false excuses', Jacques writes, 'simply to hide their cowardice'. They are contrasted with certain groups, especially the Frisians and Germans,<sup>7</sup> who were well prepared with boats that would make it possible for the whole land of Egypt to come under Christian control eventually.<sup>8</sup> Immediately, Jacques slides into a justification for a crusader attack on Egypt by presenting the region as part of a long biblical history, and as a place where

<sup>6</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 101–11.

<sup>7</sup> 'Frisones et Theutonici'.

<sup>8</sup> 'totam terram nostro subiugaremus imperio'.

pilgrims may visit in the future: Christ rested there with his mother, a church still exists in the spot where they rested, there are still many Christian holy men there, the balsam tree from which holy chrism derives is to be found in Egypt. Indeed, dreams Jacques, Christianity will be established uninterrupted from the west to the east should Egypt come under Christian rule.<sup>9</sup> The men who were to undertake this task, crusaders, were thus participating in one of the most significant conversion efforts in Christian history.

The conflation of military prowess and spiritual effort had always been foundational to the idea of crusading, and Jacques takes care to continue this theme throughout his communiqués to the Pope and others. The Frisians are singled out as ‘poor humble, devout,’<sup>10</sup> as well as ingenious: they built a ‘wonderful hitherto unknown war machine,’<sup>11</sup> by tying together two boats on which they then built a rotatable bridge, ladder, and fortification. This mobile siege tower could be pushed up against the defensive tower built by the Egyptians ‘allowing large numbers of our men to surround the tower and build a huge fire outside its door.’<sup>12</sup> Ultimately the tower was surrendered, and this proved to be a decisive breakthrough in the eventual capture of the city of Damietta.<sup>13</sup> In narrating the clever military strategy of the Frisians, Jacques de Vitry incorporates reminders that soldierly success is not simply a matter of strength or technology. He reports that the success of the Frisian effort was because they ‘did not put their trust in strength alone, but put their hope in God.’<sup>14</sup> Before attacking the tower with the siege machine ‘they fasted and lamented in processions’, while in the course of the battle for the tower, ‘pilgrims, nobles, and commoners alike threw themselves onto the sand, covered their heads with dust. Weeping and lamenting, they cried unto the Lord that he have pity on his people lest the heathen ask “Where is thy God?”’<sup>15</sup> During the siege of the tower, Jacques’s conversion vision was played out when ‘many Saracens came over to us to be baptised. Many more would have come over but were unable to cross the river; some drowned in the attempt,

---

<sup>9</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 102–3: ‘christianem religionem ab Occidente usque ad Orientam continuaremus.’

<sup>10</sup> ‘homines pauperes, deo devote et humiliter.’

<sup>11</sup> ‘mirabilem et a seculis inauditam erexerunt machinam.’

<sup>12</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 107.

<sup>13</sup> See also Dominic Francis, ‘Oliver of Paderborn and His Siege Engine at Damietta,’ *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 37 (1997): 23–32.

<sup>14</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 106: ‘predicti Frisones de virtute sua non presumunt, sed in deo spem suam totam ponunt.’

<sup>15</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 106: ‘Peregrini vero tam nobiles quam alii in sabulo sese proiecientes et pulverem super caput suum aspergentes cum lacrimis et gemitu clamabant ad dominum ut misereretur populi sui, ne forte dicerent in gentibus: ubi est deus eorum?’

others were killed by their own people.<sup>16</sup> This opening scene in Jacques's first letter from the battlefield immediately reassures the recipient that God's work is being done, that the crusade is proceeding according to God's divine plan. As soon as the tower had been captured, the crusaders recognised this: 'the loss of the tower which was the key to the whole land ... caused our enemies great distress and apprehension, whereas our men gave thanks to God'.<sup>17</sup> Here, Jacques de Vitry uses emotion, particularly the tears and lamentations of the Frisians, to demonstrate their appropriate piety and to create a moment in his narrative of events that will drive the story forward.

This episode may be compared to the eventual capture of the entire city of Damietta after a protracted siege lasting some months. Once the crusaders entered the city, cleared it of corpses and disinfected it, they formally sacralised this urban environment through procession and liturgy. Jacques reported in a letter addressed to the Pope, John of Nivelles, and the nuns of Aywières that:

the lord legate, the patriarch and clergy, and the people entered in procession on the Feast of the Purification of the Holy Mary, with candles and lanterns, singing hymns and canticles of praise and gratitude. The legate celebrated Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary with tears and intense popular devotion in a great basilica he had prepared.<sup>18</sup>

This 'great basilica' was, in fact, the main mosque. It was transformed into the seat of an archbishopric and used for services of thanksgiving.<sup>19</sup> Its new dedication was a highly symbolic statement of conquest; it signalled that the central mission of the crusade – the spread of Christianity (and in Jacques's mind, the conversion of Muslims) – was underway. Yet, at the same time, the capture of Damietta seems to have precipitated an outbreak of dissolute behaviour among the crusaders. Jacques describes the arguments that erupted over the division of

---

<sup>16</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 108: 'Multi vero ex Sarracenis dum essemus in obsidione ad nos transierunt ut baptizarentur, multo vero plures devenissent, sed fluvium de facili transire non possunt: quidam enim in flumine submersi sunt, alii vero a suis interfecti'.

<sup>17</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 107: 'Inimici vero nostri, amissa turre que clavis erat totius terre et patrie et ceterarum civitatum valde confuse sunt et perterriti, nostri vero debitas deo gratias retulerunt'.

<sup>18</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 127: 'Dominus legatus et patriarcha cum clero et universi populo, accensis candelis et luminaribus, cum hymnis et canticis, cum laudibus et gratiarum actione in die Purificationis beate Marie processionaliter ingressus est civitatem. Fecerat autem dominus legatus prepararii maximam basilicam, in qua in honore beate Marie Virginis cum lacrimis et magna populi devotione celebravit in qua etiam sedem archiepiscopalem instituit'.

<sup>19</sup> See Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'The Stones of Damietta: Remembering the Fifth Crusade', in *The Papacy, Religious Life, and the Crusade in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. Jessalynn Bird (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming 2015).

the city's spoils, lamenting that 'there were more thieves and miscreants than usual in our army at that time who were pilgrims in name only'.<sup>20</sup> These men bickered over the 'gold and silver, silk cloth, rich vestments, and many other possessions' that were found in Damietta but, as they refused to listen to the legate, 'as though blinded by the cupidity of Achar',<sup>21</sup> the Egyptians were able to hide much of the city's treasure, burying it in the ground or throwing it into the river. 'As a result of this', Jacques wrote, 'there was considerable slanderous muttering causing fights and disputes'.<sup>22</sup> These moments of tension and argument are represented as something of a test for the crusaders, who are reminded here of the need to maintain their individual and collective piety even in success. At the same time, Jacques sets up future losses and defeats for his reader by communicating the ease with which the crusade could turn to the appropriation of wealth. Emotional states such as anger and greed mirror states of vice and sin in this episode, which Jacques deploys to both caution future crusaders and explain to the recipients of his letters the outcome of events.

The record of dissension and greed in this letter is continued when Jacques notes carefully the real reason for the crusaders' success in capturing the city: God handed the city to them, 'to purify our sins and offer us the greater crown of the chosen'.<sup>23</sup> Those crusaders with no understanding of this, those who were motivated by the wrong reasons, those who 'advanced on their enemies with pride and elation, not with tears and devotion, as many were seeking wealth and temporal goods', were not true to the spirit of the crusade.<sup>24</sup> It was such men who caused military defeat. In emphasising the issue of interior motive of the individual, Jacques communicates to the recipients of his letter that the spiritual character of each crusader remained crucial to the crusade's success. This mirrored the stipulation of right intent in just war theory.<sup>25</sup> And it mirrored the frequently deployed *peccatis nostris exigentibus* trope that explained why, if it were God's will that crusades should be a success, they all too often were not.<sup>26</sup> In other words, Jacques used his letters to confirm what the motives for crusading

<sup>20</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 127: 'sed quoniam multi fures et latrones et nomine solo peregrini'.

<sup>21</sup> 'sicut Achor cupiditate excecati'.

<sup>22</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 127: 'Idcirco murmur et scandalum non modicum, rixe et contentiones exorte sunt'.

<sup>23</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 128: 'ad purgationem peccatorum et maiorem coronam electorum antequam civitatem nobis traderet permisit affligi populum suum'.

<sup>24</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 129: 'quadam nostri exirent ad pugnam contra soldanum tanquam nichil timentes ... non cum lacrimis et devotione, sed cum pompa et elatione, multi tamen propter lucrum et commodum temporale'.

<sup>25</sup> See Christopher Tyerman, *The Crusades* (New York: Sterling, 2007), 87.

<sup>26</sup> For the trope, see Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Giles Constable (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 229–300.

should be, reminded future crusaders that their interior spiritual virtue was crucial to victory and, using the contemporary events of which he was a part, also warned of false pride in success. Future crusaders were, of course, men, and although women shared the spiritual virtues he emphasises using affective language, Jacques locates these virtues in the masculine world of combat.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, Jacques was keen to underscore certain conventional masculine attributes of virility and strength in the narration of various battles. Sometimes, as with the Frisians, these attributes are associated with groups of people. And sometimes they are attached to individuals, such as Johannes Archies, *miles strenuus*, who was taken prisoner after a skirmish outside Damietta.<sup>28</sup> Crusaders fight ‘manfully’;<sup>29</sup> they leap through ‘the hail of fire, swords, arrows, and stones’;<sup>30</sup> they are ‘steadfast’;<sup>31</sup> and they derive their strength from God. When acting with common purpose, their fighting is matchless. The military orders and those who are experienced in warfare in the Holy Land receive particular praise as giving wise and judicious counsel.<sup>32</sup> In contrast, Jacques represents the Egyptians as confused and perverse, deceptive and duplicitous, adept at ruses like ‘foxes’;<sup>33</sup> as he describes. They jump into the Nile River in a panic-stricken way when they realise that defeat is near, and their sultan dies of shock at the news of defeat.<sup>34</sup> Such characterisations are common in accounts of medieval battles, where the culture of masculine combat, sometimes framed in chivalric terms, is told through descriptions of individual and collective prowess against an inherently feeble but often tricky enemy.<sup>35</sup> These qualities of male crusader strength and Muslim weakness are thus individual and collective. They are also qualities that although not affective, are sometimes expressed in emotional terms through the use of words and terms suggesting states of mind. Fear is connected with weakness, courage is connected with virility, and so on.

At the same time, failed crusaders – those who do not possess either the spiritual or military skills – are singled out, with cowardice and desertion

---

<sup>27</sup> For the role that women religious played in support for the crusade, see Anne E. Lester, ‘A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne’, *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 353–70.

<sup>28</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 130.

<sup>29</sup> ‘viriliter’.

<sup>30</sup> ‘per medios ignes et gladios et sagittas et lapides’.

<sup>31</sup> ‘cordes constantes’.

<sup>32</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 124.

<sup>33</sup> ‘fraudes vulpium’.

<sup>34</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 109: ‘soldanus vero pre dolore turre mortuus est’.

<sup>35</sup> See for instance, Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); for chivalric masculinity in the crusading milieu, see most recently Natasha Hodgson, ‘Honour, Shame and the Fourth Crusade’, *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 2 (2013): 220–39.

especially mentioned. In Letter Seven, Jacques reserves special disdain for those who, during the long wait for more troops to move the crusade forward from 1219 to 1221, descended into not just immoral behaviour at Damietta, but outright apostasy. These men are not identified by name, but are grouped with those who, after the capture of Damietta, gave themselves over to sin: 'enchaining their souls by committing various crimes'.<sup>36</sup> These men invariably perished, either physically, drowning in the river or as prisoners of the Saracens, or spiritually, 'imprisoned in the chains of excommunication'.<sup>37</sup> And it is worth noting that in a sermon composed after he had returned to Europe to recruit new crusaders, Jacques was particularly scornful of cowards, writing that 'they are fearful people not suited for war who will be condemned by the Lord'.<sup>38</sup> For the right sort of crusader, death was mostly a more positive outcome. As with all crusades, the rewards for participating in the crusade were both immediate (the remission of sins) and eternal (the possibility of martyrdom). Jacques certainly represents death as a 'grace and consolation' (in Letter Four), granted by the Lord so that the sick could go to Him 'speaking, rejoicing, and giving thanks'. In one letter, death is presented as a reward given by God to those who had 'abandoned their fathers and mothers, wives and children, and their friends for Christ'.<sup>39</sup> Those who died trying to break into the defensive tower in the middle of the Nile 'earned a martyr's crown'. The connection between death and martyrdom was frequently stressed in crusade preaching. In the context of Jacques's letters, which (as mentioned) were addressed to a variety of recipients including the Pope, these connections were also important to reiterate. Jacques's letters were certainly circulated, and probably read aloud. Their contents both reflected and generated preaching material heard by men and women. It was important, therefore, that the reality of death on crusade was confronted and explained. Those who had 'abandoned' their loved ones are offered solace with the promise of a virtuous and joyful death. The affective states of joy and gratitude are associated with a martyr's death; fear and cowardice are associated with those who have failed as crusaders and soldiers. In this way, Jacques orders emotions to communicate how individual and collective success is bound up with right motivation and right conduct.

In the final section of Letter Four, certain men are listed as being worthy of special memory. Those named are not, in the main, soldiers, but they have some particular association with Jacques himself or the church of St Jean in

<sup>36</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 135: 'variis criminibus animas suas obligantes'.

<sup>37</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 135: 'vinculo excommunicationis innodatis'.

<sup>38</sup> Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 125.

<sup>39</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 105: 'hoc enim solatium recompensavit eis pius dominus, quia patrum et matrum, uxorum et filiorum et amicorum suorum pro Christo relinquerunt consolationem'.

Acre. 'Pray for our dead companions,' writes Jacques in the version of the letter to his unnamed 'friends in Christ'. He lists Walter of Tournai, archdeacon of 'our church' in Acre, Constant of Duacho, deacon, Jean of Cambrai, Lord Rainier, cleric of St Jean, 'and others who served in the army of Christ' including Master Thomas, Chancellor of Noyon, Master Leonius who taught theology at Acre, Master Alexander who was the nephew of Robert, cardinal, and Jean the younger, nephew of the cantor of St Jean. Others who died at the siege of Damietta in the course of battle are honoured as having received the crown of martyrdom. One of these was Renaud de Barbachon, who had been the treasurer of the church of St Jean. Jacques relates his death in special detail, emphasising not his military activities but his piety:

After having heard matins in the night of Pentecost and after the solemn celebration of the daily Mass, he received the viaticum on his knees in front of the altar. After the office of Vespers, he set up a bed under a tent next to our chapel. In the night that followed we gave him unction for his infirmities. And he, having ceaselessly in his mouth the name of Him who he had preached faithfully during his life, migrated toward the Lord, praising God and giving thanks for his grace.<sup>40</sup>

Representations of Christian virtue and masculine military competence – things worthy of memory – are folded into a didactic and orderly narrative of events in Jacques de Vitry's letters. This narrative also preaches the value and virtue of crusading in general, reminding the reader that the fundamental principles of the crusade, including motive and intent, remained crucial to the mission's success. Although we do not know the precise degree to which his letters were utilised in subsequent crusade preaching, Jacques's rhetorical use of familiar crusading ideas and tropes throughout his letters reflected the conventions of crusading *excitatoria*, creating a framework for encouraging and informing future crusaders of their many obligations and rewards as members of Christ's army. Within this framework, the ordering of interior states of mind seems to have been important in stressing the responsibility of each individual in ensuring the crusade's progress and triumph.

---

<sup>40</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 111: 'cum in nocte Pentecostes matutinas audisset, missa autem de die solempniter celebrata, flexo genu ante altare receipt viaticum. Expleto vero vespertino officio iussit sibi sterna lectum iuxta capellam nostrum in modico tentorio, nocte vero eum inunximus oleo sancto infirmorum. Ipse, continuo habens in ore eum quem fideliter in vita sua predicaverate, imminente diluculo cum laude dei et gratiarum actione migravit ad dominum.'

## Voicing Emotion

Amid these representations of good and poor soldiers, reminders of what a virtuous crusader should be and reports of the sequence of events in Egypt, Jacques's own voice is prominent. He names himself in the salutation of each letter – 'Iacobus divina miseratione Acconensis ecclesie minister humilis' – and uses the first person (singular and plural) intermittently throughout his writing. This is not uncommon in many medieval letters where the first-person singular draws attention to the author of the letter, while the first-person plural bridges the gap between author and recipient by inviting a common or shared understanding of what had transpired. He also records his own responses to the victories and defeats he had witnessed, at times creating quite an intimate and poignant insight into the emotions of a witness to war. It seems that Jacques was cognisant of the psychological stresses of combat, as he inserts some tangential glimpses of this into his account of events. In one instance, he tells of a moment of terror among some of the soldiers, who suddenly ran away, 'for some strange reason since our enemies were not yet attacking or putting them to flight.'<sup>41</sup> He reports that some of the 'steadfast knights' were 'amazed and saddened by this flight.'<sup>42</sup> Although the men managed to return to the crusaders' camp after this episode, Jacques reports that many more were lost, including those who 'could not bear to see their horses wounded by the arrows of the Saracens' and so had broken ranks to pursue the enemy. Others, wrote Jacques, died or were taken prisoner in the confusion and panic of retreat: 'some died of thirst' and 'some were so afraid of the just judgement of God ... that they went mad and died.'<sup>43</sup> The chaos of this event is illuminated by the inclusion of emotional states of panic, fear, and madness.

In terms of his own reactions to events, Jacques reports that he suffered illness during the course of the crusade. He ends one letter with an account of his ill health, writing that 'as for me I was ill for two months before Damietta, and almost died, but the Lord has kept me alive until now, possibly to pay for my sins with pain and tribulation.'<sup>44</sup> He attributes his survival to God's desire to make him suffer in other places, too. One particularly interesting episode occurs in Letter Six, after Jacques has reported the loss of a number of men during a skirmish outside Damietta. He reports that 'on that very day I ventured out

<sup>41</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 129: 'Tunc mirum in modum inimicis nostris nundum insequentibus quidam ex nostris terga vertentes non fugati fugerunt.'

<sup>42</sup> 'admirantes et mirabiliter dolentes.'

<sup>43</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 129: 'quibusdam ... pre calore deficientibus ... quidam etiam solo timore iusto licet occulto dei iudicio in insaniam conversi expiraverunt.'

<sup>44</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 111: 'Ego vero per duos mensas ante Damiatam fere usque ad mortem infirmatus sum, sed ad laborem et dolorem forsitan peccatis meis exigentibus ad huc reservabit dominus.'

unarmed, wearing my cape and my surplice with the lord legate and the patriarch carrying the holy cross, and it did not please the Lord to call unworthy, pitiful me to accompany his martyrs; he wanted me to bear labour and grief'.<sup>45</sup> This slightly mysterious outing hints at Jacques's own emotional state, which seems to have become somewhat more fragile after the crusaders entered Damietta.

As indicated above, the siege of Damietta had been protracted.<sup>46</sup> It was especially grievous for the inhabitants of the city, for they had run out of food and water and were beset by disease. Jacques is one of two eyewitnesses to the siege and reports that on entering the city, the victorious crusading army was met with an appalling sight. Jacques wrote of the piles of corpses in the streets, and narrates that 'the few Saracens still alive were too few to bury the many corpses that lay on the ground. The smell and the polluted air were too much for most people to bear'.<sup>47</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, the secretary to the papal legate and a prominent preacher, who travelled with the Fifth Crusade and whose *Historia Damiatina* told the story of the capture and eventual loss of the city, reiterated Jacques's report in even more vivid terms. Oliver described piles of corpses, the dreadful stench of decomposing bodies, and dozens of starving survivors. He portrayed the state of the besieged city as horrific, with the streets and houses full of the dead and an 'intolerable odour' pervading the city.<sup>48</sup> Both Jacques and Oliver move on quite quickly in their accounts to describe the Christian colonisation of the city, the conversion of the mosque into a cathedral, and the collection of treasure. But unlike Oliver, Jacques returns to musing on the more traumatic moments of war and ends one version of his letter with quite a precise account of his own psychological condition: 'I am frail and broken-hearted', Jacques reflected at the end of his description of the battle and siege, 'and wish to end my life in peace and quiet'.<sup>49</sup> Here, Jacques invites the reader to share with him quite an intimate moment of self-reflection. Having reported the

---

<sup>45</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 130: 'Ego vero die illa absque armis cum cappa et suppellicio cum domno legato et patriarcha, qui sanctam crucem ferebat, exieram et non placuit domino cum suis martyribus indignum et miserum me vocare, sed adhuc voluit me ad laborem et dolorem reservare crucem ferebat, exieram et non placuit domino cum suis martyribus indignum et miserum me vocare, sed adhuc voluit me ad laborem et dolorem reservare.'

<sup>46</sup> See James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

<sup>47</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 127: 'quod cum ingrederemus civitatem tot invenimus mortuorum cadaver super terram, eo, quod pauci vivi qui remanserant ex Sarracenis tot mortuos sepelire non poterant, quod fetorem et aeris corruptionem vix aliquis poterat sustinere.'

<sup>48</sup> H. Hoogeweg, ed., *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus* (Tübingen, 1894), 235: 'Ingredientibus nobis occurrit fetor intolerabilis, aspectus miserabilis.'

<sup>49</sup> Huygens, *Lettres*, 133: 'Ego autem iam debilis et confractus corde in pace et tranquillitate vitam meam finire desidero.'

sequence of events and his own involvement in them, Jacques seems to want to also communicate his own emotions, perhaps as a way of recording how difficult his personal crusade had come to be.

Whereas in the valediction or closing section of Letter Four, Jacques noted that he has been kept alive to pay for his sins, here, in Letter Six, the mood is significantly more despondent. It is right at the end of the letter that he returns to the first-person singular, noting his broken heart, frailty, and desire to return home. He addresses this version of the letter not to Pope Honorius III, but to John of Nivelles, a former colleague in Paris and now an Augustinian at the abbey of Oignies-sur-Sambre. Jacques wrote Letter Six to both John and Pope Honorius III, and to the convent of Aywières, and it is only in the salutation and concluding sections that the two recensions of the letters differ. It seems that Jacques has resisted reporting his own interior reactions of what he has seen to the Pope and the women of the convent, but is happy to confide his own feelings to his friend. This may well be because John of Nivelles and Jacques shared a personal friendship that allowed for such confidences. Or it may be that the letter to John of Nivelles was not such a public document as the one addressed to the Pope. Whatever the case, Jacques's disclosure of fragility offers a tantalising glimpse into his own emotions at a decisive moment in the history of the Fifth Crusade.

The integration of emotion at points throughout Jacques's letters seems broadly to serve two main functions. First, the use of the first person and a report of Jacques's own responses to some of the events of the Fifth Crusade perform the conventional epistolary purpose of drawing together the letter-writer and the recipient. The placement of these interior feelings in the letters – at the beginning or at the end in the salutation and valediction sections, in the main – helps to establish and perpetuate the epistolary relationship, creating a bridge between author and audience. In the case of Jacques's iteration of his sadness included at the end of Letter Six, the existing friendship between himself and John of Nivelles was reinforced by the inclusion of his intimate reflection on the cost of war. This was clearly a different relationship than the one Jacques established with the Pope, whose letter, presumably, was to have potentially enjoyed a much wider circulation. The formal tone of the concluding section of the Pope's letter is appropriate for the sort of relationship Jacques wished to formulate with this particular recipient.

At the same time, Jacques's self-conscious voicing of his subjective reactions to the siege and capture of Damietta also communicates something of his own anxieties about the nature of the crusade and the practice of war. We cannot say that Jacques was suffering 'trauma' as a result of witnessing difficult and

violent events.<sup>50</sup> But it seems that he was keen to incorporate or record his own sometimes troubled feelings about the crusade, and the letters he wrote afforded him some opportunity to do that. As I have sketched out above, the letters are very concerned to project ideas about the 'right' sort of crusader, emphasising purity of purpose, right intent, and steadfast bravery. However, Jacques was a cleric who did not bear arms on the crusade; he was in some ways on the fringes of this masculine culture of holy war. He preached and accompanied the army, he was there at the battlefield and at the aftermath of the siege of Damietta, but he did not fight. It would be too much of a stretch to say that this worried Jacques de Vitry. But perhaps the integration of the emotional register, tentative as it is, in his otherwise confident (indeed strident) letters home, offers a glimpse into the interior world of a non-combatant and the negotiation of the roles he was expected to play. Voicing his feelings of tiredness and sadness, reporting that he had been unwell and stating that he simply wanted to go home, Jacques attempted to articulate and transmit his own interior landscape of emotion beyond the banks of the Nile.

## Conclusion

This chapter has considered the crusade letters of Jacques de Vitry as multi-layered and complex texts. As formally structured epistolary texts, the letters conform to many of the stylistic conventions of medieval letters in general. As communiqués from the battlefield of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt, the letters are immensely valuable 'war reports' that seek to create a coherent, orderly narrative of events. As religious texts composed by a senior ecclesiastic, the letters reify the principles of holy war and reiterate the desired qualities of individual male crusaders. Jacques drew on his rhetorical skills as a preacher in this regard, providing examples of masculine prowess and criticising examples of cowardice and desertion. Yet the letters are also written with Jacques's own authorial voice clearly present. In the tantalising but poignant inclusion of his own emotional reactions to the crusade's progress, Jacques also uses the letters to externalise his affective experiences and share them with those he considered to be particularly close.

In so doing, Jacques de Vitry's letters offer a fascinating insight into the sometimes-troubled world of early thirteenth-century crusading. Over a century after the First Crusade was preached and over two decades after the

---

<sup>50</sup> Indeed, the use of the category of 'trauma' poses some historical problems, given its invention as a psychological category only in the nineteenth century. See Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Politics of Victimhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

armies of Saladin captured the holy city of Jerusalem, crusading was still thought to be an appropriate instrument of Christian expansion. But the foundational principles of crusading still needed constant reiteration to new crusaders and those, like himself, who motivated those soldiers through preaching, as Jacques's letters illustrate. Indeed, at this particular historical moment when crusading was becoming more and more diverse in target and in purpose, the vision of what a truly successful and righteous crusade ought to be was even more important to communicate. Jacques lived in a world where crusades had been recently called against heretics, where the controversial diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople was still within living memory (indeed, some Fifth Crusade participants had also fought on that crusade), and where the city of Jerusalem seemed to drift further and further away from Christian possession. In this environment of dramatic change to the locations and targets of crusading, together with increasing urgency to recover the holy city, it is little wonder that a preacher steeped in the traditions of religious reform found it necessary to articulate – perhaps to himself as much as to those who read or heard his letters – just what the crusade had now become and what its promise remained.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 3

# Married Noblewomen as Diplomats: Affective Diplomacy

Tracy Adams

Intermarriage, or endogamy, was central to diplomacy among European ruling dynasties, from the Middle Ages into the modern era. The practice has always been ‘characteristic of the most stable societies, being both cause and effect of their stability’, according to anthropologists and historians of marriage, and, if by stability we mean longevity, European ruling dynasties were stable, retaining their status as an elite caste into the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> And yet, Erasmus, an eyewitness, claimed that dynastic intermarriage was more often a source of social disorder than order, that ‘by alliances of this sort the sway of princes is perhaps increased, but the affairs of their people are weakened and shattered’, and experience shows that the practice not only failed to prevent but sometimes even caused strife.<sup>2</sup> If peace was a pretext, what was at stake? Assertion and confirmation of power, argue some historians. Within the rigidly hierarchical culture of late medieval and early modern Europe, families closely matched in ‘socio-professional status and degree of wealth’ fought for the upper hand, no matter how slight.<sup>3</sup>

Dynastic strategies involving intermarriage have attracted a good deal of scholarly attention in recent years.<sup>4</sup> However, the role of the bride in the game,

---

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Zonabend, ‘An Anthropological Perspective on Kinship and Family’, in *A History of the Family*, eds André Burguière, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Martine Segalen, and Françoise Zonabend, 2 vols (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), I, 26; André Burguière and François Lebrun, ‘The One Hundred and One Families of Europe’, in Burguière et al., *A History of the Family*, II, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester K. Born (1936; rept. New York: Octagon, 1963), 243. As for strife, the War of the Spanish Succession is an example of conflict that arose out of intermarriage.

<sup>3</sup> Burguière and Lebrun, ‘One Hundred and One Families of Europe’, 91–2.

<sup>4</sup> Lucien Bély, *La Société des princes: XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 17. See also Heinz Duchhardt, ‘The Dynastic Marriage’ (2011), in the Institute of European History’s European History Online, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/duchhardth-2010-en> [accessed 1 July 2014]; and Fanny Cosandey, *La Reine de France: symbole et pouvoir XV–XVIII siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 65–82. Also on dynastic marriage in early modern Europe,

beyond her status as currency, remains relatively little studied. It may be true that 'the house which took a wife would indicate its superiority over the house which gave her'.<sup>5</sup> Still, despite, or perhaps because of, the bride's position of relative inferiority, she could be a diplomatic asset for her family, helping to order a new affective community supportive of their interests. In what follows, I examine the political activity of three such brides, Marguerite of Austria (1480–1530), Louise of Savoy (1476–1531), and Anne of Brittany (1477–1514). Marguerite, as the wife of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, tried to give her father, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, an advantage over the French; Louise, asserting control over the education of her son François, heir to the French throne, set in action a campaign to oust the officer appointed by the king to watch over the boy; Anne, as Queen of France, tried to keep her Duchy of Brittany independent of France by promoting the marriage of her daughter Claude to Philip of Austria, heir to the Holy Roman Empire, instead of François, the match favoured by the king.

To secure their families' goals, the three women deployed affective strategies. However, because the emotional labour necessary to realise action from a position of interiority is also associated with traditional female roles within the family and household, in a positive sense, and, in a negative sense, clerly ideologies of women, their behaviour often has been overlooked or, conversely, characterised as meddling or scheming. And yet, a woman's meddling is the diplomat's ability to triangulate effectively while her scheming is the equivalent of the diplomat's projecting an affable expression and anticipating his opponent's moves. Indeed, the emotional manipulation that was the hallmark of the diplomat's trade from the early fifteenth century to the present day was the means by which married women carried out politics on behalf of their families. I begin by foregrounding the diplomatic orientation of a small work written by Anne of France, with whom Marguerite, Louise, and Anne were all intimately acquainted. Unofficial regent, along with her husband Duke Pierre of Bourbon from 1484–92, for her brother, King Charles VIII of France, Madame, as she is respectfully called in contemporary documents, lays out instructions for political intervention in the *Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne*,

---

see John Watkins, 'Marriage à la Mode 1559: Elizabeth I, Elisabeth de Valois, and the Changing Patterns of Diplomatic Marriage', in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 76–97; Geneviève Ribordy, 'The Two Paths to Marriage: The Preliminaries of Noble Marriage in Late Medieval France', *Journal of Family History* 26 (2001): 323–36; Johannes Paulmann, *Pomp und Politik: Monarchenbegegnungen in Europa zwischen Ancien Régime und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2000); Paula Sutter Fichtner, 'Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *American Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (1976): 243–65.

<sup>5</sup> Burguière and Lebrun, 'One Hundred and One Families of Europe', 92.

à sa fille *Suzanne de Bourbon*, composed around 1505.<sup>6</sup> Examined alongside ambassadors' guides for the same period, Madame's work begins to look like a handbook for diplomacy for married noblewomen.

### Anne of France, Mentor

Madame commissioned several works that identify her with St Anne, mother and teacher of the Virgin and thus an important figure for female mentoring.<sup>7</sup> Insight into the diplomatic style that she passed onto her charges can be gleaned from the *Enseignements*, the guidebook that she composed for her daughter Suzanne, heir to the Duchy of Bourbon, after the death of the Duke of Bourbon in 1503 but before Suzanne's marriage to her second cousin, Charles of Bourbon-Montpensier, in 1505.<sup>8</sup> Aware that death was always lurking, Madame worried that without her, Suzanne would have a hard time holding on to her father's territories, disputed by her male relatives and, potentially, by the crown.<sup>9</sup> But King Louis XII allowed Suzanne to break her engagement to Charles of Alençon to marry Charles of Bourbon-Montpensier, a marriage through which Charles, himself a claimant of Suzanne's territories, and Suzanne joined forces for peace.

---

<sup>6</sup> Anne of France, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*, ed. Martial-Alphonse Chazaud (Moulins: Desroziers, 1878). This work has been re-edited by Eliane Viennot, *Enseignements à sa fille. Histoire du siège de Brest* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2006). All references to the *Enseignements* and the *Histoire du siège de Brest* and pages numbers are to Viennot's edition unless otherwise specified. Translations are the author's own.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth L'Estrange amasses the iconographical evidence for Anne of France's identification of herself with St Anne in 'St. Anne et le mécénat d'Anne de France', in *Patronnes et mécènes en France à la Renaissance*, eds Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier and Eugénie Pascal (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2007), 135–54. Regarding the girls Madame mentored, although accounts that would reveal exactly how many girls passed time at her court no longer exist, in addition to her three most illustrious charges, Marguerite of Austria, Louise of Savoy, and Anne of Brittany, Charlotte of Aragon, possibly Diane of Poitiers, and Louise of Bourbon, all lived at her side at one time or another.

<sup>8</sup> See Chazaud's introduction, vii. The manuscript, lost, was rediscovered in 1878 by Martial-Alphonse Chazaud in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg before vanishing definitively in the 1930s. Chazaud published an edition that includes engravings of the miniatures, copied by Mathurin Louis Armand Queyroy. On the political style of the *Enseignements*, see Eliane Viennot, 'La Transmission du savoir-faire politique entre femmes, d'Anne de France à Marguerite de Valois', *La Transmission du savoir dans l'Europe des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, ed. Marie Miranda (Paris: Champion, 2000), 93; and Sharon Jansen, trans. with intro, *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 80.

<sup>9</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 37.

Diplomacy was still a fluid profession in the fifteenth century, conducted by a wide variety of figures.<sup>10</sup> Although few guides for diplomats exist from that time, the two best known, Bernard du Rosier's *Ambaxiator Brevilogus* (1436) and Ermolao Barbaro's *De Officio Legati* (c. 1490), share at least three important features with the *Enseignements*: all are very concise; none detail in any practical sense how to conduct diplomacy, insisting rather on the importance of personal morality and prudence; and each emphasises the importance of the effective performance of one's own emotions in order to manipulate those of one's interlocutors.

Of Rosier's 30 chapters, none is dedicated to the practicalities of negotiation. After describing what an ambassador is in chapter one, he moves quickly in chapter two to 'the quality and morals of ambassadors'. Although Rosier's ambassador is necessarily male, the qualities discouraged and stressed recall guides to female comportment. Ambassadors should not be 'conceited, tyrannical, dishonest, annoying, angry, spiteful, reckless', among other things; rather, they should be 'honest, humble, modest, tempered, discreet, good, truthful, sober, just and pious, generous, prudent'.<sup>11</sup> Although morality forms the basis of effective diplomacy, equally important is the ambassador's self-presentation; his inner qualities are known only when he enacts them. The only means by which the prudent mind, the *animus prudens*, shows itself is through erudite language.<sup>12</sup> The importance of morality becomes clear when Rosier explains that in addition to his speech, an ambassador must carefully control the emotions that he shows. He should not reveal personal feelings about his own confusion to strangers whose earlier opinion of them was positive; rather, he should 'let outrage yield to friendliness, impetuosity to wisdom, rigidity to adaptability and curtness to approachability'. As Rosier concludes, 'The appearance of envoys must remain distinguished and unmoved to those whose responses are less pleasant or negative, so that their

---

<sup>10</sup> See John Watkins's introduction to *Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, his special issue of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 1–14. The classic histories of early modern diplomacy are Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955); and René de Maulde la Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, 3 vols (1892–93; rept. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970). More recently, see Daniel Ménager, *Diplomatie et théologie à la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001); Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Françoise Autrand, Lucien Bély, Philippe Contamine, and Thierry Lentz, *Histoire de la diplomatie française: du moyen-âge à l'Empire* (Paris: Perrin, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Bernard du Rosier (Bernardus de Rosergio), *Ambaxiator Brevilogus*, and Ermolao Barbaro, *De Officio Legati*. Both appear in *De Legatis et Legationibus Tractatus Varii*, ed. Vladimir E. Hrabar (Dorpat: C. Matthesen, 1906), 3–28 and 65–79. Barbaro's treatise has also been edited, along with his *De Coelibatu*, by Vittore Branca (Florence: Olshcki, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> Rosier, *Ambaxiator Brevilogus*, 15.

sight remains on the future and better times'.<sup>13</sup> In emphasising morality, Rosier deflects in advance any potential anxiety about the deception that was inevitably part of the ambassador's trade.

Barbaro's guide, written for the newly emerging class of resident ambassadors, emphasises the same qualities that we have just seen. Ambassadors are to be chosen because they surpass others through their clemency, modesty, and honesty.<sup>14</sup> Like Rosier, Barbaro does not detail how to negotiate, explaining that although he could offer precepts, more important to the ambassador is his prudence: experience (occasion and daring) will give much advice that can in no way be completely understood with regard to precepts.<sup>15</sup> Prudence is the capacity to deal effectively with particular situations. As for emotional control, Barbaro too stresses that the ambassador must know how to 'observe everything, not furtively, in the manner of thieves, but simply and openly, by steps and as if through perception, not with noise, but silence'.<sup>16</sup>

Madame's *Enseignements* begins, too, in the moral realm, although she takes as her model the openings of Louis IX's instructions for his daughter Isabelle and Christine de Pizan's the *Livre des trois vertus*, both of which command the reader to love God with all her heart.<sup>17</sup> However, comparing the *Enseignements* with Rosier's and Barbaro's guides reveals the work's diplomatic orientation. Madame's text turns to the court in chapters seven and eight. Chapter seven contains the injunction, common to diplomatic guides, to take in all while revealing nothing: 'Wise men say that you should have eyes to notice everything yet to see nothing, ears to hear everything yet to know nothing, and a tongue to answer everyone yet to say nothing prejudicial to anyone'.<sup>18</sup> Chapter eight

<sup>13</sup> Rosier, *Ambaxiator Brevilogus*, 20: 'aspectus'.

<sup>14</sup> Barbaro, *De Officio Legati*, 70.

<sup>15</sup> Barbaro, *De Officio Legati*, 65: 'occasio', 'temeritas', 'consilia'.

<sup>16</sup> Barbaro, *De Officio Legati*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> For Louis IX's instructions, see Chazaud's edition, xx–xxvii; Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, eds Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989). The *Trois vertus*, with several other of Christine's works, was present in Anne's library. See Chazaud's edition, 242. On the circulation of the *Trois vertus*, see Charity Cannon Willard, 'Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan', in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City*, ed. Glenda McLeod (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991), 59–70; and Charity Cannon Willard, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des trois Vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 11 (1966): 433–44, at 433–4.

<sup>18</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 45–6: 'et disent les sages qu'on doit avoir yeux pour toutes choses regarder et rien voir, oreilles pour tout ouïr et rien savoir, langue pour répondre à chacun sans dire mot qui nul puisse être en rien préjudiciable'.

advises girls to be 'humble' as well as 'douce [sweet], courtoise et amiable' to all,<sup>19</sup> once again mirroring the advice offered by Rosier and Barbaro.

With chapters 11–19 the text turns to the lead up to marriage and then married life. Chapter 11 suggests, like both Rosier and Barbaro, that the reader show virtue in order to be loved by all.<sup>20</sup> Above all, she should flee dishonest love.<sup>21</sup> Chapters 12–16 reveal the importance to the reader's family of her impeccable reputation: the ability to make an honourable marriage. Chapters 14–16 lay the basis for promoting the reader's family's interests: if she marries someone great she should not be proud but keep in mind constantly the great responsibilities that come with a high position.<sup>22</sup> Chapter 15 reminds her of the importance of rank. She should obey her husband and honour his family to the degree that their rank requires.<sup>23</sup> Following this reference to the girl's married family is one to her birth family: no matter how far up the social scale she moves through marriage, to think herself above her own family would be to behave like Lucifer.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, Madame stresses in chapter 16, a girl must insist on the precedence due her.<sup>25</sup> The delicate balance between recognising the claims of one's own side and those of the other, along with the respecting precedence, was crucial to negotiation.

As mistress, the young woman learns in chapter 17, she must safeguard her good reputation by appearing virtuous and prudent, and, no matter how badly she might be treated, she must never let herself be surprised into dropping her guard.<sup>26</sup> Chapter 18 tells her how to treat her household. Chapter 19 places her in the midst of those with whom she will be negotiating. She must make herself beloved by her husband's seigneurs and friends. This will please her husband and also protect her own reputation by keeping her from blame for any of her husband's foolish deeds. She should cultivate these friends, covering up for them as necessary.<sup>27</sup>

Madame composes, like Rosier and Barbaro, a very general rather than practical work. However, she brings its political significance to life in the novella that follows the *Enseignements*, the *Histoire du siège de Brest*, referred to in the manuscript as the 'example of the Dame de Châtel'.<sup>28</sup> The formal construction of instructions followed by an *exemplum* recalls the enactment of prudence, that

<sup>19</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 46.

<sup>20</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 49–50.

<sup>21</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 50.

<sup>22</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 57.

<sup>23</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 58: 'selon son degré'.

<sup>24</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 58.

<sup>25</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 60–61: 'garder votre droit'.

<sup>26</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 62: 'si vous montrez'.

<sup>27</sup> Anne of France, *Enseignements*, 70–71: 'acquérir l'amour de ...'

<sup>28</sup> See Chazaud's edition, 133.

capacity for applying general knowledge practically, to contingent matters, the importance of which Rosier and Barbaro emphasise. Where practical experience cannot be had in advance, theoreticians of prudence from Aristotle to modern law professors have argued that the quality must be taught through analogy; that is, case study.<sup>29</sup>

It is significant that Madame chose as her *exemplum* a married woman integrally involved in saving the honour of her husband and town by means of emotion. The story, which tells of a historical siege recorded by Froissart and fictionalised by Antoine de la Sale, foregrounds the loving relationship between husband and wife with its manuscript introduction that the Dame du Châtel was 'so constant and virtuous that to relieve the sorrows of her husband and comfort him and also to save his honour, she abandoned her true and natural love for her son.'<sup>30</sup> The siege in question was imposed on the town of Brest by the Prince of Wales. When the inhabitants realise that they will starve to death before provisions sent by the King of France arrive, they cut a deal with the Prince, offering him the 13-year-old son of the Capitaine and Dame du Châtel to be held hostage until they surrender the town. Provisions arrive; the inhabitants decide to fight on, but the Prince treacherously refuses to return the boy. A dilemma arises: should the Capitaine surrender the town in exchange for his son, exposing himself and the townspeople to shame, or let the Prince execute the boy? The Dame du Châtel overcomes her maternal love to recall her husband to his duty. Family honour must come before love for one's children, as she powerfully demonstrates through her own emotional rectitude: the loss of a son being harder for a mother than a father, her sacrifice is all the more exemplary.

Scholars have remarked that the marital relationship that Madame privileges here was at odds with her own. As regent she has been imagined to run the government alone, relegating the dull Duke of Bourbon to the sidelines. This assessment of Madame as the stronger member of the Bourbon pair, however, is an interpretation filtered through the opinion of Brantôme. After describing Madame's salient characteristics negatively (she was an 'acute and ruseful woman') and calling her a hypocrite, he writes about Pierre that his wife 'ruled him and knew well how to lead, so much so that he was often stupidly miffed, nonetheless, the Council ignored him and requested financial accounts from her'.<sup>31</sup>

This assessment led to the modern idea that Madame's father King Louis XI chose Pierre as her husband because he was weak enough to be easily

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, J. Allan Mitchell, *Ethics and Exemplary Narrative in Chaucer and Gower* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004).

<sup>30</sup> See Chazaud's edition, 135.

<sup>31</sup> Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne, 11 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1864–82), VIII, 99; 102: 'fine femme et delliée'.

manipulated. But corroborative evidence that Madame dominated Pierre is difficult to find.<sup>32</sup> The context for Pierre's own political action was the regency of Charles VIII, Louis XI's son and Anne's brother. When Louis XI died he left Pierre and Madame as guardians of the 13-year-old king, who was threatened by the heir presumptive, his cousin Louis of Orleans, later King Louis XII. Normally guardianship (at that moment tantamount to regency) would have gone to the queen mother, Charlotte of Savoy, who died just months after her husband, or Louis of Orleans, the closest male heir to the throne. Because there was no precedent for appointing Pierre and Madame as regents, Louis XI left their appointment unofficial but required his son swear to obey them as he would the king himself. The Estates General confirmed their guardianship. As the link, however tenuous, to legitimacy, Madame typically is mentioned in connection with government of the kingdom, adding to the impression of her preponderance. But once Charles VIII had asserted his own rule and could name his regent during his campaigns in Italy, he left Pierre, not Madame, as 'Lieutenant du Roy avec tout plein pouvoir de besogner en tous affaires'.<sup>33</sup> Pierre was greatly respected by contemporaries, with chronicler Jean d'Auton devoting several pages to his funeral.<sup>34</sup> Jean Lemaire de Belges, too, wrote a panegyric in allegorical form on the occasion of his death.<sup>35</sup> Pierre's prudence is lauded in the long allegorical poem, 'Le Séjour d'honneur', by Octavien de Saint-Gelais, where Madame, another Semiramis and new queen of the Amazons, nonetheless follows her husband, that 'prudent prince doubté'.<sup>36</sup> Madame, like the Dame du Châtel, asserted her will diplomatically enough to have escaped condemnation during her lifetime, working politically through her marriage to the Duke of Bourbon.

---

<sup>32</sup> On this point, see Jean-François Lassalmonie, 'Anne de France, dame de Beaujeu. Un modèle féminin d'exercice du pouvoir dans la France de la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance*, eds Eric Bousmar, Jonathan Dumont, Alain Marchandisse, and Bertrand Schnerb (Bruxelles: De Boeck, 2012), 129–46.

<sup>33</sup> Jean de Saint Gelais, *Louis XII: Roy de France, père du peuple*, ed. Théodore Godefroy (Paris: Pacard, 1622), 80.

<sup>34</sup> Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. René de Maulde La Clavière, 4 vols (Paris: H. Laurens, 1889–95), III, 245–9.

<sup>35</sup> Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, ed. Henri Hornik (Geneva: Droz, 1957).

<sup>36</sup> Octavien de Saint-Gelais, *Le Séjour d'honneur*, ed. and intro. Frédéric Duval (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 256.

## Marriage and Diplomacy

Although Marguerite of Austria would achieve her greatest fame as regent of the Netherlands for her nephew, Charles (later Holy Roman Emperor), she began her political career during her third marriage, when as the wife of Duke Philibert of Savoy she brought the duchy into line with the anti-French politics of her father Maximilian, Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>37</sup> The father and daughter had reason to resent the French.<sup>38</sup> In 1483, as the two-year-old bride of the dauphin, later Charles VIII, she had arrived at Madame's court in Amboise, the embodiment of the Treaty of Arras. During his last years, Louis XI had settled his kingdom's relationship with Burgundy, which he claimed should revert to the crown after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 because the duke's female heir Marie was ineligible to inherit the enormous appanage.<sup>39</sup> Marie's marriage that same year to Maximilian, then Habsburg archduke, kept her territories intact until her own death in 1482, when Maximilian was forced to marry Marguerite to the heir to the French throne with the county of Burgundy as her dowry. Even worse was that Charles VIII renounced Marguerite in favour of Duchess Anne of Brittany in 1491, a renunciation all the more stinging because Maximilian had himself married Anne of Brittany by proxy; the French rejected him and his daughter in one blow.

They had yet more reason to dislike the French.<sup>40</sup> In 1494, Maximilian attempted to spread his influence into Italy, marrying Bianca Maria Sforza, daughter of the Duke of Milan. The French attack on Italy by King Charles VIII in 1495 halted him. In response, Maximilian formed the Holy League of 1495 against Charles VIII and forced the king out of Italy. Although Charles VIII died in 1498, King Louis XII of France renewed the claim to Milan of his Orleans grandparents: in 1447, his father, Charles of Orleans, had attempted to capture Milan but was driven back by Francesco Sforza in 1450. Thus, Marguerite's

---

<sup>37</sup> In fact, Maximilian became Holy Roman Emperor only in 1508. On Maximilian, see Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459–1519): An Analytical Biography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Volume I: Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 67–80; and Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1971).

<sup>38</sup> On Marguerite's early life, see Max Bruchet, *Marguerite D'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie* (Lille: Daniel, 1927), 7–20. Pauline Matarasso tells the story of the intertwining lives of Anne of France, Marguerite of Austria, Louise of Savoy, and Anne of Brittany in *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> For what follows, see Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, I, 112–21; 232–6.

<sup>40</sup> For what follows, see Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, III, 363–73. On the marriage of Maximilian and Bianca Sforza see Benecke, *Maximilian I*, 94–111.

third marriage to Duke Philibert of Savoy, brother of Louise of Savoy, was an opportunity to help her father support the Sforza against the Valois-Orleans. Savoy, critically situated between France and the Duchy of Milan, was the gateway to Italy. However, it had long been allied with France: Philibert and Louise had been raised by Madame; Philip of Bresse, Philibert's father, had followed the late king Charles VIII of France to Italy; Philibert received an annuity from the King of France, Louis XII, for having signed a treaty allowing the French passage through the duchy on the way to Milan; François, heir apparent to the French throne, was Philibert's nephew.<sup>41</sup>

However, as Maximilian would have known, Savoy was in fact governed by Philibert's half-brother, René the 'bastard of Savoy', also the head of the pro-French faction at the court of Savoy.<sup>42</sup> After her wedding in December 1501, Marguerite managed to turn the duke against his brother, so that within months René fled to France under charges of corruption, understood by modern scholars to have been trumped up: he was accused of negotiating with Bern, Fribourg, and Soleure regarding mercenaries to the detriment of Savoy.<sup>43</sup> This left Marguerite in control of the duchy that Philibert had previously left to his brother. Some historians have attributed Marguerite's move against René to her hatred towards the French because of her rejection at the hands of Charles VIII, others to her own ambition. In any case, the rapidity of the fall and its obvious compatibility with Maximilian's goals demonstrates prior collusion with Maximilian, whose success at expanding the Habsburg empire lay at the origin of the slogan 'Tu felix Austria nube'.<sup>44</sup>

Contemporary chroniclers agree that Philibert quickly developed a deep attachment to his wife who with the support of the 'envious' persuaded him to chase his brother from the court. The chronicle of François Bonivard, explaining that marriage halts the 'flightiest' beasts, recounts that Marguerite solicited Philibert daily to take control of his own affairs. René soon noticed that Philibert and his wife did not want him around; Philibert agreed and sent him on his way.<sup>45</sup> Jean d'Auton's chronicle of Louis XII recounts that René was forced to flee from court because of 'the antagonism of the duke and the accusation of some people who hated him'.<sup>46</sup> King Louis XII, visiting the

---

<sup>41</sup> Jane de Jongh, *Margaret of Austria: Regent of the Netherlands*, trans. M.D. Herter Norton (New York: Norton, 1953), 112.

<sup>42</sup> de Jongh, *Margaret of Austria*, 112; Bruchet, *Marguerite de Savoie*, 37–41.

<sup>43</sup> Bruchet, *Marguerite de Savoie*, 39. For a defence of René, see Henri de Panisse-Passis, *Les Comtes de Tende la maison de Savoie* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1889), 3–42.

<sup>44</sup> Bély, *La Société des princes*, 166–9. While other empires expanded through conquest, the Habsburg worked peacefully, through marriage, is the claim.

<sup>45</sup> François Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, ed. Gustave Revilliod, 2 vols (Geneva: Fick, 1867), I, 291–94: 'plus legieres'.

<sup>46</sup> Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, II, 243.

Savoyard court in Grenoble, was accosted by the newly disgraced René and forced to witness a fight between the half-brothers. The French king granted René a place in his household, and Philibert returned to Chambery, where his wife was, the chronicler makes a point of adding, René's exile created bad blood between the Savoyards and the French. A year later, Jean d'Auton reports, Louis XII deliberately avoided crossing Savoy on his way back to France from Italy, taking a route through the Dauphiné instead, commanding that the roads be cleaned and broadened, a job requiring the effort of 50,000 peasants.<sup>47</sup> In 1503, Marguerite persuaded Philibert to revoke his act legitimating René. Maximilian, as ultimate lord of Savoy, backed the revocation of the legitimation that he had personally awarded earlier under different circumstances.

In antagonising the French, Marguerite rejected the politics of her pro-French brother Philip, Archduke of the Netherlands, in favour of her father's.<sup>48</sup> Any strain this might have caused in the relationship between brother and sister was minimised, however, by Marguerite's short tenure. She ruled Savoy for just three years, surrounded by an intimate circle of a few excellent advisers and, as Jane de Iongh notes, because she personally knew all of the major players in European politics – Maximilian, Louis XII, her brother Philip, and Ferdinand – she had the advantage of understanding how they thought.<sup>49</sup> But Philibert died suddenly in September 1504, and Marguerite was called home to Flanders when her brother died two years later, leaving the six-year-old Charles, future Charles V, as his heir. En route, Margaret spent nearly three months at her father's court in Germany. They decided that she would reside in Malines, from where she would act as guardian and regent for Charles.

Unfortunately, the details of how Marguerite worked her influence are sparse. How Louise of Savoy and Anne of Brittany brought down Pierre de Rohan, sire de Gié, Maréchal of France, one of the king's closest advisors, however, is well documented, thanks to extensive records of the trial that the women helped bring about.<sup>50</sup> Madame had married the 11-year-old Louise to Charles of Angoulême, whose parentage placed him at odds with Madame (he was the first cousin of Louis of Orleans, future Louis XII, who claimed, as we have seen, the regency of Charles VIII against Madame). The marriage brought Charles to Madame's side. Widowed well before the age of 20, Louise directed the education of her son François of Angoulême, heir to the throne as of 1498, following the unexpected death of Charles VIII. As for Anne's marriage, as we have seen, when the addition of the Duchy of Brittany to the French crown became more important than

<sup>47</sup> Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 89–90.

<sup>48</sup> de Iongh, *Margaret of Austria*, 107, 111–12.

<sup>49</sup> de Iongh, *Margaret of Austria*, 120.

<sup>50</sup> The documents have been edited by René de Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures politiques du règne de Louis XII* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1885).

Marguerite's dowry, the young king had been married to the duchess instead. Anne resisted the French conquest of Brittany led by Madame from 1487–91, when the Bretons surrendered at Rennes; only when Anne had no other option did she agree to the marriage.<sup>51</sup> After the death of her father Duke François II of Brittany in 1488, her court had divided over the issue of her marriage, with Maximilian as Anne's own choice. As noted above, she was married by proxy to Maximilian, but he failed to come to Brittany's rescue, and, with 'no army, no money, no help to be expected from outside', she was forced to accept Charles VIII's proposal, also agreeing to marry the next king of France, should Charles VIII predecease her.<sup>52</sup> As Charles VIII's queen, she was not permitted to use the title 'Duchess of Brittany', and the king ruled the duchy through a governor. However, their marriage contract stipulated that if Charles VIII died without an heir Brittany would revert to Anne.<sup>53</sup>

When Louis XII succeeded, he was prevented from immediately marrying Anne by his marriage to Jeanne, the late king's sister, although he claimed never to have consummated the marriage and was eventually granted an annulment. Given the irregularity of the situation, Anne legitimately might have refused. But as the more sought after of the pair and thus in a stronger position than during her first marriage, she pressed her advantage, demanding that if she predeceased the king that Brittany would retain its independence and pass to her closest relative rather than reverting to the French crown.<sup>54</sup> The marriage produced two girls, and Brittany went to the elder, Claude. Anne campaigned fiercely to marry Claude to Charles, heir to the Holy Roman Emperor, Marguerite's nephew, which is to say, to keep Brittany independent of France.

<sup>51</sup> Paul Pélicier, *Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu 1483–1491* (Chartres: Imprimerie Edouard Garnier, 1882), 25–186; John S.C. Bridge, *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press), I, 173–219.

<sup>52</sup> Pélicier, *Essai sur le gouvernement*, 181. The contract is printed in Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire civile et ecclésiastique de Bretagne*, 3 vols (Paris: Éditions du Palais-Royal, 1974), III, 715–18. The requirement that Anne marry the next king of France generally is believed to have sprung from the French. And yet, given the Bretons' position of inferiority to the French and the relative advantages that the political union offered, it was only to Anne's advantage that she marry the next king of France, should the case arise.

<sup>53</sup> See Michel Nassiet, 'Les Traités de mariage d'Anne de Bretagne', in *Pour en finir avec Anne de Bretagne?*, ed. Dominique Le Page (Nantes: Conseil Général de Loire-Atlantique, 2004), 71–81.

<sup>54</sup> Denis-François Secousse, Eusèbe de Laurière, Louis Georges Oudard Feudrix de Vilevault de Bréquigny, and Emmanuel Pastoret, eds, *Les ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, 21 vols (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1723–1849), XXI, 149, item 5. Robert W. Scheller ('Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XI', *Simiolus* 13, no. 2 (1983): 75–141, at 84–7) shows that the shift in Anne's position is reflected in coins struck at the time.

The women's conflicting desires, Louise hoping that Anne would not produce a son and Anne hoping just the opposite, made for an uneasy relationship. Still, they both wished to be rid of Gié, for different reasons. A Breton, who, unlike the queen, strongly desired unification with France, he was Anne's chief opponent in the marriage campaign. Louise detested Gié for reasons of family: he interfered with her guardianship of her son. Widowed in 1496, she had been awarded guardianship of her two children, even though she had not reached the age of majority, 25. But when François of Angoulême became heir apparent, Louise's guardianship was scrutinised. She and the children were summoned, eventually to Amboise, and put under Gié's surveillance.

The political manoeuvre that I would like to consider arose from this situation and features both women successfully manipulating emotions to achieve political goals. Some furtive machinations on the part of Gié when the king fell dangerously ill (and was expected to die) in the spring of 1504 gave the women the chance that they needed to act against him. Assuming that Anne would try to circumvent the marriage between François and Claude by fleeing to Brittany when the king died, Gié had his own mobile goods moved to Angers as his base of operation.<sup>55</sup> The queen appears to have begun a private investigation of his movements and discovered his plans. At the same time, Louise was alerted to Gié's secrets by the man himself. Despite her resentment, she had been cultivating Gié, presenting him with an unfailingly pleasant countenance. A group of eyewitnesses testify that when he visited Amboise, Louise showed him signs of friendship and familiarity.<sup>56</sup> One witness had observed Louise and Gié speaking together alone in a familiar manner many times.

Their intimacy encouraged him to confide his secrets in her, and, when the opportunity arose, Louise strategically arranged for the revelation of those secrets, according to the stunned Gié's own later testimony.<sup>57</sup> Louis XII had surprised all by recovering, and, during the Easter season, Louise made her move. Taking advantage of the king's recovery, Louise sent one of her household officers, Pierre de Pontbriant, ostensibly to pay respects. In fact, Pontbriant betrayed several confidences calculated to anger the queen.<sup>58</sup> The secrets were that Gié planned to prevent Queen Anne from leaving Paris for Brittany with Claude when the king died; Gié did not fear the queen, the Bretons did not much like the queen, and the queen did not like Louise; Louis XII suffered from a serious and secret illness; Gié suspected that when the king died Madame and Pierre of Bourbon would try to seize François, marry him to Suzanne, and take

<sup>55</sup> Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 213, n. 11.

<sup>56</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, 357, the deposition of Jean de la Rue: 'faisoit tres bonne chere ... luy a monstre signe d'amytié et familiarité'.

<sup>57</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, 147–8.

<sup>58</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, lxxvi.

over regency of the kingdom again.<sup>59</sup> Louise's plot worked. The shocked king passed the news along to his other most valued advisor, the Cardinal d'Amboise, who, already jealous of Gié, turned on him.<sup>60</sup>

When the queen became aware of Gié's secrets, she too waited for just the right moment to bring down her nemesis, working, like Louise, through others. As queen, she had always had the luxury of subtly revealing her distaste for Gié. Nevertheless, as Gié would later be reported to have boasted, he had never feared the queen because the king protected him from her.<sup>61</sup> But when Louise set Gié's downfall in motion, Anne got her revenge. Initially Gié denied all that Pontbriant had revealed, and the king appeared ready to let the matter drop. However, the furious queen sent a group of her household led by Pontbriant to cross paths with the king 'by chance' and renew the accusations.<sup>62</sup> A growing group of accusers joined in, crying treason. Eventually Gié was forced to stand trial before the Grand Conseil in November 1504. When the trial got underway, the queen expended an astounding amount of energy in tracking down witnesses to testify against Gié. René de Maulde la Clavière, editor of the depositions that form the basis of our knowledge of the affair, includes over 30 pages of disbursements paid out by the queen's treasurer to cover expenses related to the searches.<sup>63</sup> Gié was finally sentenced in 1506: he was heavily fined, stripped of his official duties and exiled for five years. He never returned to service, dying in 1513.

Maulde la Clavière depicts Louise and the queen as intriguers meddling in the serious business of men. The queen was motivated by an obstinacy and pride a thousand times more frightening than the tricks of Louise, according to Maulde la Clavière.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the scholar took for granted a long teleological tradition of royal absolutism that saw any resistance to centralisation (for example, Anne's desire to keep her duchy free) as 'unpatriotic'. Not surprisingly, he characterises Anne's desire to keep Brittany independent as her 'designs' on the duchy.<sup>65</sup> However, I believe that the depositions tell a more nuanced story. The two women deployed effective emotional strategies appropriate to their different ranks to achieve together, diplomatically, what they lacked the force to accomplish separately.

---

<sup>59</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, 34, 152.

<sup>60</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, lxxx; lxxxv.

<sup>61</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, 162.

<sup>62</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, xc–xci.

<sup>63</sup> See Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 216; Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, 557–91.

<sup>64</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, lxxxix–xc: 'astuces'.

<sup>65</sup> Maulde la Clavière, *Procédures*, lxxv, n. 6.

## Conclusion

To return to the lessons of Madame as the women enacted them, their means of action in this system where power rested ultimately with a king was to know their opponent, see his weaknesses, and triangulate. This required a keen sense of psychology and emotional control, what diplomatic guides refer to as 'prudence', as we have seen. The documents pertaining to Gié's trial reveal that all of the king's servants conducted politics in this same manner, reading emotions in gestures and words and showing a pleasant face while ordering events to bring about the desired result.

Louise, who went on to act as regent twice during her son's reign, was one of the most powerful people in France for long stretches. As for Anne, it is true that ultimately she was powerless to bring her family into the order that she wished. As Lucien Bély observes, on this count, Louis XII's 'logic' regarding the kingdom and its future prevailed over the queen's. For Anne, the kingdom was 'familial, feudal, or dynastic', and she envisioned 'a splendid marriage for Claude [with the heir to the Holy Roman Empire]', whereas Louis XII's vision was 'national and sought to defend at all costs the integrity of the territory'.<sup>66</sup> The king was devoted to the queen, and, temporarily ceding to her, he had signed the Treaties of Blois in September 1504, reprising the union between Claude and Charles, although he had not actually intended to honour the agreement: in 1501, he had already secretly agreed to a marriage between Claude and François. In his will of May 1505, he returned definitively to this prior union.<sup>67</sup> At Anne's death, Louis XII passed rule of Brittany to François of Angoulême as Claude's husband, but also stipulated that Renée remain Claude's heir until Claude had children.<sup>68</sup> After Claude's death, however, François I folded Brittany into the French kingdom.

To return to the point with which I began this chapter, Marguerite, Louise, and Anne all ordered, or sought to order, events in ways favourable to their families, manipulating emotions in ways that mimic the advice for diplomacy laid out in guides for ambassadors. They conducted themselves, in other words, like political actors. It is only in reports on their behaviour, from their own times and in the works of more recent historians, that their secretive strategies have been overlooked or disparaged.

---

<sup>66</sup> Bély, *Familles des princes*, 215.

<sup>67</sup> Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, IV, 2, n. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Morice, *Mémoires*, 3, column 925.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 4

# Ordering Distant Affections: Fostering Love and Loyalty in the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici to the Spanish Court, 1568–1572\*

Susan Broomhall

On 3 October 1568, the 23-year-old Catholic Queen of Spain died after the protracted delivery of her third daughter. The death of Elisabeth de Valois, eldest daughter of Henri II of France and Catherine de Medici and third wife of Philip II of Spain, represented a grievous turn of events for the fragile Franco-Spanish alliance. Moreover, it left Catherine's two young granddaughters to be raised at the Spanish court. This chapter explores the correspondence of Catherine de Medici, matriarch of the Valois dynasty, to a network centred around these girls, as she attempted to secure their affections for their mother's Valois kin and loyalties to her natal land of France. The letters, and their gendered grammar, performances, and practices of emotion, were part of a strategy employed by Catherine that sought to secure dynastic alignment between the Habsburgs and Valois, and political stability between their nations; a strategy fostered as much through the women and men in the royal household as by their leading protagonists.

At stake was the continued good order between the two realms, and the courtly households within them.<sup>1</sup> Emotions were critical to the function of this

---

\* This research was supported by an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship (FT130100070).

<sup>1</sup> On the significance of the court as both a form of government and as a household, see Jeroen Duindam, 'Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires', in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, eds Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–23. On gender and politics in courtly households, see Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, eds, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), which includes a chapter on another aspect of Catherine's courtly activities: Una McIlvenna, "A Stable of Whores"?: The "Flying Squadron" of Catherine de Medici', 181–208.

order and women were vital and adept practitioners of such diplomatic work.<sup>2</sup> This chapter thus explores how emotions operated as a form of power in early modern elite diplomatic relations. To do so, I analyse the emotions of Catherine de Medici's correspondence. Catherine employed a rich emotional vocabulary and practice across her letters,<sup>3</sup> and I consider how the use, significance, and impact of expressions of feelings, from specific word usage, grammatical constructions, and phrasing choices, to letter length and the use of handwritten passages, did 'emotion work' to create neutral, positive, or negative tone and achieve certain goals. In addition, I study affective performance; that is, how emotions were employed and suggested by ritual, gesture, and space.<sup>4</sup> Finally, I study practices, such as gift exchange and the commission of art, that were designed to create particular emotional states between participants,<sup>5</sup> shaping their sense of identity

<sup>2</sup> On recognition of women's key diplomatic work of this kind, see Tracy Adams's chapter in this volume, as well as Giulia Calvi and Isabelle Chabot, eds, *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System* (Italy: EUI Working Papers, 2010); and Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> This has been widely recognised in the scholarly literature, if not yet thoroughly analysed as a practice. Katherine Crawford, 'Catherine de Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000): 643–73; Susan Broomhall, "'Women's Little Secrets': Defining the Boundaries of Reproductive Knowledge in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 15 (2002): 1–15; Elizabeth McCartney, 'In the Queen's Words: Perceptions of Regency Government Gleaned from the Correspondence of Catherine de Médicis', in *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700: Form And Persuasion*, eds Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 213–14; Denis Crouzet, *Le haut coeur de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2005); Denis Crouzet, "'A strong desire to be a mother to all your subjects": A Rhetorical Experiment by Catherine de Medici', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 104–18; Susan Broomhall, "'My daughter, my dear": The Correspondence of Catherine de Medici and Elisabeth de Valois', *Women's History Review* 24, no. 4 (2015): 548–69.

<sup>4</sup> These rituals acted as 'status interactions' to define community membership for some while denoting exclusion for others, adopting the term of Giora Sternberg (*Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1), who argues that such rituals were 'symbolic expression[s] of social position', negotiating power, identity, and agency. See also T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Gift giving was vital to elite political culture, as cultural aspects of rule and forms of power. For the anthropological and sociological work that informs these views, see Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre-States in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); and Clifford Geertz, 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983), 121–46; Joëlle Rollo-Koster, ed., *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Jeroen

and sense of inclusion (or exclusion) from specific alignments and affiliations – familial, dynastic, national, confessional, among them.<sup>6</sup> I argue that Catherine’s use and experience of these mechanisms constituted an important expression of power, and power relations, and that these were informed by contemporary understandings of gender.<sup>7</sup>

Reading the exchange of letters surrounding Catherine’s interactions with the court in Spain under Philip II reveals that her emotional practices, performances, and language shifted in response to the different political and social contexts of her recipients. France and Spain, Valois and Habsburg, shared a complicated recent past. Until 1559, the two nations had been intermittently at war, leading to the shameful captivity in Spain of the French king François I, and then that of his two sons, François and Henri. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 saw an official end to the conflict, and the treaty was sealed by the marriage of Philip and 14-year-old Elisabeth.<sup>8</sup> However, celebrations for the peace were marred by the accidental death of Henri II while jousting, which shifted France to a subordinate role as first one young son, François II, and then another, Charles IX, assumed the crown in rapid succession. Catherine, though, saw her political fortunes rise at the accession of her second son to the throne, acting as his regent for several years until his majority. In this capacity, Catherine engaged firmly and often with the powerful Spanish royal couple, if not always successfully, on the subject of French political interests.<sup>9</sup> Catherine’s letters were of course only one part of a vast network of correspondence between the two countries,

---

Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Laurie Postlewaite and Wim Hüskén, eds, *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> See Joanna Bourke, ‘Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History’, *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 111–33, at 125; and Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), and her essay on the role of objects in creating affective alignments between people: Sara Ahmed, ‘Happy Objects’, in *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> This study forms part of my wider research Australian Research Council project, ‘Emotions, Power and the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici’.

<sup>8</sup> See John Watkins, ‘Marriage à la Mode 1559: Elizabeth I, Elisabeth de Valois, and the Changing Patterns of Diplomatic Marriage’, in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 76–97.

<sup>9</sup> For this period, classic analyses include J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963); Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society in Conflict* (London: Longman, 1983); Geoffrey Parker, *Philip II* (London: Penguin, 1979); and particularly, the recent comprehensive work of Valentín Vázquez de Prada, *Felipe II y Francia (1559–1598): política, religión y razón de estado* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2004) and Bertrand Haan’s pertinently titled *Lamitié entre princes: Une alliances franco-espagnole au temps des*

along with those of her son Charles IX and their secretaries and ambassadors. In addition, correspondence naturally implies a dialogue. However, for reasons of space, in this short case study I analyse the French perspective of this interaction, in letters produced by Catherine and in the context of her goals. This should by no means suggest that her correspondents in Spain were not equally capable of developing emotional language designed to manipulate and persuade readers, for these were essential skills required to participate in the carefully nuanced art of epistolary rhetoric and international diplomacy at this period.<sup>10</sup> Here I focus though upon Catherine's letters and their distinctive familial rhetoric that performed vital emotion work in this key diplomatic relationship.<sup>11</sup>

By the late 1560s, Spain was clearly ascendant, internally stable, firmly Catholic, and wealthy from its overseas endeavours, while France was beset by confessional difficulties and plunging ever deeper into civil unrest. Yet the problematic Low Countries gave Spain cause to keep France at close and ostensibly friendly quarters, for a Catholic France would be less likely to provide assistance to rebellious Protestant leaders, such as William of Nassau, to its north, or seek alliances with Elizabeth I in England. At the same time, Catherine's own status was waning; her son had reached his majority and now ruled in his own right. Although Catherine clearly remained a significant presence, she did not retain the same formal role in government. This too shaped her letters, pushing her generally to contextualise her interventions here as dynastic and familial, rather than as national, concerns.

## The Death of the Queen

Establishing close ties with the household retainers of the Infantas was essential to Catherine's engagement with the Spanish court. These had already been cultivated carefully during her daughter's lifetime. Elisabeth's second *camarera*

---

*guerres de Religion (1560–1570)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2011), which covers much of the earlier political context upon which this period was built.

<sup>10</sup> The 11-volume series *Archivo documental Español, Negociaciones con Francia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1950–1960), covering 1559 to 1568, provides ample evidence of Spanish epistolary practices. The bureaucratic structures and relationships of Philip's reign and the nature of documentation, including letters, that it produced, are analysed in detail by José Antonio Escudero in *Felipe II: el rey en el despacho* (Madrid: Ed. Complutense, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Catherine's activity as a correspondent has received detailed analysis most recently by Mathieu Gelland, *Une reine épistolaire. Les usages de la lettre et leurs effets dans la politique diplomatique de Catherine de Médicis, 1559–1589* (PhD thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010); Gelland, 'Les relations internationales dans la correspondance de Catherine de Médicis. Une approche quantitative', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 3 (2011): 193–209.

*mayor*, María Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán, the Duchess of Alba, wife of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the third (Grand) Duke of Alba, had been groomed by Catherine from the early years of Elisabeth's arrival in Spain.<sup>12</sup> Identifying the duke and duchess as influential protagonists at the Spanish court, Catherine passed gifts via her ambassadors to the duchess, whom she termed affectionately 'my cousin', in thanks for her 'friendship' and 'the pleasure that I have received to see the affection that she shows to the queen, my daughter', well before her appointment to Elisabeth's inner circle of ladies in 1567.<sup>13</sup> As Elisabeth's *camarera mayor*, the Duchess of Alba entered Catherine's epistolary network, becoming a direct recipient of antenatal advice and remedies, in exclusive letters written by Catherine herself. In return, Catherine expected detailed reports about her daughter and granddaughters.

After the delivery of Elisabeth's second daughter, Catalina Micaela, Alba wrote Catherine a letter in her own hand assuring her that the child, although not a boy, was highly valued by the royal couple: indeed, she 'was worth more than two boys'.<sup>14</sup> She asked Catherine to excuse her poor writing but knew how important it was for Catherine to hear directly from her about her daughter and new granddaughter.<sup>15</sup> Alba had a firm idea of what Catherine wanted to hear: lavish praise of her talented granddaughters. Two weeks later, Alba wrote again of Elisabeth's recovery and insisted that Catalina would not be exchanged even for two sons, so pretty was she.<sup>16</sup> In the New Year, Alba hinted at a new pregnancy, which she hoped would produce a longed-for son, telling Catherine how pretty three-month-old Catalina had become and how she seemed about to talk already.<sup>17</sup>

In 1568, when Elisabeth was again pregnant, Catherine lamented to the duchess's husband and to the Spanish ambassador at the French court that she could not read the duchess's untidy handwriting sufficiently to understand

---

<sup>12</sup> Alfred Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe D<sup>a</sup> María Enríquez et Catherine de Médicis', *Bulletin Hispanique* 7 (1905): 360–86.

<sup>13</sup> Hector de la Ferrière, ed., *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, 11 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880–1943) (hereafter *Lettres*), I, 296, 12 April 1562: 'à ma cousine la duchesse d'Albe', 'du plaisir que j'ay receu de veoir l'affection qu'elle démontre à la royne catholique ma fille'. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. This was a policy Catherine pursued with other political figures (and their female connections) at the Spanish court, sending a diamond to Ana de Mendoza, wife of the eminent courtier Ruy Gómez da Silva, in March 1560. James M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez da Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 86.

<sup>14</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe D<sup>a</sup> María Enríquez et Catherine de Médicis', 371, [November] 1567: 'qu vale mas que dos hyjos'.

<sup>15</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 370–71.

<sup>16</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 371.

<sup>17</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 372.

her news. By conveying unpleasant content and her frustrations using these alternative pathways, Catherine maintained a positive dialogue with Alba herself, keeping open a vital, exclusive conduit to and from her daughter. In her next letter, Alba apologised and hoped her large open scrawl would be easier for Catherine to decipher.<sup>18</sup> Catherine, the more powerful participant in this exchange, passed over the apology to focus instead on the essential information that she desperately wanted.

By October 1568, Elisabeth had reached full term on her third successful pregnancy. She had already borne two daughters in rapid succession: Isabella Clara Eugenia in August 1566 and Catalina Micaela (named after her grandmother Catherine) in October 1567. On 3 October 1568, however, at the end of a difficult delivery, both Elisabeth and her newborn daughter died. Catherine was devastated, locking herself in her room for several hours in her grief.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Elisabeth's death represented the end of Catherine's intimate access to the Spanish court and her opportunity to intervene in Spanish policy, as well as have that of France respected.

After Elisabeth's death, Catherine's close and trustworthy relationships with women such as Alba, whose service shifted to the care of Catherine's granddaughters, now became a critical network and a conduit for information about the Spanish court. Catherine expected to receive detailed information from her correspondents about the health and treatment of her granddaughters. They were to report on each cold and fever, for every event could mean a death, and with it the end of Catherine's security in the Spanish relationship.<sup>20</sup> Her ambassador Raimond de Beccarie de Pavie, seigneur de Fourquevaux, reported on any change to the arrangements of their household, and particularly on the quality of care provided by the Duchess of Alba.<sup>21</sup> Catherine also wanted to see her grandchildren. She had a particularly interest in portraiture and had commissioned, from the Clouet brothers, over 500 portrait drawings of members of the French court, and others of key individuals across Europe.<sup>22</sup> A number of portraits of the girls as children, alone and together, were made by court artists Alonso Sánchez Coello and Sofonisba Anguissola. The latter had also numbered among Elisabeth's ladies-in-waiting and appears to have acted as an art instructor to the queen and her two young daughters, in whose retinue she is listed in November 1570.<sup>23</sup> Catherine evidently received at least

<sup>18</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 374.

<sup>19</sup> Ivan Cloulas, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1979), 240–41.

<sup>20</sup> *Dépêches du sieur de Fourquevaux, ambassadeur du roi Charles IX, 1565–1572*, ed. Charles Douais, 3 vols (Paris: Plon, 1896–1904), II, 15.

<sup>21</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 21.

<sup>22</sup> Alexandra Zvereva, *Les Clouet de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Somogy, Éditions d'Art; Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 297.

some portraits, as Alba was able to assure her that the children were much prettier than they seemed in the painting Catherine had seen.<sup>24</sup> Almost life-size portraits of the *Infantas* depicted them with the playthings of elite girls, holding a parrot, a monkey, gloves, or with a small lapdog (the same kinds of gifts that Catherine sent them), and wearing the luxurious dress styled by women at the Spanish court.<sup>25</sup>



Figure 4.1 Attributed to the studio of Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catharina, Daughters of Philip II of Spain*, c. 1569–70

Source: RCIN 404331, Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Morel-Fatio, ‘La duchesse d’Albe’, 377.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, the ‘al forza’ tucked hem of their skirts common to contemporary adult women’s dresses at court in Spain shown in both girls’ dresses in Figure 4.1. On the significance of visibility at the Spanish court, see recent work by Laura R. Bass, *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2008).

By January 1569, just months after Elisabeth's death, Catherine began to draw her elder granddaughter Isabella into her epistolary network, thereby forging a closer connection to the three-year-old child. Alba responded on the child's behalf, expressing how much Isabella longed to learn sufficient French so as to return a letter to her grandmother in France, and insisting that the child considered herself French as well as Spanish.<sup>26</sup> Whether the young child demonstrated advanced diplomatic skills or was coached by Alba, these expressions show how well understood were the high stakes of these dynamics, and the position of the child as a tool for Franco-Spanish relations.

Equally important, Catherine asked Fourquevaux, as a matter of urgency and secrecy, to let her know if her granddaughters were still termed 'infantas': 'I beg you to let me know by your first letter, without anyone knowing that you write to me of it.'<sup>27</sup> Fourquevaux was able to reassure Catherine that Isabella was still styled *infanta*, although 'some call the princess *donna Izabel*'.<sup>28</sup> At the end of February, he wrote again, indicating that her accustomed title had not changed. He was also able to add that 'she speaks better each day ... and knows French words very clearly'. Fourquevaux recognised the key role that the Duchess of Alba played in the girls' care; during a recent bout of stomach upsets, she had 'taken a great deal of trouble ... day and night, and spared nothing that was possible to do service to the *Infantas*'.<sup>29</sup> Catherine understood the importance of this labour for the girls and for France, and she took the trouble to send a personal note to thank Alba for her continued close attention to the young girls.<sup>30</sup>

In June 1569, Fourquevaux visited the household of the young *Infantas* and reported back their good health, and even a request from young Isabella that Catherine send toys and marbles. Isabella 'has distinct speech, at her commandment' while Catalina 'begins to say a few words'.<sup>31</sup> Fourquevaux was a very important source of news updates: on the girls' health, on that of their wetnurse, on their separations in illnesses, and he kept them alive and present for Catherine with fine details and expressions of their pleasure at her gifts.

In the months immediately following Elisabeth's death, Catherine's focus was to ensure the continued support and recognition of her granddaughters, and

<sup>26</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 379.

<sup>27</sup> *Lettres*, III, 221, 20 January 1569: 'je vous prie de m'en esclaircir par vostre premiere, sans que aucun sache que je vous aye escript'.

<sup>28</sup> *Lettres*, III, 221n: 'infante, aucuns l'appellent la princesse *donna Izabel*'.

<sup>29</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 58, end of February 1569: 'Princesse Izabeau parle de jour en jour myeux que elle ne soulloir; et scait tout plein de motz françois; 'a pris beaucoup de peine durant lad. maladie de jour et de nuit, et ne s'espargne en aulcune choze à faire service ausd. *Infantes* qu'il ne seroit possible davantage'.

<sup>30</sup> *Lettres*, III, 236.

<sup>31</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 83, 26 June 1569: 'Elle a la parole distincte et a son commandement. Madame Catherine commence à parler quelques motz'.

to remind them of their French connections. At this stage Catherine operated largely through gifts she sent to the girls, and through the retainers, French and Spanish, who had a vested interest in maintaining the Infantas' high status, upon which their own depended. These people obliged Catherine with news and information that they anticipated she would want to hear – that the girls were as French as they ever were in their mother's lifetime and that their status at the Spanish court was maintained – reassuring Catherine in such ways that the Franco-Spanish diplomacy was still highly prized by Philip II.

### A New Queen for Spain

Within a month of Elisabeth's death, Fourquevaux had already begun to discuss with Catherine possible new matches for Philip and their potential implications for France.<sup>32</sup> In May 1570, Philip's marriage by proxy to his niece, Anna of Austria, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II and Maria of Spain, was announced. Spain was to have a new queen. While this clearly re-oriented the Habsburg alliance, Catherine had been simultaneously negotiating a match between her son, Charles IX, and Anna's sister, Elisabeth. This created a new tie for the two dynasties and nations, whose respective queens were sisters.

It was imperative for both Valois and French interests that Philip did not forget the close alliance he had forged via Elisabeth de Valois. Familial rhetoric was thus key to Catherine's ongoing interactions with Philip. The language of friendship and affiliation was vital to the operation of diplomatic work generally, and a vocabulary that Catherine applied widely. In this period, Catherine not only continued to address Philip as her 'son' and speak of herself as his 'mother', often repeatedly within a single letter, but also explicitly stressed the bonds of the domestic family unit that they had created through this marriage as key to their continuing relationship. When Anna arrived safely in Spain in October 1570, Catherine and her son Charles were quick to offer their congratulations and welcome to the new queen. Catherine wrote directly to Philip, with the personal attention of doing so in her own hand, of her hope that 'being close to Your Majesty, she will aid you to perpetuate this good friendship between us and our kingdoms, as did the queen my daughter'. She desired that their affiliation would be 'as strong and durable as we hope with this close parentage of the Infantas your daughters, who are so close to me'.<sup>33</sup> She insisted upon retaining

<sup>32</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 13, 24 October 1570: 'aystent près de Vostre Majesté, ayle aidera à perpetueuer sete bonne amitié entre nous et nos royaumes, ynsin que fesoyt la royne ma fille', 'ausi fort et durable que le désirons aveques l'estrète parentèle de les Ynfentes vos filles, lesquelles, pour m'estre si proches.'

the right to call herself Philip's mother but now added a new strengthening tie for the kings joined once again as brothers, this time through their sister-wives.

Catherine and Charles IX sent not just their wishes through letters and through Fourquevaux, but signalled the importance of the new occasion by sending an envoy, Sieur de la Malicorne, specifically to welcome the new queen. Catherine used this occasion to remind Philip of his paternal duties to her granddaughters and justified her continued interest in the court of Spain by her close blood ties to them. Malicorne's account for Catherine and Charles of his audiences with the king and queen revealed monarchs equally skilled in the diplomatic rhetoric of family and affection. About his daughters, Philip reassured Catherine that she had no need for concern:

he would omit nothing as much out of his love and respect for the Lady Queen, his good mother, and for the late Queen their mother, as for himself as their father who could never neglect either his duty nor his own kin.<sup>34</sup>

Philip was just as adept as Catherine at drawing upon familial relationships to recognise the connections between his realm and that of France. Yet here he also subtly asserted and insisted upon his natural feelings and duties (and rights) as a father to know what was best for his children.

In turn, Anna also responded to Catherine. Insisting that there was no need to send special requests for their attention, Anna 'wanted to assure her that she would be their true mother for love and respect of the King her lord and of them [the girls] who merited it, as for her Majesty the Queen their grandmother, whom she wished to serve'. Malicorne, sensing the tenor of Philip's and Anna's remarks, then clarified that these recommendations stemmed purely 'from a grandmother naturally affectionate to the late Queen, her daughter, and to the Princesses, her granddaughters' and not from any suspicion that the king 'would forget a single jot of paternal love that he had for them, nor the Lady Queen, as would their own mother if she were alive'.<sup>35</sup> Philip and Anna had deftly managed to deflect the concerns of the Valois, hinting at the potential insult they implied.

Catherine thus had her verbal assurances, but practices were what she wanted to see. Fourquevaux was required to explain to her why the Infantas would need to stop wearing black in recognition of their mother's death and instead adopt the attire suitable for the celebrations of a wedding. He recommended that

<sup>34</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 319, December 1570: 'qu'il n'y obmectra rien tant pour l'amour et respect de lad. Dame Royne, sa bonne mère, et de la feu Royne leur mère, que de luy mesme comme leur père, qui ne peult manquer à son debvoir ny à son sang'.

<sup>35</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 317, December 1570: 'd'une ayeule affectionnée naturellement à la feu Royne, sa fille, et ausd. Princesses, ses petites filles, qui en estoient sorties et non pour deffiance que le Roy Catholique obliast ung seul poil de l'amour paternel qu'il leur porte, et lad. Dame Royne, comme feroit leur propre mère si elle vivoit'.

Catherine send them new fabrics ‘that are not black’ from which dresses could be made, for ‘the rules of dress are strictly observed in Spain, beginning with their Majesties and not excepting the Infantas; but they could put on what is sent to them from you.’<sup>36</sup> Thus, Fourquevaux explained, their compliance with the strict dress code might also still reflect their French influence, in fact even publicly displaying the presents that Catherine had given them.

Fourquevaux was soon able to report how well and respectfully Anna had received the two girls, not allowing them to kiss her hand or make a reverence to the ground for her. The Queen

hugged and kissed them several times one after the other with a demonstration of very great love, and since then, honours and hugs them as her own daughters, and has dined and supped in company with them some days, sitting in the middle, with the eldest on her right-hand side and the little one on her left.<sup>37</sup>

These highly ritualised behaviours were performances of kindly and maternal feelings with critical political import, signalling Anna’s intent not to sideline the children of her husband (and his late wife) and also respecting the sibling hierarchy of prioritising the elder Isabella at her right hand over her younger sister Catalina. These were not incidental behaviours but visible political gestures of emotion that publicly indicated power and were detailed at length to Catherine because of their meaning.<sup>38</sup> In turn, Catherine expressed her delight to Fourquevaux in emotional terms, but there was no mistaking the keen eye she expected him to keep on such ritual events:

it gave me great pleasure to hear of ... the great demonstration of love that the Queen made to my granddaughters, when she saw them, the care she has of

---

<sup>36</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 298, 9 November 1570: ‘qui ne soient pas noirs’, ‘la pramatique des habillementz sera rigoreusement observée en Espagne, commenceant aux Majestés Catholiques et sans excepter les Infantes; mais elles pourront charger [mettre] ce qui leur sera envoyé de votre part’.

<sup>37</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 309–10, 21 December 1570: ‘les accola et baiza plusieurs fois l’une après l’autre avec demonstration de fort grande amour; et du despuis les honnore et caresse comme ses filles, et a disné et souppé aucuns jours en compaignie d’elles, seant à table au milieu, l’ainée à sa main droicte et la petites à sa main gauche’.

<sup>38</sup> The political power of ritual has been widely noted. In relation to Philip’s court, see such examples as *Felipe II: Un monarca e su epoca. Un Principe del Rinascimento* (Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoracion de los Centarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998); Teofilo F. Ruis, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); For a slightly earlier period, see also Francesc Massip Bonnet on theatre and power in the Iberian kingdoms, *La monarquía en escena* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2003).

them, and the good treatment she gives them. I will never know more happiness, begging you to be careful to observe her and to tell me about it most particularly and even by L'Aubespine's secretary.<sup>39</sup>

These events, however small and insignificant they might seem, spoke volumes about the nature of how France and the Valois dynasty, of which her granddaughters were the embodiment, would be received by the new regime in Spain.

Catherine's concerns about the changes at the court were not without foundation. In August 1570, she discovered that the Duchess of Alba was to leave the household of the Infantas. She had not been chosen as the *camarera mayor* for new queen, and had rejected the role of governess she had been offered instead as beneath her status.<sup>40</sup> Catherine told Fourquevaux that she was 'very annoyed', ostensibly because of 'the care and trouble she has taken with them'. Catherine continued:

write and tell me the truth and moreover how the Marquise de Fromesta [her immediate replacement] governs them in her place, I fear very much that they will not be treated with the honour and respect that they deserve. I beg you write to me straightaway very specifically of the case that is made for them, the order that is held in their household and if they are visited often.

These orders, she felt, required justification even to Fourquevaux: 'having so loved their mother, I will carry all possible affection and friendship for them all my life.'<sup>41</sup> The changes weakened Catherine's knowledge of, and influence at, the court, and would require her to cultivate new alliances if possible. She expressed her concern at Philip's decision to remove Alba from the Infantas' household directly to the king, and wished to commend herself to 'she who will serve them in her place and have the same care of them and their health' as Alba

---

<sup>39</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 25, 8 January 1571: 'ce m'a esté grand plaisir d'entendre ... la grande demonstration d'amour qu'a faict la Royne Catholique a mes petites-filles, quand elles les a veuës, le soing qu'elle a d'elles et le bon traictement qu'elle leur faict. je ne Saurois recevoir plus de contentement, vous priant d'estre soigneux de l'observer et de m'en advertir bien particulièrement et mesme par le secretaire de l'aubespine.'

<sup>40</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 383.

<sup>41</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 6, 12 October 1570: 'je suis très marié', m'escrivre à la vérité et davantage comme se gouvernera la marquise de Fromesta qui a esté mise en son lieu, craignant infiniment qu'elles ne soient traictées avecques l'honneur et le respect qu'elles méritent. Je vous prie m'escrivre doresnavant bien particulièrement le cas que l'on faict d'elles, l'ordre qu'il a à leur maison et si l'on les visite souvent', 'ayant tant aimé leur mère que je leur porteray toute ma vie toute l'affection et amitié qu'il me sera possible'.

had done. Catherine asked Philip to excuse her interference in these affairs, and to 'attribute it to the love that I have for them and for the queen their mother'.<sup>42</sup>

The new appointment to the care of the Infantas was María Chacón, daughter of Don Gonzalo Chacón, second Lord of Casa-Rubios.<sup>43</sup> Catherine lost no time in writing directly to her. Despite expressing her fears to Fourquevaux that 'they will not be so well [looked after] with another as they were with the Duchess',<sup>44</sup> to Chacón she expressed her happiness in the king's selection and confidence in Chacón's abilities to her duties with diligence. Moreover, she subtly offered Chacón the opportunity to earn her favour as well as that of the Spanish king:

even though I am certain that you will bring to the task all your care ... as they concern me so closely, I beg you to watch very closely over all that concerns their education, instruction, love and fear of God, and their health, as indeed is your duty, for if you do so, I promise I will remember to acknowledge the satisfaction I receive from it.<sup>45</sup>

A month later, Catherine again asked Fourquevaux to keep a vigilant eye on the new recipient of the post, voicing her 'displeasure' at Alba's retirement, her hopes that 'she who has been given it will acquit herself with the duty that belongs to it' and her 'pleasure to always hear news about it'.<sup>46</sup> Fourquevaux assured Catherine that the princesses were 'dressed, decorated, honoured, and respected as befitted the daughters of so grand a place'. He went on to list all those who belonged to their establishment, including six ladies-in-waiting, a personal attendant, two chambermaids, and one for the wardrobe (while pointing out that Anna herself

---

<sup>42</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 13, 24 October 1570: 'cele qu'i lui auré plus mestre en son lyeu de lé servir et avoyr le mesme souin d'eulx et de leur santé qu'ele avoyst', 'et m'excuser cet je prans l'ardiesse de luy en mender di librement et l'atribuer à l'amour que je leur porte et à la royne leur mère'.

<sup>43</sup> Morel-Fatio, 'La duchesse d'Albe', 385.

<sup>44</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 5, 1 October 1570: 'craignant qu'elles ne soient si bien avec une autre comme elles estoit avec ladicte duchesse'.

<sup>45</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 12, 24 October 1570: 'yo estoy muy assegurada assi de la buena election que el ha hecho como de que vos no oluidareys en nada emplear el cuydado, diligencias y afficion que decis tener a su salud servicio y aung yo tenga por cierto que vos las terneys en tan buena recommendacion qual conviene a la subjection y obebiencia que vos les deneys assi por respecto de su padre como por lo que el si os ha mandado; todavia por tocarme ellas tan de cerca os he guerdo dogar las tengays por singularmente commendadas en todo loque tocare à su criança institucion amor y temor de Dios y a su salud como conviene a vuestra obligacion y deuer que cumplendolos como yo creo pues lo sabreys bien hazer yo terne memoria para os hazer conoscer con effecto et contentamiento que en est decidire'.

<sup>46</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 15, 3 November 1570: 'le desplaisir ... celle qui y a esté comise s'en acquitera avecques le devoir qu'il appartient ... plaisir de m'em mander toujours des nouvelles'.

only had four chambermaids and two for the wardrobe).<sup>47</sup> Catherine also began counter-moves; she sought the placement of a new lady, Catherine de Vera, in the household of her granddaughters (arguing to Philip that it was a favour she requested 'for love of my cousin, the dowager of Nevers, who has begged me to write to you in her favour').<sup>48</sup> In doing so, she made a claim before the Spanish court that the Infantas' household was still a place of power for her, both to be able to request appointments and to assert French influence on the children. Once appointed, Vera also became a member of Catherine's information network, required to supply regular news of the Infantas' treatment.<sup>49</sup> Catherine's network and alliances in the Infantas' household were critical – as a source of personal power and status to Catherine, as a continued foothold in the Spanish court, and as a vantage point upon it.

An essential part of embedding Catherine (and perhaps also France) in the children's affections and thoughts was through gifts.<sup>50</sup> In September 1570, Catherine sent the girls two little dogs from Lyon, but she did not neglect their attendants, the women who provided their care and much of Catherine's information. To the Duchess of Alba, Catherine sent two pieces of worked black velvet via Fourquevaux so that she could see the fashions in France and request something she liked from Catherine, 'as I am so much obliged to her for her service to the two Infantas'.<sup>51</sup> When Malicorne was sent on the occasion of Philip's new marriage, he was plied by the young girls with requests that their grandmother send more toys, dolls, and skipping ropes: 'Little Madame Catheline asks that one of the dolls be white and for her'.<sup>52</sup> In January 1571, Catherine explained to Fourquevaux that she had delayed sending a letter until after the St-Germain fair because she had purchased gifts there to send to the girls.<sup>53</sup> She also exchanged with Philip gifts suitable for a man of his status, notably horses. Catherine, an avid rider herself, sent him six hackneys after he had sent her a rare breed of horse in September 1570.

Catherine expressed fears about the impact of a new queen for France and for herself, as well as for the Infantas, and it seems rightly so. Changes to the Infantas' household were designed not to dishonour the girls (who were after

---

<sup>47</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 297–8, 9 November 1570: 'vestues, parées, honorées et respectées comme il appartient aux filles de sigrand lieu.'

<sup>48</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 24, 5 January 1571: 'pour l'amour de ma cousine, la douairière de Nevers, qui m'a prié vous en escrire en sa faveur.'

<sup>49</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 24.

<sup>50</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 1, 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 2, 15 September 1570: 'tant je me tiens obligée du service que fait aux deux Infante's.'

<sup>52</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 317, December 1570: 'La petite Madame Catheline [*sic*] demande que l'une desd. poupées soit blanche et pour elle.'

<sup>53</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 29.

all Philip's own children) but to displace France and French influence, and to limit the power of Catherine and Charles to access and appoint positions at the Spanish court. Catherine's strategies of response to counter these moves were consequent upon the opportunities afforded to elite women – she expanded her networks by cultivating new contacts with letters and gifts, and instructed her correspondents to observe closely and report regularly any changes of behaviours or practices that might reflect diminished status to the Infantas as affiliates of France.

### A Son for the Queen

At the end of March 1571, Fourquevaux rather unusually expressed exasperation and pessimism at the headway France was making on the issue of Spanish policy in Flanders:

your ambassador can press and importune as much as he likes: but nothing moves a single step ... I have tried it too often it these last six years that it has pleased you to engage me here. Madame, there is such a tight correspondence between Spain and Flanders between master and minister [the Duke of Alba] that two flutes couldn't be more in tune.<sup>54</sup>

In the wake of such bad news, Fourquevaux turned to the one topic that might cheer Catherine up, her granddaughters. He told her how the girls had loved the presents and letter she had sent them: 'so joyous that I could never embellish it enough ... they are writing you a letter between them.'<sup>55</sup> Ever the experienced ambassador, Fourquevaux was, it seems, just as skilled at managing his mistress's emotions as expressing them to the Spanish king.

Among the most difficult news that Fourquevaux had to deliver was the announcement of the young queen's pregnancy, widely known by May 1571. Catherine immediately told him to tell Philip of her 'pleasure and happiness' at the news.<sup>56</sup> Later she wrote, directly and in her own hand, to Anna, 'my daughter', telling her that she had sent a messenger to ask Philip to renew 'that honour to see me as his mother, for the affection that I carry for the king, your husband and

---

<sup>54</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 339, 31 March 1571: 'peult votre ambassadeur tant presser et importuner qu'il voudra; car icy ne s'en advancent d'ung seul pas ... Madame, il y a une telle correspondance d'Espagne à Flandre entre le maistre et le ministre que deux flustes ne s'accorderent oncques mieulx.'

<sup>55</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 341, 31 March 1571: 'duquel present et letre sont esté si joyeuses que je ne vous le scaurois encherir ny prizer assez ... lesquelles vous escrivent entre toutes deux une letre.'

<sup>56</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 41, 2 May 1571: 'plaisir et contentement.'

for your sister is such that, being so close as Your Majesty is to them, I can hardly not hold the same feelings for you.<sup>57</sup> This roundabout expression of implied affection insisted rather more firmly on her own prior alliance with Philip, as his mother, than on Anna's status as his current wife.

This news closely followed a long-running cause of distress for Catherine. During the early months of 1571, Catherine had been deeply troubled by the growing insolence of Francisco d'Alava, the Spanish ambassador at the French court. She had raised her concerns via Fourquevaux, Charles IX, and directly with Philip himself. She warned Philip that 'the indiscretion of a minister cannot aid the maintenance of a good peace and friendship, which I make such pains to nourish as long as I live, as I have done until the present.'<sup>58</sup> When Alava finally left the court in August 1571, Catherine wrote a furious letter to Fourquevaux about his disrespectful farewell to her, but warned Fourquevaux at the end of her letter to 'burn this.'<sup>59</sup> That Philip had allowed such continued impertinence to the French king and his mother seemed to confirm Catherine's fears that France held diminishing status with the new Spanish regime.

Throughout 1571, coupled with reports of Anna's blooming health, Fourquevaux assured Catherine that news of the queen's pregnancy had not displaced the girls in status at court. In November 1571, as the birth approached, he wrote: 'whether it is a son or daughter that the Queen delivers, there is no doubt that the Infantas will be no less cherished and respected by all just as they are.'<sup>60</sup> When Fourquevaux announced the birth of Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, on 4 December 1571, it came with a stark warning to his mistress: 'although the Majesties your granddaughters lose by it, you must nevertheless give the appearance of joy at this birth, and make sure that the Queen your daughter-in-law [Elisabeth, Queen of France] knows of it from you rather than from any other'. He reassured Catherine once again that the Infantas were 'still great princesses and cannot fail to marry great kings'.<sup>61</sup> Yet his letter had acknowledged the reality of the Infantas' diminished position.

---

<sup>57</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 51, June 1571: 'cet honneur de me tenir comme set je avès celui de estre sa mère; car l'affection que je porte au roy son mary et alla royne sa seur ay tieule que, pour leurs aystre si proche, come Vostre Majesté leur ayst, je ne me puis garder de la luy porter semblable'.

<sup>58</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 30, 28 February 1571: 'l'indiscretion d'un ministre ne peut de rien servir à l'entretènement d'une bonne paix et amitié, laquelle je mettray peine de nourrir, tant que je vivray, ainsi que j'ay faict jusques à ceste heure'.

<sup>59</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 65, 6 August 1571: 'bruslez la présente'.

<sup>60</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 404, 30 November 1571: 'soit fils ou fille ce que c'est Dames Royné enfantera, ne fault doubter que lesd. Dames Infantes n'en soient moins cheryes et respectées de toutz et toutes tant qu'ilz sont'.

<sup>61</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 405, 4 December 1571: 'car encore que mesdames Majestés voz petites filles y perdent, il faut neantmoins faire semblant d'avoir joye dud. enfantement et que la

Catherine and Charles IX did as Fourquevaux hoped, and recognised the importance of the occasion by sending a messenger expressly to the court with their congratulations. Catherine insisted to Philip that ‘we rejoice in it as a thing that we hope will fortify and augment more and more the friendship and good peace between you two [kings] and your realms.’<sup>62</sup> At the baptism ceremony, Fourquevaux reported, the Infanta Isabella had been at the queen’s bedside, ‘very close to her’, which was an indication of the high status the Infantas maintained at the Spanish court.<sup>63</sup> This ritualised practice staged the affection of the royal couple for the girls, and its political significance, by their proximate placement in the ceremony. Did this placement reflect their status as the king’s daughters though, or Philip’s attention to the French alliance? At the end of the month, Catherine sent detailed instructions via Fourquevaux to Catherine de Vera, asking that she ‘send me often and particularly their news, especially of their treatment since this birth, for very often new mishaps produce new effects, though in this respect I hope not from the king my son-in-law’.<sup>64</sup> Catherine’s insistence on such information, however, suggested diminishing confidence.

With the news of a new Spanish pregnancy in 1573, Catherine wrote directly to Anna. Once again, familial connections and the rights of consideration that were attendant upon them were key. Catherine reminded the queen that she was mother-in-law to Philip, ‘whom I love no less than my own children’, and requested the honour to be able to treat Anna likewise as her ‘own daughter’. Indeed, she rather obsequiously suggested that should Anna ever desire anything from France, she could write to Catherine ‘as privately as if I were your sister’.<sup>65</sup> However, in August 1573, Anna delivered yet another blow to the French hold on Spain – a second son, Carlos Lorenzo. Catherine wrote dutifully to Philip expressing delight that it had pleased God to send him ‘another son’.<sup>66</sup> In January 1574, Catherine wrote to Anna, ostensibly conveying her condolences on the death of Philip’s sister Juana, but expressing her desire to see Elisabeth, Queen of France, as happy as her sister ‘with a handsome son in nine months time ... like

---

Royne votre belle fille le sçache par votre moyen plustost que par aultre; ‘lesd. Dames Infantes seront toujours grandes princesses et ne peuvent faillir d’espouzer grandz roys’.

<sup>62</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 87, 2 January 1572: ‘nous en réjouir comme de chause que nous ayspéron fortifiré et augmentera de plus en plus l’amitié et bonne pays enter vous deus et vos réaumes’.

<sup>63</sup> *Dépêches*, II, 411, 16 December 1571: ‘estoient tout auprez d’elle’.

<sup>64</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 86, 26 December 1571: ‘me mandez souvant et particulièrement de leurs nouvelles, mesmesment de leur traictement depuis cest enfantement; car bien souvent nouveaux accidents produisent nouveaus effects, ce que néantmoins je n’espère dudit Roy Catholicque mondit beau-fils en cest endroit’.

<sup>65</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 207, 22 April 1573: ‘lequel je n’ème ryen moins que mes propres enfans, ‘propre fille’, ‘le mander ausi privément que si j’estoys sa seur’.

<sup>66</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 252, August 1573: ‘encore un fils’.

Your Majesty, who has two already'.<sup>67</sup> However, the Queen of France left Charles IX (who died in May that year) with no male heir, while Anna would go on to have two further sons, leaving the Spanish succession in no doubt.<sup>68</sup>

Anna's reproductive success as a queen signalled the decline of France's foothold at the Spanish court. Coupled with the continued challenges of the religious wars, which showed few signs of abating, the power of France to impose upon Spain was little indeed. Catherine may have been eager to hold on to a semblance of control at the court and to be able to call upon Spain to assist France, but the only weapons in her arsenal were her own declarations of love and affection, and her reminders in turn to Philip of his obligations to her, his French 'mother', and to his 'brother' Charles.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusions

Catherine's Habsburg granddaughters represented not only a living, physical presence of her eldest daughter, but also provided her with an access point into the Spanish court, and a household into which she could make appointments and observe the operations of the court. Catherine's concerns about the status of the Infantas, after their mother died, after Philip re-married, and after their half-brothers were born, were also reflections of the perceived position of the Valois dynasty and France more broadly. Catherine was keen to watch over and care for the girls and to know of their continued good health, which protected her investment and foothold in Spain.

Language, performances, and practices of emotion were critical to Catherine's diplomatic work during this period. In employing them, she hoped to retain the alignment of Spain and the Habsburgs during a difficult period both for France and for the Valois dynasty. To the Spanish monarchs directly, Catherine articulated concepts of friendship and family to which emotional meanings attached. In particular, she emphasised their familial relationships, through her rhetorical constructions, her choice to repeat key familial identifiers 'my daughter', 'my son', throughout a single letter, and suggested personal attention to them through handwritten missives that connoted intimacy. These relationships were crucial to the creation of a collective identity as an elite familial unit with children to care for and a future together, and with

<sup>67</sup> *Lettres*, IV, 287, 13 January 1574: 'un beau fils dans neuf moys ... come V.M. et qu'el ann eust deulx déjeà'.

<sup>68</sup> These were Diego, born 15 August 1575, and Philip, born 3 April 1578. Philip would succeed his father as Philip III.

<sup>69</sup> Catherine continued to correspond with her granddaughters as indicated in Philip's letters to his daughters in 1581 and 1584. Fernando Jesús Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1988), pp. 43 and 90.

an accepted hierarchy in which older women could expect to receive respect for their knowledge and experience. But it was a vision that was not entirely shared by Philip as he forged new alliances with the Austrian branch of his own dynasty. In her letters, Catherine rarely articulated emotional states directly, but asked her readers to anticipate her feelings; that is, the familial role she claimed for herself as a grandmother implied a set of emotions that she did not articulate but expected them to recognise. For Catherine, a dialogue of affections and family, expressed in her mothering of Philip and displayed in her care and attention to her granddaughters, was one of the few appropriate and available mechanisms for her intervention in Spain at this period. Of course, the rhetoric of friendship underpinned much correspondence between rulers at this period. Rehearsed expressions and performances of such sentiments were essential to European relations. Here, however, the language of the duty-bound familial unit was not merely a political fiction but a reality of their entangled relations with one another, one that allowed for the continuation of dialogue even where its members were becoming increasingly divergent politically. Their correspondence, certainly as Catherine presented it, was testament to the idea that families persisted in maintaining relations even when they might be at odds.

By contrast, Catherine's letters to her ambassador Fourquevaux far more commonly expressed feelings – annoyance, anger, fears and concerns, and happiness among them. These expressions were vital to enable Fourquevaux to perform emotional work on her behalf, to capture the tenor of her meaning and convey it appropriately, and sometimes, to spur him to action as Catherine required. Beyond Fourquevaux, frustrations and anger were rarely expressed to those who had provoked them, but were passed on to their intended recipients through ambassadors and ladies-in-waiting. In this way, positive lines of communication could be retained while emotional outbursts were managed and their causes attended to by more circuitous routes. Moreover, discussion of her granddaughters with her correspondents, in particular through repeated requests for, and responses to, further, more precise, and more regular reports of their activities and health, set a tone within her communication network with ambassadors, envoys, and messengers to Spain. Discussion of the children, their joys and happiness, their development and speech, and their desire for playthings, served to offset and alleviate tensions and provided its own kind of order in difficult and disappointing moments of diplomatic failure.

Emotions, specifically in words, through expressions of family and friendship, and in gifts, portraits, rituals, and ceremonies were used by all participants in this diplomatic exchange as both the ordering tools, and as reflections, of power relations. Both artworks and toys provided emotional sites for their recipients, invested with feeling from their donors. Moreover, toys and fabrics as gifts offered particularly useful tools for donors – intimate access to their recipients as they were worn or held in and around the body, on the one hand, and often garnering

substantial visibility for the relationship and allegiance they constituted, as these items were displayed in dress at court, or as the subject of portraits, on the other. Likewise, at the Spanish court, spatial and gestural elements of courtly ritual suggested the emotional dynamics of the basic family unit – mothers who ate with their children or who held them close at their bedside – while also respecting dynastic hierarchies of an elder child over a younger sibling. The emotional content of these performative practices signalled the intention of the Spanish monarchs to include the two girls in an intimate and exclusive Habsburg dynastic family, at one level responding to Catherine's own calls that the girls not be overlooked by their father and his new wife, but on another displacing Catherine, Valois, and France from presence and consideration.

Ultimately, Isabella and Catalina were to become elements in the grand Habsburg strategic plan, reflected in their own marriages and diplomatic work for that dynasty. Yet their French origins were by no means forgotten. Indeed, they could be willingly revived when it suited Habsburg interests. Thus, after the death of Catherine's son Henri in 1589, which left a Protestant heir for the throne, Philip eagerly declared his elder daughter Isabella the legitimate sovereign of France.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Although Isabella was supported by some among the strongly Catholic Parlement of Paris, Elisabeth de Valois had given up her claims to the French throne upon her marriage.

PART II  
Chronicling Feelings of  
Disaster and Ruin

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 5

# Emotions and the Social Order of Time: Constructing History at Louvain's Carthusian House, 1486–1525

Matthew S. Champion

The first recorded moves to found a male Carthusian house in Louvain date from the late 1480s, with a purchase of land by Walter Waterlet, a member of the chapel of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, provost of Maubeuse and scholaster of St Gudule's in Brussels.<sup>1</sup> In 1489, Charles's widow, Margaret of York, laid the foundation stone of the new monastery, inaugurating an ambitious building programme that continued into the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Yet the foundations of Louvain's Carthusian monastery were not simply laid

---

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is written, with love, for Pip Maddern. I would like to thank Joanne Anderson, John Arnold, Michael Champion, Sarah Gador-Whyte, Miri Rubin and Miranda Stanyon for their help in preparing this chapter. E. Reusens, 'Chronique de la Chartreuse de Louvain depuis sa fondation, en 1498, jusqu'à l'année 1525', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 13 (1877): 228–99 (hereafter *Carthusian Chronicle*), at 230. The chronicle text used in this chapter follows this largely reliable edition, except where it deviates from the manuscript source; Walter Waterlet (also known as Walter Henry) was a one-time canon of Louvain's principal church, St Peter's. See E. Reusens, 'La fondation de la Chartreuse de Louvain et les prieurs de ce couvent jusqu'en 1762', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 16 (1879): 215. See further Micheline Soenen, 'Un amateur de musique à Bruxelles à la fin du XVe siècle: Gautier Henri, chanoine et écolâtre de Sainte-Gudule', in *Album Carlos Wyffels*, ed. Hilda Coppejans-Desmedt (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1987); Barbara Haggh, 'The Officium of the *Recollectio Festorum Beate Virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay: Its Celebration and Reform in Leuven', in *Recevez ce mien petit labeur: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, eds Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 93–8.

<sup>2</sup> On the Burgundians, Carthusian patronage, and spirituality, see Mario Damen and Robert Stein, 'Collective Memory and Personal *Memoria*. The Carthusian Monastery of Scheut as a Crossroads of Urban and Princely Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Brabant', in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bourguignons (ca 1380–1580): Rencontres de Luxembourg (22 au 25 septembre 2011)*, eds J.M. Cauchies and P. Peporté (Neuchâtel: Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, 2012); Ezechiel Lotz, 'Secret Rooms: Private Spaces for Private Prayer in Late-Medieval Burgundy and the Netherlands', in

in stone. Along with the physical building works, the Carthusians constructed their monastic house through writing and reading history, liturgical and memorial practices, and architecture and images, including extensive stained-glass windows. These practices constructed a community of memory, shaped through affective engagements with biblical narrative and the narrative of the monastery's own history. For Louvain's Carthusians, time was shot through with emotions; emotions that ordered the perception and experience of time.

Although the monastery was largely destroyed in the eighteenth century, a number of sources for considering its affective life survive.<sup>3</sup> The chief material remains of the house are the famous stained-glass windows commissioned in the early sixteenth century, which were sold after the monastery's dissolution and are now scattered across the United Kingdom and North America.<sup>4</sup> The chief textual sources for the house's early history are visitation records commencing in 1505,<sup>5</sup> and an important manuscript miscellany containing the monastery's chronicle from its earliest years.<sup>6</sup> The chronicle includes details of the social and political networks of the men and women who founded and populated the house, as well as the way these networks were memorialised in the monastery's history. Central to constructing this history was the deployment and representation of normative emotional responses to monastic life. The normative affective regimes of Louvain's Carthusian house are cast into relief by a rupture in narrative texture midway through the chronicle, where time ordered by the construction of each monastic cell shifts into a radically personalised and highly emotive catalogue of extraordinary events, violent crimes, and disasters clustering around the advent of the sixteenth century. By considering the nexus of the social and material

---

*Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Julian M. Luxford (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 166–77.

<sup>3</sup> See Henri Delvaux, 'Chartreuse de Louvain', in *Monasticon Belge: Province de Brabant*, ed. Dom U. Berlière, 8 vols (Liège: Centre national de recherches d'histoire religieuse, 1890–1993), IV.6 (1972), 1492–3.

<sup>4</sup> On the monastery's glass, see Jessie McNab, *Flemish Renaissance Stained Glass from the Great Cloister of the Carthusian Monastery in Louvain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 1–7; Paul Williamson, ed., *Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 84–7, 146–7, plates 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69; Madeline Harrison Caviness, Jane Hayward, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, and Helen Jackson Zakin, *Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 141–8, 189; Hilary Wayment, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge: The Side-Chapel Glass* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society and Provost and Scholars of King's College, 1988), 55–66. On the functions of such glass, see Mario Damen, 'Vorstellijke Vensters. Glasraamschenkingen als instrument van devotie, memorie en representatie (1419–1519)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 8 (2005): 140–200.

<sup>5</sup> London, British Library (hereafter BL), MS Harley 3591.

<sup>6</sup> Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (hereafter KBR), MS 15003–48.

world of the monastery, the ordering of time, and the deployment of emotions, this chapter seeks to understand some of the complex ways in which affective structures were shaped by the unfolding of time, and how narrative temporalities shaped, and were shaped by, languages of affect.

Louvain's Carthusian chronicle exists in a single manuscript compiled in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript may be, or include parts of, a 'certain book written on paper for the refectory including histories, sermons and legends of the saints' recorded in British Library, MS Harley 3591, which would suggest that the chronicle was read communally in the monastery.<sup>8</sup> The chronicle's first part was written by Jan Vekenstijl, one of the first brothers sent to found the community.<sup>9</sup> It commences with the purchase of land, continues with a narrative ordered by building work on the monastery's cells, and concludes in 1502. A second chronicler then begins, returning to the year 1494 to mark the death of Waterlet and continuing in a strict yearly division to 1525. The chronicle appears in a manuscript miscellany showing few signs of unified design, but framed by an opening tract, the *Speculum biblie demonstrativum genealogie domini nostri Iesu Christi* (Mirror of the Bible demonstrating the Genealogy of Our Lord Jesus Christ) (Figure 5.1).<sup>10</sup>

The *Speculum* commences with Adam and concludes with a diagrammatic figure of the church. The remainder of the manuscript – at least in its current form – might be read as taking up the course of history in the final age of the world, from the inauguration of the church at Pentecost to the coming of the eschaton. Interpreted this way, the Carthusian chronicle participates in a larger history, one modelled on biblical temporality, marked by long continuities, genealogical thinking, and a potentially progressive *Heilgeschichte*.<sup>11</sup> In affective terms, the passage of time here might seem unmarked by rupture and violence, a *locus amoenus* like the paradisiacal garden of the *Speculum's* first folio. Yet biblical history is also a history of rupture, of grief and joy, affliction and blessings, exile and return. This affective configuration was taken up in the narrative of Louvain's Carthusians in Vekenstijl's chronicle.

Traces of this configuration first emerge in the account of a founding bequest to the monastery made by Egidius de Platea in 1489. Egidius's donation had strings attached – for the bequest to be effective, the house had to be founded in

<sup>7</sup> KBR MS 15003–48, fols 441r–462r.

<sup>8</sup> BL, MS Harley 3591, fol. 17r: 'librum quemdam papireum cum historijs, sermonibus, et legendis sanctorum pro refectorio'; cf. *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, 6 vols (Ghent: J. Poelman, 1836–37), VI, 2.

<sup>9</sup> KBR, MS 15003–48, fols 441r–446r. On Jan, see KBR, MS 11929–30, fols 164r–164v.

<sup>10</sup> For the manuscript's contents, see J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1901–48), II, 227–32.

<sup>11</sup> On progress and *Heilgeschichte*, see Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 119, 159–66.

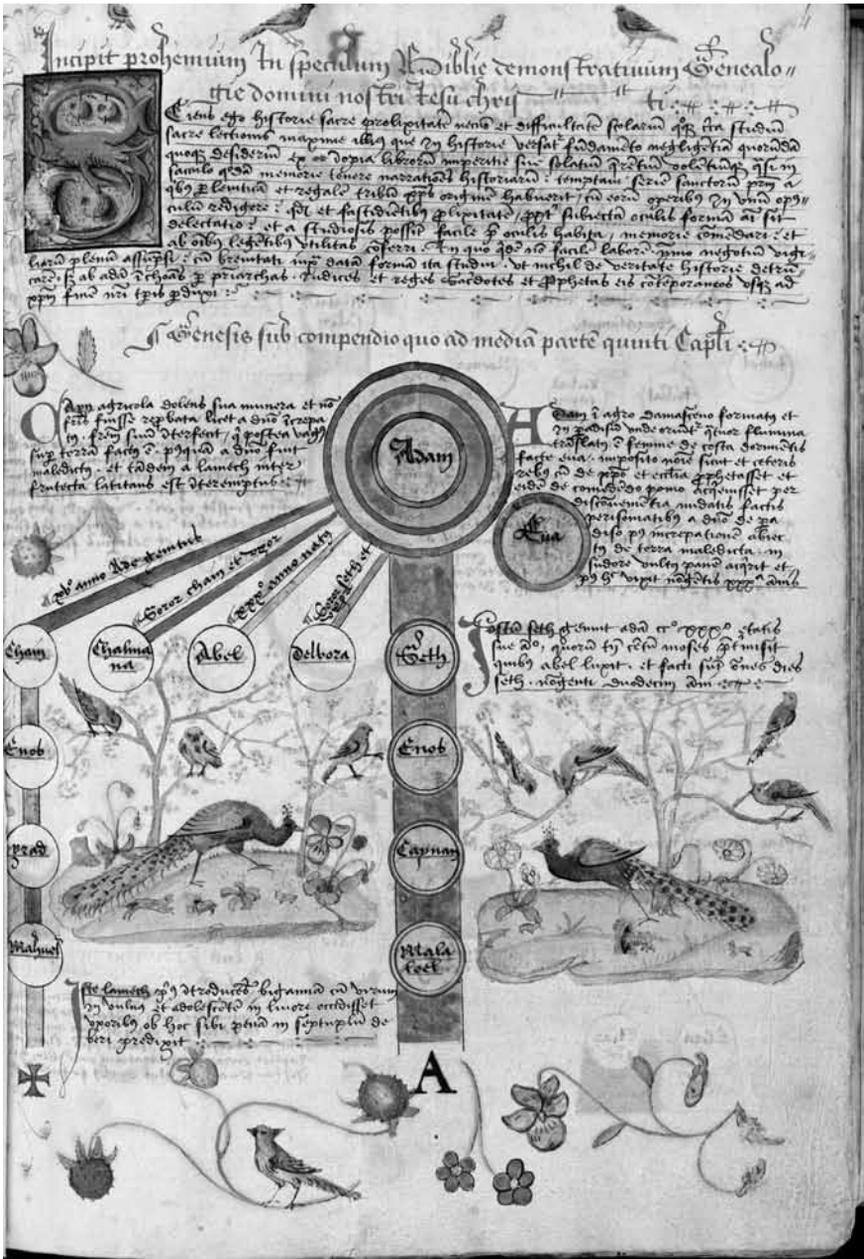


Figure 5.1 Genealogy of Christ from Adam, in *Speculum biblie demonstrativum genealogie domini nostri Iesu Christi*

Source: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 15003–48, 4r, reproduced with permission.

three years: 'because of the difficulty of the business, he feared that [the house] would not prosper; but no-one is able to resist the divine will; for he who has difficulty in the beginning, through the grace of God will have in the future a better end.'<sup>12</sup> The texture of narration here shifts around the central clause: 'sed voluntati divine nemo resistere potest'. God's will is consistent and provides a ground for hope: what begins in hardship will have a better end.

Hardship continues in Vekenstijl's account of the arrival of the monastery's first monks. Parachuted in to sing the divine office within the period required by Egidius's will, the brothers are met 'with joy and great happiness.'<sup>13</sup> Yet joy swiftly turns to a catalogue of the trials endured by the monastery's first monks:

O how small was the foundation of this house! The next day we came to the place where we were to build the new monastery. And there a farmer was waiting for us, with his wife and manservant and maid, who cooked our food for us in their kitchen with their utensils. We didn't even have a seat, or a pot in which we could cook soup. We kept ourselves warm in their kitchen, where the family was sitting. We celebrated Mass in the hospital, and sometimes in the chapel of the Holy Cross. On the feast of Simon and Jude we sang the first Mass over a wooden box, which stood in a hall resembling a barn, where the wind and rain were so forceful that we could not keep a candle burning.<sup>14</sup>

Affective responses are evoked and maintained here through detailed narration that allows readerly identification with the monastery's plight. The particular practices of the Carthusian order, intimately familiar to the chronicle's first readers, intensify the brothers' ordeal. Carthusian monks were enclosed, devoted to a contemplative life removed from the world. Yet here they must sit, eat, and warm themselves in the presence not simply of the laity, but of women. The fireside was a site of particular anxiety for reformed religious houses in the fifteenth century. The 1466 Ghent convocation of the newly reformed Dominican congregation of Holland, for example, explicitly enjoined silence

<sup>12</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233: 'Timuit enim propter arduitatem negocii, quod non haberet prosperum successum; sed voluntati divine nemo resistere potest; licet haberet in principio difficile principium, per gratiam Dei habebit in futuro meliorem finem.'

<sup>13</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233: 'cum gaudio et ingenti letitia.'

<sup>14</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233–4: 'O quam parvam foundationem habuit domus ista! Altera die accessimus ad locum, ubi construendum esset novum monasterium. Et ibidem morabatur colonus, cum uxore et famulo et ancilla, qui coxerunt nobis escas nostras in coquina eorum cum utensilibus eorum. Nec sedem, nec ollam, in qua coqueremus potagium, minime habuimus. Calefacimus nos in coquina eorum, ubi familia sedebat. Celebravimus missas in hospitali infirmorum, et in capella aliquando sancte Crucis. In die Symonis et Jude cantavimus primam missam supra cistam ligneam, que stetit in aula instar horrei, ubi venti et pluvie vehementes erant, quod non potuimus candelam ardentem tenere.'

on brothers gathering around the fire.<sup>15</sup> The highly problematic warm, enclosed (though not enclosed) intimacy of the kitchen is then sharply contrasted with the celebration of the Mass in a very unenclosed barn, as the elements break through roof and walls and extinguish the candles.

This passage inhabits at least two time frames. The historical time of the house's foundation is characterised by the brothers' hardships and their uncertain future. A monastic reader of the chronicle living after the monastery's successful foundation knows its 'better end', and can read each ordeal within a longer narrative arc of divine providence. This second temporality, designed to evoke gratitude for past events, and compassion with sufferings already endured and overcome, evokes the temporalities of the liturgy, which represented Christ's sufferings as real sufferings to be undergone by his followers, yet as sufferings overcome in his resurrection. It comes as no surprise, then, that a liturgical voice breaks into the narrative at this episode's conclusion: 'O how greatly is God to be praised, who does not abandon those who hope in him, as says the Psalmist: God is the protector of all who hope in him.'<sup>16</sup> In this moment, the first and second temporalities are fused as the monastic readers of the chronicle join their voices with those pioneering brothers who placed their trust in God, his super-temporal protection enduring through past, present, and future; a community is constructed that inhabits the affective narratives of the monastery's history and joins its history to the trans-temporal community of the liturgy.

The keynote of this affective relation to time was hope. Hope was also a foundation of the monastery's affective architecture in the construction of its first cells.<sup>17</sup> Jan Overhof, a citizen of Antwerp, donated land for the first cell, which became entangled in an ownership dispute with the Duke of Nassau.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the monastery would not have been founded without hope of this now-disputed income.<sup>19</sup> Because of this very hope, God does not abandon his people – indeed this initial poverty is seen as a gift from God to foster the affective virtue of *caritas* (charity/love). Here the literal economy of the foundation is transformed into an affective economy where (citing Augustine) the diminution of disorderly greed is the growth of charity.<sup>20</sup> Once again, this transformation is marked by a liturgical invocation: the transformative clause is 'nevertheless, God did not abandon his people', echoing Psalm 37:28.<sup>21</sup> The suffering of poverty

<sup>15</sup> A. de Meyer, *La Congrégation de Hollande ou la réforme dominicaine en territoire bourguignon* (Liège: Imprimerie Soledi, 1946), 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 234: 'O quantum laudandus est Deus, qui non deserit sperantes in se, sicut ait psalmista: Deus protector est omnium sperantium in se.'

<sup>17</sup> Further evidence of attention to hope appears in BL, MS Harley 3591, fol. 2v.

<sup>18</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235.

<sup>19</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235.

<sup>20</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235: 'Augmentum charitatis est diminutio cupiditatis.'

<sup>21</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235: 'Nichilominus deus non derelinquet suos.'

becomes a redemptive process that transforms hope into love. The virtue and wound of poverty is an ordering concept here, mobilised in the history of the house to structure the pious, biblical, emotional narratives experienced by the founding monks.

This episode draws into focus the immense importance of donations for the new monastery. Traces of the role played by affective relationships in generating donations appear throughout the chronicle. Among the most obvious emotions are fear or love of God and solicitude for the soul, often portrayed as the donor's motivations.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes, however, thicker affective descriptions emerge. The richest of these narratives concerns the monastery's chief benefactor, the merchant Walter Zielens. By detailing Walter's story, the chronicle participates in forming an emotional memory of the monastery's chief donor, combining *memoria* for his soul with the monastic disciplines of *caritas* and compassion.<sup>23</sup>

The episode begins by outlining Walter's character as charitable, just, and fearful.<sup>24</sup> Then, surprisingly, the chronicler inserts himself into the narrative, drawing the reader more closely into the relationship described, and memorialising his own actions in providing for the monastery's future: 'I, brother Jan of Louvain, being procurator in this new plantation, on account of necessity and poverty determined to visit Walter in Antwerp, where the merchant was staying in a house called *in Ethiope*. And I revealed our need to him.'<sup>25</sup> Walter promises to visit the house in Louvain within a year but is kept from his journey by cares and anxieties. This problematic affective state – worldly cares impeding a pious intention – is reversed, perhaps by divine will, through a sudden illness.<sup>26</sup> Walter promises, if he is able to rise from his bed, to visit the house at Louvain. The visit is finally made, 'and on seeing [Jan], his old friend, he was delighted'.<sup>27</sup> This visit, made in person, is repeated each time the chronicle was read, making the donor present again, rejoicing at meeting his old friend.

---

<sup>22</sup> For example, *Carthusian Chronicle*, 237, 239, 240. On *timor Dei*, see also BL, MS Harley, fols 2r, 3r.

<sup>23</sup> For a classic article in the densely forested field of *memoria*, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in *Death in the Middle Ages*, eds Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 19–77.

<sup>24</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 239: 'Hic erat elemosinarius, et justus et timoratus.'

<sup>25</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 239: '[Walterum] ego frater Joannes de Lovanio, procurator existens in nova plantatione, propter necessitatem et penuriam consuevi visitare in Antwerpia in hospitio suo, ubi manebat praefatus mercator Walterus in hospitio, quod vocatur in Ethiope. Et aperui ei necessitatem nostram.'

<sup>26</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 240: 'Under accidit forsitan divina voluntate, quod egrotare cepit acriter.'

<sup>27</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 240: 'Qui videns me fratrem Johannem, antiquum suum amicum, gavisus est.'

The story is not, however, simply about making the monastery 'feel good' about its donor. Constructing a loving relationship also helped to maintain good relations with those administering Walter's will, chiefly his brother Gisbert, who would become (again after initial obstacles) another great benefactor. This Gisbert

who earlier was not well-inclined towards the house, through the grace of God was so turned and to such an extent, that he gave liberally of his goods and money, and he did not wish to stop or to withdraw his hand, until the church was complete, so that the brothers could sing the divine praises there. May God be praised, who inclined his heart toward us, and raised it, and gave him that good will. Protect him, God, in life from all evil, and in death from the snares of invisible enemies, and after death grant him eternal life, amen.<sup>28</sup>

Gisbert's change of heart embodies the narrative pattern already traced in Vekenstijl's chronicle. Providence transforms Gisbert's reluctance into liberality. Gisbert's charity is directed towards the possibility of performing the liturgy, mirroring the narrative of the house's foundation. At a discursive level, the passage performs the institution of the liturgy following Gisbert's benefaction, by shifting into a liturgical and doxological mode even as Gisbert's newly transformed heart is aligned with the turning of God's heart towards the Carthusian house. The final transformation in register is from the doxological to the intercessory, as the chronicle takes up the social function of the Carthusian house as a community of pious *memoria*. Gratitude (doxology) leads to solicitude (intercession). Complementing the movement from affliction to redemption, this narrative structure encapsulates the monastery's function and *modus operandi*, a *modus* enacted each time the chronicle is read, as the reader joined the narrator in a trans-temporal memorial, liturgical, and emotional community.<sup>29</sup>

Liturgy was, of course, a crucial site for shaping affective norms across early modern Europe. Carthusians performed much of the daily liturgy alone in their cells.<sup>30</sup> Read in this setting, the chronicle could be a further way of drawing together the community, which, like the text itself, was divided

---

<sup>28</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 242: 'qui antea non erat inclinatus ad locum. Iam per gratiam Dei ita inclinatus erat et adhuc, quod de suo et de sua pecunia liberaliter contulit, et non vult cessare nec retrahere manum suam, donec ecclesia completa fuerit ut fratres potuerunt ibidem divinas laudes cantare. Laudetur Deus, qui cor ejus inclinavit ad nos, et suscitavit et dedit voluntatem istam bonam. Conservet eum Dominus in vita ab omni malo, et in morte ab insidiis invisibilium inimicorum, et post mortem sibi conferat vitam sempiternam, amen.'

<sup>29</sup> On emotional communities, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans, 1955), 1–61; Anne D. Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion and Carthusian

into cells yet strove for unity. In forging affective regularity within Louvain's Carthusian house, liturgy and history were joined by images, prominent among them the extraordinary stained-glass windows installed in the great cloister and monastery church. One key figure in this rich array of glass was Mary Magdalene. Magdalene was important to the Carthusian order. By the fifteenth century, her identification with the *vita contemplativa*, in contrast to the *vita activa* of her (supposed) sister Martha, had been widely established.<sup>31</sup> Her particular importance within a Burgundian Carthusian milieu is indicated by her appearance as the sole figure beneath the crucifix that surmounted Claus Sluter's remarkable Well of Moses, at the Charterhouse at Champmol, the centre of Burgundian dynastic *memoria*.<sup>32</sup> More locally, Magdalene's importance is demonstrated by images like *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (1445–50) by the Louvain artist Dieric Bouts (Figure 5.2). In this vivid image of devotion, Mary anoints Christ's feet with her tears, providing a model of affective penitence and piety for a Carthusian monk kneeling in prayer.<sup>33</sup>

Louvain's Carthusian house was itself dedicated to Mary Magdalene as the 'house of blessed Mary Magdalene beneath the cross on the mount of Calvary'.<sup>34</sup> This name mirrored the physical setting of the monastery: Vekenstijl's chronicle identifies the land bought by Walter Waterlet as being in the parish of St James, near the chapel of the Holy Cross.<sup>35</sup> Louvain's Carthusians also gathered material on Magdalene beyond her standard legend from the Dominican Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio's *Aurea Rosa* and Petrarch's devotional poem *Dulcis amica Dei*.<sup>36</sup> Petrarch's poem commences with a brief imprecation to Magdalene to

---

Devotional Practices', in *The Sacred Image East and West*, eds Robert G. Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 192.

<sup>31</sup> Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 116–42. In the Carthusian context, see Susie Nash, 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses" for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Part III', *Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): 730.

<sup>32</sup> On the well, see Nash's tripartite study: 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses" for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Parts I, II and III', *Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005); 148 (2006); 150 (2008). The literature on Champmol is extensive. The most recent monograph is Sherry C.M. Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Catheline Périer-d'Ieteren, Paul Philippot, and Valentine Henderiks, *Dieric Bouts: The Complete Works* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2006), 230–46.

<sup>34</sup> Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1457; *Carthusian Chronicle*, 251: 'domus beate Marie Magdalene sub cruce in monte Calvarie'.

<sup>35</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 230.

<sup>36</sup> KBR, MS 15003–48, fols 384r–387v. On Silvestro and Magdalene, see Michael Tavuzzi, *Prierias: The Life and Works of Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, 1456–1527* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 32–4. For an English translation, see Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, trans A.S. Bernardo, S. Levin, and R.A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns



Figure 5.2 Dieric Bouts, *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, 40.5 x 60cm, Oil on Wood, c. 1445–50

Source: Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, reproduced with permission.

‘look kindly’ on the speakers’ tears.<sup>37</sup> These tears mirror Magdalene’s tears, which ‘bathe[d] [Christ’s] holy feet.’<sup>38</sup> Christ’s memory of these tears, her clinging to the foot of the cross, and her ‘tears soaking his wounds,’ are the cause for his appearance to her first after his resurrection.<sup>39</sup> The final lines turn to Mary’s life as a contemplative hermit.<sup>40</sup> In her cave, Magdalene’s ‘hunger, cold, and hard bed of stone | were sweetened by [her] love and hope,’ and she is ‘seven hours of the day upward borne, to hear responsive hymns of heavenly choirs.’<sup>41</sup> The poem constructs Mary both as a patron and an exemplum of piety, whose penitence and grief are transformed through the liturgical ordering of time into heavenly joys, nurtured by the virtues of love and hope. In dedicating themselves

---

Hopkins University Press, 1992), 597–8; for links with Carthusian spirituality, see Eva Duperray, ‘*Le Carmen de Beata Maria Magdalena*. Mari-Madeleine dans l’oeuvre de François Pétrarque: image emblématique de la Belle Laure’, in *Marie Magdalene dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eva Duperray (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989).

<sup>37</sup> Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 1–3, from KBR, MS 15003–48, fol. 387v.

<sup>38</sup> Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, line 4.

<sup>39</sup> Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 7–20.

<sup>40</sup> Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 21–36.

<sup>41</sup> Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 31–2, 34–6.

to Magdalene, Louvain's Carthusians knit themselves into a single body – the body of the devout, contemplative, penitential disciple – standing sorrowfully beneath the cross and praying the liturgical hours. This body is a gendered and affective body, transfused with deep compassion and love for her crucified saviour. Late medieval Christians were accustomed to such cross-gendered identifications: believers were Christian by virtue of their incorporation into both the masculine body of Christ (especially in the Eucharist), and the feminine body of Mary (the Church, the Bride of Christ).<sup>42</sup> Identification with the penitent and celibate Magdalene was particularly apposite within monastic orders like the Carthusians. This identification finds a startling visual expression in one of the monastery's windows (Figure 5.3).

Magdalene kneels with arms upraised in a gesture of grief common in her iconography from the thirteenth century onwards, as the mendicant orders increasingly emphasised her sorrow and love for Christ.<sup>43</sup> For Carthusians, Magdalene's pose might have held more particular resonances. In their rite, the celebrant performed the Canon of the Mass with arms extended *in modum crucifixi*.<sup>44</sup> Devoutly viewing Magdalene in the stained-glass window, the Carthusian monk is strongly invited to mirror the actions of the house's patron, as she mirrors the form of the crucified Christ with arms uplifted on the cross.<sup>45</sup> This kind of visual compassion – the sharing of Christ's bodily form as a way of participating in his Passion – had a venerable tradition in late medieval piety, in the Carthusian tradition, and beyond.<sup>46</sup> The Carthusian viewer's double identification with Christ and Magdalene through a liturgical gesture familiar to his own body suggests how the Carthusian Mass itself belonged to a cross-temporal web of affective *imitatio*.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> This generalisation is not meant to efface possible genderings of Christ's body as feminine or Mary's body as masculine.

<sup>43</sup> See Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene: Myth and Metaphor* (London: HarperCollins, 1993); Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 91–3.

<sup>44</sup> Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion', 196.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Magdalene is likewise given particular prominence as a model for affective piety in two panels of the life of Christ – the raising of Lazarus, and the anointing of Christ's feet at the house of Simon the Pharisee – now in the Church of St Gwenllwyfo, Llanwenllwyfo. For the church and its windows, see the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies' online Stained Glass in Wales catalogue: <http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/site/324> [accessed 15 May 2014].

<sup>46</sup> Otto G. von Simson, 'Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*', *The Art Bulletin* 35, no. 1 (1953): 9–16. For a parallel reading of a van der Weyden Crucifixion within a Carthusian milieu, see Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion'.

<sup>47</sup> See also Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion', 197.

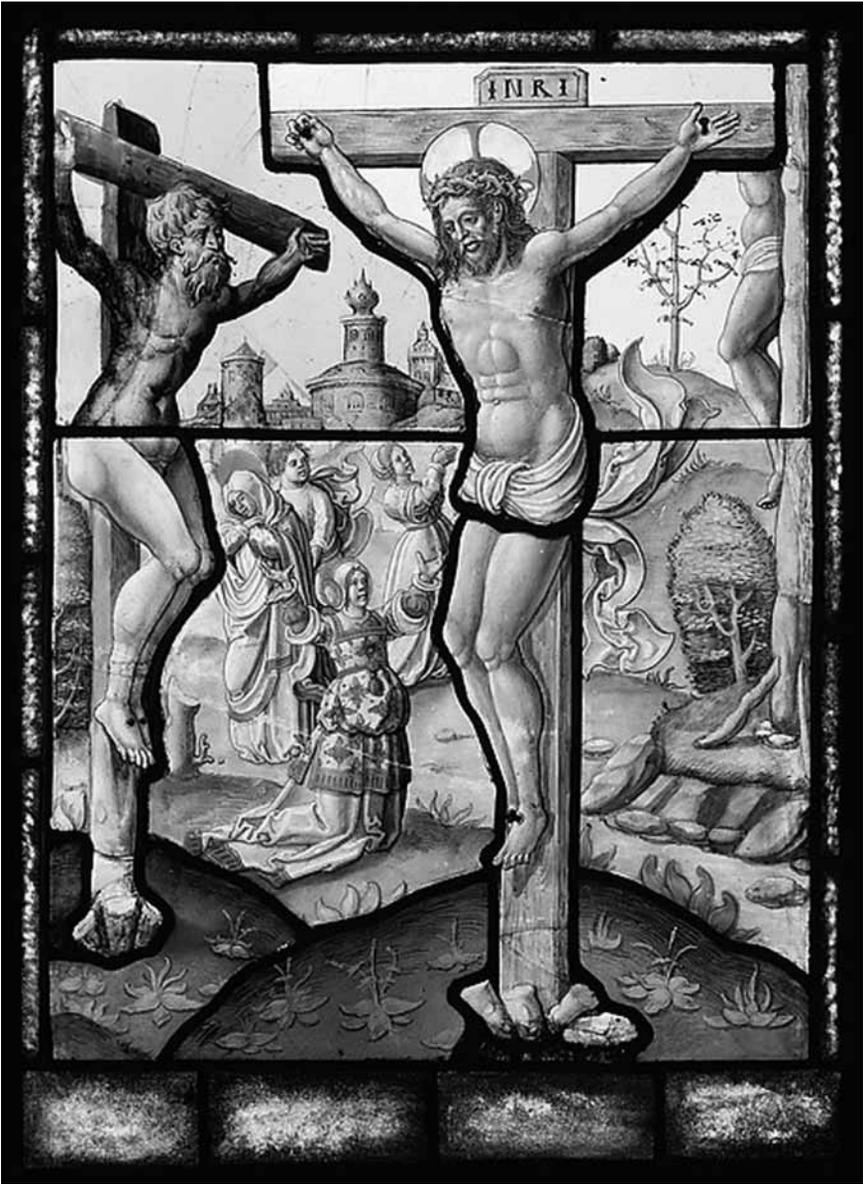


Figure 5.3 *Crucifixion* from the Carthusian Monastery of Louvain, Stained Glass, 66 x 49.5cm, c. 1525–1530

Source: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).

An unusual iconographical feature of the window heightens this sense of the devout Carthusian's substitution for Magdalene in the Passion scene.<sup>48</sup> In the sixteenth century, artists experimented with the iconography of the crucifixion, altering the depth of field, point of view, and perspective to create dramatic new visualisations of the events on Calvary.<sup>49</sup> In such images, the bad thief is sometimes marginalised, embodying his exclusion from Christ's gaze (and the community of the elect) as Christ turns towards the good thief.<sup>50</sup> The Louvain window removes the bad thief altogether, for the group of mourners are not at the foot of the central cross at all, but rather turn towards a partially obscured cross to the viewer's right. This cross appears to be a representation of the crucified Christ from another perspective. This split perspective allows the devout viewer to inhabit the same perspective on Christ as the devout Magdalene, while also gazing on her. The image thus explores the paradoxes of inhabiting biblical narratives through affective visionary piety. By disordering the quotidian possibilities of space and perspective, the window perhaps ordered and trained the affective dispositions of its viewer towards pity, repentance, and compassion.

One final figure warrants attention: the good thief. Both he and Magdalene were models of sin, penitence, and redemption.<sup>51</sup> In a visual expression of their similarities, these figures appear on the same angled plane in the image, both with arms raised. By presenting the devout viewer with these analogous models of penitent virtue without the bad thief – a figure of unrepentant blasphemy and despair – the image perhaps provided a clean lens for perceiving the penitential virtues of the devout soul. A latent contrast between the virtue of hope (*spes*) and the vice of despair (*desperatio*) is certainly in operation. Yet the image might also challenge the Carthusian viewer about his perspective on the crucifixion: did the monk himself inhabit the position of the unrepentant thief, despairing of salvation and eternally damned? Or did he mirror those grave sinners who, through their penitent hope, love, and fellow suffering, would one day be with Christ in paradise? The devout Carthusian might thus inhabit a shifting space, encouraged by the unsettling image to move around the cross in an embodiment of the Carthusian motto *stat crux dum volvitur orbis* ('the cross stands still while the world turns').<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> I have thus far been unable to discover a direct model.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Crucifixion* (1503), Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

<sup>50</sup> Luke 23:39–43.

<sup>51</sup> On the mendicant foundations of this discourse, see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 199–244; Janet Robson, 'The Pilgrim's Progress: Reinterpreting the Trecento Fresco Programme in the Lower Church at Assisi', in *The Art of the Franciscan Order*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 54–60.

<sup>52</sup> King, *Liturgies*, 2. Even more speculatively, we might read *orbis* as referring to the globes of the eyes, a secondary meaning of the word active for sixteenth-century readers

The revolving of the world, of course, evokes the movement of time. For Louvain's Carthusians, what remained stable within time was the redemptive action of God. Desiring to cling to this stable centre, like Magdalene in so many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century crucifixions, Louvain's Carthusian house, as we have seen, used histories, liturgies, and images to inhabit the affective narratives of Christian history.<sup>53</sup> Escaping time was not possible; making a still, ordered, enclosed space for performing and re-embodying virtuous affective relationships with time and God, however, might transform time into the stable patterns discerned in salvation history.

And yet stable narrative time could be disrupted, as the final section of Venekstijl's chronicle startlingly shows. In 1500, a terrible flood struck Louvain, destroying gates, walls, and homes, and sweeping coffins out of St Gertrude's church.<sup>54</sup> Many fled to their roofs to escape the rising waters, and afterwards the town's inhabitants faced terrible famine.<sup>55</sup> The chronicle's account of this disaster follows the pattern already identified: communal sufferings are written into a structure of divine providence, this time through the language of God's refining anger.

Let us, the people of Louvain, praise our God, who scourges us in the present, that he might spare us in the future, and turn his anger from us and send forth his blessing on us. He strikes and heals, wounds and cures, kills and gives life. Therefore, let us be patient, awaiting God's blessing. For it is he who can restore all which has been lost in the twinkling of an eye.<sup>56</sup>

The present thus becomes a time of divine scourging which unites the suffering town of Louvain with the suffering body of the scourged and crucified Christ.<sup>57</sup> Once again it is the entry of liturgical discourse, *Laudemus*, that performs the

---

through Ovid's *Amores* (1.8.16) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (12.670).

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Sandro Botticelli's *Crucifixion* (c. 1497), Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA.

<sup>54</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243.

<sup>55</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243.

<sup>56</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'Laudemus nos Lovanienses deum nostrum, qui nos flagellat in presenti, ut nobis parcat in futuro; et avertat iram suam a nobis, et immitat nobis suam benedictionem. Ipse percutit et sanat, vulnerat et medetur, mortificat et vivificat. Simus igitur patientes, expectantes Dei benedictionem. Ipse est, qui in ictu oculi possit omnia perditam restituere.'

<sup>57</sup> For an example of the scourge, time, and historiography, see Baron Kervyn De Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, 8 vols (Brussels: F. Heussner, 1863–66), I, 3–8. On its theological importance, see Matthew Champion, 'Scourging the Temple of God: Towards an Understanding of Nicolas Jacquier's *Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum* (1458)', *Parergon* 28, no. 1 (2011): 1–24, at 11–13.

application of this central Christian narrative to contemporary life. In this particular passage, the guarantee of hope amid suffering is located in God's mastery over time. Not only is God active in the vast stretch of time – in his foreknowledge scourging in the present so that he may show future mercy – he is also able to act in the swiftest and smallest measure of time: in the twinkling of an eye (*in ictu oculi*).<sup>58</sup> In this simple episode, then, a whole structure of experiencing and relating to time is revealed and, in its revelation, deployed to explain and ameliorate Louvain's present suffering, to reorder its disordered relationship with God.

This burst of hope is, however, followed by another catalogue of disturbing, violent events, triggered by a story of demonic possession: 'Item, in the year of the Lord, 1501, around Lent, a certain girl in Louvain was possessed, who was staying not far from the Chapel of St Margaret.'<sup>59</sup> After 1500, a Jubilee year, 1501 was a 'wretched year, for it contained many pitiable things'.<sup>60</sup> Around the feast of the Purification, a man fell into a boiling vat and broke his neck, and a young butcher killed his uncle, and was in turn gruesomely punished. There follow three short narratives recording the suicide of a young cleric, a secretary's attempted suicide, and the suicide of a woman.<sup>61</sup>

While these violent events can be read under the sign of a demonic scourge, the stories themselves are situated in a new temporality, one which breaks the chronological shape of the chronicle and its arrangement by the building of monastic cells: the temporality of the strange and wondrous event.

Item, in my time, around the middle of Lent in the year [14]95, a certain young cleric, around 22 years old, wished to kill himself either out of impatience or some discontent. He was, however, of honest life, as it is said, for he was not able to hear a dishonest word, and if he did, immediately, as if hit by a stone on his forehead, he would depart. He took counsel, and went to confession; and the lord *terminarius* of Louvain (from the Carmelite Order) said that he had placed him in peace and in serenity of conscience. When the Sunday in the middle of Lent had come, this man hung himself with a rope on a beam; and I marvelled greatly, for his feet were scarcely above the ground, and if he had stood erect he would not have been hung. And I put my hand between his neck and the noose, and indeed his neck was broken; and I marvelled, when I saw it. I hastened onto the roof and looked out. Item, in the year [14]98 there was a certain secretary ... master Bartholomeus de Ruysseche. He strove to die, and did not wish to live any

<sup>58</sup> Recalling I Corinthians 15:52.

<sup>59</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'Item, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup> primo, circa carnis privium, fuit quendam puella in Lovanio obsessa, que manebat non longe a capella sancte Margarete.'

<sup>60</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'post annum gratie erat annus miserie, nam multe miserie contigerunt.'

<sup>61</sup> For other suicides in Louvain, see Raymond van Uytven, *Het dagelijks leven in een middeleeuwse stad: Leuven anno 1448* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1998), 74.

longer. Thus he sought out every way of killing himself out of some despair or faintheartedness. He, receiving and hearing advice from everyone, was not able to free himself from such a temptation. At length he cast himself into a well, so that he might easily be drowned; but, with the protection of divine grace, he was not able to drown before help arrived and he, though unwilling, was pulled out. Afterwards he returned to himself and to his office, giving thanks to God, who had rescued him from such great danger. Item, in the year of our Lord [14]97 a certain woman in Louvain quarrelled with her neighbour, and she, out of excessive impatience or at the prompting of the Devil, threw herself into a well, and was drowned. She was pulled out by the servants of the bailiff and was hung on a fork.<sup>62</sup> Oh, what an evil passion is anger! Humans ought to preserve themselves from anger, lest they be drawn back into the dominion of the Devil.<sup>63</sup>

Here, the author breaks with standard chronology and shifts into a personalised time (*tempore meo*). The young cleric's suicide shifts time into a form not ordered by time's natural course, but skipping from 1501 to 1495, 1498, and 1497. This difficult passage admits a variety of interpretations. One takes its inspiration from theorisations of suicide as a moment of rupture: fringing on the non-narratable, the intentions and motivations of the suicide cannot be recovered.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> On such forks, see Hannes Lowagie, "Bij desperatien". Zelfmoord in het graafschap Vlaanderen tijdens de Bourgondische periode (1384–1500), *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11 (2008): 107–9.

<sup>63</sup> *Carthusian Chronicle*, 244: 'Item, tempore meo, circa mediam quadragesimam anno xcvi, quidam clericus adolescens, habens annos circiter xxij, ex impatientia vel ex quadam displicentia voluit seipsum occidere. Erat tamen honeste vite, prout dicebatur, nam non poterat audire verbum inhonestum, quin statim quasi lapide fronte percussus recessit. Habuit consilium, quod ivit ad confessionem; et dominus terminarius Lovaniensis de ordine Carmelitarum dixit quod posuerat eum in pace et serenitate conscientie. Qui, cum dominica medie quadragesime surrexisset, seipsum suspendit cum mappa ad trabem; et miror valde, vix erat per pedem supra terram, et si stetisset erectus non fuisset suspensus. Et misi manum meam inter collum eius et laqueum, et tamen collum erat confractum; de quo mirabar, cum vidissem. Perrexi super solarium et perspexi. Item, anno xcviij erat quidam secretarius ... magister Bartholomeus de Ruyssche. Hic mortem expetiit, et noluit diutius vivere. Unde omnem modum seipsum occidendi quesivit ex quadam desperatione vel pusillanimitate. Qui ab omnibus recipiens et audiens consilium a tali temptatione non poterat liberari. Tandem proiecit seipsum in puteo per dorsum, ut facilius submergeretur; sed divina gratia protegente, non potuit mergi, donec succurrerent, qui eum invitum extraherent. Postea rediit ad seipsum et ad officium suum, deo gratias agens, qui eum a tanto periculo eruit. Item, anno domini xcviij quedam mulier in Lovanio litigavit cum vicina sua, et illa ex nimia impatientia vel ex instigante dyabolo proiecit se in puteo, et submersa a clientibus villici extracta in furca est suspensa. Och, quam mala passio ira! Debent se homines servare ab ira, ne in dominium dyaboli redigantur.'

<sup>64</sup> Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000), I, 21–40.

This makes the meaning of the violent act ambiguous.<sup>65</sup> Narrative breakdown in the chronicle is suggested by the episode's mysterious ending – the chronicler rushing to the roof to look out. Intention, here, as with the suicide, is opaque: there is no narrative closure. In the other suicide-related episodes, the chronicler might be seen to 'work' on his experience, framing suicide within God's mercy in the second narrative, and the evils of the passions in the third. This developing reintegration of suicide into norms of divine protection and diabolic temptation is mapped onto the temporal plane as the dating of the episodes returns from *tempus meum* to *anno Domini* in the third episode.

Another approach to these unsettling stories would situate them alongside contemporary discussions of time and narrative. In late fifteenth-century Louvain, one such discussion arose in work on Gospel chronology undertaken by the eminent university theologian Peter de Rivo. A 1499 entry in the Carthusian chronicle records de Rivo's death and the donation of his canon law and theology books to the house. Among de Rivo's extensive literary output was a harmonisation of the four Gospels, the *Monotesseron evangelicum de verbo dei temporaliter incarnato* (Monotesseron of the Gospels concerning the Word of God Incarnate in Time).<sup>66</sup> The *Monotesseron's* introductory dialogue between a *discipulus* (Simon) and *magister* (Peter) explores how narratives organise time. Simon observes that historians often alter the arrangements of events, ceasing to follow the natural flow of time.<sup>67</sup> Peter responds, drawing on Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, to outline a taxonomy of narrative rearrangements of 'natural' time, including rearrangements for narrating doctrine and miracles.<sup>68</sup> This alteration in time's order explains differences between the Gospels, in passages like the Sermon on the Mount, interpreted by Peter as gathering together material from a variety of times within Jesus' ministry for doctrinal purposes. It also, crucially, accounts for variations between Gospels in the chronology of Christ's crucifixion.<sup>69</sup> In Matthew, the temple curtain is torn following Christ's death;<sup>70</sup> in Luke, it happens beforehand.<sup>71</sup> Peter argues that Matthew's chronology is accurate, since Luke altered the order of narration

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Philippa C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1442* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 12–13.

<sup>66</sup> For discussion of the *Monotesseron*, see Matthew Champion, 'The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries' (PhD diss., University of London, 2014), 204–64. Louvain's Carthusians may have known de Rivo's *Monotesseron*, but surviving book lists do not include significant information on the house's manuscripts. See Algemeen Rijksarchief, Comité de la Caisse de religion, 73/108.

<sup>67</sup> KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 13v.

<sup>68</sup> KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 13v.

<sup>69</sup> KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 14v.

<sup>70</sup> Matthew 27:50–51.

<sup>71</sup> Luke 23:45–46.

to join the miracle of the darkened sun at the hour of Christ's death with the rending of the temple curtain.<sup>72</sup> Read in this context, Vekenstijl's narration groups together violent events under the sign of a miraculous/doctrinal temporality, with the implication that these stories are partly organised to edify their readers. The violent narratives in this cluster become available for interpretation not as random events, but as ways of structuring the perception of time – the threshold of the new century – and shaping the affective norms of the surrounding community.<sup>73</sup>

Edifying stories should not surprise us within a culture saturated with aural, visual, and personal *exempla*.<sup>74</sup> In the *exempla* tradition, short narratives concerning suicide (often involving members of religious orders) provided material on disciplining the passions and maintaining stable affective lives within monastic communities and beyond.<sup>75</sup> Read this way, the affective vocabulary within the chronicle's narratives arguably folds its traumatic events into recognised (though problematic) narrative structures. The suicide in the Carthusian house is attributed to *impatientia*, inability to endure *passio* (suffering) – so important to a Carthusian's *imitatio Christi* – or to *displicentia*, a discontentedness tied to lack of contentment with one's lot, a critical problem for an order founded on monastic stability. Similarly, Bartholomeus's attempted suicide is framed by possible despair (*desperatio*) and faintheartedness (*pusillanimitas*). Despair, in the *exempla* tradition and more widely, was tied to an inability to believe in the magnitude of God's mercy towards the sinful soul.<sup>76</sup> Bartholomeus's attempted suicide might thus exemplify a failure to correctly understand both penitence (hence the faintheartedness) and God's mercy. God's intervention to protect Bartholomeus becomes an exemplary sign of mercy towards even the most destitute sinner, one who comes closest to despair and yet is saved. The trope of despair might, indeed, be adumbrated in the cleric's suicide. Exemplary narratives and illustrations often depict a demon of despair fleeing the scene after a suicide.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps this is why the chronicler rushes to the

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De consensu*, 3.19.

<sup>73</sup> A classic study of the role of violence in forming communal order is Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*.

<sup>74</sup> Visual and personal *exempla* appeared in the monastery's windows; visitations called for 'examples of true humility and true charity'; textual *exempla* appeared throughout KBR, MS 15003–48, and in other sermon collections. See BL, MS Harley 3591, fols 1v, 17r; Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1462.

<sup>75</sup> See Murray, *Suicide*, I, 331–47. For further *exempla*, see Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969), nos 208, 454, 1192, 4664–72, 5212.

<sup>76</sup> Lowagic, "Bij desperatien", 114–17.

<sup>77</sup> Murray, *Suicide*, I, 334–5.

roof: to see the demon of despair that has caused the death of this young cleric. The final story could be read analogously as an exemplum of the dangers of *ira*.

In a remarkable reflection on the *exempla* tradition, Jacques Le Goff suggested that *exempla* were deeply entwined with the history of time.<sup>78</sup> Nestled within his reflection is the observation that ‘the time of the exemplum drew upon and in turn nourished the time of private memory.’<sup>79</sup> In light of the foregoing reading of Louvain’s Carthusian chronicle, we might add that exemplary time forms its readers through the constant reapplication of affective norms: the time of the *exemplum*, the time of the monastic chronicle as a whole, the time of the Carthusian liturgy, and the time of the devotional image, are shot through with emotion. Vekenstijl’s personal memory seems shaped by the affective narrative plots of *exempla*. It can become, through its inscription in the chronicle – a public, shared memory within the community of monastic readers – a collective exemplary *memoria* sharing the contours of affective temporality, which we have already seen embodied in the chronicle’s *memoria* of the community’s history and benefactors, and in its liturgical and devotional *memoria* of Christ’s passion.

Jan Vekenstijl’s chronicle has a particular ‘emotional style’, a style that proved challenging for later readers. In an early sixteenth-century chronicle written at Louvain’s house by Jan de Thimo, and drawing heavily on Vekenstijl’s chronicle, references to Vekenstijl’s personal experiences and relationships are removed. Was Jan’s affective history perhaps seen as ‘too emotional’? Do we see traces here of competing understandings of history, the subjective voice, and the deployment of emotions in Louvain’s Carthusian house? Again, a seventeenth-century historical compilation by the Brussels Carthusian Pieter de Wal emends Vekenstijl’s account to remove some of his personal material, and completely excises the material on wonders.<sup>80</sup> In these cases, the practice of history disciplines the personal and constructs a normative voice with a narrowed affective range. Was this transformation coloured by changing relationships between affective discipline and masculinity? By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Vekenstijl was read in a new temporal and affective register: no longer a subjective historian in need of discipline, he was celebrated for his ‘style très naïf’ and ‘grande naïvité.’<sup>81</sup> Such accounts of Vekenstijl’s style appear alongside scholarly discourse on the ‘Flemish primitives’, and characterisations of the emotional childhood of the autumnal Middle Ages. By the early twenty-first century Vekenstijl is anything but naive – he appears now as an affective

<sup>78</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 78–80.

<sup>79</sup> Le Goff, *Medieval Imagination*, 80.

<sup>80</sup> KBR, MS 4051–68, fols 47r–58v; Delvaux, ‘Chartreuse’, 1460.

<sup>81</sup> Reusens, ‘Chronique’, 229; Delvaux, ‘Chartreuse’, 1460.

historian engaged in emotional regulation and exploration, both for himself and his future readers. Through the pane of his text, we can see some of the ways that emotions and the social order of time were bound together in sixteenth-century Louvain.

## Chapter 6

# A Landscape of Ruins: Decay and Emotion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Antiquarian Narratives<sup>1</sup>

Alicia Marchant

[The antiquary] is a man strangley thrifty of Time past ... he fetches out many things when they are now all rotten and stinking. Hee is one that hath that unnaturall disease to bee enamour'd of old age and wrinkles, and loves all things (as Dutchmen doe Cheese) the better for being mouldy and worme-eaten ... A great admirer he is of the rust of old Monuments, and reads only those Characters, where time hath eaten out the letters ... He never looks up on himself til he is gray-hair'd, and then he is pleased with his owne Antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

Antiquaries have a long history of bad press. In popular imagery and satire of the early modern era, such as John Earle's description of 1628, antiquaries are gendered and aged, frequently appearing as decrepit old men.<sup>3</sup> The physical qualities of the antiquary match that of his subject; both are ancient and display outward signs of the processes of wear, aging, and decline. The material objects are rotten, mouldy, and rusty, the antiquary is 'gray-hair'd' and wrinkled. The emotional strength of the antiquary too has eroded; he is in his dotage, reminiscing, and most likely senile.

The popular perception, although it is a caricature, nonetheless reveals something of the relationship imagined in the early modern era between antiquaries and the material objects of their study. Their attitudes towards the

---

<sup>1</sup> This chapter was inspired by Philippa Maddern's work on chronicle narrative. My interest began as an undergraduate when I read Philippa's article 'Weather, War and Witches: Sign and Cause in Fifteenth-Century English Vernacular Chronicles', in *A World Explored: Essays in Honour of Laurie Gardiner*, ed. Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1993), 77–98. I thank her for sharing with me her great wealth of knowledge over many years. Her energy and love for her subject remain a constant source of inspiration.

<sup>2</sup> John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie. Or A peece of the World Discovered; in Essays and Characters* (London, 1628), sigs C1v–C2r.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed examination of the image of the antiquary see Daniel Woolf, 'Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707–2007*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 11–43.

objects of their study were conceived primarily in emotive terms. According to a description from 1698, an antiquary was ‘a curious critic in old Coins, Stones and Inscriptions, in Worm-eaten Records and ancient Manuscripts, also one that affects and blindly dotes, on Relics, Ruins, old Customs Phrases and Fashions.’<sup>4</sup> While described as a ‘critic’, the apparent lack of self-control, and indeed the continuing failure on the part of the antiquary to recognise his obsession, creates a loss of perspective and objectivity; he is uncritical, and ‘blindly dotes’ with an obsession so strong that it borders on madness. More than a matter of simple curiosity for history, his was a pathological compulsion or, according to John Earle, an ‘unnaturall disease’. The excessive emotions of antiquaries for their subject are commonly linked to their excessive acquisition of material objects; in 1606, Sir Thomas Palmer alludes to the rabid consumption of materials from the past by greedy men travelling to Italy. He refers to antiques as simply ‘a fantastick attracter, and a glutton-feeder of the appetite, rather than of necessarie knowledge.’<sup>5</sup> Palmer views the antiquarian fixation as an indulgence and a delusion, divorced from reality, which plays on the equally empty desire of those who seek them. In 1592, Thomas Nashe too comments on the emptiness of antiquarian practice: ‘I know many wise gentlemen of this musty vocation who, out of love with the times wherein they live, fall a-retailing of Alexander’s stirrups, because, in verity, there is not such a strong piece of stretching leather made nowadays, nor iron so well tempered for any money.’<sup>6</sup> For Nashe, the antiquarian obsession with the past was deeply entrenched in a personal unhappiness and disappointment with the present. Commonly, this was also connected to a withdrawal from contemporary life, with depictions of a melancholy man who purposefully isolates himself from society. In his 1638 play, *The Antiquarian*, Shackerley Marmion creates the aptly named character Veterano (‘Old Man’), a selfish and obsessed antiquary. His nephew Lionell narrates:

Now I must travel, on a new exploit,  
 To an old antiquary; he is my uncle,  
 And I his heir. Would I could raise a fortune  
 Out of his ruins! He is grown obsolete,  
 And ’tis time he were out of fate. They say he sits  
 All day in contemplation of a statue  
 With ne’er nose, and doats on the decays

<sup>4</sup> *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew, in its Several Tribes, of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, Cheats, &c. with an Addition of Some Proverbs, Phrases, Figurative Speeches, &c* (London: Hawes, 1698), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make Our Travailes, into Forraigne Countries, the more Profitable and Honourable* (London: Mathew Lowne, 1606), 43–4.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Nashe, ‘Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil (1592)’, in *Selected Writings*, ed. S. Wells (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 43.

With greater love than the self-lov'd Narcissus  
Did on his beauty.<sup>7</sup>

Like Narcissus, Veterano prefers to focus on the reflection or image of a person, though in the form of a statue rather than an image in a pool.<sup>8</sup> Lionell finds it difficult to understand the nature of his uncle's sentimental attachment for such a degraded statue, a statue with a missing nose no less. He does, however, see parallels between the statue and his uncle; they have 'grown obsolete' and have no real function in, or for, society. In an epigram written in the 1590s, John Donne provides a warning to wives if their husbands start to exhibit antiquarian tendencies: 'If in his Studie he hath so much care | To hang all old strange things, let his wife beware.'<sup>9</sup> While Donne does not elaborate on what the 'wife' is to expect from such behaviour, it is not difficult, given the wealth of imagery concerning the emotional life of the antiquary that had been circulating from as early as the fourth century,<sup>10</sup> to imagine a man in self-imposed social isolation, with his collection, exhibiting excessive emotions such as love, desire, nostalgia, sentimentality, and melancholy. Those closest to him, such as his wife, should then harbour a fear of antiquarianism.

Although to be taken with a grain of salt, the mockery of the antiquary in the early modern era is instructive in its discussion of the affective relationship between the antiquaries and their subjects. In this chapter, rather than looking primarily to popular imagery and perceptions held by others, I would like instead to examine the narratives produced by the antiquaries themselves. Central to my analysis are questions of wholeness, order, disorder, and fragmentation as they pertain to the structuring of the antiquarian narrative, decay and ruin as narrative subject, and finally the antiquarian body as both a textual entity and an extra-textual reality. How did antiquaries perceive their own affective relationship to the material world they described in their narratives? Through what means is this communicated within their texts?

---

<sup>7</sup> Shackerley Marmion, *The Antiquary* (Act 1, scene 1), in *The Ancient British Drama*, ed. Walter Scott, 3 vols (London: Miller, 1810), III, 110.

<sup>8</sup> In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.339–494), a popular text in medieval and early modern England, Narcissus rejects all other admirers for the love of himself.

<sup>9</sup> John Donne, 'The Antiquary', in *The Complete English Poems*, ed. A.J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 151.

<sup>10</sup> The fourth-century Roman poet Ausonius addresses a certain Victorius, who is evidently the forerunner in his day of the early modern antiquary saying: 'Victori, studioso, memor, celer, ignoratis | assidue in libris nec nisi operta legens, | exesas tineis opिकासque evolvere chartas | maior quam promptis cura tivi in studiis.' Ausonius, 'Commemoratio professorum Burdingalensium', in *The Works of Ausonius*, ed. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), bk XI, ch. 22, lines 1–4, 57.

The antiquarian texts that I have chosen include the *Itinerarium* of William Worcester (d. c. 1482), the *Itineraries* of John Leland (d. 1552), and the *Britannia* (1586) of William Camden (d. 1623). These texts were written comparatively early within the field of antiquarianism in England.<sup>11</sup> By the eighteenth century, antiquarianism had developed significantly both in terms of scope and the sorts of people who practised it; antiquarianism was to become a popular leisure pursuit of the English gentry, primarily focused on collecting and exhibiting.<sup>12</sup> William Worcester, John Leland, and William Camden were not noted collectors of objects from antiquity, although, as will be explored, the narratives they produced were in many ways a collection of sorts that read like inventories of artefacts. These antiquaries were scholars of topography and history who were devoted to the examination and preservation of artefacts through detailed narrative descriptions and measurements. As the caricatures illustrate, antiquarianism was the domain of men. The three texts I examine were written by men, and for an imagined male audience. The resultant narrative was shaped with this in mind. The sorts of emotions one would expect to find in the antiquarian narrative are specifically masculine in both form and manner of expression.

### Antiquarian Practice, Ruins, and Nostalgia

In 1538, John Leland embarked on an ambitious project; for six years he travelled around Britain producing a comprehensive topographical survey of the libraries, landscapes, and monumental features of Britain. So thorough was his engagement that he says:

there is almost neyther cape nor baye, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forestes, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryncypall manor places, monasteryes and colleges, but I have seane them and noted in so doyng a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion of early antiquarian scholarship in England, see Antonia Gransden, 'Antiquarian Studies in Fifteenth-Century England', *The Antiquaries Journal* 60, no. 1 (1980): 75–97.

<sup>12</sup> See D.R. Woolf, 'The Dawn of the Artefact: The Antiquarian Impulse in England 1500 to 1730', *Studies in Medievalism* 4 (1992): 5–35.

<sup>13</sup> John Leland and John Bale, *The Laborious Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities, geven of hym as a New Yeares Gyfte to Kynge Henry the viii* (London, 1549), sigs D4r–D4v.

Although initially employed by King Henry VIII in 1533 to survey the contents of the dissolved monastic libraries of England, Leland found himself interested in a whole range of topographical features. Between 1538 and 1543 he travelled in England and Wales with the aim of creating a detailed map that was to be accompanied by a series of written descriptions and historical background to the features.<sup>14</sup> He wished to call this text, which was organised according to counties, *De Antiquitate Britannica*. The project was a massive undertaking, and although he had made significant progress with copious rough notes and records, Leland was not able to complete the task. In 1549 John Bale, a friend and fellow antiquary, published and made additions to Leland's material, which appeared as *The Laborious Journey and Search of Johan Leylande*. Included in Bale's publication was a letter that Leland wrote to his patron Henry VIII, in which he outlines the purpose of his survey: 'Your grace shaul have ready knowledge at the firste sighte of many righ delectable, fruteful, and necessary pleasures, but the contemplation therof, as often as occasion shaul move yow to the sight of it'.<sup>15</sup> Leland did not view the purpose of his antiquarian work as simply an accumulation of knowledge on the material artefacts of Britain, but also saw its potential to affect. Leland viewed his writing as a means to aid in the creation of an affective relationship between the interested observer and object; he wanted to incite feelings of enjoyment and pleasure, particularly in his patron the king, when viewing and experiencing the antique and natural features that England and Wales held. Key to this process was the internalisation of the material objects; Leland wanted the objects to leave a mental impression, which could, through contemplation, provide continuing pleasure. Through this internalising process, the object becomes something that can be taken with the viewer; it is not an object any more, but rather the internalised impression of that object. It becomes a memory. In his reflection on antiquarian scholarship, published in 1638, Meric Casaubon, drawing on popular imagery of the gendered and aged antiquary, makes a similar observation:

Antiquaries are so taken with the sight of old things; not as doting (as I take it) upon the bare either form or matter (though both oftentimes be notable in old things); but because those visible surviving evidences of antiquities represent unto their minds former times, with as strong an impression, as if they were actually present, and in sight as it were: even as old men look gladly upon those things, that they were wont to see, or have been otherwise used unto in their

---

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Summit, 'Leland's *Itinerary* and the Remains of the Medieval Past', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, eds Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 159–61.

<sup>15</sup> Leland and Bale, *The Laborious Journey*, in *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), I, xli.

younger yeares, as enjoying those yeares again in some sort, in those visible and palpable remembrances.<sup>16</sup>

What is beautifully articulated here are the inner workings of nostalgia; the affective process described is interior, personal, and individual. The old man takes great pleasure in recalling on his own and in his mind a moment lost in time; it is familiar and comforting. Nostalgia is generally regarded as an affective rather than mnemonic process. As Linda M. Austin explains, nostalgia is 'dominated by desire and emotion at the expense of memory'.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Casaubon suggests that it is not the actual object (the 'form or matter') or authenticity that is of significance for either the old man or the antiquary, but rather the affective state that it creates. The act of recalling memories or history renders the past alive for these individuals, 'as if they were actually present'. The reflection or contemplation is intrinsically affective and historic; the recalling of history through material objects that are physically present in a contemporary timeframe thus renders a historical past into an affective memory that holds significance for the individual.

In Marmion's play of 1638, Veterano is described by his nephew Lionell as spending 'all day in contemplation of a statue'. The object of Veterano's gaze and the source of his fascination, however, is not the full form of the statue, but rather what is missing or in the process of becoming absent: Veterano 'doats on the decays' and does not appear to notice the statue's lack of a nose. This focus on absent materiality, on those areas of the object that are slowly decaying, or are damaged and fractured, is a common motif. In John Earle's account, cited above, the admiration of the antiquary is directed to the 'the rust of old Monuments', and the spaces on a manuscript or inscription where 'time hath eaten out the letters'. The objects of antiquarian study are seemingly lacking in aesthetic value; the 'records' appear to be worthless. This is a point echoed in the 1638 *New Dictionary*, which records the antiquarian love of 'Worm-eaten Records'.

Descriptions of ruined and decaying structures appear in antiquarian narratives with great regularity. In his *Itineraries*, William Worcester provides an account of his travels around Devon and Cornwall in 1478, recording places of historical significance. For instance, he provides the following list of the castles of Cornwall:

<sup>16</sup> Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise of Vse and Custome* (London, 1638), 97.

<sup>17</sup> Linda M. Austin, 'The Nostalgic Moment and the Sense of History', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011): 127–40, at 127; see also Dylan Trigg, *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia and the Absence of Reason* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 53–65.

Lanihorne Castle standing in the town of Lanihorne, formerly of the Archedekne family.

Dirford castle in ruins, near Golant town.

Frampton Castle, otherwise Castle Trevyan, in ruins, near St Terbyn.

Tintagel Castle, a very strong one near Camelford, where Arthur was conceived, is in ruins.

The castle called Botreaux Castle is 2 miles beyond Tintagel Castle.

Hillsbury Castle, 4 miles beyond Tintagel, in ruins.

Liskerard Castle of the lord Prince, standing.

Binhamy Castle of Sir J. Colshill knight, standing.<sup>18</sup>

William's narrative of the castles of Cornwall is a systematic account of all of the individual elements and parts that make up the geographical region. The recurring juxtaposition of the whole 'standing' castle against the 'ruined' castle has a cumulative effect; it provides an overall picture of the region as a landscape of ruins. It is a narrative of presence and absence; William records all the structures, even those that are not whole, but ruined, crumbling, and decayed. His account of Tintagel Castle is particularly illuminating; the ruined Tintagel is both a temporal and a spatial marker in his narrative. The castle's ruined state embodies the lapse of time between its greatness and the present; once 'very strong' and the site of an important historical event – it was where King Arthur was said to have been conceived – it is now 'in ruins'. Moreover, the ruins form a point from which to mark distance to other places 'beyond Tintagel'. William does not frequently use the preposition 'ultra' (beyond) elsewhere in his text, thus implying that Tintagel was an important spatial centre. Places beyond Tintagel are imagined as extensions of this journey.

In the late 1530s and early 1540s, John Leland journeyed around the West Country twice, following a route similar to that of William Worcester. He visited Tintagel on both occasions, and provides a detailed account:

A mile along the shore from Bossiney is Tintagel. The castle has been an incredibly strong and remarkable fortress, made almost invincible by virtue of its position – the dungeon especially so, which sits on a fearfully high crag surrounded by the sea, but it is connected to the rest of the castle by a drawbridge. A chapel of St Ulette or Uliane still stands within the dungeon, but the dungeon itself is now grazed by sheep. The remainder of the once extensive castle buildings are now badly weather-beaten and in ruin.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> William Worcester, *William Worcester Itineraries: Edited from the Unique MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 210, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 20–21.

<sup>19</sup> Worcester, *Itineraries*, 64.

Leland's narrative of Tintagel is predominantly a documentation of decay. He frames his narrative with discussion of that which 'has been'; Tintagel was a noted fortress, and it was once a more 'extensive' structure than that which Leland sees before him now. Leland records that the cause of this decay was natural; the sea has caused erosion and changed the layout of the castle, but grasses have also overrun it, and are now enough to support sheep. The castle is 'weather-beaten'. On his second visit in 1542, Leland expands his narrative to include more description of the structures at Tintagel. He records:

Less than four miles from Camelford on the northern cliffs is Tintagel. It seems likely that the castle once had three wards, but that two have been washed away by the sea's inroads, to such an extent that the castle is a virtual island, and the only access to it now is across tall elm trees which have been laid as a bridge. The only remains off the island are a gatehouse, a wall, and a parapet with ditch and wall. On the island old walls remain and on the more easterly part, where the ground is lower, there is a battlemented wall, which still had its iron postern door within living memory. There is a nice chapel on the island with a tomb on the left side; and there is a well, with a pit nearby which has been hewn out of the stony ground to the length and breadth of a man. Also on the island is a square plot surrounded by a wall as it were a garden, and the ruins of a vault can be seen next to the wall. Now the island nurtures sheep and rabbits.<sup>20</sup>

For William Worcester and for Leland, the points of ruin and decay held an emotive charge, and were a reminder both of the loss of a past moment and as a sign evoking its presence. While still an awe-inspiring, 'fearfully' high structure and landscape, Leland's vivid imagery detailing the deterioration of Tintagel instils the narrative with pathos, and a desire for the castle to be in its original state. In William's narrative each individual castle ruin functions as a reminder both of the castle's lost physical wholeness and of the historical past in which this castle was important.

Ruins are intrinsically paradoxical for any historically minded viewer. Incomplete, fragmentary, and disordered, while at the same time what is missing speaks loudly of the original form; as Sophie Thomas points out, 'the full appreciation of the historical whole arises from the *lack* of it'.<sup>21</sup> The absent, missing, and ruined elements are key to the imagining of the whole. Rose Macauley observes of Renaissance antiquaries the 'desire to build up the ancient ruins into their glorious first state, and to lament their ruin as wreckage

---

<sup>20</sup> John Chandler, ed., *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1993), 83.

<sup>21</sup> Sophie Thomas, 'Assembling History: Fragments and Ruins', *European Romantic Review* 14 (2003): 179.

of perfection.<sup>22</sup> In William Worcester's narrative of Tintagel, the conception of King Arthur provides a temporal marker that locates the ruin in time, and provides a timeframe for the process of ruination. Moreover, importantly, it denotes Arthur's Britain as the 'glorious first state' that has been lost. Leland, on the other hand, does not locate Tintagel within a particular historical timeframe. Significantly, he does locate one ruined battlement wall at Tintagel with a 'postern door' that had 'within living memory' been whole. However, Arthur is notably absent from Leland's narrative of Tintagel, and there is no other historical marker provided. Immediately preceding his Tintagel description, Leland provides an account of the Camelford area, and the river Cablan, where he says that it was 'beside this river that Arthur fought his last battle, and evidence of this, in the form of bones and harness, is uncovered when the site is ploughed'.<sup>23</sup> While Leland does not explicitly link Arthur to Tintagel, links to the region are formed, and physical evidence is supplied to support Arthur's existence. Such evidence was important to Leland, who was embroiled in a heated dispute with historian Polydore Vergil (d. 1555). Vergil was sceptical about the existence of King Arthur, and the authenticity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of English history.<sup>24</sup> In 1536, Leland wrote his *Codruse sive Laus et Defensio Gallofridi Arturii contra Polydorum Vergilium* in which he details several pieces of evidence, including one literary (a Welsh text) and two physical remains (ancient tablets and Arthur's wax seal).<sup>25</sup> Tintagel proved a problem for Leland; there was a lack of physical evidence linking Arthur to Tintagel. It would appear that the castle itself dates from the 1230s, a fact that Leland may have been aware of, although there is evidence that the site was used earlier.<sup>26</sup> Regardless, Leland chose to remain silent on this matter.

Around 40 years after John Leland, William Camden visited Cornwall. Although he used Leland as a primary source for his *Britannia* (1586), he greatly expanded Leland's narrative and left no doubt of King Arthur's connection to Tintagel and the region. It was here on a 'neighbouring shore' that King Arthur was conceived, born, and died. Camden produces one long narrative of the

<sup>22</sup> Rose Macaulay, *The Pleasure of Ruins* (New York: Walker, 1953), 177–86, at 192–3.

<sup>23</sup> Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary*, 83.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Lupack, 'The Arthurian Legend in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. Helen Fulton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 341; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II, c. 1007 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1982), 436–7; James P. Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books', *Interpretations* 15, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 86–100.

<sup>25</sup> Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 25–9.

<sup>26</sup> Juliette Wood, 'The Arthurian Legend in Scotland and Cornwall', in Fulton, *Companion*, 110–11.

antiquities and history of the region, starting with the village of Camelford and ending with Tintagel. Of Camelford, Camden writes that ‘according to Leland ... Arthur, the Hector of Britain, was slain here. He says, fragments of arms, rings, and brass trappings of horses, are sometimes dug up by the labourers, and the tradition of many ages has distinguished this place as the scene of a great slaughter.’<sup>27</sup> Physical artefacts are listed to prove the validity of the events surrounding Arthur’s death in a battle with Mordred. Camden cites other literary traditions as further evidence, quoting an extremely emotive poem of soldiers dying and dead in water ‘swollen with blood’ by an unknown author in Latin, translated by Camden as:

– camel’s stream  
feels the sad change, and wonders whence it came.  
The mangled corpse to sea bears down the floos;  
The half-dead swimmers spend their fainting breath  
In cries for rescue from the watery death.<sup>28</sup>

Central to this poem’s affective charge is the notion of an emotional landscape that is affected and feels sadness, an instance of the so-called ‘pathetic fallacy’. The landscape does not know the cause of its suffering, although the reader knows that it is because of men killed in battle. Camden’s narrative of Tintagel appears immediately after this emotive poem:

Arthur ... found his birth and his death on the same coast. For on the neighbouring shore is Tintagium, the birth-place of that great hero, situate partly on a high point of land, and partly in an island formerly joined to it by a bridge. It is now called Indagel being only a splendid ruin, but was formerly a magnificent castle, of which a late poet sings thus:

On a steep rock within a winding bay  
A castle stands surrounded by the sea;  
Its thunder shakes around the trembling hill,  
Tindage of olde ‘twas call’d, now Tintagel.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> William Camden, *Britannia: Or, a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent; From the Earliest Antiquity* (London: John Nichols, 1789), 6.

<sup>28</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, 6. Camden includes this first in Latin and then with an English translation. The Latin reads: ‘– naturam Cambala fontis | Mutatam stupet esse sui, transcendit inundans | Sanguineus torrens ripas, & volvit in aequor | Corpora carforum, plures natare videres, | Et petere auxilium, quos undis vita reliquit.’

<sup>29</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, 6: ‘Est locus Abrici sinuoso littore ponti | Rupe situs media refluus quem circuit aestus; | Fulminat hic lati turrato vertice castum, | Nomine Tindagium veteres dixere Corini.’

On an aesthetic level, Camden takes pleasure in the ruin as it exists in the moment of its viewing; it is a 'splendid ruin'. Camden's description of Tintagel does not have the same emphasis on the processes of decay and erosion as Leland's narrative, although there is a sense of loss expressed for the once 'magnificent castle'. Camden's reference to Arthur as 'the Hector of Britain' earlier in his narrative frames Arthur as a tragic figure, and also evokes the lost, great kingdom of Troy. The ruin of Tintagel is thus linked to other lost empires and lost male heroes. Moreover, in making parallels between Arthur and Hector, Camden also alludes to the Trojan founders of Britain who feature prominently in the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>30</sup> Camden then continues his narrative, providing an account of Arthur's conception at Tintagel, and using, predominantly, Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, which he admits is 'tedious to shew', but does anyway, explaining that: 'Uther Pendragon, king of Britain, fell desperately in love with the wife of Gorlios prince of Cornwall in this castle, and, assuming her husband's shape by enchantment, debauched her, and begat Arthur.'<sup>31</sup> Here Tintagel, or 'this castle', provides the setting for events important in both private and national spheres; it is a gendered space, where the 'desperate' desires of one man/king were enacted, and although not mentioned, where one woman was tricked and raped. Camden includes a poem by one 'John Havillan' that focuses on Uther Pendragon's inability to control and 'conceal his flame', and the subsequent disguise and bodily transformation needed to fulfil this desire.<sup>32</sup> Camden's nostalgic reflection on Tintagel is particularly male-centred, interested only in fathers and sons. The woman who was to become Arthur's mother as a result of this deception is conspicuously absent. She remains unnamed, referred to simply as 'the wife of Gorlios', while the poem's language is constructed in such a way as to completely avoid acknowledging any female presence. Camden frames events at Tintagel within a masculine narrative. Simultaneously, it is a private domestic and also public space where men in their prime perform acts of power, strength, and control to ensure bloodlines and continuation of dynasty. Paradoxically, the achievement of Pendragon's aims is bound up with a lack of self-control and an inability to regulate his desires, which are glossed over in the narrative. Camden's

---

<sup>30</sup> In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, Brutus, a descendant of the Trojans, landed in Britain, an island without any inhabitants other than several giants. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966), esp. ch. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, 7. Camden writes: 'Suffice it that I borrow the lines of our poet John Havillan: "facie dum falsus adulter | Tindagel irrupit, nec amoris Pendragon aestum | Vincit, & omnificas Merlini consulit artes, | Mentiturque decus habitus, & rege latente, | Induit absentis praesentia Gorlios ora.

The prince, unable to conceal his flame, | To Tindagel's strong hold disguised came, | By Merline's art transform'd from king to duke, | And Gorlios' person for Pendragon's took?"

narrative of Tintagel is loaded with masculine nostalgia and emotions; the emotional states that are encouraged in the text include awe, wonder, envy, and curiosity at the majesty and confidence of power, along with pathos, regret, and melancholy at the loss of it. The urge to share in the emotions of these exclusively male characters is made by a male antiquary to an implicitly male reader through a carefully crafted narrative.

### **The Embodied Antiquary and Temporality**

The antiquarian text, like the ruins described within them, proved a conducive space for nostalgic reflections on the lost past. In theory and in practice, the antiquarian narrative revolves around an embodied and mobile author, journeying in a ruined-filled present, engaging with the historical past. The resultant narrative displays a range of modes of narration and multiple temporalities. In Camden's narrative of Tintagel and surrounds, Arthur's life events play a crucial role in providing temporal grounding. However, these events are narrated in reverse: first Arthur dies, and then we are provided with an account of Arthur's birth, and lastly his conception at Tintagel. Camden's narrative is arranged, like William Worcester's and John Leland's, according to the manner in which the material traces were encountered. The structural ordering of the antiquarian narratives are spatial and geographical, but are primarily filtered and driven by the moving body of the travelling antiquarian author, and the manner of his encounter with the material world.

The antiquarian authors are central to their texts, with an identifiable corporeal narrative presence. There is a clear conflation of the narrator and empirical author; the narrative is characterised by an overt, homo-diegetic author, who is identified and draws attention to himself through the act of narrating.<sup>33</sup> William Worcester, Leland, and Camden all use the full range of modes of narration available to them, frequently weaving between the first person and third person. After describing Tintagel in vivid imagery, though without direct reference to himself as viewer, Leland states that he 'had travelled a mile from St Symphorian's Church over heather-covered hills when [he] crossed a brook'.<sup>34</sup> Both modes are conducive to observation, and establish an authoritative narrative voice, although the use of first-person narration is indicative of a narrative filtered through the sense perception and consciousness of the antiquarian writer. When

---

<sup>33</sup> For further examination of these terms, see Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, trans. C. van Boheemen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

<sup>34</sup> See Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary*, 64. This occurs after Leland's first visit to Tintagel.

William Worcester did not have access to the exact measurements of the various structures that he encountered, he would use his own 'steppys' to pace out the dimensions.<sup>35</sup> For instance, he relates that 'the length of the chapel of Bristol Bridge is 36 steps, and its width is 12 steps.'<sup>36</sup> Worcester is physically present in his text, with the length of his own foot providing a guide to the form and dimensions of the structures he explores and records.

As narratives of the ruin of Tintagel illustrate, the antiquarian practice of observing, measuring, and recording antiquity inevitably led to a temporality that was predominantly present-centred. The tense of antiquarianism was conceptually, if not always syntactically, perfective. The apparently distinct and neatly chronological categories of 'past' and 'present' are, in fact, not absolute in the antiquarian text, but rather have collapsed and are visible and available through material artefacts, such as a ruin; the past is embedded in the present. However, although present and visible, the past still needs to be restored and recognised. In an invocation to the reader in his preface, Camden writes of the motivation for his composition: 'I would to restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to its antiquity.'<sup>37</sup> Camden initially had in mind the Roman heritage of Britain as the principal period of antiquity that he wanted 'to restore', although this swiftly expanded.<sup>38</sup> Angus Vine notes the antiquarian 'urge to resurrect, the impulse to revive the past and restore it to the present.'<sup>39</sup> Camden saw his antiquarian narrative as having restorative qualities, as though the past was somehow hidden and unvalued, and needed re-evaluation. Like the accidental recovery of numerous objects of war associated with Arthur's last battle, which were according to Camden continually 'dug up by ... labourers', or as Leland explains were 'uncovered when the site is ploughed', the lost past was recoverable through a process that was both affective and corporeal; the nostalgia impulse and drive to travel, explore, dig, and write was key to the revival of the lost historical past.

Not only could the past be recovered, it could also be experienced, both through physical engagement with the material artefact or historic site itself and, as Leland tells Henry VIII, through the antiquarian text. In order to render the past more vivid in their narratives, antiquarian writers incorporated a range of sensory experiences, particularly visual and aural. The desired effect was the creation of an aesthetic experience of the ruin that meant to replicate the spatial layout and feeling of the ruin in narrative form, and to encourage reflection and contemplation of the materiality in such a way that it became a personal memory.

---

<sup>35</sup> John H. Harvey, 'Introduction', in Worcester, *Itineraries*, xvii–xviii.

<sup>36</sup> Worcester, *Itineraries*, 131.

<sup>37</sup> Camden, *Britannia*, 'Preface to the Reader'.

<sup>38</sup> Woolf, 'Images of the Antiquary', 15.

<sup>39</sup> Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, 201.

In Leland's and Camden's narratives, while emotive words are used, the primary means of achieving emotional affect is through the use of imagery. Leland's account describes undulating ground, the incursion of the sea (with its waves and tidal noises), structures above (walls and parapets), and below (ditches, pits, and wells). Leland invites his readers on a journey around the space, and offers a simulacrum of that journey; there are elm trees that have been 'laid as a bridge', the maze of walls, and sheep and rabbits to watch out for. Camden's use of poems as additional evidence for the history that he narrates also provides rich sensory material: 'thunder shakes and the hill trembles'. Such imagery helped to render the illusion that the past was alive in the present, while the stateliness and elevation of the Latin hexameters emphasised the lost grandeur of the past. In the medieval and early modern popular imagery of the antiquaries, there are many depictions of the antiquary consuming the past through its decay; Nashe remarks on the 'musty' nature of the materials; Earle refers to the objects as 'all rotten and stinking'; and Dutch cheese is chosen as an apt image for the consumption of a putrid delicacy. These descriptions point to a full body of appreciation for the past; it can be consumed, breathed in, and smelt.

While the antiquarian authors engage with and narrate their material through the lens of the present, the temporality displayed in the narrative reflects a more complex understanding of time. Artefacts and material remains were temporally active, floating between the past and the present, in a way that allowed them to be experienced; the decay, deterioration, and ruin were marks of their antiquity, and testament to the multiple temporalities that they had inhabited. Moreover, there are temporal implications for a narrative that moves along with its author; it is, as I have illustrated, not a chronological or linear account of historical events. Rather, antiquarian narratives display a more cyclical temporality in which history is potentially repetitive, and experienced in fragments; the same history can be narrated in relation to numerous artefacts and structures. This recurrence of history has parallels with the cyclical nature of decay and deterioration prominent in the antiquarian narratives; the ruins are exposed to the recurring cycles of nature and life. In Camden's narrative, it is the life-events of one man, Arthur, that provide a temporal marker for Tintagel. In Leland's narrative of Tintagel, the cycles of nature are prominent, with the ruin created by nature rather than by any human event. This once important centre of power has been transformed by Leland's day to a place that grazing animals can inhabit.

The temporality and modes of narration displayed in the antiquarian texts are markedly different from those found in other forms of historical writing in the late medieval and early modern eras. In chronicles, for instance, the narrative

is arranged in a chronological fashion, with events narrated sequentially.<sup>40</sup> Such an arrangement held teleological significance; the overarching story being told in the chronicles is that of humanity, and particularly humanity's progress towards divine salvation in light of the fall of humankind in the Garden of Eden.<sup>41</sup> Chronicles, therefore, document humanity's progress towards the ultimate ending of judgement, redemption, and divine salvation that will be provided by an omnipotent god. While antiquarian narratives display complex temporalities, a chronological linear approach is not prominent, nor is there an overtly teleological ideology underlying their structure. Central to the antiquarian narrative was the flowing, moving body of the author, rather than a flowing, moving chronology. There is not the same trajectory of time towards human salvation; antiquarian narratives begin and end with the moving author, and focus on the individual, and processes of internalisation, memory, and emotion.

### Conclusions: The 'Madness' of John Leland: Antiquarian Practice and Affect

The practice of antiquarianism has been the subject of much criticism and mockery, from the early modern era onwards, as can be seen in the range of depictions in popular imagery, through to today. Criticism has focused on the lack of cohesive narrative structure and chronology, and the dislocation of the material objects from their wider historical significance, elements considered central to good historical practice. As recently as 1991, Arnaldo Momigliano wrote that the antiquary was 'interested in historical facts without being interested in history.'<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the apparent diffusion of historical order in antiquarian texts, particularly temporal and the corporeal ordering, led Momigliano to label the antiquarian author as confused and disoriented. He remarks: 'when a man writes in chronological order, but without explaining the facts, we call him a chronicler; when a man collects all the facts available to him but does not order them systematically, we set him aside as muddle-headed.'<sup>43</sup>

By way of conclusion, I would like to consider briefly some links between perceptions of antiquarian methods and the ways in which Leland's mental illness

---

<sup>40</sup> Philippa Maddern has been instrumental in prompting consideration of sign and significance in the chronicle narrative, and the internal functioning of the text. See Maddern, 'Weather, War and Witches'.

<sup>41</sup> For further discussion see Alicia Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations for Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 54.

<sup>43</sup> Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 285–315, at 287.

was discussed both by his contemporaries and within later antiquarian circles. In 1551, John Leland suffered a mental breakdown that left him incapacitated and unable to work. According to a mayoral inquisition, Leland was said to be ‘mad, insane, lunatic, furious, frantic, enjoying drowsy or lucid intervals, so that he cannot manage his affairs.’<sup>44</sup> It is for this reason that Leland’s text *De Antiquitate Britannica* remained unfinished. Perceptions of the origins of Leland’s illness vary considerably, although it is commonly discussed in the context of his antiquarian practices, particularly Leland’s failure to fulfil his desire to survey ‘the whole’ of England’s and Wales’s antiquities. Thomas Fuller (d. 1661) records that it was ‘uncertain whether his brain was broken with weight of work, or want of wages.’<sup>45</sup> John Bale, a close friend, writes that Leland ‘fell beside his wittes’ because, ‘I muche do feare it that he was vaynegloryous, and that he had a poetycall wytt, whyche I lament, for I iudge it one of the chefest thynges that caused hym to fall besides hys ryghte discernynges.’<sup>46</sup> It is a particularly masculine form of madness that is described; melancholia linked to the anxiety of work and scholarship. Bale believed that Leland was ‘vaynegloryous’, a quality exemplified by his proud ambition to include everything antique into his text. It was this, Bales suggests, that left him emotionally in ruins. Moreover, Leland’s ‘poetycall wytt’ made him prone to nostalgia, and it was his continual yearning and lament for the lost and the whole that eventually broke him. Anthony Wood, writing in the seventeenth century, notes that Leland was ‘undertaking so immense a task, that the very thoughts of completing it did, as ’tis said, distract him. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, he saw with very great pity what havoc was made of ancient monuments of learning.’<sup>47</sup> For Wood, one of the causes of Leland’s mental illness was the destruction of the monasteries and the libraries during the dissolution of the 1540s. Leland was witness to the destruction but also complicit through his connection to his patron Henry VIII. In 2002, James Simpson, examining ‘the melancholy of John Leland’, suggested that ‘the project of historical recuperation that Leland sets himself must of necessity have produced a divided consciousness, since Leland, in a “highly schizophrenic” situation, is himself an agent of the destruction of the very past he seeks to recuperate.’<sup>48</sup> In all discussions, antiquarianism is assumed to be the cause of Leland’s ruin. Leland was too close to his subject, became too

<sup>44</sup> *Calender of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: 1550–1553* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1926), 181.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ to the Year M.DC.XLVIII*, quoted in Chandler, *John Leland’s Itinerary*, xvi.

<sup>46</sup> Leland and Bale, *The Laborious Journey*, sig. Dvi.

<sup>47</sup> James Simpson, ‘The Melancholy of John Leland’, *The Oxford English Literary History. Volume 2, 1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 16, citing Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*.

<sup>48</sup> Simpson, ‘Melancholy of John Leland’, 17.

emotionally attached, and as a result went mad. Such accounts of Leland's illness no doubt fuelled the image of the mad antiquarian in the popular literature that appeared afterwards.

The popular image of the antiquary was, doubtless, a caricature. Nonetheless, it did identify quite correctly the emotive nature of the antiquaries' absorption in their subject, and the impossibility of their desire for the lost glories of the past. Indeed, the fact of loss was integral to that past's attraction. For all their sparseness and sometimes-obsessive tendency to catalogue, antiquarian texts offered a simulacrum of the antiquarian experience of ruins, a virtual journey structured around the travelling body of the antiquary and the dual temporality which his aesthetic required. It is, perhaps, appropriate that the body of the antiquary came, in the popular caricature, to resemble the objects of his study, since it was through the antiquary's body that those objects were experienced and explored, and through it that the exploration was recounted.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 7

# ‘O, Lord, save us from shame’: Narratives of Emotions in Convent Chronicles by Female Authors during the Dutch Revolt, 1566–1635

Erika Kuijpers

In the summer of 1566, a wave of iconoclasm spread through the Netherlands from the southwest of Flanders northwards, reaching the Brabant town of 's-Hertogenbosch on 22 August.<sup>1</sup> Some years later, an anonymous sister of the town's tertiary convent Mariënborg wrote down what she had experienced in those days:

And when they were finished there, they came into the sisters' choir, and smashed beautiful pieces and many books, and they took away all the cloths and veils and gowns, and where they saw images of our blessed Lord, they attacked them more fiercely than the other figures, yet they particularly hated the sight of a crucifix. Oh, Jews and Turks would barely do as they have done ... but then they saw our sisters, who huddled together as defeated people: some weeping, some calling upon God, as much as they could, and as if they were expecting to die. And when they saw this, they were crestfallen and said: 'be content, we shall not harm you, but you should no longer venerate these little gods, or we will give you more of the same tomorrow.'<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Part of this chapter derives from a paper presented at the 'Languages of Emotion: Concepts, Codes, Communities' Collaboratory convened at The University of Western Australia, Perth, 24–25 August 2012. I am very grateful to have met Philippa Maddern there and thankful for her inspiring support, collaboration, and friendship. Particular thanks also to Susan Broomhall, for inviting me to Perth, our collaboration in the past four years, and for the editing of this volume. Research for this article was funded by an NWO VICI grant for the research project *Tales of the Revolt: Memory, Oblivion and Identity in the Low Countries, 1566–1700*, carried out at Leiden University.

<sup>2</sup> H. van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster van het voormalig Bossche klooster 'Mariënborg' over de troebelen te 's-Hertogenbosch e.e. in de jaren 1566–1575* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1931), 2–3: 'Ende doen sy daer niet meer te doen en hadden, soe quamen

Accounts like these are rich in emotional expression. Besides triggering emotions, this passage resounds with descriptions of emotions: the hatred and fury of the iconoclasts; the terror of the praying and weeping sisters, huddling together; the sudden shame of the image-breakers in the face of the sisters' devotion. At the same time these are *topoi*. Emotions seem to be dictated by genre, and are often expressed in clichés. This can be clearly seen in the passage: the comparison of iconoclasts with savages, or Jews or Turks, is a *topos* seen in a great majority of descriptions of iconoclasm. The same is true for the weeping and praying of the nuns, and the embarrassment they were said to cause the image-breakers. Such instances echoed the heathen tormentors of earlier saints and martyrs, some of whom would be impressed by the devotion of their victims, and perhaps even convert to true Christianity. All of these elements work together to underline the drama of the event in the eyes of the contemporary readers. Texts like these would be read and reread in the convents by the sisters, reminding them of the years of hardship and their happy ending, instigating prayer and humble reflection as well as gratitude and thanksgiving.<sup>3</sup>

The Reformation and the Dutch Revolt motivated many authors in the Low Countries to take up their pens. People wrote diaries, chronicles, and histories, so as not to forget, or to make sense of events, as a form of self-justification or apology, to assert their loyalty to their rightful overlord, or their faith in the one and true God. Yet none of the many texts that survive, written by notable citizens, schoolmasters, literate artisans, and clerics, both secular and regular, are so charged with emotions as the chronicles that were written by female conventuals. It is assumable that we see an emotional community *par excellence* at work here: nuns lived relatively isolated from the outside world, reading and listening to the same liturgical texts and sermons, following the same spiritual exercises. Moreover, most female convents in the Netherlands were strongly influenced by the reform movement of the *Devotio Moderna*. Many Franciscan tertiaries and Augustinian nuns in the Netherlands had joined the Observant Congregation of Windesheim, which was an offshoot of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life, and were subject to strict enclosure since the monastic

---

sy op dat susterenchoer, daer smeten sy schoen stucken ontwee en voel boecken ende sy namen die doecken en wielen en mantelen hebben sy al medege dragen ende waer sy Onsen-Lieven-Heer vonden staen gemaect, daer smee ten sy meer na dan na die ander figuren, ia een cruysefix en mochten sy bovenal niet sien. Och, loden en Turcken en soud en nau doen, dat sy gedaen hebben ... mer doen sy ons susteren sagen, die daer bien saten als verslagen menschen: die een weenden, die ander riep God aen, so hi cost ende die sommege waren, al hadden se die doot op, den hals ghehad. Ende doen sy dit sagen, soe weersloegen sy en seden: "weest tevreden, wi en sellen u niet doen, mer gi en moet die godekens niet meer dienen, of wi sellen u mergen datself weer spuelen."

<sup>3</sup> Charlotte Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 42–3.

reformations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these convents, women cultivated the devout love of their heavenly bridegroom, compassion with his suffering, identifying with the Mother and her sorrows while suppressing worldly passions and aiming for mortification.<sup>4</sup> A sister's face should show joy as she carried out her hard work. She should feel fear in the face of the last judgement.<sup>5</sup> Virtues and affects were inseparably linked. Monastic norms such as chastity and poverty were no virtues if not experienced with stoic restraint, humility, love, and joy. Moreover, contemporary concepts, such as a pure mind or a devout heart, cannot be categorised as either virtues, states of mind, or emotions, they were all of these at once. Thus the quite distinctive normative system of the nuns also marked their emotional culture.

Cultures, communities, and social groups all have a normative script for the narration and display of emotions; this was as true for sixteenth-century nuns just as it is for us today. Whenever we express emotions in words, we use pre-existent narrative schemes. This is how we interpret, legitimise, and share emotions. In this process, valuable emotions have to be expressed and triggered, while less desirable ones have to be controlled or justified.<sup>6</sup> To do this, we possess a repertoire of possible ways to verbalise emotions, which is extensive but not unlimited. We can choose the opportunity, our audience, a ritual setting, a genre, a format, and we also can make choices at the level of language, in terms of structure, narrative perspective, frames, images, and references to other texts, topoi, and finally also words. The management of emotions is therefore tied to the cultural instruments and means that are at each person's disposal. In written texts, this set of instruments is further defined by the rules of genre.

That nuns knew these rules appears from the generic differences between sister books and chronicles. The so-called sister books, describing the exemplary lives of deceased sisters, are usually very consistent in style and narrative structure, as well as the devout emotional behaviour they describe.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, the convent chronicles they also wrote, are remarkably hybrid as a genre.

---

<sup>4</sup> An-Katrien Hanselaer and Jeroen Deploige, "Van Groeter Bannicheit Hoers Herten": De Conditionering van de Alledaagse Gevoelswereld in Vrouwelijke Gemeenschappen Uit de Laatmiddeleeuwse Moderne Devotie', *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 126 (2013): 480–99; Joris van Eijnatten and Frederik Angenietus van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 129–38.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas Bähr, *Furcht und Furchtlosigkeit: Göttliche Gewalt und Selbstkonstitution im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: V&R, 2013), esp. ch. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Eric Shiraev and David A. Levy, *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Critical Thinking and Contemporary Applications*, 3rd edn (Boston: Pearson, 2007), 177–9.

<sup>7</sup> Hanselaer and Deploige, "Van Groeter Bannicheit Hoers Herten"; Johanna Willemina Spaans, *De Levens Der Maechden: Het Verhaal van Een Religieuze Vrouwengemeenschap in de Eerste Helft van de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

Although usually written by one hand at the time, they often seem inconsistent in style, containing terse enumerations of facts and figures, including the price of rye and butter, along with quite personal accounts of daily life and historical events. In their emotional expression, they can be both extravagant, praising the Lord in devout exclamations and lamenting the lapse of mankind into heresy or moral decline, and limited in the expression of what we would call personal or intimate feelings or reflection.

Most monastic orders and especially the Observant movement recommended the writing of convent histories. History provided moral examples and clarified the convents' place in the world. Yet many chronicles were started during war times. Presumably, this subgenre of war chronicles also met other needs. They may have helped to order and interpret experiences in disorderly times, to create a narrative that made sense of war events. Meanwhile, they could still serve the moral edification of future generations, just like the exemplary lives of convent founders, deceased nuns, or saints did. The hardships, suffering, and survival of the convent in times of war was to be remembered by following generations. Texts like these were often copied and could be part of the devout reading by nuns.<sup>8</sup>

As Monique Scheer has pointed out, concepts of emotional community, emotional regime, emotional *habitus*, and even the rather vague notion of emotional culture may suggest a coherent system of values, behaviours, and the like, while in reality the experience and expression of emotion is always so very much context-related that it is not easy to see the system in the variety of individual acts.<sup>9</sup> Scheer suggests that a more flexible notion would be that of emotional style. Style can be adapted to situations, to genre, and to spaces. During their lifetimes, nuns may have learned different styles of emotional behaviour and practice. The authors of chronicles and memoirs typically grew up in educated and well-to-do families.<sup>10</sup> They became familiar with convent life, and with other social layers in society, all the while remaining connected with their relatives in a religiously divided, urban society.

The war chronicles by nuns consist of an amalgam of narrative ingredients: historical description, hearsay, facts and figures, eyewitness accounts, expressions of emotion and devotion, intertextual references, metaphors, but also plotted action, such as cited dialogues, densification of time, and detailed descriptions of sensory perceptions. The nuns who wrote chronicles about their collective war experiences used a toolbox filled with emotional instruments and practices they

<sup>8</sup> Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 53.

<sup>9</sup> Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220, at 217.

<sup>10</sup> Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 3–6. Although we know that education even for such elite women began to improve only in the seventeenth century, under the influence of the Counter-Reformation.

had gathered during their lifetimes. This chapter attempts to map what those tools were and where they might have acquired them. Moreover, I argue that the narrative structuring of their experiences was an emotional practice in itself: a way to order the disorder, in coping with terrible memories and transforming them into a good story. Or, as Jochen Kleres has pointed out, it is in any case impossible to distinguish between emotions and the situations that evoke them. Emotions *are* narratives: 'to analyse emotions narratively we thus need to ask who acts how to whom and what happens'.<sup>11</sup>

#### Four Sisters and their Writings

For this chapter, I analyse published chronicles by nuns from four convents: in Amersfoort in the province of Utrecht; one in Weert, originally situated in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège and in 1579 captured by the Habsburg army and incorporated in Brabant and the Bishopric of Roermond; and the final two in 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois le Duc) and Tienen (Tirlemont), both in Brabant (see Figure 7.1).<sup>12</sup> Although the writing of chronicles was common in convents from

<sup>11</sup> Jochen Kleres, 'Emotions and Narrative Analysis: A Methodological Approach', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 41 (2011): 182–202, at 189.

<sup>12</sup> None of the chronicles studied here have been preserved in original manuscripts. The chronicle of the Augustinian St Agatha convent in Amersfoort was included in the description of the town of Amersfoort by Abraham van Bommel in 1760: *Beschrijving van de stad Amersfoort, Bebelzende Derzelver Gelegenheid Oorspronk Benaaming oude en tegenwoordige gedaante alsmede de Stigtingen Kerken Kloosters Godshuizen en andere openbaare Gebouwen* (Utrecht: H. Spruyt, 1760). The copy van Bommel used is lost. The text was edited for educational purposes by high school teacher Boerwinkel in 1939. F. Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent: een oude kloosterkroniek uit de 15–17e eeuw* (Amersfoort, 1939); the chronicle from the Maria Vineyard in Weert, also Augustinian nuns, had been transmitted in an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century handwritten copy, published and annotated in 1875. Ch. Creemers, 'Kronijk uit het klooster Maria-Wijngaard te Weert 1442–1587, gevolgd door eene bijdrage tot die kronijk op. het jaar 1566 en een vijftal stukken betreffende de Hervorming te Weert 1583–1584', *Publ. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. dans le Limbourg* 12 (1875): 145–248; the chronicle of the tertiary Franciscan convent Mariënburch in 's-Hertogenbosch was published in 1931 by Hieronymus van Alfen (see n. 2 above). This edition was based on a contemporary manuscript, but Van Alfen doubted whether it was an autograph. In 1900, it popped up at an auction of the library of the castle in Heeswijk, from where it went to the Royal Library in The Hague. The Tienen chronicle by Anna Wielant was preserved in copies and first printed in 1901 by the Franciscan friar Schoutens. I have used a later reprint: Anna Wielant, *Gedenck-weerdige Avonturen, Alteracien, ende verstroijinge, jae Martelie, en verwoestinge, die de annuntiaten binnen Thienen hebben geleden vande Geusen Anno 1635*, eds Rik Poulman and Ari Tuerlinckx (Tienen, 1982) (anastatic reprint of ed. Stephanus Schoutens (1901)).



Figure 7.1 Map of the Netherlands in 1566 with the four convents discussed

early on, the Reformation and the outbreak of war clearly formed the immediate cause for starting a new account. From 1566, all monasteries and convents in the Netherlands experienced the threat of successive waves of iconoclasm and assault. It all started with the destruction of the statuary of the Monastery of St Lawrence in Steenvoorde after a Protestant sermon in the fields on 10 August 1566. In southwestern Flanders, over a hundred churches and convents were destroyed in the following week. A week later, a second wave spread from Antwerp, further north to places like 's-Hertogenbosch and Amsterdam, reaching the province of Groningen by the beginning of September. Many convents fell victim to violent plunder and destruction.<sup>13</sup> In many places, the Protestants negotiated religious 'peace' with the local authorities, yet the situation remained tense. Religious manifestations of either denomination, burials, processions, and so forth, caused disturbances in the following year. Both the convents of Mariënborg in 's-Hertogenbosch and Maria-Wijngaard (Vineyard) in Weert were attacked in the summer of 1566.

In the sixteenth century, the town of Weert was a regional centre that owed its prosperity to the textile industry and to the fact that it was the residence of the Count of Horne, Philip de Montmorency, who was beheaded by the Duke of Alba in Brussels in 1568.<sup>14</sup> Yet, as in many other textile towns, the new religion found many supporters there. And, although the Count was a fervent Catholic, his mother Anna van Egmond and his wife Walburga van Mors-Neuenar sympathised with the Protestants. In his absence they invited Protestant preachers to Weert.<sup>15</sup> The main threat for the convents and clergy in Weert, therefore, came from the local Protestant population. On several occasions the danger of an attack became very real. For six months in 1567, no Mass was said in the convent chapel out of fear for violence. During this period, the nuns and their relatives guarded the walls of the convent day and night. When the Count no longer tolerated this situation and ordered a Mass to be celebrated in the convent, the nuns heard the shouting of an angry crowd outside, throwing stones at the windows. Yet the protection of local Catholics and the relatives of the nuns saved them from violence and from the destruction at a number of critical occasions. Still, between 1566 and the late 1570s, they lived in constant fear. The Friars Minor, who had their monastery nearby, were driven away in August 1566. A few days later, the author of the chronicle went

---

<sup>13</sup> Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 90–91; Solange Deyon and Alain Lottin, *Les 'casseurs' de l'été 1566: l'iconoclasme dans le nord* ([Paris]: Hachette, 1981); Herman Kaptein, *De Beeldenstorm* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> A. Salomons, 'De Beeldenstorm in Weert', *Skript Historisch Tijdschrift* 7 (1985): 179–90.

<sup>15</sup> Salomons, 'De Beeldenstorm in Weert', 181–2.

to see the wreckage of their monastery. The sight shocked her.<sup>16</sup> From 1568 onwards, the beggars were persecuted and driven into hiding or exile, yet the region remained a war zone and Protestantism slumbered, but flared up time and again until 1585. The Friars Minor were violently chased away by the local Protestants twice more, in 1572 and 1578. In 1578, their monastery was laid in ashes.<sup>17</sup>

The town of 's-Hertogenbosch was also deeply affected by the Reformation: what was effectively a local civil war resulted in the expulsion of all Calvinists and their families in 1579.<sup>18</sup> The chronicle of the tertiary convent of Mariënborg in 's-Hertogenbosch, written by an anonymous nun, is clearly intended to report on the troubles of 1566 and the following years, which it describes up until 1575. From the title it is also clear how she perceived the events: 'this is an outrage, perpetrated against the Holy Christian faith of the Roman Church and God's commandments and the seven sacraments in many places and towns in the land of Brabant; so I will write something about Den Bosch, what has happened there'.<sup>19</sup> The author does not even bother to start with the convent's foundation, but begins with the canonical, historical episode that gave the first rebels their nickname 'beggars': the petition by which the confederated nobles presented their grievances to the Governor of The Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, in 1566. This has the effect of placing the events in 's-Hertogenbosch and the convent in the historical context of the Dutch Revolt. Throughout the text the author regularly writes about military and political events in faraway places. Thus, she spends two full pages reporting on the Battle of Lepanto, but the bad weather in Montpellier (God's punishment of the Huguenots) and the death of Gaspard de Coligny in Paris are also reported.<sup>20</sup> Most of these episodes illustrate the misery that was brought about by the new religion. The terrible fate of the heretics, as well as the victories of Phillip II, show on which side God is. Successes of true Catholicism are measured in victories and miracles.

The actual violence against the clergy was confined to incidents in the early stage of the Revolt. In the region around Yper and Hondschote, the so-called 'bosgeuzen', the beggars in the woods, murdered a series of priests in

<sup>16</sup> Creemers, 'Kronijk Uit Het Klooster Maria-Wijngaard Te Weert', 168.

<sup>17</sup> Creemers, 'Kronijk Uit Het Klooster Maria-Wijngaard Te Weert', 227.

<sup>18</sup> J. Hoekx, *Vruchten van de Goede En de Slechte Boom: Heyman Voicht van Oudheusden over de Godsdiensttwisten in Zijn Stad 's-Hertogenbosch en in Breda (1577–1581)* (Den Dungen: Tilia Levis, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek Eener Kloosterzuster*, 1: 'Dit is een afgrijselijcheit, die geschiet is tegen dat h. korsten gelooff der Roemser kercken en den geboden Gods ende den seven sacramenten int lant van Brabant in veel plecken ende steden: soes al ic wat scrijven van Schertogenbosche, dat daer is gesciet.'

<sup>20</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek Eener Kloosterzuster*, 31, 44, 45.

the autumn of 1567 and the following years.<sup>21</sup> The beggar armies, and those who operated from sea and raided the coasts of Zeeland, Holland, Friesland, and Groningen, were particularly unruly and notorious for their aggression. A number of occasions, for instance, the killing of priests in Gorcum, Roermond, and Oudenaarde, gave rise to the veneration of their martyrdom.<sup>22</sup> The Catholic clergy especially had much to fear from these freebooters, many of whom they had banned as Protestant outlaws. When towns surrendered to the rebels, or voluntarily chose their side, the Catholic clergy would suffer harassments and expulsion. When Protestants seized power in town governments, the Catholic clergy was usually chased away and in many cases they had to wait years before they could return to their convent, if ever. In the 1570s and 1580s, the armies of the rebellious States besieged cities that had remained loyal to their Spanish-Habsburg overlord, while Habsburg armies besieged rebel cities. In many cases, such sieges were followed by violent plunder. During such episodes, convents obviously had most to fear from the rebels, yet in practice, royal soldiers did not spare them either. In the convent chronicles, there is no evidence of rape, yet shame may have prevented authors from reporting on specific cases.<sup>23</sup> Anna Junius, a nun who wrote about the events in Bamberg during the Thirty Years War, explicitly denied the incidence of rape: 'Although people spoke much evil of us I can bear witness before God that not the slightest thing happened to a

<sup>21</sup> Roger A. Blondeau, *Geuzen in de Westhoek: Het Epicentrum van de Beeldenstorm* (Ghent: Reinaert-Het Volk, 1988); Charles Wynckius and Ferdinand van de Putte, *Geusianismus Flandriae Occidentalis* (Bruges: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1841).

<sup>22</sup> In the cases of Gorcum and Roermond, martyrologies were composed in a very early stage. See Guilielmus Estius, *Waerachtighe Historie van de Martelaers van Gorcum, Meesten-deel Al Minder-broeders, Die Veur Hun Catholijck Ghelooue van de Kettens Ghedoodt Zijn Inden Iaere Onses Heeren, 1572* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1604); Arnold Havens, *Historica relatio dvodecim martyrum Cartusianorum qui Rvraemvndae in dvcatu Geldriae anno MDLXXII* (1608). In Oudenaarde, a report on the death of the priests, who were drowned by the rebels in the river Scheld, was produced by the Jansenist priest Pierre Simons for the bishop of Ghent soon after the events, probably in 1573. Victor de Buck, 'Les Martyrs d'Audenarde. Documents officiels publiés par V.D.B.', in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* (Peeters, 1870), 49–117. The history of their martyrdom was also spread via the poem in 157 verses that must have been circulated in manuscript by a local priest, Johannes Desiderius Waelkens. Jules Ketele, ed., *Klagt Schrift van J.D. Waelckens, Pastor van Edelaere; of Audenaerde, Door de Geusen Ingenomen* (Audenaerde, 1836). A soldier named Jacques Yetzweirts published an even longer historical poem about the martyrs in 1800 verses in Latin in 1573: Jac. Yetzweirtius, *Aldenardies Sive de Subdola Ac Futiva* (Ghent, 1573).

<sup>23</sup> As Emma Herdman ('Theatricality and Obscenity in Graphic Histories of the Wars of Religion', *Early Modern France* 14 (2010): 91–113, at 100) suggests, rape would problematise the martyrdom of the victim. Propagandistic images therefore focus on the unscrupulous vigour of the perpetrator rather than on the victim and her dishonour.

single sister from our convent contrary to the preservation of her virgin status.<sup>24</sup> There is also a constant fear of dishonour in the Dutch chronicles, yet here also the authors explicitly thank the Lord that he saved them from shame.<sup>25</sup>

The outcome of the war decided whether or not atrocities could be remembered in public. In the north, the suffering under ‘Spanish tyranny’ became a key element in the tale about the legitimate birth of the Republic. In the south, by contrast, the rebellion had to be forgotten.<sup>26</sup> By 1585, the major part of the southern Netherlands, including Calvinist bulwarks such as the cities of Ghent, Antwerp, and Malines, were recaptured by the Duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese. The inhabitants either fled or reconciled with the Habsburg regime and the Catholic Church. From there, the atrocities of the beggars served to tell the story of the steadfastness of the good Catholics.

Nuns in the north, however, had to keep such stories to themselves. In Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, the new reformed authorities sequestered ecclesiastical property for good. Male clergy was expelled, yet communities of beguines or nuns would usually be tolerated as long as they kept quiet. Many religious abandoned their vows, or went into exile. After the Reformation, devout women in the cities sometimes formed clandestine religious communities.<sup>27</sup> In many places, such as Amersfoort, local authorities gave the remaining nuns a small pension until the community died out. Amersfoort was saved from violent iconoclasm in 1566 and only taken by the beggar army by force in 1572. It was recaptured by Spanish troops in 1573 and finally joined the rebel Netherlands in 1579. In both 1572 and 1579–80, the nuns in Amersfoort feared being chased away. Iconoclasts violently broke the convents’ images and altars in both years. The chronicle of the Augustinian convent of St Agatha in Amersfoort describes a long period (1400–1632) and is written by at least two anonymous hands. Although starting in 1400, the main part of the text is a story of the slow yet irreversible extinction of a community in the hostile post-Reformation world. When in 1594, a Jesuit priest visited the convent to say Mass, to preach, and hear their confessions, the sisters were deeply impressed: ‘And we thought he

---

<sup>24</sup> Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years’ War 1618–48* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 104.

<sup>25</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 4; Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 32; Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 8, 13, 15, 16, 27.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the conditions for public memory practices after violent events, see Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, ‘Why Remember Terror? Memories of Violence in the Dutch Revolt’, in *Ireland: 1641: Contexts and Reactions*, eds Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 176–96.

<sup>27</sup> In Haarlem, a very vibrant community of about 200 Catholic religious women continued to congregate. See Spaans, *De levens der maechden*.

was like the Samaritan, pouring wine and oil into our wounds.<sup>28</sup> The following day, he gave a short sermon, 'which we heard mostly in tears. He then said his goodbyes, saying that he was glad to have found such a gathering of virgins and others in this devastated land. And we were still with thirty Sisters.'<sup>29</sup> Step by step the nuns' goods and privileges were taken from them. In 1594, when they refused to compile an inventory of their goods, they were fined 25 guilders by the Burgomasters. In 1598, when they chose a new mother superior without consulting the local authorities, they were fined again, this time 34 guilders and the customary 16 guilders for wine offered to the burgomasters.<sup>30</sup> The last remaining nuns, Elsje Zoes and Marritje Jans, died in 1637. According to eighteenth-century local historian Abraham van Bommel, the convent was in a very poor state by then. The buildings were publicly auctioned in parcels and were replaced by new houses. A century later, little remained of the old convent.<sup>31</sup>

By the 1630s, revolt had evolved into a war between two states: the Dutch Republic in the north and the Spanish Habsburg Empire in the south. In 1635, the Republic's 'stadholder' Frederick Henry commanded a combined French and Dutch military campaign from Maastricht through Brabant with the aim of capturing Louvain and Brussels. They failed to capture Louvain and never reached Brussels, yet the town of Tienen near Louvain was taken and violently sacked on 10 June 1635. Anna Wielant, the mother superior of the Annunciates, wrote an account of these events. It is very different in style and perspective from the other three chronicles analysed in this chapter. It is a very personal account written in the first person, rather like a memoir, and mainly about the experience of the nuns during the two days in which the town was sacked and destroyed. Probably it was conceived soon after the nuns returned to their convent a year later. The author apologises for her crabbed handwriting, 'which should not surprise the reader if he realises in what condition she is in.'<sup>32</sup> Indeed, during the sack of Tienen, her convent was plundered violently by one gang of Frisian and Hollander soldiers after the other. Anna Wielant and some of the other nuns were severely mistreated with swords, sticks, and hammers. Wielant was black and blue, bleeding all over her head, face, and clothes. But the fear of violation and the despair were worse than the beatings themselves:

---

<sup>28</sup> Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 42: 'ende wy hem geleden by den Samaritaan, die ons wyn ende olie in ons wonden goot.'

<sup>29</sup> Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 42: 'dat wy meest met traanen hoorden. Hy nam syn afscheyt, seggende dat hy sig verblyde, dat hy nog sulke vergaderinge van Maagden en anderen vont in dit verwoeste Lant. Ende wy waeren nog dertig Susteren.'

<sup>30</sup> Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 42, 45.

<sup>31</sup> Van Bommel, *Beschryving Der Stad Amersfoort*, 245.

<sup>32</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 29: 'dat haer beschrijf wat gecribbelt is, het welck neimant wonder sal duncken, die haer gesteltenisse sal overpeijsen.'

We did not see the end ... and that night we often thought and said: But Lord! Art thou no longer merciful? And thou, Mary, Mother of God, art thou no longer the mother of mercy and of the souls of the people. Where art thou now, that thou canst no longer help us? If only our Mother in Louvain could see us in our great emergency. Because it seemed to me that the Mother of God in Louvain was closest to us. For it seemed that the heavens had closed themselves to us and that mercy was no longer to be found.<sup>33</sup>

The scolding and mocking and humiliations continued, all night long. The convent's confessor later died of his wounds. In the morning, it was the turn of the French troops to plunder, but the French soldiers showed compassion and offered to take the nuns safely out of town, before the Irish and English troops arrived. Wielant's description of the nuns' arduous journey through the fields to the town of Sint Truiden, heavily wounded and partly barefoot, is heartbreaking:

When, stained with grease and blood, we entered the city, we saw the streets ablaze on both sides. We covered ourselves down to our ankles in our clothes. The pavement was so hot that we hardly dared walk on it. Our Deaconess did not have slippers or socks on her feet and she walked barefoot across the hot stones till we arrived at Sint Truiden, not without the greatest effort and pain.

While we advanced, we saw someone with no head here, and over there someone who was dying, and over there a child, over there a dying woman. It seemed that there had been general destruction and murder.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 17: 'Wij en sagen geen eijnde ... Wij peijsden en seijden dien nacht seer dickwils: Maer Heer! En sijt gij niet meer bermhertigh? En gij moeder Godts Maria, en zijt gij niet meer de Moeder van de Bermhertighijdt en gijlic Zieltiens, waer zijt ge nu, dat ge ons niet meer en helpt. Waert dat onze Moeder te Loven ons nu eens sagh in sulck eenen noot daer wij nu in sijn: want mij docht dat Moeder te Loven ons de naeste was: immers het scheen dat den Hemel voor ons gesloten was, en datter geen bermhertigheid meer te vinden en was.'

<sup>34</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 21–2: 'Als wij soo besmeurt van smaut, en bloedt in de stadt quamen, dan sagen wij de straeten van bijde de kanten in vollen brandt, wij gingen tot de enckelen toe in de pluymen, de straeten waeren soo heet, dat wij qualijck daer over konden gaen, onse Vicaris had geen pantoeffelen, oft socken aan haer voeten, en sij ginck soo blootvoets over die heete steenen, en voorders tot Sint Truijen toe, sekerlijk niet sonder de allergrootste moeijelijkhijdt, en pijn'; 'Voorders komende, soo sagen wij daer eenen liggen sonder hoofd, daer weer eenen die besig was met sterven, daer weer een kindt, daer naer weer een stervende vrouw, soo dat het scheen ene generale verwoestinge, en een moederije geweest te sijn.'

From Sint Truiden the nuns went to a convent in Tongeren, where they stayed almost a year until they could return to their own devastated and plundered convent. All their possessions were lost, but they thanked the Lord for their preservation.

## Emotional Scripts

How can we characterise the language of emotions in the nuns' writings? In the quotations above from the narrative by Anna Wielant the sensory descriptions and the expression of feelings of fear, despair, and grief are palpable for the modern reader. At a few instances Wielant allows us a view of her inner feelings. Typical is the following story in her account: the late Burgomaster 'had a crippled and lame brother, who sat in a chair all day, and could not move his hand to his mouth unaided'.<sup>35</sup> At the request of his mother, he was brought to the convent church and left in the choir. She and her daughter came there, 'and she cried bitterly when she said take leave of her son. The mother said: "I will be going to Sint Truiden with my daughter". And she left him there. He was severely wounded in his face, we could see that he was in a bad condition'.<sup>36</sup> When the nuns left the convent they had to leave the man behind, together with the body of a woman whom the soldiers had killed. Later, when the nuns were on their way to Sint Truiden as well, Anna Wielant writes: 'What grieved us most was that we had had to leave the lame and crippled brother of the Burgomaster with the dead woman. On the road, I could not get this out of my head. By now, the soldiers will have given him many a blow'.<sup>37</sup>

Anna Wielant's account, written in the first person, relates to inner feelings in a style that is familiar to the modern reader. This is not the case with the other chronicles. Part of an explanation for the difference may be the fact that Anna Wielant's text dates from much later (*c.* 1636) than the others. In their late medieval tradition, convent chronicles are not meant to be personal; they give an account of collective experiences and usually try to be very factual. On

---

<sup>35</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 19: 'Den Meijer die gestorven was, had eenen Creupelen en lammen broeder den welcken altijd bij dagh in eenen stoel sat en sijne handt aen sijnen mond niet konde krijgen, sonder geholpen te worden.'

<sup>36</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 20: 'en daer komende, weende sij bitterlijck, en seijden Adiu aen malkanderen, de Moeder seijde: ick gaen met mijn dochter maer Sint Truijen, en sij stelde haeren sone daer; sijn aensight was seer gequets, men konde wel sien hoe het met hem was gestelt, en soo vertrok deze moeder met haer dochter.'

<sup>37</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 21: 'T was ons noch de grootste pijn dat wij dien lammen en kreupelen broeder van den Meijer daer moesten laeten sitten bij die doode vrouw, ick en konde dit onderwegen niet uyt mijn hoofd setten, hij heeft ongetwijffelt noch al menigen slagh gekregen van de soldaeten.'

the other hand, the motive for Anna Wielant's writing is the same in many ways. It is not a private text that she would keep to herself; it is about events that have to be remembered by future generations of nuns. She also wanted to honour the memory of the Annunciates' confessor, reverend father Egidius Dobbelerius, who was killed by the beggars during the sack of the convent.

The reflection on the author's own experience may be mostly absent in the other chronicles, yet the description of personal feelings is only one of the many elements that could add to their emotional import. For contemporaries the rhetoric of lamentations and references to biblical and other literary themes would be familiar and meaningful and just as evocative. Moreover, even if chronicles scarcely name or describe emotions, the structuring of the narrative also may add to its emotion-triggering effect.

### *Narrative Sources and Structures*

We may wonder whether convent chronicles should be considered a genre at all. They were not printed and their circulation was limited. How would nuns know what it should be like? The nuns in Amersfoort and Weert seem to have been familiar with the format of a convent history as they both start their narratives with obvious institutional milestones such as the foundation, the building of a chapel, the arrival and deaths of priests, confessors, mother superiors, the monastic reforms, and visits of bishops or nobles. The chronicle in 's-Hertogenbosch seems instead inspired by other local histories and chronicles. As an important religious and commercial centre, the town had a rich tradition of chronicling and local historiography.<sup>38</sup> The chronicle of Mariënborg is just one of a number of reports on the 'troubles' of 1566 to 1579.

Typical for war chronicles is the enumeration of signs and omens that announce the crisis to come. Often this eschatological perspective is quite subtly packed into the course of its history.<sup>39</sup> In the chronicle of the Augustinian nunnery in Weert, by contrast, the signals are hard to miss. The 1560s were marked by a long enumeration of natural disasters and cosmic phenomena: fire, an earthquake, mice, pestilence, the appearance in the sky of four suns (in May 1563), a huge fire in the sky in 1564, followed by a harsh winter in 1565, rains, floods, dearth, and so on.<sup>40</sup> On 4 August 1570 several nuns saw a burning city in the black clouds of the sky from the windows of their hospital and from the

<sup>38</sup> Some of them are collected in C.R. Hermans, ed., *Verzameling van Kronyken, Charters En Oorkonden Betrekkelyk de Stad En Meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch* ('s Hertogenbosch: Stokvisch, 1847), V.

<sup>39</sup> Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 28–9; for omens in chronicles of the Thirty Years War, see Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 79.

<sup>40</sup> Creemers, 'Kronijk Uit Het Klooster Maria-Wijngaard Te Weert', 158–65.

bleaching field. 'I have seen this with my own eyes,' the author notes, 'but it is impossible to tell or describe how it was.'<sup>41</sup>

It is clear that the nuns in Amersfoort, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Weert were all very well informed about military and political developments in the Netherlands and beyond and that they thought these events should be included in their texts. There were many sources of information: newsletters, travellers, soldiers accommodated on their premises, and convents were often a refuge for persecuted secular clergy and brothers and sisters of monasteries in war zones. During war, sermons could exhort believers to resignation and perseverance in the true faith by making reference to misdeeds of the heretics and the miracles that indicated who was on the right side.<sup>42</sup> News about atrocities against Catholic clergy spread rapidly and was highly dramatised in various media that served as war propaganda.<sup>43</sup> These media clearly inform the texts by the nuns. The anonymous nun in 's-Hertogenbosch, for instance, tells the tale of the Gorcum martyrs (19 priests killed by the beggars) in a striking amount of detail, including the notion that this was a genuine instance of martyrdom both because the priests were devout and steadfast, and because of the miraculous cure of a sick person who had begun praying besides the hanging corpses on the gallows.<sup>44</sup> The emotional impact of these stories must have been important. The references to martyrdom placed the situation of the nuns themselves in a very dramatic perspective. The threatening situation meant that they had to be prepared for their own cross.

Information was also transmitted by word of mouth. The anonymous sister in 's-Hertogenbosch has a style that clearly reflects oral narrative traditions. When comparing her language to that of other chronicles of the time, the author seems to have been someone of limited training and experience in writing. Her spelling is messy and inconsistent. She spells some words phonetically and makes some odd mistakes, like writing 'baptists' when she means 'papists,' and when she is clearly not thinking of Anabaptists or the like. Some sentences are suddenly in rhyme. Just like medieval song texts, she sometimes directly addresses her audience at the start of a sentence: 'Item, you should know ...';<sup>45</sup> 'Further you shall hear of wonders';<sup>46</sup> 'Item, I shall write to you now, what evil was done here

---

<sup>41</sup> Creemers, 'Kronijk Uit Het Klooster Maria-Wijngaard Te Weert', 213: 'Ick heb die met mijn eijgen oogen gesien; maer het waer mij onmogelijck te vertellen of te schrijven hoe het was.'

<sup>42</sup> Jelle Bosma, 'Preaching in the Low Countries, 1450–1650', in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 327–56.

<sup>43</sup> Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries 1566–1700' (diss., Leiden University, 2014), forthcoming at Brill (2015), esp. ch. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 27: 'Item soe seldi weten ...'

<sup>46</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 31: 'Voert soe seldi noch wonder horen!'

in Brabant by our Beggars or young Turks.<sup>47</sup> The style is very lively and expressive. The author is perhaps a poor writer, but she is a good storyteller. Hers is also the most miraculous of the four texts. Descriptions of iconoclasm are interspersed with anecdotes about the interventions of divine providence; sudden paralysis or terrible diseases strike the perpetrators.<sup>48</sup>

### *Dramatic Action*

The approach of Jochen Kleres, which he calls ‘narrative emotion analysis’, deals not only with the language of emotions (words, syntax) but also with other textual instruments, such as the structure of the text and agency. With regard to structure, the use of so-called sequences of dramatic action is typical for many war accounts. In all chronicles, neutrally formulated and chronologically structured historical events alternate with stories that are more condensed time-wise. The episodes of violence and iconoclasm within the convent walls are described in far more detail and the actors are represented with a lot of expression. Significantly, apart from describing events she could have personally witnessed, the nun in ’s-Hertogenbosch also tells stories she must have gathered second-hand in the same format of dramatic action staging speaking actors. About the capture of the town of Den Briel by the beggars in 1572, for instance, she writes:

they walked into the convents and chased them all out. And they found an old blind brother, who could not walk; they have escorted him out through the city and said disparagingly ‘come and see the town.’ And when he was in the middle of it, they shot him dead.<sup>49</sup>

Writing so-called plotted stories with rising dramatic action is a way of stirring up emotions. But in these narrative segments, emotions are also *ascribed* to the characters. When the city of Den Bosch was in the hands of the beggars in 1567, the chancellor of Brabant was kept under house arrest for months. Only when the royal troops threatened to sack the town if the citizens would not release

---

<sup>47</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 32: ‘Item nu sa licken u voert scryven, wat onse Gosen ofte ionge Turcken al quaets bedriven hier in Brabant en bovenal in Hollant ende Zeelant.’

<sup>48</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 7–8, 49; the Weert chronicle also reports on many of these miracles or divine punishments. See Creemers, ‘Kronijk Uit Het Klooster Maria-Wijngaard Te Weert’, 187.

<sup>49</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 32: ‘Want sy liepen in die cloesters en jaechden se al wt. Ende sy vonden enen ouden blijnden brueder, die niet gelopen en const; die hebben sy wtgeleyt in die stat ende seden in scimp: “coempt ende besiet die stat”. Ende als hy mydden daerin was, soo scoten sy hem doot.’

the chancellor, did the local militia decide to let him leave the town. When they informed the chancellor, he replied:

you should have come earlier to release me. And I will be saved anyway, even if you don't do it. And when the militiamen heard that, they were crestfallen and spoke humbly. And the chancellor was in tears and so were they.<sup>50</sup>

Sequences of dramatic action often end with a concluding remark that expresses an emotion. To illustrate, the description of the first Iconoclastic Fury ends as follows: 'But never was there a happier hour than when day broke. Because not at any cost would we again suffer the fear that we suffered that night.'<sup>51</sup> Some of the dramatic episodes are followed by a longer lamentation, which usually contains a religious lesson:

O Lord, how all your creatures suffer. Shall this apprehensiveness last any longer? O, Lord, I have deserved it: forgive me that I have sinned so grievously against thee. Our brethren in Christ<sup>52</sup> wanted Papist goods and monks blood,<sup>53</sup> but those assisting Christ cannot be harmed, neither by man nor by the Devil.<sup>54</sup>

### *Agency*

Another way of expressing or stirring up emotions can be achieved through the narrative construction of agency. In narratives that express fear or helplessness, for example, the self can be rendered as an object to others' actions. In shameful narratives, the self is often diluted.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the convent chronicles include rumours about the rape of nuns by beggars, but they remain vague. In the description of shameful events, the victims are always anonymous. All chronicles cast the nuns in the role of victim. In doing so throughout the text, they identify

---

<sup>50</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 14: 'Doen antwoerden die Cancelier: "gy had wel eer moegen comen ende my verlossen. Ende oeck sa lick noch wel verlost worden, al en doet-dijns niet". Ende doen die scuts dat hoerden, so sijn se seer cleijn gevallen ende hebben oetmoedich gesproken. Ende die Cancelier waert weenende ende sy oeck.'

<sup>51</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 4: 'Mer noeyt blijder ure dan doen quam den dach. Want om geen goet en souden wi die bangicheit noch willen eens aengaan, die wi dien nacht hebben geleden.'

<sup>52</sup> In the original: 'kistbrueders.'

<sup>53</sup> 'Baptist' in the original, but she always writes 'Baptist' when she means 'Papist.'

<sup>54</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 12: 'O Heer, wat lijdi al van u creatueren! Sal dese bangicheit noch langer dueren? Och Heer, ic hebt verdient: vergevet my, dat ic soe dick gesondicht heb tegen die. Onse kistbrueders wouden hebbenn Baptistengoet en munckenbloet, mer die Christus helpt, die en mach mensche noch duvel deren.'

<sup>55</sup> Kleres, 'Emotions and Narrative Analysis', 192.

with the 'dejected and desolate' Catholics. The only activities the sisters actually do themselves in the narrative are praying, fearing, and weeping. The chronicles represent war as a collective experience, and that includes the experience of fear, indignation, and sorrow. All authors report spending long nights awake together, praying and crying in the dark.<sup>56</sup> In this respect as well, Anna Wielant's story is quite different. She describes many of her own actions such as her efforts to keep people out of the convent, hiding valuables, trying to save some money, and buying protection from a soldier that appears to be a former priest. It seems as if she tries to convince the reader that she did all she could to save the convent, the sisters, and the holy treasures.<sup>57</sup> The other nuns did not play such an active role in their story. Their absences as actors underline the resignation with which they went through the ordeals. This resignation turned out to be highly effective. Not only are there passages in which heretics observe submissively the piety of good Catholics, the Catholics are also confirmed in their faith in God: the passages in which divine providence strikes iconoclasts with paralysis and other nasty diseases are positively triumphant. The beer brewed on the fire of the holy statues of the saints promptly changes into blood.<sup>58</sup>

The actions described in the chronicles are mostly those of villains. Actors are portrayed so as to stimulate collective fear reflecting the tendency in the public media to also blacken the enemy and meet the demand for sensational and gruesome news. Yet, although the nun in 's-Hertogenbosch enthusiastically demonises the beggars in general, the story gets more complicated when the events are closer and involve her fellow citizens. The tales about beggars misbehaving elsewhere are anonymous and abound with gruesome details. But she frames the seditious leaders of the Protestants of 's-Hertogenbosch as down-and-outs and criminals (*verscymmelde boeven*), without respect and without manners. She writes spitefully of how preachers – scum of the earth – dress like noblemen and are treated by the local population with the utmost respect.<sup>59</sup> When, in May 1567, the regime of the rebels in Den Bosch ended with the arrival of a royal army of German soldiers she describes with some degree of empathy the fear of the people who had sympathised with the rebels:

But when they came, there was much groaning and moaning among the beggars ... And so children left behind their parents, husbands their wives, fathers their children, the widows their children and kin. Oh, those Beggars, and we all

---

<sup>56</sup> Creemers, 'Kronijk uit het klooster Maria-Wijngaard te Weert', 181–2; Boerwinkel, *Cronyk van Sint Aagten Convent*, 31.

<sup>57</sup> Wielant, *Gedenck-Weerdige Avonturen*, 9, and *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 8.

<sup>59</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 9, 10, 13

should have wanted that lot of beer never to have been bottled. Because it will yield bitter dregs.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusion

In many respects the war chronicles by nuns do not differ that much from other surviving texts of contemporary eyewitnesses who had experienced the horrors of war. Laymen, citizens, and Protestants were equally looking for ways to order their experiences, ascribe meaning to their memories and to frame their fears, despair, and sorrow in religious narratives about suffering and endurance. Constancy, resignation, and trust in a good Lord, divine providence, or eternal rewards for the just, were common ways of dealing with the experience of violence, insecurity, and social disruption. Casting these experiences in existing narratives of martyrdom and suffering, the struggle against heretics, Turks, Moors, and Jews, the tests of the chosen, Exodus, the Apocalypse, Job, and the lives of saints, can also be found elsewhere. The nuns' writings combined narrative ingredients of a very mixed origin with narrative techniques and stylistic devices that derived from several genres, and also from oral tradition.

What distinguishes these war accounts from those of others are both the descriptions of the nuns' own emotions as well as the description of their own agency in these narratives. Their vocation and their sex submitted them to a strict normative regime in which central virtues were closely connected to affect regulation. In a normal situation mortification, chastity, resignation, humility, and devoutness would be central, combined with joy and love for Christ. In the face of violence and chaos, they also adopted a set of values and affects that derived from the examples of martyrs and saints: steadfastness and submission to the will of God in the face of death, sorrows about the evil and sin in the world. A recurrent theme in the writings of all nuns is the fear for the loss of their honour.

The second distinctive feature of the nuns' writings is their lack of agency in their own stories. Of course this is related to their status as women and nuns as well. Humility and resignation does not combine with active self-defence. The nuns portray themselves collectively as victims and potential martyrs. On one hand, they fight their own fears and despair, while on the other hand they physically submit to the violent action of their attackers. In their accounts, the

---

<sup>60</sup> Van Alfen, *Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, 17: 'Mer doen sy quamen, soe wasser groot gekerm ende geweent onder die Geusen ... Ende soe lieten die kijnder haer ouders, die mans haer wijfs, die vaders haer kijnder, die weeduwen haer kijnder ende vrienden. Och die Goesen en wy allen mochten willen, dat dat bier ongetont waer gebleven! Want het sal noch soe bitteren gest opgeven!'

historical facts and figures give meaning and importance to what they went through. The stories of far-away atrocities justify their own fear and evoke empathy. The acting and speaking agents of evil – iconoclasts and heretics – contrast with the sisters’ devoutness, resignation, and humility. References to martyrdom, to Job, to Exodus, and the Passion of Christ also framed their own sufferings as a test. All chronicles have dramatic episodes in the narratives in which the nuns feel despair, but these episodes usually end with phrases that underline their spiritual and moral survival. While the omens predicted apocalyptic miseries, their salvation was clearly a sign of grace.

## Chapter 8

# Recasting Images of Witchcraft in the Later Seventeenth Century: The Witch of Endor as Ritual Magician

Charles Zika

From the middle of the seventeenth century, images of the so-called witch of Endor, the female necromancer and diviner from the biblical story of King Saul in I Samuel 28, began to appear in greater numbers, in a greater variety of media, and as a subject appropriate for artistic consideration.<sup>1</sup> A graphic example of the iconography of this figure in this period is found in a copperplate engraving executed *c.* 1733 by the Nuremberg-born, Augsburg engraver, Georg Daniel Heumann. The engraving was designed by the Swiss artist Johann Melchior Füssli, with ornamental borders by Johann Daniel Preißler, all completed under the direction of the printer and Imperial Engraver, Johann Andreas Pfeffel. It was published in *Die Physica Sacra, Oder Geheiligte Natur-Wissenschaft* – commonly called the *Kupfer Bibel* or *The Copperplate Bible* – of the Zurich doctor

---

<sup>1</sup> Philippa Maddern did not specifically draw on visual imagery in most of her research, but she was very alert to its historical power and significance. She registered that fact strongly in her probing and incisive questions in response to conference papers, and not least mine. I have learnt much from those questions and dedicate this chapter to her memory. For consideration of the story of the witch of Endor and its illustration, see François Lecercle, *Le retour du mort: débats sur la sorcière d'Endor et l'apparition de Samuel (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Geneva: Droz, 2011); Charles Zika, 'The Witch of Endor: Transformations of a Biblical Necromancer in Early Modern Europe', in *Rituals, Images and Words: Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds F.W. Kent and C. Zika (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 235–59; Charles Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word: The Witch of Endor in the Bibles of Early Modern Europe', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (2009): 151–65; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Le spectre de Samuel et la sorcière d'En Dor. Avatars historiques d'un récit biblique: I Rois 28', *Etudes Rurales* 105/106 (1987): 37–54; Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 239–58; Paolo Lombardi, 'La strega come necromante: Il caso della pittonessa di Endor', in *Stregoneria e Streghe nell'Europa Moderna: convegno internazionale di studi*, eds Giovanni Bosco and Patrizia Castelli (Pisa: Biblioteca univesitaria di Pisa, 1996), 181–206.



Figure 8.1 Georg Daniel Heumann/Johann Melchior Füssli/Johann Andreas Pfeffel, *The Witch of Endor Calls Up the Dead Prophet Samuel*, engraving, c. 1733

Source: Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, *Die Physica Sacra, Oder Geheiligte Natur-Wissenschaft*, Augsburg & Ulm, 1731–35, follows p. 90. ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Alte und Seltene Drucke, RAR 5864.

and naturalist, Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (Figure 8.1).<sup>2</sup> Heumann depicted the woman of Endor in the very act of calling up the figure of the dead prophet Samuel, who rises from the grave through the smoke or vapour that signifies his passage from the world of the dead into the world of the living. The woman is surrounded with all the fantastic accoutrements of the ritual magician – a circle with its magical signs and inscriptions, a burning brazier, ritual candles, a skull and bones of the dead, the bats and snakes associated with infernal spirits; and her left hand is raised in blessing, a sign of malediction rather than benediction, while in her right she holds the staff that represents the magician's power over nature. Her central position within the composition and her agency within the narrative are further emphasised by the figure of the terrified King Saul who lies prostrate at her feet, his body curled up and face hidden, while his two soldier attendants exhibit consternation.<sup>3</sup> The woman of Endor is figured as a witch, an agent of moral disorder who invokes and brings demons into the world.

Although the scene is clearly based on an earlier engraving by the Nuremberg artist Martin Engelbrecht,<sup>4</sup> it is significant that Heumann has chosen to depict this particular moment in the biblical narrative, the moment of the woman's success in the exercise of her necromantic arts. Heumann might well have focused on the moment when Saul, surrounded by Philistine armies and unable to receive divine counsel, decided to seek out this necromancer and came at night in disguise to request she conjure up the ghost of the prophet Samuel, so that he might know his fate in battle on the following day. Alternatively, and more commonly in images produced in earlier periods, he might have depicted the moment when the figure of Samuel announced to Saul that God had abandoned him, that he and his sons would die in battle on the following day, and that his kingdom would pass to his son-in-law and enemy, David. The focus of Heumann and Engelbrecht, however, is on the woman of Endor, who is identified and condemned as a witch for her necromancy and her fortune-telling. For she facilitates, or more correctly, as was pointed out in numerous commentaries, she leads others through her deceptions to believe that she facilitates, a knowledge of the future which is properly restricted to God.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Robert Felfe, *Naturgeschichte als kunstvolle Synthese: Physikotheologie und Bildpraxis bei Johann Jakob Scheuchzer* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003); Hans Krauss, ed., *Berühmte Bilder zur Menschheitsgeschichte aus Johann Jacob Scheuchzers Physica Sacra: 110 Kupfertafeln* (Constance: Universitätsverlag, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> This posture is sometimes interpreted as adoration of the devil in the form of the prophet, but in this case it clearly communicates the king's terror, which is explicitly referred to in the biblical text.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Engelbrecht, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, 1701/1750, engraving, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, Inventar-Nr. HB26150.

<sup>5</sup> In Scheuchzer's text accompanying Heumann's image, the woman is referred to as a *Warhsagerin* and *Zauberweib*, who tricks superstitious and simple folk with the snares of the

This focus on the diabolical role of the woman, on her necromantic arts, and the magical paraphernalia that identify her as a witch, begins to become discernible in the visual depictions of this story from the fifteenth century, and becomes quite pronounced in illustrations of the biblical text from the later sixteenth century. This contrasts quite significantly with earlier visual representations of the story from the twelfth century on.<sup>6</sup> The development is related to the elaboration of a discourse of witchcraft and a dramatic increase in the number of witch trials in Europe from the second third of the fifteenth century, and an increase in their number to epidemic proportions from the later sixteenth century. In tandem with these developments, an iconography of the woman of Endor gradually absorbed elements from witchcraft imagery in general. In the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, I would argue, the figure of the woman of Endor achieves a remarkable currency in two significant ways. Firstly, illustrations of the story appear across a growing range of media: pre-eminently woodcuts and engravings used to illustrate biblical texts, but also drawings, panel paintings, and a small number of frescoes. Secondly, these images also appear in a range of different literary genres: in witchcraft treatises, philosophical and political tracts, tales of ghostly appearances, sermons, dramas, and works on the nature of vision, as well as in different types of biblical narrative and commentary. As a consequence of this new attention, I suggest, the woman of Endor begins to influence representations of witchcraft in general. The attributes of the necromancer or ventriloquist of Endor, the woman of Endor with the familiar spirit, and by the later sixteenth century uniformly referred to as the *witch* of Endor, become a primary set of visual codes that artists used to identify witchcraft. Moreover, they are visual codes with a strong association to male ritual magic and serve to fuse a predominantly male magical tradition with female practices of witchcraft. This chapter attempts to trace this development and to posit some of the reasons for this historical trajectory. I argue that this fusion of male ritual or invocatory magic and female sorcery marks an attempt to heighten the fear of witchcraft as a diabolically orchestrated form of magic. This occurs in response to concerted attempts in the late seventeenth century to completely reject the role of the devil in human society and to consider the role of the woman of Endor as little more than fraud, superstition, and credulity.

The woman of Endor, usually called a *phitonissa* or *pythonissa* in the medieval period because of her ability to divine the future with her *ars pythonica*, the prophetic powers of foretelling the future associated with the python of

---

arch-trickster, the devil. In the verses below the Engelbrecht engraving, the woman is called a *praesaga saga*, a *venefica*, and a *Zauberin*.

<sup>6</sup> See Charles Zika, 'The Witch of Endor Before the Witch Trials', in *Magic, Heresy and Witchcraft: Contesting Orthodoxy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Louise Nyholm Kallestrup, with Janus Møller Jensen and Leif Søndergaard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2015).

Apollo at Delphi, but sometimes also called a *Zauberin* or *Sorcière*, takes visual form in manuscripts from the twelfth century on.<sup>7</sup> These include illustrated *Historienbibeln* (History Bibles), various versions of the *Weltchronik* (World Chronicle) of Rudolf von Ems and Heinrich von München, various vernacular versions of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, illustrated Bibles, a few illustrated psalters, and even a Book of Hours. With few exceptions, these images draw little attention to the figure of the woman and provide no details as to how she performs her necromantic arts. They concentrate on King Saul and the dire message delivered by the prophet Samuel. The woman is usually shown positioned behind King Saul, gesturing towards the figure of Samuel, possibly an allusion to her conjuration. The critical dynamic and emotional relationship is between the king and the prophet. The prophet is irritated that Saul has disturbed his rest; he communicates God's anger to the king, an anger that results in God's decision to abandon Saul and deliver his terrible message: 'Tomorrow at this hour of day, you and your sons will be with me.'<sup>8</sup> Most importantly the event is always couched within the general narrative of rivalry in the story of Saul and David.

The few times the scene is found in the sixteenth century, it illustrates an event in the life of King Saul. This is the case with the woodcut by Master IT, probably Johann Teufel, first used in a Luther Bible published by Hans Kraft in Wittenberg in 1572 (Figure 8.2), and re-used in at least six editions later in the century.<sup>9</sup> It is a copy of Thomas Arande's illustration to the 1564 and 1577 editions of the *Quadrins Historiques de la Bible*, and is also reproduced in a 1566 Latin Bible. Here we find some attention to the witch of Endor's magical techniques. There is the inclusion of a magic circle, possibly suggested by Arande's earlier shading, and the woman's staff may be an allusion to the magician's wand. Unique in the images of the witch of Endor is the rosary – certainly an instrument for conducting diabolical magic according to pious Lutherans, especially in the years between 1569 and 1572 when the woodcut seems to have been created and first published.

<sup>7</sup> For this medieval development, see especially Zika, 'The Witch of Endor Before the Witch Trials'; also Schmitt, 'Le spectre de Samuel'; Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, 15–17.

<sup>8</sup> For a graphic example, see the manuscript illumination by the David Master in a c. 1170 Bamberg manuscript of Peter Lombard's *Commentary on the Psalms*: Zika, 'The Witch of Endor Before the Witch Trials', Figure 2; Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, Figure 2.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed analysis of this woodcut and that by Thomas Arande, see Charles Zika, 'Reformation, Scriptural Precedent and Witchcraft: Johann Teufel's Woodcut of the Witch of Endor', in *Reforming the Reformation: Essays in Honour of Principal Peter Matheson*, ed. Ian Breward (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2004), 148–66; also Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 154–5. The 1566 Bible is *Biblia sacra, ad optima quaeque veteris et vulgatae translationis exemplaria summa diligentia* (Lyon: Gulielmus Rovillus, 1566).



Figure 8.2 Master IT [Johann Teufel?], *Conjured by the Witch of Endor, the Prophet Samuel Addresses King Saul*, woodcut, 1569

Source: *Biblia Das ist: die gantz heilige Schrifft Deusch. D. Mart. Luth.*, Wittenberg, [Hans Krafft], 1572, Bd. 1, fol. 197<sup>r</sup>. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Bibel S 2<sup>o</sup> 42.

Almost the only surviving example of a witch of Endor scene that stands outside the biblical narrative and its sequence of images illustrating the life of Saul is Cornelis van Oostanen's well-known 1526 panel painting of the subject.<sup>10</sup> Demonstrating a strong influence of the new iconography developed by Hans Baldung Grien and others, through the importation of a group of women in transparent garments gathered around a barbecue, and others riding goats while holding their horns, van Oostanen's painting primarily gives pride of place, both compositionally and narratively, to the woman of Endor as ritual magician. But the painting remains quite unique, because the representation of the scene and

<sup>10</sup> For this painting, see Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007), 156–60; W.C.M. (Helen) Wüstefeld, 'Clavicula Salomonis or: Occult Affairs in Amsterdam's Kalverstraat? Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen and *Saul and the Witch of Endor* Revisited', in *Living Memoria: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren*, ed. Rolf de Weijert (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), 347–63.

the witch herself would seem to have no forerunner or model; and likewise, the painting does not seem to have directly influenced any depictions of the story in the future.

Indeed, it is another century or so, in the mid seventeenth century, that the scene begins to become firmly established as an artistic subject and story independent of the narrative of Saul's life. A number of followers of Rembrandt, for instance, began to include the scene in their paintings: artists such as Benjamin Gerritsz Cuyper, Peter Verelst, Willem de Porter, and Ferdinand Bol.<sup>11</sup> The master himself, probably in the 1650s, created a pen and ink drawing of the woman of Endor, feeding the shell-shocked king after he had heard Samuel's terrible news.<sup>12</sup> It was a most unusual, although not unique, depiction, quite possibly influenced by the very positive view in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities*, of the woman's generosity in comforting the king who had deceived her.<sup>13</sup> The scene would seem to reflect the ideal virtues required of women in the burgher societies of the Netherlands. But with respect to a longer diachronic development, it highlights a general focus on the woman's agency, whether in the deployment of evil through the invocation of spirits, or – as in the case of Josephus' account – her compassion and solicitude towards a king suffering from severe trauma following news of his imminent fate.

One of the most influential images of the woman of Endor was a painting by Salvator Rosa, probably completed in or a little before 1668.<sup>14</sup> It proved immensely influential because of the public recognition it received in 1668 as the only work of a living artist to be exhibited with works of artists such as

<sup>11</sup> See the artists in Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen. Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956), I, 144–6.

<sup>12</sup> Otto Benesch, ed., *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd rev. edn, 6 vols (London: Phaidon, 1973), V, 280, no. 1028; Albert Blankert, ed., *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact*, exhibition catalogue (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1997), 372–3.

<sup>13</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Judean Antiquities* 5–7, ed. and trans. Christopher Begg, in *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 4*, ed. Steven Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 193–4. We know that Rembrandt possessed a copy of Flavius Josephus in German with illustrations by Tobias Stimmer, a work which went through eight editions between 1574 and 1609. See Christian Tümpel et al., eds, *Im Lichte Rembrandts: Das Alte Testament im Goldenen Zeitalter der niederländischen Kunst* (Munich: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1994), 329; Rachel Wischnitzer, 'Rembrandt, Callot, and Tobias Stimmer', *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 224–30, at 227, 229–30. But, I have not found any Stimmer illustrations of this scene.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Kitson, ed., *Salvator Rosa*, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery, London (London: Arts Council of England, 1973), 36–7; Luigi Salerno, ed., *L'opera completa di Salvator Rosa* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1975), 101, no. 210; Charles Zika, 'The Baillieu Library's Etching of André Laurent, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, after Salvator Rosa', in *Print Matters at the Baillieu*, eds Stephanie Jaehrling and Kerriane Stone (Melbourne: Cussonia, 2011), 95–9.

Titian and Parmigianino in an exhibition held in the cloisters of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome, sponsored by the Rospigliosi family to celebrate the election to the papacy of Pope Clement IX a year earlier. Rosa had a deep interest in the subject of witchcraft and produced a large number of paintings on the subject when in Florence in the 1640s.<sup>15</sup> It was most probably the Berne artist, Joseph Werner II, who introduced Rosa's work on witchcraft to his network in Augsburg, where he married and lived between 1667 and 1682 and became part of the circle around Johann Heinrich Schönfeld.<sup>16</sup> Werner himself created a very striking image of the witch of Endor scene, in which the graveyard setting, with its tombs, skulls, and skeletons, together with the blazing cauldron, emphasise the witch's act of necromancy (Figure 8.3). Georg Andreas Wolfgang the Elder copied Werner's drawing in about 1670 and dedicated the engraving to Leonhard Weiss, the Augsburg Stadtpfleger or mayor.<sup>17</sup> This print was part of a series of biblical images; but rather than simply illustrating a text, the pictorial image had now become primary, and the literary verses were meant to help explain the pictorial image.

The network of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Stuttgart artists of the last three decades of the seventeenth century shared in this fascination for the practice of necromancy and communicating with the world of spirits and the dead. In Johann Heinrich Schönfeld's well-known engraving of *c.* 1670 (Figure 8.4) the dead are depicted emerging from their tombs, awakened by the woman's magical rituals. She herself is emaciated and spectre-like, a virtual shade, like the spirits above her.<sup>18</sup> Schönfeld's engraving was actually begun by Gabriel Ehinger and completed by him with additional use of pen and brush. Ehinger then completed another engraving and etching, which he dedicated to David Thomann, a legal advisor to the Augsburg city council, and also completed a painting of the subject for Thomann, which no longer survives. Christoph Ehinger, a Lutheran pastor and strong supporter of witchcraft trials in Augsburg, dedicated his *Daemonologia* of 1681 to the same David Thomann. Witchcraft was without doubt of great interest to many of the citizens and artists of Augsburg in the 1670s; but what

<sup>15</sup> See discussion and references in Charles Zika, 'The Corsini *Witchcraft Scene* of Salvator Rosa: Magic, Violence and Death', in *The Italians in Australia: Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. David R. Marshall (Florence: Centro Di, 2004), 179–90.

<sup>16</sup> For Werner and Augsburg, see Jürgen Glaesemer, *Joseph Werner, 1637–1710* (Munich: Prestel, 1974); Lyndal Roper, 'The Gorgon of Augsburg', in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 113–36, reproduced in Lyndal Roper, *The Witch in the Western Imagination* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 48–71.

<sup>17</sup> Wolfgang's engraving was later copied by Philipp Andreas Kilian in 1758. See Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 161, Figure 9.

<sup>18</sup> For this engraving and Schönfeld's oeuvre, see Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 164, n. 45.



Figure 8.3 Joseph Werner II, *Samuel's Ghost Appears before King Saul and the Witch of Endor*, pen and brush, black and grey ink, heightened with white on grey-brown paper, 1677, 34.8 x 22.8 cm

Source: Bern, Kunstmuseum, Inv. No. A. 1196.

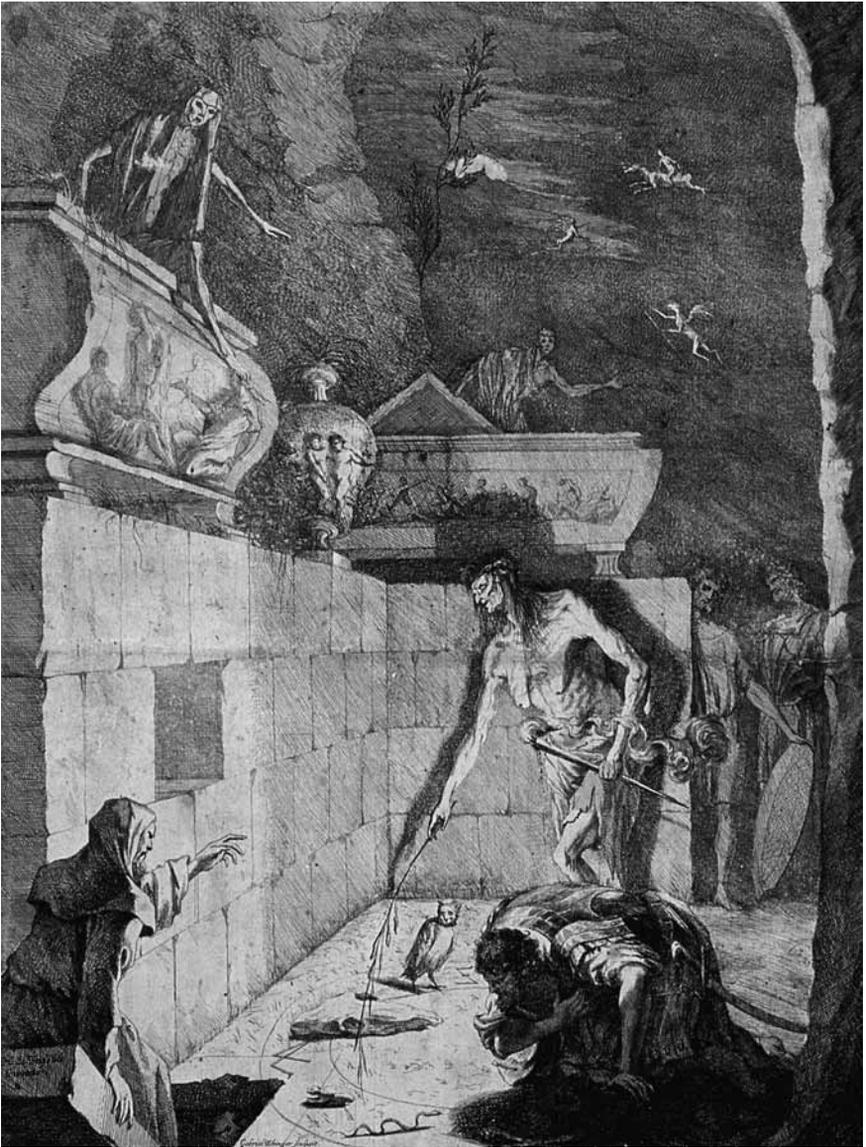


Figure 8.4 Gabriel Ehinger and Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Conjured by the Witch of Endor, the Ghost of Samuel Addresses King Saul*, proof print of engraving with pen and brush additions in blue-grey ink (by Schönfeld), c. 1670

Source: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung © Foto: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv. No. C 517.

has not been sufficiently recognised is that the story and subject of the woman of Endor, the witch of Endor, was at the centre of this interest.<sup>19</sup> It is no coincidence that Ehinger's work is in part a rebuttal of what he sees as the growing incidence of atheism and Saducism, the lack of belief in the spirit world, a claim by Ehinger quoted in the expanded 1698 German edition of Jean Bodin's *Daemonomania*.<sup>20</sup>

The iconography of the graveyard also appears, even if in more classic form, in images of the witch of Endor in the 1700 and 1702 Augsburg picture Bibles illustrated by Johann Ulrich Krauss. In this case, the smoke of the cauldron and the spectral vision seem to strongly suggest a diabolical apparition. Similar motifs are found in the prints of Caspar Luyken and Bernard Picart (Figure 8.5). Picart's print, even though it features a younger, sweeter looking and supposedly less threatening woman of Endor, depicts the woman raising the figure of Samuel with her staff, and above her sit the symbols of occult power and death. Engraved by Quiriyn Fonbonne, Picart's print appears in a collection of 212 biblical images, *Figures de la Bible*, published for the first time in Amsterdam in 1720, and many times after that. The author of the caption was Jacques Saurin, preacher at The Hague, who had studied theology in Geneva, fled to London in 1700, where he was preacher for four years, and then returned to the Netherlands. Another very important example of the *Pythonissa/Zauberin* raising Samuel from his tomb within a large cemetery vault, in which the skulls and bats look down on her performance, is a print by Georg Christoph Eimmart the Younger which seems to have been first published in a 1695 Augsburg picture Bible edited by Christoph Weigel (Figure 8.6). Eimmart was a prominent Nuremberg engraver and astronomer, brother-in-law of Jacob von Sandrart, and in the last decade of his life director of the Nuremberg Malerakademie.<sup>21</sup> The woman of Endor story, and especially the nature of this woman's powers, and in some cases the rituals by which she could exercise them, had clearly become a subject of interest to artists and their viewers alike. The woman's agency has become centre stage. It is still too early to elaborate clear developmental lines in the elaboration of these images and how they might relate to the literary discourse of the time concerning the woman's deployment of diabolical powers, trickery, or illusion. But there is little doubt that she is a key player in the story in ways that were not discernible in earlier periods.

<sup>19</sup> This has escaped the attention of Lyndal Roper, on whose fine analysis I partly draw: Roper, *The Witch in the Western Imagination*, 64, 195, n. 48.

<sup>20</sup> Christoph Ehinger, *Daemonologia, Oder Etwas Neues Vom Teufel* (Augsburg: Göbel and Koppmayer, 1681), fols A2v–A3v; Johannes Bodin, *Daemonomania, Oder außßführliche Erzählung Des wütenden Teuffels ... Anderer Theil Oder Anhang* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1698), fols 2r–2v.

<sup>21</sup> For Eimmart, see Doris Gerstl, *Drucke des höfischen Barock in Schweden: der Stockholmer Hofmaler David Klöcker von Ehrenstrahl und die Nürnberger Stecher Georg Christoph Eimmart und Jacob von Sandrart* (Berlin: Mann, 2000); Hans Gaab, 'Zur Geschichte der Eimmart-Sternwarte', *Zeitschrift der Nürnberger Astronomischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft* 18 (2005): 5–14.



Figure 8.5 Bernard Picart and Quiriyn Fonbonne, *The Witch of Endor Calls Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul*, engraving

Source: *Figures de la Bible*, Amsterdam: B. Picart, 1720, 1. Samuel 28. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb graph 1720 01.



The print by Georg Christoph Eimmart exemplifies this critical development in the visual representation of the Saul and Endor story: that by the second half of the seventeenth century it had achieved a significance that allowed considerable independence from the longer narrative of King Saul's rule. It remained a biblical story; that could never be denied. But concentration on the person and agency of the woman of Endor and a more theatrical depiction of her necromantic rituals and techniques, certainly appears to be part of a visual and emotional appeal directed towards eliciting condemnation from viewers. These developments create a level of independence from the biblical text, which also seems to be connected to what François Lecerclé has recently identified as the break up of the prior confessional cleavage in interpretation of the story among later seventeenth-century exegetes, when views of the necromancy as a trick created by the woman of Endor was seen as leading to attacks on Scriptural authority and even charges of atheism.<sup>22</sup> In other words the significance of the story now

<sup>22</sup> Lecerclé, *Le retour du mort*, ch. 6.



Figure 8.6 Georg Christoph Eimmart the Younger, *The Necromancer of Endor Conjures Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul*, engraving

Source: *BIBLIA ECTYPA. Bildnussen zu Heilige Schrift Alt- und Neuen Testaments ...* Augsburg, Christoph Weigel, 1695, 1.Sam.XXVIII, p. 52. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb graph 1695 01.

begins to point well beyond the immediate biblical context, and this would also seem to be borne out by emotional allusions to it in contemporary propaganda.<sup>23</sup>

With respect to visual depictions of the story, these developments seem to have stimulated an increased recycling of images through a range of different genres. Georg Christoph Eimmart's print was very popular, for instance, appearing in four different versions, in German, English, and Dutch Bibles, and in numerous editions.<sup>24</sup> But it also appeared as the frontispiece to the German translation of Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus*, an examination of the reality of the spirit world, published in Hamburg by Gottfried Liebernickel in 1701.<sup>25</sup> Other demonological treatises also began to include images of the witch of Endor in this period. The English 1681 and later editions of Glanvill included a very different representation of the scene by William Faithorne, clearly underlining Glanvill's claim that the apparition of Samuel was neither the product of a trick or illusion created by the witch and/or the devil, but represented the holy prophet himself, depicted with a saintly aureole.<sup>26</sup> An illustration of the story was also included in the expanded 1693 edition of Nicholas Remy's *Daemonolatria* published in Hamburg by Thomas von Wiering;<sup>27</sup> and in 1660, an etching of the story by Andreas Fröhlich appeared as the title page for a collection of 28 sermons by a Lutheran preacher in Frankfurt, Bernhard Waldschmitt.<sup>28</sup>

Precisely why, when, and where this growing interest in the woman of Endor story developed among artists, printers, and publishers remains a critical question. Although it demands more detailed examination than is possible here, I put forward a number of suggestions. Firstly, as I have argued elsewhere, the implications of the biblical interpretation of the witch of Endor by Luther and later Lutherans such as Veit Dieterich, the detailed consideration of the story in Johann Weyer's work *On the Illusions of Demons* in the 1560s, and the discussions in Saxony concerning the responsibility of the Saxon authorities towards cases of

---

<sup>23</sup> One example of many is Titus Oates, *The Witch of Endor or the Witchcrafts of the Roman Jesebel* (London: Thomas Parkhurst and Thomas Cockeril, 1679), which includes no references to the biblical story itself.

<sup>24</sup> I have found it in the Regensburg, 1697 and Augsburg, 1730 versions of the *BIBLIA ECTYPA, Biblia: Dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture* (Dordrecht: Keur, 1714); *The Compleat History of the Old and New Testament: or, a Family Bible* (London: W. Rayner, 1735). See also Philip Schmidt, *Die Illustrationen der Lutherbibel 1522–1700* (Basel, 1962), Figure 351 for a very similar illustration, possibly by the Monogrammist CM, in the *Brandmüllerbibel* (Basel, 1699).

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (Hamburg: Gottfried Liebernickel, 1701).

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (London: J. Collins, 1681).

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Remy, *Daemonolatria* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1693), facing p. 480.

<sup>28</sup> Bernhard Waldschmidt, *Pythonissa Endorea, Das ist: Acht und zwanzig Hexen- und Gespenst-predigten* (Frankfurt: Ammon & Serlin, 1660).

witchcraft and fortune-telling in the new Saxon legal code in the late 1560s and early 1570s, would seem to have created a receptive theological, cultural, and political environment for the inclusion of the woodcut of the witch of Endor in a 1572 Luther Bible and six later editions.<sup>29</sup>

Secondly, the interest of the Rembrandt 'school' in the story in the first half of the seventeenth century may well have been stimulated not only by Weyer's work *On the Illusions of Demons*, which went through a large number of vernacular and Latin editions, but also by Reginald Scot's extensive discussion of the case in his work of 1584, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, which was translated into Dutch and published in Leiden in 1609.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, it may have been influenced by the growing number of works on ghostly appearances, such as those by Ludwig Lavater (German, 1569; Latin, 1570; English, 1572) and Pierre Le Loyer (French, 1586, English, 1605, and expanded French, 1605 and 1608);<sup>31</sup> by the far more frequent illustration of the scene in Dutch and German Bibles by artists such as Christof Murer from the 1620s, Christoffel van Sichem II from the 1640s, and Pieter Hendricksz Schut from the 1650s (Figure 8.7).<sup>32</sup> Possibly

<sup>29</sup> Zika, 'Reformation, Scriptural Precedent and Witchcraft'. This does not address the origins of the model for Master IT's woodcut, the image created by Thomas Arande. Arande's woodcut may well be linked to the prominent role given the woman of Endor's invocatory arts in the play *Saül le furieux*, written by Jean de la Taille in 1562 and published a decade later.

<sup>30</sup> Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis daemonum et incantationibus ac veneficis* (Basel: J. Oporin, 1563); Johann Weyer, *Witches, Devils and Doctors in the Renaissance: 'De prestigiis daemonum'*, eds George Mora and Benjamin G. Kohl (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991). For the discussion of the woman of Endor story, see Lecercle, *Le retour du mort*, 231–4. For the Dutch translation, Claudia Swan, *Art, Science and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 162–74. For the editions, Rudolf van Nahl, *Zauberglaube und Hexenwahn in Gebiet von Rhein und Maas: spätmittelalterlicher Volksglaube im Werk Johan Weyers, 1515–1588* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1983).

<sup>31</sup> Ludwig Lavater, *Von Gespänsten, unghüeren, fallen, und anderen wunderbaren dingen* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1569); Pierre Le Loyer, *IV livres des spectres ou apparitions et visions desprits, anges et demons* (Angers: G. Nepveu, 1586). For consideration of the woman of Endor story, see Lecercle, *Le retour du mort*, 138–41, 168–86.

<sup>32</sup> For the Christoph Murer woodcut, see Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 156, Figure 4. The von Sichem woodcut appears in many Bibles after *Bibels Tressor, Ofte der Zielen Lusthof, Vytgebeelt in Figueren, door verscheyden Meesters. Ende gesneden, door Christoffel Van Sichem* (Amsterdam: P.I. Paets, 1646), 422, Figure 419. See Peter van der Coelen, *Patriarchs, Angels & Prophets: The Old Testament in Netherlandish Printmaking from Lucas van Leyden to Rembrandt* (Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Rembrandt Information Centre, 1996), 168. The Schut engraving appeared first in *Toneel ofte Vertooch der Bybelsche Historien* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes Visscher, 1659). I have found it in Bibles of 1679, 1683 (reversed), 1695, 1700, and 1749. See also Coelen, *Patriarchs, Angels & Prophets*, 6.

important also were the growing number of editions of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities*, which contain a very personal and positive statement concerning the generosity and solicitude of the woman of Endor.<sup>33</sup>



Figure 8.7 Pieter Schut, *King Saul has the Witch of Endor Conjure Up the Prophet Samuel to Divine his Future*, engraving

Source: *Bilderbibel*, Amsterdam, Claes Jansz Visscher, 1700 [1659ff], nr. 78. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Tb 424.

Thirdly, I have suggested in a recent article that the interest in the woman of Endor story from the 1670s by south German artists, especially in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Stuttgart, might be explained by a combination of factors. These include: contemporary discourse about the ghostly appearances of the spirits of the dead in the works of a range of theologians, philosophers, and storytellers in the context of a new Counter-Reformation emphasis on saintly relics and the mediation of saints as instruments through which religious and political order could be maintained; a practical legal discourse about the appearance of ghosts

<sup>33</sup> For editions of Josephus circulating in the Netherlands, see references above in n. 13. However, the earliest illustration of the woman of Endor story seems to be in a 1665 Dutch edition (an engraving of Jacob Savery III, see Zika, 'The Baillieu Library's Etching of André Laurent', 95, 97), with later illustrations in 1698 (Caspar Luyken) and 1704 (Jan Luyken).

linked to an outbreak of cases of treasure hunting through southern Germany and Switzerland; and on a professional artistic level, the remarkable success in 1668 of Salvator Rosa's painting of this biblical subject.<sup>34</sup> It seems also that the witch of Endor provided an effective and scripturally authorised antidote against the growing scepticism concerning the powers of witchcraft at a time of declining witch trials, and an assurance against a questioning of the spirit world itself, beliefs grouped under the term Saducism and frequently regarded as providing a major inroad for atheism. On the contrary, the woman of Endor was deployed to maintain the notion of a cosmos full of destructive forces that could create terrible disorder in church and society. Just as the woman of Endor played an important role in the biblical and cosmic drama of King Saul's sin, his punishment, and the replacement of his line by the House of David, so she could now be used to ensure a strong emotional conviction in this ongoing struggle between diabolical and divine agents in the everyday world, as well as a prohibition of the belief that such women could by themselves transgress the borders between the living and the dead.<sup>35</sup> The witch of Endor was a marker of disorder, a reminder of the cosmic struggle in which all were embroiled, and a warning about the evil forces all needed to fear in order to avoid being deceived and led astray.

I suggest that the success of the figure of the woman of Endor as witch in the later seventeenth century also relates to its particular iconography. A significant feature of that iconography is the use of the accoutrements of ritual invocatory magic traditionally associated with male magicians. By linking those attributes to the power of a female witch in the person of the woman of Endor, the figure helps to demonstrate the dependency of witchcraft on demonic invocation and power. The circle, the book, the magical wand or sword – attributes which immediately signify the male magician who summons the powers of darkness through his magical learning, and stands protected by the magical barrier created by blessed objects, words, and signs, now become the attributes of a female ritual magician. These are not attributes found in the new iconography of witchcraft in the sixteenth century, created by artists such as Dürer, Altdorfer, Baldung, Cranach, Manuel Deutsch, and Brueghel. These sixteenth-century witch images depicted groups of women gathered around a cauldron, cooking up their food or ointments, or riding wild animals or other objects through the air. Apart from Circe and her wand, a visual attribute drawn from classical and

---

<sup>34</sup> Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 159–62. For contemporary discourse on the subject, see the range of arguments in Lecercle, *Le retour du mort*, 153–355.

<sup>35</sup> The role of the woman of Endor in campaigns rebutting atheism and Saducism requires a separate study. However, see the many references in Lecercle, *Le retour du mort*, 283–355, and more generally, Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 17.

medieval sources, only the woman of Endor is depicted with wand, book, and circle, or at least with one or other of these three visual cues.<sup>36</sup>

The employment of male attributes to designate the invocatory and demonic powers of the woman of Endor become more pronounced in the seventeenth century, as we have seen.<sup>37</sup> In some instances, the male and female attributes are clearly visible, as in an engraving by an unknown artist in the 1675 and 1679 editions of a compendium of biblical stories published in Nuremberg, in which the forked cooking stick so familiar from early sixteenth-century witchcraft images is prominently displayed within the witch's magic circle (Figure 8.8). The leading Dutch engraver of the turn of the eighteenth century, Romeyn de Hooghe, also created a copperplate engraving with a mix of earlier and later attributes (Figure 8.9). And this was a widely disseminated image. It appeared over a dozen times from 1703 in several editions of a biblical work by the Lutheran Henricus Vos, *Alle de Voornaamste Historien des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments*; and then in the many French and Dutch versions with Calvinist texts by the Rotterdam preacher and historian, Jacques Basnage.<sup>38</sup> With her breasts bared, perhaps in order to identify herself clearly as female, the woman of Endor is shown with her wand and book, as well as her magical circle. She holds what seem to be herbs in her right hand, probably a sprig of cyprus in imitation of Salvator Rosa's witch figure; but she is also depicted with a cauldron, an infant on her back, and a cat, all of which link her to the early representations of Hans Baldung Grien, while the deer and monkey behind the figure of Samuel have echoes of images of Circe. This bare-breasted woman of Endor, ritual magician and witch, assumes a powerful and dominant, even terrifying, presence, as she stands upright and glares down at the traumatised body of Saul, who has totally collapsed into the arms of his attendants on hearing the dire news announced by the prophet.

---

<sup>36</sup> For the sixteenth-century iconography of the witch, see Zika, *Appearance of Witchcraft*. For the attributes of ritual magic, see Charles Zika, 'Medieval Magicians as People of the Book', in *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe*, ed. G. Kratzman (Melbourne: Macmillan Art Publishing/ State Library of Victoria, 2009), 246–54.

<sup>37</sup> For the use of similar motifs by additional artists such as Johann Jakob Sandrart and Monogrammist VW, see Zika, 'Transformations of a Biblical Necromancer'.

<sup>38</sup> Henricus Vos, *Alle de voornaamste historien des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments* (Amsterdam: Jacques Lindenberg, 1703); Jacques Basnage, *Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament* (Amsterdam: Jacques Lindenberg, 1704). Later French and Dutch editions are entitled *Le Grand Tableau de l'Univers*, or '*T Groot waerelds tafereel*'.



Saul ſuchet Hülffe bey einer Warſagerin Die bringet ihn Samuel herauf Die Philisti erſchlagen ſein Heer Er erſucht ſich ſamt ſeinem Waſſenträger 1. Sam. 28. 71

Figure 8.8 Artist unknown, *The Witch of Endor Conjures Up the Prophet Samuel for King Saul*, engraving

Source: *Kleine Historische Biblia/ Das ist: Die Fürnehmsten Historien aus Heil. Göttl. Schrift/ Altes und Neues Testaments*, ed. Justus Jacobus Leibnitz, Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann, 1677, 1 Samuel 28, p. 37. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, B deutsch 169201.



Figure 8.9 Romeyn de Hooghe, *King Saul Collapses on Hearing the Message of the Prophet Samuel, Conjured Up by the Witch of Endor*, engraving

Source: Henricus Vos, *Alle de Voornaamste Historien des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments*, Amsterdam, Jakob Lindenberg, 1703, fol. 47 (sig. M2 recto). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Tb 2° 3.

Another example of this fusion of the attributes of witchcraft with those of the ritual magician in the person of the woman of Endor is an engraving by Melchior Küsel of 1679 (Figure 8.10).<sup>39</sup> Küsel, an artist who had studied with Mattheus Merian in Frankfurt and later became a member of the Schönfeld circle in Augsburg, published an Augsburg picture Bible called *Icones Biblicae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. To represent the woman of Endor as witch, Küsel took a more general representation of a witch created in 1626 by Jan van der Velde II and adapted it to the biblical story. The accoutrements of the ritual magician are

<sup>39</sup> For Melchior Küsel and this work, see Zika, 'Images in Service of the Word', 157, 159, Figure 7, 164, nn. 39–43.

obvious – book, wand, circle, and skulls – and they are combined with a hanging naked breast, wild female hair flying forward in exaggerated fashion, and a goat close by. These are all allusions to an earlier sixteenth-century iconography that survives into the early eighteenth century in highly exaggerated form. The visual cues gender the witch as clearly female, even if she has absorbed the attributes of the learned male magician.



Figure 8.10 Melchior Küsel, *The Witch of Endor Conjures Up Evil Spirits, as King Saul Approaches*, engraving

Source: *Icones Biblicae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1679, Figure 40. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ba graph.1 679 01.

By the later seventeenth century, aspects of the iconography of the witch of Endor began appearing in more general images of witchcraft. This is clear, for instance, in the 1687 treatise on witchcraft, *The Broken Power of Darkness*,<sup>40</sup> written by the Pietist pastor of St Jakob's in Augsburg, Gottlieb Spitzel. At the beginning of Part II of the book, the publisher inserted an engraving featuring the woman of Endor figure from Küsel's 1679 picture Bible (Figure 8.11). The witch is depicted pouring a dark powder from a horn into a cauldron; she is

<sup>40</sup> Gottlieb Spitzel, *Der gebrochene Macht der Finsternüss* (Augsburg: Gottlieb Göbel and Jakob Koppmayer, 1687).



Figure 8.11 Gottlieb Spitzel, *The Abominable and Diabolical Activities of Witchcraft*, engraving

Source: *Der gebrochene Macht der Finsternüss*, Augsburg, Gottlieb Göbel and Jakob Koppmayer, 1687, p.207. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 PHYSI, 1145 (3).

accompanied by a goat, and there is a large book, skull, and container in the left-hand corner. The only major alteration is that Küsel's wand has been converted into a large spoon, perhaps in order to make abundantly clear the female associations of this ritual magician. The artist has combined this witch figure from Küsel's Bible with a scene depicting the obscene kiss of the devil in the form of a goat.<sup>41</sup> The engraving from Spitzel's work became extremely popular. It was published again in the 1693 German translation of Nicolas Remy's *Demonolatriy*, and then for a third time in Peter Goldschmidt's *The Defender of Depraved Witches and Sorcerers*.<sup>42</sup> The woman of Endor had been absorbed into witchcraft iconography and the activities of witches integrated with the diabolical invocation of ritual magic. More images of witchcraft would feature female witches performing acts of invocation with their wands or staffs, while standing in their magic circles and invoking demonic powers.<sup>43</sup>

To summarise: I would argue that the woman of Endor, a figure with a long history in biblical exegesis stretching back to the early third century, and with a pictorial history from the early twelfth century, gradually took on some of the visual characteristics and attributes of witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the second half of the seventeenth century, instances of the woman of Endor in visual representation increased exponentially; and they also appeared in a wider range of media and in a greater variety of literary contexts. For a short period at least, for some decades around the turn of the eighteenth century, the woman of Endor becomes the face of witchcraft for a number of artists and printers – a model for representations of witchcraft in general. In the title page engraving used in the 1693 German edition of Nicholas Remy's *Demonolatriy* we see a potent example of this development (Figure 8.12). The engraver, Diederich Lemkus, presents a witch, again identifiable by her hanging breasts, as a classical ritual magician, with wand, book, and a magic circle. Even if a parody, she is clearly the master of the cacophony surrounding her. She is figured as the central point, the yardstick, the measure, by which all forms of magical activity are interpreted and defined. She brings demons and disorder into the world. She is certainly a superstitious woman, a common fraud and a trickster; but she is also presented to the viewer as a figure meant to be feared because of her terrifying ally and master, the devil. Through a fusion of

<sup>41</sup> The representation of the obscene kiss drew on a frontispiece woodcut in Johannes Praetorius's *Blockes-Berges Verrichtung* (1668), which was originally modelled on an engraving by Matthäus Merian, Küsel's brother-in-law.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Goldschmidt, *Verworffener Hexen und Zauberer Advocat* (Hamburg: Gottfried Liebernicketl, 1705). The printer Liebernicketl had also published Goldschmidt's *Höllischer Morpheus* in 1698, and the German translation of Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* in 1701.

<sup>43</sup> One informative example is an engraving in Richard Boulton's *A Compleat History of Magick* (London: E. Curll, J. Pemberton, and W. Taylor, 1715).



Figure 8.12 Diederich Lemkus, *The Foolish Tricks of Diabolical Magic and Witchcraft*

Source: Nicholas Remy, *Daemonolatria*, Hamburg, Thomas von Wiering, 1693, Part I titlepage engraving. Hamburg State and University Library, Scrin A/1559.

the arts of witchcraft primarily figured visually as female and the arts of ritual magic figured as male, the woman of Endor serves to represent witchcraft as a demonic invocatory art dependent on the power of demons. And that art was alive and well, a source of ongoing disorder, as claimed by those attempting to refute the claims of Saducism in later seventeenth-century Europe.

PART III  
Aligning Children, Familial, and  
Religious Communities

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 9

# ‘That the boys come to school half an hour before the girls’: Order, Gender, and Emotion in School, 1300–1600

Annemarieke Willemsen

Late medieval and early modern education is systematically underestimated. In towns in present-day Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany around 1500, at least half of all boys went to grammar school.<sup>1</sup> There were also other types of schools, and many opportunities for girls and country boys to learn. This chapter will explore how schools managed the logistics of boys and girls in classrooms, schoolyards, and dorms, and how they dealt with their behaviour, interactions, and emotions, both wanted and unwanted. The backbone of this chapter will be three extensive and extraordinary texts: the school ‘code of order’ from the end of the fourteenth century from Deventer (The Netherlands); the manual of the orphan school in Bruges (Belgium) from 1555; and instructions for the boarding school of Alpirsbach (Germany) from 1567. All of these documents are sets of rules and regulations designed to bring order into the daily reality of running a school, with both practical and moral intentions. They show some gender differences, especially in separating boys and girls, which betray slightly differing patterns of expectations for the education and thus the behaviour of the sexes. Throughout, the rules show emphatically the recognition that they are for handling children: they are aware of their specific nature as children, and show concern for their well-being and the balancing of work and play. The Bruges manual also shows how rules were sometimes changed after preferences of the pupils were noted to be different than the original ideas of the governors. Placed in the context of archaeological school objects and depictions in art from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, these sources give an unusually detailed picture of daily life at school for boys and girls (Figure 9.1), throughout winter and summer, on regular and festive days, with all its highlights and disappointments.

---

<sup>1</sup> Annemarieke Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard: The Daily Practice of Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

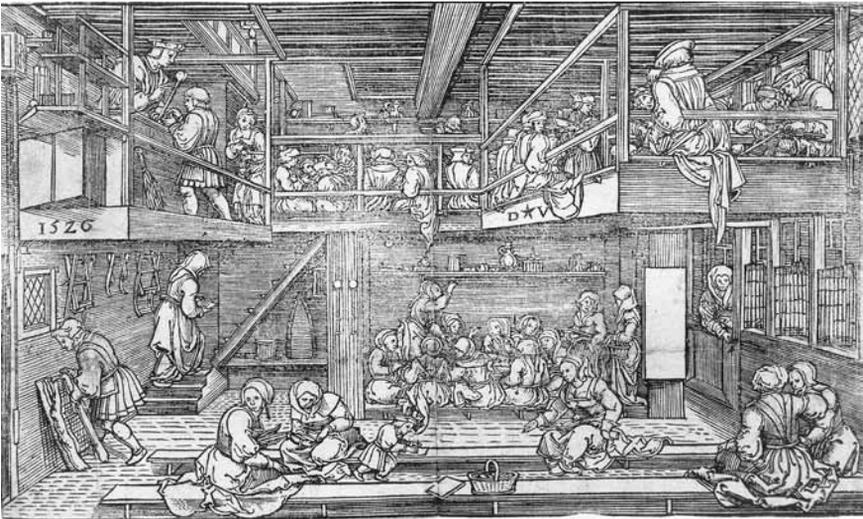


Figure 9.1 Dirck Vellert, *Mixed school*, 1526

Source: London, British Museum, Prints & Drawings, inv. no. PPA 89343. © Trustees of the British Museum.

### School Codes of Order

The oldest preserved code of order of the Netherlands was written at the end of the fourteenth century for the school located next to the Church of St Lebuinus in Deventer. The text is in Latin, quite short and basic, and provides good examples of the kinds of matters that had to be regulated in a chapter school at this time. It is noticeable that the pupils were choir boys too, and that quite a number of the articles relate to their behaviour in church, for instance, that the schoolchildren who come into the church to sing, straight out of school, should not go onto the choir ‘in their clogs, hoods and hats, packed with their bags on their backs.’<sup>2</sup> At this time, the interests of clergy and teaching staff had diverged and it is likely that this code of order was implemented to regulate the parts that still converged. These rules of conduct give the impression that each was composed as an answer to an undesirable situation that was encountered, as regulations indeed tend to do in these centuries, rather than being a unitary moral programme. One can easily picture the boys coming into church in their school clothes and with their bags on their backs, still in a noisy, outdoors mode.

<sup>2</sup> The original is lost, but it was copied in 1732 into Gerhard Dumbar, *Het kerkelyk en wereltlyk Deventer* (Deventer, 1732), bk 3, ch. 10, 304–5.

In this way, these kinds of school orders also show what the preferred or ‘usual’ behaviour of schoolchildren was and where it diverted from what adults wished.

Education at this time was by no means only for the elite, and not even only for middle-class children. In fact, most of the penniless orphans in the cities of the Netherlands went to school. Coincidentally, a lot more is preserved in writing about these institutions than about the much more common other schools, because the teachers at the ‘schools for the poor’ were paid by the city and thus appear in municipal account books. In the fifteenth century, the accounts of Bois-le-Duc list bursaries for ‘poor male pupils’ for whom school fees were paid, so they could attend the *schola in buschis*, the grammar school of Bois-le-Duc (The Netherlands). The system was simple, but the implications wide. As a rule, parents had to pay a fee for the schooling of their children directly to the schoolmaster. When parents could not afford that fee, the city stepped in and itself remunerated the master. A system like this demonstrates that civic authorities made it their policy to create a school that was accessible to a broad population, and that they invested in education. Moreover, it shows that the ‘poor pupils’ and their parents were a minority, and that this minority could be defined. This bursary system was one of several reasons why education became attainable for a large part of the population of the Netherlands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It had always been possible to obtain a good education for children if one had the money, but now instruction became increasingly accessible for those who would ordinarily have missed out because of the costs involved.<sup>3</sup> This in turn shows belief in ‘educating society’ – and thus ordering it – by starting at the bottom. That people believed education would benefit everyone is encountered in the prologue of the Bruges school manual that states – providing examples from their own school – that even children of poor craftsman, drunkards, villains, peasants, or ‘dismissed people’ can sometimes become secretaries, physicians, lords, or bishops.<sup>4</sup> This same idea is found earlier, for instance, in one of the popular manuals of the Dutch Middle Ages, *The Lay Mirror*, written around 1330 by the Antwerp city clerk Jan van Boendale. He suggests in his chapter on the raising of children:

At seven years old, without delay, one should sent the child to school,  
To learn to read and write, even if it will not stay there;  
Because there is no servant or master, who cannot put to use and honour  
And often much pleasure too, if he can read a letter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 23–4.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Schouteet, *Een beschrijving van de Bogardenschool te Brugge omstreeks 1555* (Bruges: Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 1960), 39.

<sup>5</sup> M. de Vries, ed., *Jan van Boendale, Der leken Spieghel*, 3 vols (Leiden: Du Mortier en zoon, 1848), III, 123–4.

## The Bruges Rules

The way these schools for poor and orphaned children were run is known from an extraordinary manuscript called *Den Speghel Memoriael sprekende van 't gouvernement van den godshuuse ten Bogaerde*, a manual for the organisation of the boarding school in the Bogardenstraat in Bruges. This source stands out because of the details it provides on the provisions made on a daily basis for the poor schoolchildren living there. A governor of the institution, Zeger van Male, wrote the manual in 1555 to pass on his experiences to his successors.<sup>6</sup> It may well be that many of these kinds of instructions did exist, but they are seldom preserved.

Arranged according to the months of the year, the manual lists all of the purchases and agreements that should be made for 'the poor pupils in the Bogardenschool and the poor girls in the dependence in the Ezelstraat', elsewhere referred to as 'the two schools'. The 350 children in these institutions, both boarders and those living outside, should be 'taught, dressed, and fed'. Van Male does not address what should be taught and how, or how they should be rewarded or punished, as that was the responsibility of the rector. His text was aimed at the governors, who were primarily concerned with providing the necessary material infrastructure. However, a glimpse of schoolwork can be found, for instance, in the discussion of the school library, which advises the governors to take stock of the books once a year. Also, among the accessories to be given to the children with their clothing were belts, writing cases, and berets – a typical 'school costume'. The children may have needed belts and hats anyway, but a writing case was specifically for school attendance.

## School Days

School codes or orders also give a good idea of the normal makeup of both school days and the 'academic year'. Pupils attended at least six or seven hours of classes a day. They started early, at 6 a.m. in the morning in summer and an hour later in winter, and they usually enjoyed a break about every two hours. After the first lesson, they had some sort of breakfast and attended Mass, with more classes until 10 or 11 a.m. After morning class, their main meal was served, followed by house tasks or free time, resulting in a long midday break. There would be class afterwards from 1 or 2 p.m. until 5 or 6 p.m., with at least one break in the middle of the afternoon. Most schools gave Wednesday and Saturday afternoons off, and Sunday in principle was a day free from work, although religious instruction might be offered after church on Sunday. This scheme resulted in a workweek of

---

<sup>6</sup> Schoutteet, *Een beschrijving*, 134.

about 32 hours, which corresponded to the working days of most adults, who also had longer hours in summer than in winter.<sup>7</sup>

The school schedule was based on that used in other communities, like monasteries. The schedule of the boarding house *Domus Fratrum* at Deventer prescribed rising at 5 a.m., 5.30 a.m. prayers, 6–8 a.m. class, followed by Mass, breakfast, house tasks and an hour of class, 11 a.m. meal, 2.30 p.m. vespers, more school and an hour of repetition, 6.30 p.m. evening meal and prayers, and bed at 8 p.m. School also started early, at 6 a.m., but an hour later in winter. Between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m., the pupils had breakfast together.<sup>8</sup> The school year followed the calendar determined by agriculture and by the Church. The school year started in October, after the harvest, and was divided into three semesters by Christmas and Easter, each framed by a two-week vacation. The year then ended in May or June, when exams were taken if necessary. The months of July and August served as a summer vacation. There were more days off, at Pentecost, other Holy Days, and on feasts specific to the school, city, or country. It is estimated that at least a hundred days per year were holidays for everyone in this period.<sup>9</sup>

## Behaviour and Interaction

The prominent place of punishment in the image and the reality of medieval and Renaissance education indicates that pupils were certainly no angels and that their emotions needed to be controlled. As school had long hours, and classrooms were crowded, a lot must have been going on, as is suggested by depictions of school scenes, which show pupils engaged in all kinds of distractions. Some of these would have been merely mischief, but there was bullying and serious fighting as well. A former pupil of a school held in the Church of Kirkham confessed that he used to aim stones at the top of the baptismal font's steeple, which brings to mind the two leather balls that were found behind the statues of a sculpted altar in the Church of St Mary in Lübeck.<sup>10</sup> Three shirts, taken off and hastily discarded – one of them bloodstained – are evidence of a serious fight between the boys at the evangelical school in Alpirsbach.<sup>11</sup> The penalty that was commonly imposed for fighting must have been high enough to prompt the offenders to get rid of the evidence. The sources show both boys and girls

<sup>7</sup> Petrus T. Boekholt and Engelina P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland, vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987), 62.

<sup>8</sup> Schouteet, *Een beschrijving*, 134.

<sup>9</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 26.

<sup>10</sup> Annemarieke Willemsen, *Kinder Delijt. Middeleeuws speelgoed in de Nederlanden* (Nijmegen: Nijmegen University Press, 1998), 61.

<sup>11</sup> Ilse Fingerlin, 'Seltene Textilien aus Kloster Alpirsbach im Nordschwarzwald', *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 39 (1997): 99–122.

being punished for walking into church making too much noise or not keeping a straight line.

### **Friends Forever**

It should not be forgotten that for medieval schoolchildren, like for those of today, school was the framework of their existence. Unlike for adults, school, not home or work, was the core experience. They spent most their time there, and time outside the classroom was spent mostly around school, on the way to or from school, doing schoolwork, or playing with school friends. They saw more of their teachers and classmates than of their parents and siblings. School was, and has always been, a way of life. And the children left their traces in the schools, sometimes literally. In some boarding schools, writing one's name on the wall of the dormitory became a ritual, as the names, dates, and poems left by the boys of the Alpirsbach school attest. Pupils must also have been tempted to leave their names in other places, at least as graffiti on school benches. There are a large number of names, dating from at least the fifteenth century onwards, scratched into the benches of the Church of St Michael in Zwolle, in the rows where the schoolboys and choirboys used to sit (Figure 9.2).



Figure 9.2 Medieval and later names incised in church bench. Zwolle, Church of St Michael

*Source:* © Annemarijke Willemsen.

It is the interaction between teachers and pupils that may differ most from what we are familiar with in modern times. The relationship was of a closer nature, the teacher acting as a ‘second father’ to the children. It was common for a teacher to take some pupils into his home or to live in the school. The teachers and governors had to look into the well-being of the children in a very practical way. For instance, they had to check each bed to ensure that the children were well covered ‘so that they do not lay freezing from the cold’. Van Male told of other Latin schools where, every evening, after the children were all in bed, the under-master would go to check on how they were lying, that their feet were not sticking out of their beds and that they did not have a cold or some kind of illness. ‘These are masters that really keep an eye on their pupils’, he remarked approvingly. Punishment, however, was also afforded: the teacher had the right to hit pupils when he thought this was necessary. The rod may have also been used by fathers in the household, but it became the symbol of the teacher.

### Managing a School

The prosperity of the city schools (Figure 9.3) depended heavily on the pupils from outside the city who made up half of the population of the school. Each boy needed board and lodging, and it was regarded as an act of charity to take a few boarders into one’s home. Usually the boys paid a fee for board and lodging, although there was also a problem with pupils wandering the cities in search of free board. Living in a boarding house or *bursa*, college, or monastery, though, where board was offered by certain religious orders, was preferable. These establishments often housed only a limited number of pupils (perhaps a dozen) who were supervised by a housekeeper and a teacher, although the poor pupils’ house in Zwolle held about 50 boys, and the *Bogardenschool* in Bruges lodged over 150. These institutions had a larger staff and also more facilities. Most houses were intended for poor pupils and called *domus pauperum*, but there were houses for paying pupils as well. The houses followed a strict set of rules, in which the hours for prayer were combined with the school hours.

The basic elements of school meals in Bruges seem to have been bread, butter, and cheese, which were always provided. ‘New’ or ‘sweet’ milk, that is, fresh milk instead of buttermilk, was seen as especially suitable for small children and destined for them. Meat was bought regularly for making hotchpotch, a stew dish with carrots as the other main ingredient. When pigs were butchered in November, black pudding was made for the teachers and women, and the boarding children were also each given a piece at noon that day. Fish and white bread were eaten on fasting days, and at Easter around 400 eggs were bought to give each of the children an ‘Easter egg’. The diet, as it can be deduced from archaeological finds from the Zwolle boarding house, was based on bread



Figure 9.3 Grammar school attached to the Church of St Gertrudis in Workum, sixteenth century

*Source:* © Annemarieke Willemsen.

porridge but saw a lot of variety, as it did in Bruges, and on the whole school meals seem to have been generous. The codes of order also held preferred dinner table settings: in Alpirsbach, there were 14 school boys, and a 1576 rule states that they should be divided over two tables.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, a drawing found in Alpirsbach shows seven schoolboys around a table, having their meal (Figure 9.4).

The arrangements of buildings within the complex of a boarding school depended, of course, on the space available, but in many sources the school is described as a building apart from the place where the boys ate (the refectory) and slept (the dormitory). The Bruges school order of 1555 stressed that pupils should do their schoolwork in the school and not in their rooms. It also mentions side buildings like a kitchen, laundry house, baking house, office, grain store, and private rooms for the masters. The advanced and thus the eldest pupils slept together in a room called the ‘room of the Latin children’.



Figure 9.4a Self-portrait of a school boy, from the concealed find at Alpirsbach, end of sixteenth century

Source: © Carmen Klinkert.

<sup>12</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 40.

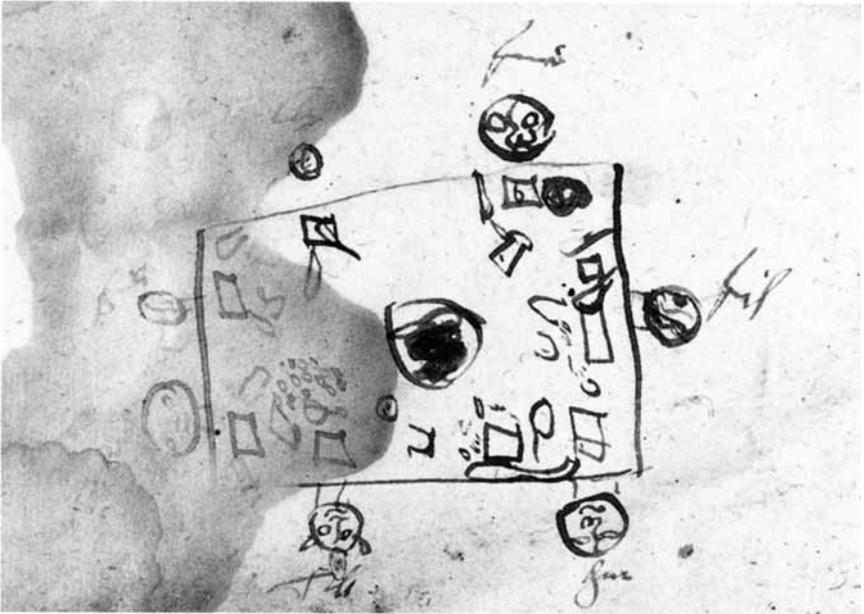


Figure 9.4b Schoolboys having a meal, from the concealed find at Alpirsbach, end of sixteenth century

Source: © Carmen Klinkert.

The usual sleeping arrangement was in a dormitory, where the children each had their own bed and would be punished heavily if they slept together or went to another child's bed. Usually the beds were made of large boards that were divided into compartments. In Bruges, however, the governor recommended that the boys' dormitory be provided with separate wooden bedsteads, one for each boy, holding a straw-sack, a feather mattress, and individual bedding, 'like they did in the girls' school'. The straw that filled the bedstead under the mattress was removed for the summer period and replaced with clean straw in August, before the cold weather came. The mattresses were repaired once a year or at least every two years, and when they wore out, the feathers were shaken out and the textile covers reused for repairing others. Sleeping sheets belonged in the personal 'trousseau' of each child; they were kept personal, and washed regularly.

The Bruges manual advises the placement of many piss pots (Figure 9.5) in the dormitory in October, before the arrival of cold nights ('so that the children do not have to walk too far in their night shirts'). The order also pays considerable attention to problems surrounding the latrine. It was firstly recommended that a barrel be placed next to the toilet for those who only had to urinate, and this continued into a plan to build a completely new toilet, with

a new cesspit, attached to a new drain and with a new connection to clean water from the Minnewater lake. The toilets themselves should be accessible from upstairs, where the children lived, as well as from the school downstairs. There should be at least 10 or 12 toilet holes, and a separate toilet room for the master, with a lock on its door. There should be windows for air, with window glass, and a gallery to make sure that the children and the master could not be seen sitting at the toilet from the water. The way these problems are dealt with show a lot of concern for the well-being of children, especially to keep them from falling ill, probably because the community of people in a boarding school was vulnerable to epidemics. It also plays into the desire for a certain level of privacy for older pupils and for teachers.



Figure 9.5 Three piss pots excavated in the boarding house *Domus Parva* in Zwolle, fourteenth century

Source: © Hemmy Clevis.

There is repeated mention of the children being made to wash their feet, and to the changing and washing of underwear, clothes, socks, and bedding. Also, the layout of the building and the children's diets were adjusted to ward off sickness: a permanent supply of clean water to make beer was arranged when the children got sick after drinking from the rain barrel; and trees in the schoolyard were

cut down to provide more light and air, as the dark and damp was not seen as healthy. In September, the children were given special herbs to protect them from worms. Encountering the smell of the latrine in the morning, on an empty stomach, was regarded as a particular problem, hence the efforts to construct a better toilet, in a different location.

Another hygiene issue typical for schools – and which continues right up to the present day – is head lice. A complete comb with a fine-toothed side and two fragments of similar combs used for de-lousing were excavated from the grammar school at Leiden (Figure 9.6). The Bruges regulations order that two dozen good and clean combs should be kept in a special rack or closet for combing clean heads, and half a dozen only to be used for scabied and sore heads: there were usually fewer heads with lice than without. The combs were to be kept separate, to keep the dirty heads from infecting the others: ‘every child with a badly scabied head, his comb apart, so the good and clean heads will not be infected with it’. The author even suggests that the comb rack should be equipped with six or eight little drawers that slide open, and the name of the child with a bad or sore head written on the front and his comb placed inside the drawer. When the



Figure 9.6 Bowl, spoon, knife, and lice comb excavated in the Leiden grammar school, fifteenth–sixteenth century. Alphen, Provinciaal Depot van Bodemvondsten Zuid-Holland

Source: © Annemarieke Willemsen.

child was cured, the name could be erased and the name and comb of another infected person put in its place. These hygienic regulations show a detailed care for the specific needs and problems of children, as individuals and as a group.

In the Bruges school code, there are many traces that the interests of the children were taken to heart and that their responses or feelings about the regulations were considered. This can best be illustrated by the response of the manual's author to the idea of providing the children with new shoes in spring. The children attending the *Bogardenschool* received new shoes at least two times a year, which we know because the regulations instruct that at least a hundred pairs of shoes with socks be bought in April (before the most important procession in Bruges) and 140 pairs in August (before it got cold), while in April a shoemaker was ordered to adapt and repair all the children's shoes and his services were used throughout the year. But the governor recommended that the school be reserved in its purchases in spring, even if that was the time of the main procession, because of what he knew about the children's preferences:

Because you would dress these children in new socks and shoes against nature, for when beautiful summer comes and the sun shines hot, the children mentioned often prefer to sit in school with thin or no socks and old shoes on over wearing good warm socks of thick cloth and big heavy shoes of leather and soot.

### The King's Feast

The manual also tries to balance school, house tasks, and play time. Time was given to the pupils for making their beds, for washing themselves, and for play. The Bruges order prescribes an hour before *nones*, from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m., to make beds, and another from 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. for washing. Time off for play should be given on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at the teacher's discretion. For the town of Wijk bij Duurstede near Utrecht we read: 'There remained the hours between twelve and two, in which no lessons were given, but the pupils played in the churchyard under supervision of the headmaster.'<sup>13</sup> Medieval people knew well that the bow could not always be tight, and room was made in every school schedule for play. In the Bruges school order, the children were encouraged to have fun together after a reading contest and to fraternise, so they 'have with each other all together fun and recreate, as brothers do'.

Many of the school codes of order include obligations for the pupils to perform services in the church, to take part in processions, and with rights to festivities, such as their own feast with a boy bishop. Apart from objects for

---

<sup>13</sup> R.R. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1954), 123.

education, one category stands out in archaeological school contexts: games and toys. It appears that play was as much a part of school life as were lessons.<sup>14</sup>

Each year a number of fixed festivities were held, and carefully provided for. A good example is the 'children's king's feast', that is, the celebration of the Three Kings at Epiphany (6 January), with which the Bruges school manual starts the instructions for the month of January. The description is very detailed and gives a unique glimpse into an extraordinary day at school, with a real competition, specific roles for children and adults, and planned extras of both food and play time. The day before the festival, the bookkeeper arranged to have a loaf of white bread baked for each of the children living at the *Bogardenschool*. The baker would bake a big bean into middle of one of the loaves, 'so that it can be found easily'. This bread was delivered to the refectory at 4 p.m. the next day. A clean napkin was placed on the table in front of the crucifix and a jug of dark beer with two mugs was prepared. Before the chair hung a tapestry, and a crown was brought along with a sceptre 'that stands in the office'.

Then, all the children living in the house stood at the table in the same order 'as they are used to stand and eat'. The headmaster and the other masters handed out a loaf of bread to each child, and the masters then helped the children to cut their bread in half and look for the bean. The boy who had the bread containing the bean was the king. He was placed on the chair in front of the crucifix, with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. He was then poured a mug of beer, which he drank, at which time the children would call out: 'The king drinks!' Afterwards, all of the children were given a plate of hotchpotch stew with carrots. If the festival fell on a 'fish day' (a fasting day, when no meat was eaten), then the boys would receive a bowl of sweet milk, into which they could break their bread. During dinner, the king drank again two or three times, and the children would call out again with loud voices: 'The king drinks!' If any of the children were still hungry they would be given a portion of cheese, and this would end the 'king's feast'. After dinner, the Lord was praised and grace said. Then the children would play for an hour, and go to bed.

The bookkeeper was reminded in the order that in addition to the bread, a sheep of medium price, or some beef, should be bought to be chopped into the hotchpotch, as well as carrots. And if the festival was going to fall on a fasting day, he was advised to order the necessary white bread at least eight days in advance, to avoid paying too much. After the children's king's feast came to an end, the rector and the other masters would get together with the bakers and the servant-girls and appoint a king amongst themselves. Whoever was appointed threw a party on a day approved by the governors, only for the people of the house, in the evening, behind closed doors and with roasted lamb and hotchpotch, and

---

<sup>14</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*.

thus they were ‘happy and merry among themselves.’ This ended the feast.<sup>15</sup> In this way, the celebration was structured. The fact that a random competition would determine the temporary king provided a democratic as well as a festive element: anyone could be king for a day.

## Educating the Special

In the Middle Ages, it seems that it was common sense that children did not like school. This can be found for instance in the poem ‘On things that are seldom found’ of c. 1460: ‘Young children of the kind, that like to go to school, is something you rarely find.’<sup>16</sup> The last page of a school text of Torrentinus, printed in Zwolle around 1505, contains a handwritten dialogue between two schoolboys, whose play is ended by the church bell striking three when they head back to school: ‘so, to school?’, asks the first. The other replies: ‘yes, to the dungeon.’<sup>17</sup>

So, if a child loved to study, it raised suspicion. This is why future saints and other exemplary children were portrayed in their *vitae* as preferring school to play: it underlined their extraordinariness. Schooling is mentioned often in hagiography, and because there are many female saints, these sources also indicate the possibilities for girls to receive an education, in the cloister as well as among ‘normal’ schoolchildren. Many future saints started their education attending regular schools, where they stood out for their knowledge and concentration. According to Thomas of Cantimpré, St Lutgard attended a boarding school before entering a nunnery and Beatrijs, the main character of the early Middle Dutch poem of the same name, had been to a mixed school when she was eight years old.<sup>18</sup>

The descriptions of the lives of the Brethren of Common Life, within the *Devotio Moderna* movement, are examples of hagiographic writing. They include many stories of diligent male students, who did not like to play, were sad when lessons were cancelled and kept extraordinary composure when treated unjustly:

Once, one of these pupils was sitting in school, writing; then it happened that two other children were romping and stepped on the notebook of this good child and ripped his book. This did not disturb him; but falling to his knees humbly, he asked them forgiveness for sitting in their way.

<sup>15</sup> Schouteet, *Een beschrijving*, 57–8.

<sup>16</sup> M.J. Govers, M. Goris, A. Schippers, G. Sonnemans, W. Wissink, H. Kienhorst, and P. Heusden, eds, *Het Geraardsbergse handschrift* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 51.

<sup>17</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 40: ‘Ad scholam, ne?’; ‘Immo, ad carcerem.’

<sup>18</sup> B. van den Eerenbeemt, *Het kind in onze middeleeuwse literatuur* (Amsterdam: Van Munter, 1935), 69.

The lives of the Sisters of Diepenveen and those of Deventer, both nunneries within the *Devotio Moderna*, show a similar pattern, but here nuns teaching their younger sisters seem to have been the rule, and schools as such are not mentioned. Many of the nuns whose exemplary lives were written down taught younger nuns, like Mette van Barchuys: 'When the young nuns, who had missed out, came to her, she used to teach them lots of good things.' In some cases, the nun was called schoolmistress and was clearly teaching groups of children, not necessarily only converts and not necessarily only girls. One faithful schoolmistress called Suster Dayken was said to teach and force the pupils well, 'so that they walk into the choir like angels'; she was very disappointed when the children had fun, jumped around, or sang when she went away, and her students remembered her punishments all their lives.<sup>19</sup>

### Female Education and Mixed Schools

In many publications on education it was taken for granted that schooling was accessible only to boys. As a rule, however, the 'under schools' where everyone started their education and where basic reading and writing were taught, were accessible for both boys and girls. In the city of Utrecht, for instance, we know that children, boys and girls, under the age of seven could freely attend any school they wanted.<sup>20</sup> The pupils of these schools are usually referred to as 'children' rather than 'boys', which is the word often used for the pupils of secondary schools. These primary schools were often led by women who taught both sexes; they may well have been as much a 'kindergarten' as a school. These under schools, of which there was one in every neighbourhood, thus provided a serious career prospect for educated women. Sources for girls' further education are rarer, as girls do not often seem to have pursued an education in a public institution after primary instruction. But, throughout the Middle Ages, girls had access to a network of all kinds of private education in homes and nunneries. Moreover, it was not impossible for girls to attend secondary school in this period, and this would become increasingly common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Evidence from Hattem and Sittard (in the Netherlands) also confirms the presence of girls in secondary schools.

Both the Renaissance and the Reformation had a positive influence on ideas about the education of girls, affecting the number of options available for girls. Already in 1320, the town of Brussels had a secondary school for boys to learn Latin and the grammar of Aelius Donatus, a secondary school for girls to learn the same, five under schools for boys 'up to their Donatus' and four of the same

---

<sup>19</sup> Eerenbeemt, *Het kind*, 69–70.

<sup>20</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 24 and 90.

under schools for girls.<sup>21</sup> There, it was just as easy for women to learn Latin as for their male counterparts. In France, figures for the city of Valenciennes in the fourteenth century identify 145 girls in a total of 516 pupils in the town's school.<sup>22</sup> And at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Christine de Pizan, a prototype of an educated woman, formulated a distinct role for (noble) women in the education of their children: they should supervise their religious and moral upbringing, while also teaching them Latin and the arts. Christine states clearly that girls were as capable of learning as boys: 'If it was common to send small girls to school and methodically teach them the arts as they do the boys, they would learn and understand the difficulties of all the arts and all the sciences as well as the boys do.' A miracle book from the Netherlands presents a 12-year-old girl who was able to read something that nobody else could decipher.<sup>23</sup>

The presence of both sexes in one school called for regulations to keep them apart, as is shown by various Dutch city rules that seem to have been designed to regulate daily proceedings. The sources do not tell us why the sexes were kept separated, but we can assume that both practical and moral concerns of parents were behind this. In 1407, at the Gouda grammar school, girls had their own classroom and teacher, and in Culemborg the girls were seated in the attic. In 1482, the contract of the schoolmaster at the 'Big school' in Bergen op Zoom allows him to teach French and 'counting with casters as merchants do' to boys and girls, as long as the girls sit apart from boys.<sup>24</sup> The aim is most clear from an order of the city of Amsterdam in 1509, which gave direction to teachers who wanted to run a mixed school:

Idem, that he cannot keep girls, to teach them to read, write and count, except when he places them in another room than that where the boys are sitting; also that the boys come to school half an hour before the girls and leave again half an hour earlier or otherwise, but in a way that they always come to school at different times and not together at the same hour.<sup>25</sup>

Side schools, existing next to official city schools, more often allowed for the teaching of girls and women, or were intended for mixed students: these schools filled the gaps left by the official city grammar and choir schools. The text on a street sign for a teacher offering lessons explicitly states that education was provided for boys and girls, men and women alike. This sign has been preserved

<sup>21</sup> Albert d'Haenens, ed., *De lagere school in België van de middeleeuwen tot nu* (Brussels: ASLK-Galerij, 1986), 176.

<sup>22</sup> *L'école au Moyen Age* (Paris: Tour Jean sans Peur, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, 37–8.

<sup>24</sup> Post, *Scholen en onderwijs*, 76–9.

<sup>25</sup> Johannes Christiaan Breen, *Rechtsbronnen der stad Amsterdam* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1902), 465.

in the museum of Basel (Switzerland) and was painted by Ambrosius Holbein, son of Hans Holbein the Elder. Measuring 55 x 65.5 cm, the sign be read from both sides, as each has the same lengthy text and date (Figure 9.7):

If there is anyone who wants to learn to write and read German for whatever reason anyone can think of for one who did not know a single character, he will soon and quickly find a reason. For he can learn himself to write off and read his debt. And who cannot learn it, that means he is not suited I will teach him for nothing and charity and will not take any pay from him. Whoever they are, citizen or craftsman's assistants, women or girls, whoever needs it, come in. He will be taught thoroughly for a reasonable pay. But the young boys and unmarried girls as is customary. AD 1516.

The message was clear. Anyone could come and learn to write and read with this teacher, male or female, rich or poor, and even if they did not know an 'A' from a 'B' beforehand. If they did not learn, no payment would be demanded.

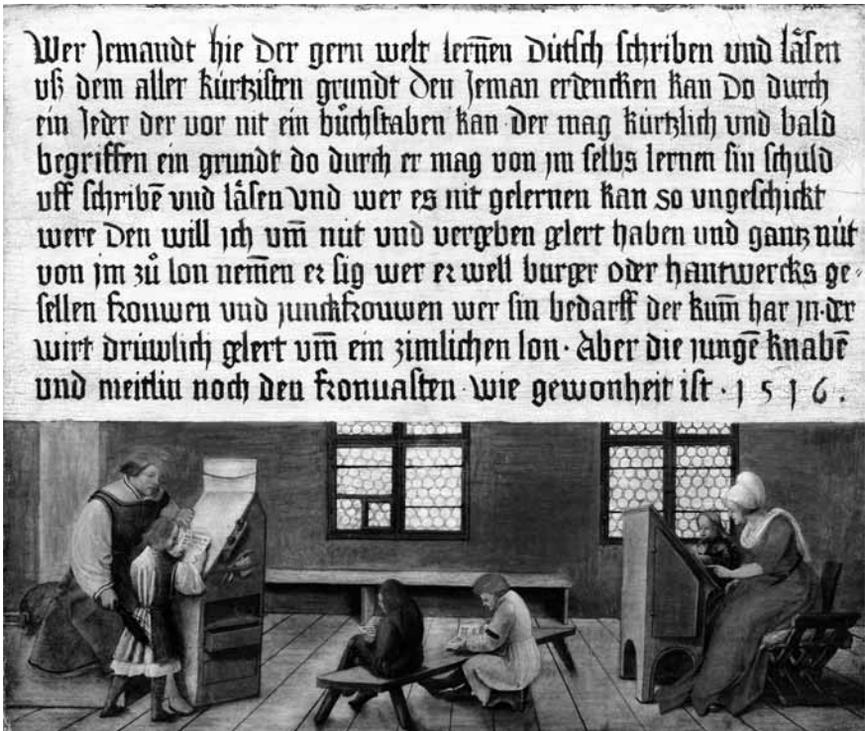


Figure 9.7 Sign-board of a teacher, Ambrosius Holbein, 1516

Source: Basel, Art Museum, inv.no. 311. By kind permission of the Kunstmuseum.

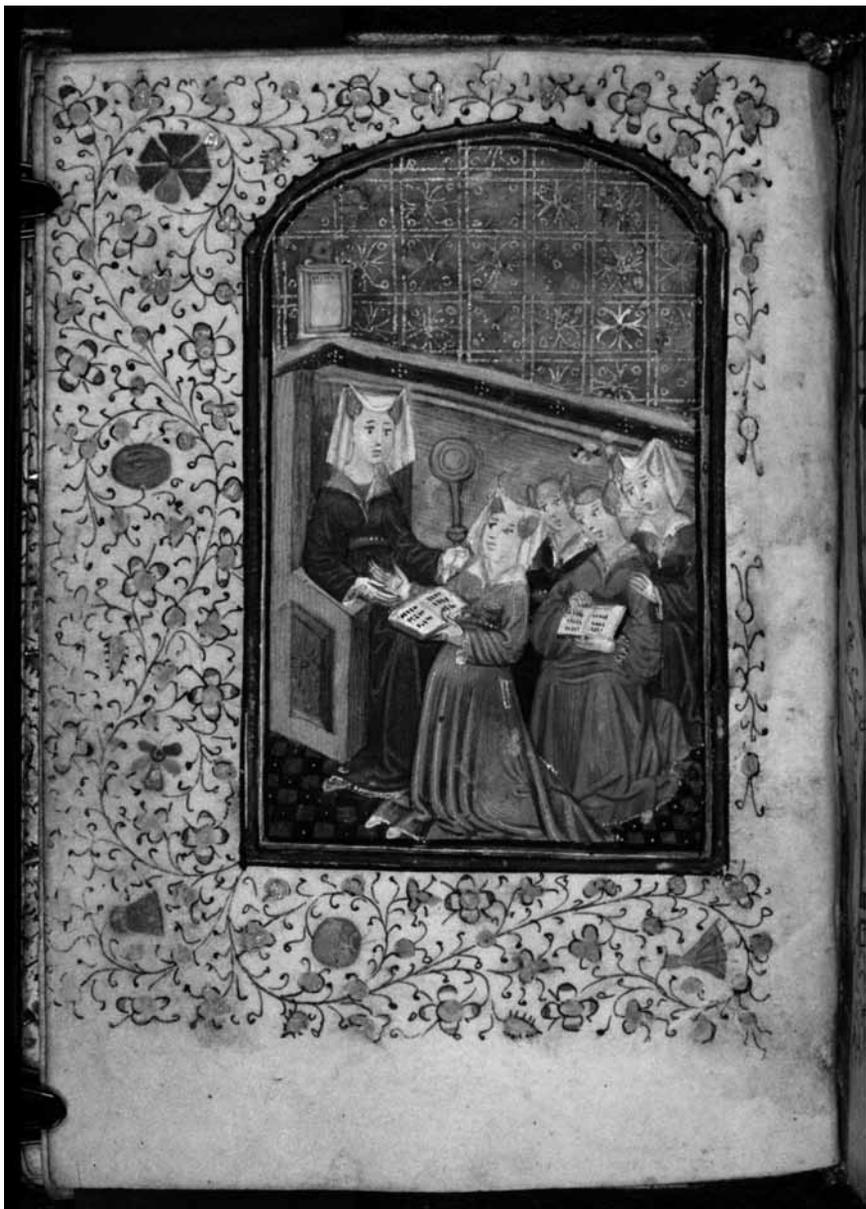


Figure 9.8 School with girls and mistress holding paddle. Prayer Book, Flemish, c. 1450

Source: London, British Library, MS Harley 3828, fol. 27v. © British Library.

That girls were educated and mistresses were present is backed up by a large body of iconographical evidence. One of the most elaborate examples is an illustration depicting a class of four girls, being taught by a female teacher (Figure 9.8), which can be seen in a prayer book, produced in the Southern Netherlands (probably Bruges) around 1445, and now housed in the British Library.<sup>26</sup> In the middle, a girl in a green dress with an open book kneels before a female teacher, who is seated to her left, in a high chair. The teacher has taken the hand of the girl in her right hand, and holds a large 'plak' (paddle) with her left, ready to slap the girl's hand with it. In the background, three more girls can be seen, all seated on benches or maybe footstools (note the bent knees shown under the dresses). One of the other girls is also holding an open book. All have rich dresses and hair tied in two knots on their foreheads, mirroring the fashion of the fifteenth century, and in the same style as the teacher's dress and hair. Above the teacher's chair, a hornbook hangs. Although the two lines are not easy to read, the first characters of an alphabet can be made out. While the schooling of girls overlapped with that of boys in the usual subjects, there were, of course, specific nuances to female education, including activities mainly practised by women (from needlework to bookkeeping) and 'womanly' virtues and behaviour. As society saw various roles for men and women, these might call for specific instruction, or specific manuals, and there were indeed whole manuscripts dedicated specifically to the education of girls.

### Care with an Agenda?

One of the most interesting questions about any system of bursaries, arrangements for making regular schools accessible for girls, and schooling provided widely for orphans and foundlings, even female, is: why did people do this? This kind of education has often been seen as a means of colonisation: the imposition of a certain type of education, especially in a national language and/or religion as a way of suppressing local culture with its own literacies. But in the Netherlands and Germany, these efforts were directed at their own population and in their own language. There may have been a touch of 'civilising' the poor, to teach them the manners of the better situated, but essentially this education had charity at its core. In the sixteenth century, the clothing, accommodation, food and schooling provided for the poorest of the poor was in some cases actually better than the provisions made in common households. This was justified within the Christian value system as a sort of 'compensation': the children in orphanages

---

<sup>26</sup> London, British Library, MS Harley 3828; see also the entry by Kathryn Rudy in D. Eichberger, ed., *Dames met Klasse, Margareta van York/Margareta van Oostenrijk* (Mechelen: Davidsfonds, 2005), 267–8.

already had to miss out on so much, like the love of a family. The explanation lies in the mentality of those who provided for this education: they believed that education was both a means and an end, allowing anyone who started his or her life as underprivileged to realise a better life, and a way to lift up the whole of society by starting ‘from the bottom up.’ This sentiment was well expressed by the governor of the Bruges school for the poor in 1555: ‘Is it not a great thing, yes an outstanding virtue and act of charity, to lighten up the mind of a rough, clouded and bad child, to teach, instruct and educate it in knowledge, yes to embellish it with virtues and good deeds?’

## **Conclusions**

Sets of rules written for late-medieval and early modern schools in the Low Countries and Germany show them creating order and structure in a very detailed way. The practical regulations also show a high level of care for the pupils in these schools, which catered to their specific needs and took into account their wishes and reactions. These needs and wishes obviously varied between age groups, sexes, and even individual children: each age group was given its own dormitory, girls were granted their own undisturbed access to the schoolyard, and children had their own private lice combs in drawers with their names on them. It seems that schools, as ordering institutions, were well aware of the emotions of children and were prepared to invest in controlling and shaping them. For the teachers, adults, and governments in these towns, a well-planned educational system was worth the effort, for it would provide a new class of containable citizens, each well-prepared for their role in society.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 10

# An Ordered Cloister? Dissenting Passions in Early Modern English Cloisters

Claire Walker<sup>1</sup>

Writing to her widowed brother-in-law, Herbert Aston, in the aftermath of her sister's death in 1658, Winefrid Thimelby eschewed the emotional regime she had learned in the novitiate and supposedly adhered to during the succeeding 20 years: 'Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world for alas tis not so, I am alive and ... as nearely concern'd for thos I love as if I had never left them and must shar in all ther fortunes wither good or bad.'<sup>2</sup> Thimelby, an Augustinian nun at the English convent of St Monica's in Louvain, evidently struggled to reconcile the conflicting emotional communities of the cloister and her family in England.

Tridentine religious houses for women were conceived of as enclosed spaces where hierarchical government, mortification of the body and will, and regulation of the spirit and senses would produce quotidian order and spiritual perfection. Monastic rules, daily rituals, and the authority of the abbess aimed to instil these qualities in individuals and thereby create communal harmony and a corporate reputation for sanctity. Nuns were required to shun worldly attachments, including those to kin, and 'adhere to the same norms of emotional expression' as their religious sisters.<sup>3</sup> The emotional community of the cloister required self-restraint and the subjugation of the passions to achieve these objectives. Yet, as Thimelby's fervent assertion of her continuing affection for relatives beyond the enclosure reveals, there were fault lines within religious communities which challenged the dominant emotional regime, and occasionally threatened the stability and ongoing viability of the cloister.

The early modern convent, like the secular household, was a microcosm of a much larger polity. Both institutions inculcated appropriate religious, social, and

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Sue Broomhall for her incisive comments on earlier drafts of this chapter. Many of the ideas about order, disorder, gender, and emotion have been informed by the research of the late Philippa Maddern, and discussions with her.

<sup>2</sup> London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add MS 36452, fol. 78, Aston Papers, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

gender norms to secure order and thereby avoid disorder within the domestic confines and beyond.<sup>4</sup> As Philippa Maddern noted, the ‘familial household formed one stage of an imagined hierarchy of political organizations that reached through households, to local communities, civic governments (generally staffed by male household heads), kingdoms, and ultimately the universe.’<sup>5</sup> In the post-Reformation Catholic Church, the well-ordered convent was essential in the light of Protestant polemic that attacked Rome’s legitimacy, in part through the supposed spiritual, moral, and political decay of its monastic institutions. Male and female religious houses were accordingly provided with rules and statutes, which established how they would structure daily life, governance, and prayer to ensure stability. Such texts were essentially conduct manuals and they established behavioural protocols that were inevitably gendered. Many of the qualities of the good nun mirrored or extended the attributes desirable in secular gentlewomen.<sup>6</sup> In the cloister, the ideal religious woman subjugated her will and desires to the authority of her superiors, both for the salvation of her soul and for corporate stability.

In this chapter, I want to explore the ways English religious women understood order and disorder in their communities, and the emotional qualities that underpinned each. Churchmen may have penned the convents’ prescriptive literature, but the nuns generally concurred with its precepts. Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie have noted, ‘as well as the importance of ordering institutions ... commitment to a shared, articulated repertoire of norms is indispensable to stable social arrangements.’<sup>7</sup> Thus, nuns accepted the need for regulation and actively pursued the emotional regime prescribed to secure harmony. As Nicky Hallett has observed, ‘it is clear that rhetorically at least the ... nuns ... took the advice of such books to heart; that they aspired to behave in culturally approved ways in relation to control of their senses as of their general demeanour.’<sup>8</sup> Yet, while nuns might have publicly subscribed to these emotional norms, and even attempted to live their private lives according to their precepts,

---

<sup>4</sup> Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 54–66.

<sup>5</sup> Philippa Maddern, ‘“In myn own house”: The Troubled Connections between Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography’, in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 45–60, at 45.

<sup>6</sup> For a recent excellent discussion, see Nicky Hallett, *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600–1800: Early Modern ‘Convents of Pleasure’* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 10, 51–67.

<sup>7</sup> Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie, ‘Introduction’, in *Order and Disorder: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 12.

<sup>8</sup> Hallett, *Senses in Religious Communities*, 51.

other monastic sources suggest that there were spaces within which alternative emotional styles emerged and often flourished, providing nuns with an outlet for dissenting against the overriding regimen of silence, modesty, and emotional restraint. The pursuit of spiritual perfection, sociability, and writing presented enclosed women, who were exiled from kin and country, with alternate means to express their ordinarily repressed feelings.

### ‘Mortification’ and the Regulation of the Passions

Monique Scheer has argued that

Emotional practices are habits, rituals, and everyday pastimes that aid us in achieving a certain emotional state. This includes the striving for a desired feeling as well as the modifying of one that is not desirable ... In other words, [emotional practices] are part of what is often referred to as ‘emotional management’ and the ongoing learning and maintaining of an emotional repertoire.<sup>9</sup>

Central to Scheer’s approach is the embodied nature of emotions. People ‘feel’ emotion physically and their bodies reflect the disposition. Learning an emotional response is not simply theoretical. By comprehending the appropriate response conceptually, a person’s demeanour will manifest the desired effect.<sup>10</sup> As with Barbara Rosenwein’s ‘emotional communities’ and William Reddy’s ‘emotional regimes’, individuals learn how to sense and how to express (or repress) emotion, or their ‘emotional style’, through instruction and socialisation, but also through the ‘emotional contagion’ of group experience.<sup>11</sup> Arlie Hochschild has suggested that the longer a person remains in a particular environment, ‘the deeper the corresponding feeling rules become inscribed in her body, thus strongly influencing her overall conduct’.<sup>12</sup> Yet, as with Reddy’s concept of the ‘emotional refuge’ that provides respite for those who do not subscribe to the prevailing regime, so too can ‘countercultural’ groups challenge

---

<sup>9</sup> Monique Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion’, *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220, at 209.

<sup>10</sup> Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?’, 216.

<sup>11</sup> Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?’, 211, 216; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 2; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124–6.

<sup>12</sup> Arlie Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), quoted in Benno Gammerl, ‘Emotional Styles: Concepts and Challenges’, *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no. 2 (2012): 161–75, at 167.

the dominant emotional style.<sup>13</sup> It is widely accepted that individuals belong to a range of affective communities, so it is possible for the emotional style of a different group to be used in an alternative environment, whether as a form of protest or in a quest to bring about change.

Historians have an abundance of prescriptive sources that reveal how the early modern convent trained secular gentlewomen to become nuns, and what happened to those who failed to learn and maintain idealised religious comportment. Conduct literature, spiritual writing, and letters of instruction detailed the process of ‘mortification’ – the strict regimen of self-abnegation which religious women were expected to attain in the novitiate and follow for the remainder of their lives. Becoming a nun entailed the dissolution of secular habits and personal desire, including the subjugation of those passions deemed inappropriate for spiritual perfection and communal harmony. The Louvain Augustinian convent’s 1609 constitutions explained how the novice mistress must teach the woman who aspired to become a professed nun

to overcome her passions and imperfections, to mortify all sensuall desires, and to submit her owne will and iudgment under y<sup>e</sup> vertue of Obedience ... And y<sup>e</sup> she might y<sup>e</sup> better and more perfectly exercise and attayne unto these vertues, so shall she make account of her selfe, as of one dead to y<sup>e</sup> world, and to her-selfe.<sup>14</sup>

Such official dictums were supported in letters of spiritual advice, often written in response to individual nun’s requests for guidance. Francis Gascoigne reminded his niece in the Cambrai Benedictine cloister ‘that death is the way to life, abnegation to christian perfection & mortification to the perfect love of god’.<sup>15</sup> Another sister was advised that the ‘devine light must be gotten & kept by the serious pursuit of prayer & mortification w<sup>ch</sup> I evermost earnestly commend unto you ... for it will teach you all things’.<sup>16</sup> Benedictine monk, Leander Pritchard, reassured Prioress Justina Gascoigne, of the Paris Benedictine community, that the ‘true solid mortification of passions & irregular inclinations ... [would] worke effectually that conversion of manners w<sup>ch</sup> all religious ought in a paerticular

<sup>13</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 128–29; Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?’, 217.

<sup>14</sup> Reading, Douai Abbey Archive, St Monica’s MS E4, ‘Constitutions of the English Regular Canonesses of the Holy Order of St Augustine in the Convent of St Monica, Louvain’ (1609), fol. 63. The archives for the English Augustinian Nuns in Louvain are now located in the Douai Abbey Archive. I consulted them in their former location at the Priory of Our Lady of Good Counsel at Sayers Common in Sussex, so do not have current box numbers. They will be identified here as ‘St Monica’s MSS’.

<sup>15</sup> Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord (hereafter ADN), MS 20 H 10, Fragments, fol. 457, Letters written by Mr Francis Gascoigne to his Two Nieces.

<sup>16</sup> ADN, MS 20 H 10, fol. 465, A Letter from Another to his Sister.

manner to labour for'.<sup>17</sup> Many of these instructions aimed to equip nuns with the skills for achieving a spiritual state conducive to mystical contemplation or, at the very least, satisfaction that by embracing self-effacement and subjecting themselves to the emotional standards of the religious cloister they would earn salvation.

It is evident that many nuns took the prescriptive literature seriously. In his biography of Abbess Lucy Knatchbull of the Ghent Benedictines which was intended for the edification of nuns and English secular Catholics alike, her spiritual advisor, Tobie Matthew, reported that she 'habituated herself many years in the sound Mortification of her passions' and thereby made 'a total Sacrifice of herself ... with all her affections and appetites'.<sup>18</sup> The struggle such a quest entailed was expressed by the Cambrai Benedictine novice, Christina Brent, who reflected: 'Our life is truly said to be a warfare upon earth there being a continuall combatt to be undertaken against the world & the divill besides our owne evill affections & unruly passions w<sup>ch</sup> joyne w<sup>th</sup> our enemies'.<sup>19</sup> Many years later she wrote: 'we have left the world & all ill things in it & are come into the monasterie to become wholly new creatures by leading a new life according what shall be taught us towards the reformation of it'. Yet, even after several decades of emotional management in the abbey, life remained a battle to 'mortifie our disordered passions & affections'.<sup>20</sup> Brent, like Knatchbull, was elected abbess. This suggests that their peers recognised the accomplishment inherent in successfully subscribing to the appropriate emotional style required for the cloistered environment as one quality necessary in a religious superior.

The intrinsic difficulty in acquiring an emotional repertoire that quelled disorderly passions was also acknowledged for those women who did not attain high office. The Benedictine choir nun, Alexia Grey, who died at Ghent in 1640, was noted in her obituary for having 'the Regular Custody of her senses'.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Teresa Bream of the same cloister was praised upon her death in 1650 for maintaining 'an absolute Command over her passions ... she was never seen discomposed'.<sup>22</sup> Conversely, other women had to struggle to subdue inappropriate emotions. Ghent lay sister, Cecily Price, who died in 1630, 'was naturally

---

<sup>17</sup> ADN, MS 20 H 10, fol. 503, The 13th Letter Written Upon a Particular Occasion.

<sup>18</sup> Tobie Matthew, *The Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931), 66.

<sup>19</sup> ADN, MS 20 H 10, fol. 815, Christina Brent, 'Pious Reflexions When She was a Novice'.

<sup>20</sup> ADN, MS 20 H 10, fols 884, 896, Christina Brent, 'Some Speeches Made in Chapter'.

<sup>21</sup> 'Obituary Notices of the Nuns of the English Benedictine Abbey of Ghent in Flanders, 1627–1811', in *Miscellanea XI* (London: Catholic Record Society Publications, 1917) (hereafter 'Ghent Obituaries'), 27.

<sup>22</sup> 'Ghent Obituaries', 47.

Cholerick, Yet most Heroically combatted with her Passions'.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, the Augustinian lay sister, Frances Blase, who died at Louvain in 1644, was 'of a most fierce and choleric nature, and would chide out of all reason when she was moved'. Although she evidently never conquered her angry outbursts, her sisters conceded that 'afterwards, when the passion was over' she would humbly seek the forgiveness of those she had offended.<sup>24</sup> While such unfettered emotions were inimical to the paradigm for a well-mortified nun, the capacity of women like Price and Blase to acknowledge their fault and endeavour to adhere to the agreed emotional standards merited commendation in convent necrologies and chronicles, which often served as didactic texts for other members of the convent. These accounts reminded and comforted nuns that mortification of the passions was often a lifelong quest.

There was, however, another reason for encouraging religious women to aspire towards an ideal grounded in unexpressed emotion and rigid self-control. This was to achieve the communal harmony that was only possible in an ordered cloister characterised by emotional restraint. As William Reddy has argued, for political regimes, 'the unity of a community depends in part on its ability to provide a coherent set of prescriptions about emotions'.<sup>25</sup> Monastic governance documents make paramount this connection between individual subjection to the precepts of self-containment and obedience to higher authority. The Benedictine statutes admonished the nuns to 'wholy give themselves to perfect holy obedience ... willingly and promptly, performing those things that are enjoyned them ... in such sorte and fashion, as they thinke to bee most conformable to the Superiours Will'.<sup>26</sup> In an advice manual for the prioress of the Louvain Augustinians, the cloister's confessor stipulated that the novice mistress 'must teach & see them [the novices] perform both order & all such exterior mortifications as may fit them for a religious & peacefull conversation, inuring them as well to submit their judgments, as to conform their wills to all exterior discipline'.<sup>27</sup> Submission to the authority of the abbess, or novice mistress, or members of the convent who were more senior in rank was the hallmark of the well-mortified nun, whose restrained passions were attuned to the corporate emotional principles of the religious community.

<sup>23</sup> 'Ghent Obituaries', 14.

<sup>24</sup> Adam Hamilton, ed., *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain*, 2 vols (London: Sands and Co., 1904-06), II, 195.

<sup>25</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 61.

<sup>26</sup> *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule of the Most Glorious Father and Patriarch S. Benedict ... Delivered to the English Religious Woemen of the Monastery of Our Blessed Lady ... in Bruxelles and to all their Successours* (Ghent, 1632) (hereafter *Benedictine Statutes*), 15.

<sup>27</sup> St Monica's MS Qu 2, fol. 79, Richard Johnson, 'Instructions for a Religious Superior'.

## Unfettered Passions and Disorder in the Cloister

The consequences for communal order should religious women not subscribe to emotional restraint and subjection to their superiors is evident in instances of internal division in convents. In 1675, tensions over spiritual direction erupted in the cloister of Conceptionist nuns in Paris. A lay sister, Agnes Latham, and a young choir nun, Mary Gabriel Huddlestone, sought to replace the convent confessor, and their efforts caused a rift within the house. Various accounts of the dispute laid the blame squarely upon Agnes Latham, who was described as being ‘of turbulent spirit’.<sup>28</sup> Walter Montague, the retired abbot of St Martin, was called in to mediate. After spending an hour with Latham, who disputed his judgement ‘rudely and passionately’, he ‘expressed y<sup>t</sup> such a member was enought [*sic*] to disturb a whole community’.<sup>29</sup> Whether Latham was in fact the sole agitator and the rest of the nuns were ‘united in peace and charity’, as Montague and the abbess, Elizabeth Anne Timperley, preferred to report, is unclear. The lay sister’s disorderly passions, so at odds with monastic ideals, enabled those who wanted to resolve the tensions hastily (and thereby prevent reports of disharmony damaging the cloister’s reputation) to imply that she alone was at fault.

The abbess subsequently endeavoured to exonerate Latham from any blame whatsoever for the disturbing affair, suggesting that the Jesuit procurator in Paris, Father John Warner, had instigated the whole incident. In this revision of the event, Latham and Mary Gabriel Huddlestone were under Father Warner’s influence so their actions, and the ensuing discord, were entirely the consequence of his manipulation.<sup>30</sup> Writing to Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, who had threatened to remove his nieces from the Conceptionist cloister because of the fracas, Joseph Shirburne, prior of the English Benedictines in Paris, assured the earl of the nuns’ ‘most virtuous and most religious Conversation and comportedment’. Shirburne insisted that the appropriate emotional regime had been maintained in the convent despite the unrest, declaring that the nuns ‘behaved themselves with such religious moderation during the time’ that the house’s English and French benefactors alike were ‘given great content and satisfaction’ of their innocence.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> London, Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, A Series (hereafter AAW/A), XXXIV, no. 91, fol. 349, ‘Narrative of the Transaction between The English Conception Nuns and Fr Warner SJ’; XXXIV, no. 86, fol. 333, ‘Letter from Abbot Montague to Lord Castlemaine [1675]’.

<sup>29</sup> AAW/A, XXXIV, no. 91, fol. 354.

<sup>30</sup> AAW/A, XXXIV, no. 91, fols 356–60.

<sup>31</sup> AAW/A, XXXIV, no. 89, fol. 343, ‘Joseph Shirburne, Prior English Benedictines in Paris to Castlemaine’.

The stories of Agnes Latham, Cecily Price, and Frances Blase indicate that for every nun who successfully controlled her emotional style to reflect the constrained environment of the cloister, there were other women who failed to subdue their sentiments sufficiently to procure a coherent affective community. The monastery's dominant emotional regime was accordingly challenged by these unfettered passions that threatened communal unity. Like the Paris Conceptionist house, other English convents became immured in factional conflict over spiritual direction and governance at regular junctures during the seventeenth century. The best-known example is the English Benedictine abbey at Brussels, which from 1620 to 1652 was plagued by continuing turmoil over the thorny issue of Jesuit spiritual direction. Many of the senior nuns were also disaffected with the governance of Abbess Mary Percy, whom they accused of authoritarianism, favouritism, and persecution of her critics.<sup>32</sup> A steady stream of letters from the convent bombarded the house's ecclesiastical superior Jacob Boonen, the Archbishop of Mechelen.

The correspondence makes abundantly clear how certain women's unregulated passions had fractured the emotional integrity of the abbey. In 1628, Scholastica Smith, a senior nun, complained to Archbishop Boonen about two of the sisters whose 'turbulent mannar [*sic*]' was the cause of much 'descorde & desentions in y<sup>e</sup> congregacion'.<sup>33</sup> According to Smith, Dame Teresa (Gage) had been insubordinate to the prioress 'in [a] most audatious & contentious mannar', and instead of correcting this breach of order the abbess had likewise berated her hapless deputy in public.<sup>34</sup> Dame Anne (Ingleby?) was said to 'carieth her selfe very violently & rudly at y<sup>e</sup> grate much desedifying and desgousting all true friends of y<sup>e</sup> Monnestry'.<sup>35</sup> Smith appealed to Boonen to intervene to restore order, citing her growing fear for the 'ruin sperituall & temparral of y<sup>e</sup> convent'.<sup>36</sup> As with the case of Agnes Latham in Paris, Dame Teresa and Dame Anne at

---

<sup>32</sup> Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, 70–72; Claire Walker, 'Securing Souls or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloistered Life in an English Convent', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 227–44.

<sup>33</sup> Archdiocesan Archives of Mechelen-Brussels, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen (hereafter AAM), MS 654.12, Scholastica Smith to Archbishop Jacob Boonen, 3 August [1628].

<sup>34</sup> AAM, MS 654.12, Scholastica Smith to Archbishop Jacob Boonen, 3 August [1628].

<sup>35</sup> AAM, MS 654.12, Scholastica Smith to Archbishop Jacob Boonen, 3 August [1628]. There is a question regarding the identity of Dame Anne. Anne Ingleby died in 1626, according to the 'Who Were The Nuns? Database' <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/>. The only Anne in the house in 1628 was Sister Anne Healey, who was a lay sister, and Smith clearly calls the woman in question 'D Anne'. There might be some confusion with the dating of the letter, but it was situated between two other letters dated 1628.

<sup>36</sup> AAM, MS 654.12, Scholastica Smith to Archbishop Jacob Boonen, 3 August [1628].

Brussels had failed to subscribe to the emotional standards set for religious women and, in Smith's opinion, this breach was at the root of the disorder raging in the abbey.

Other letters opined similar concerns regarding the breakdown of governance and thereby peace, but attributed the disturbances not to Dame Teresa and Dame Anne, but rather to other nuns whose comportment and actions were at odds with religious ideals. Katherine Thecla Bond believed that the house would never be at peace because 'Madame [Abbess Mary Percy] will not change her style of government nor the mother prioress ever leave following her passions and affections.'<sup>37</sup> At the crux of Bond's complaint, and indeed the critiques offered by several other sisters, was the indifference of the abbess to emotional instability within the cloister, her lack of restraint when dealing with adversaries, affective attachments to specific individuals, and the corresponding failure of good governance this entailed.<sup>38</sup> What is apparent is that the breakdown of order, whether the result of inordinate passions or not, unleashed dangerous emotions on all sides and that the cloister's unity fractured under the weight of competing emotional styles.

Dissension in the Brussels Benedictine and Paris Conceptionist cloisters suggest that notwithstanding how rigorously trained in the novitiate and regulated after profession, nuns' affective attachments to differing styles of spiritual direction, often embodied by particular clerics, made it extremely difficult for abbesses and prioresses to maintain order. An emotional affiliation with an individual or with an ideology that was at odds with the cloister's prescribed spiritual regime risked communal harmony. It is also evident that many women found it impossible to unlearn emotional norms more appropriate to the secular world beyond the monastic enclosure. No matter how effectively individuals could subjugate their passions, there were occasions when competing emotional styles might resurface in even the most 'well-mortified' nuns. Other women who had not subdued their worldly sentiments sufficiently to mirror cloistered norms would similarly find it difficult to restrain them when their convent's prescribed emotional standards disintegrated. So despite how long a nun had lived in the monastic environment and inscribed the appropriate feeling rules upon her body and conduct, it was not possible to sustain them in all circumstances. Poorly regulated emotions might accordingly prove to be both the cause and effect of disorder in convents.

---

<sup>37</sup> AAM, MS 654.12, Katherine Thecla Bond to Jacob Boonen [undated, after 1628]: 'Madame ne Changera son fason de gouvernement ni sa mere prioire lessera jamais de suivre ses passions et affections'.

<sup>38</sup> For example, see AAM, MS 654.12, Elizabeth Southcott to Jacob Boonen [undated].

## Worldly Affections and the Monastic Emotional Community

Disagreements over spirituality that pitted dissident nuns against their superiors were isolated instances. More common challenges to the emotional coherence of religious cloisters were posed by the incapacity, or unwillingness, of particular nuns to relinquish affective attachments to kin. Convent statutes and advice manuals warned about the dangers of allowing religious women to frequent the grate where they might socialise with family and friends. The Benedictine statutes commanded that all interaction with 'people from abroad' had to occur at the grate, which was furnished with a curtain that could be either shut or drawn according to the abbess's discretion.<sup>39</sup> This was standard procedure in most cloisters, as was the stipulation that nuns should not entertain at the grate alone, but should always be accompanied by older members of the community. The Louvain Augustinian constitutions were specific about the protocols for conduct at the grate, stating 'if that y<sup>e</sup> Sister ... doe behave herself, eyther in her wordes, countenance or gesture, otherwise then she shall doe' the senior nun monitoring the visit should reprehend her behaviour.<sup>40</sup> The prescriptive literature also imposed strict limits on correspondence between the sisters and their relations in England. The Benedictine statutes warned against frequent and indiscriminate letters, stating that all writing had to be monitored by the abbess and composed 'for some spirituall good that may seeme to ensue thereof ... a Religious person ought to bee very sparing in that kinde, as benign [sic] one dead to the world.'<sup>41</sup> Richard Johnson reiterated similar advice in his manual for the religious superiors of the Louvain Augustinian convent, writing that to 'seek unnecessary correspondence with any is far from a religious spirit'. He cautioned that 'idle correspondence of unnecessary letters' provided 'no greater occasion of distraction' for nuns.<sup>42</sup>

Visitations by bishops and other ecclesiastical superiors reveal that the grate remained an ongoing fissure in the monastic quest to curtail sociable discourse. Archbishop Matthias Hovius's 1620 visitation of the Brussels Benedictine abbey noted the many distractions occasioned by the grate, which might disturb communal harmony. He directed the abbess to consider well the chapter in the monastery's statutes that dealt with such issues, so she might

---

<sup>39</sup> *Benedictine Statutes*, 21. See also *The Rule of the Holy Virgin S. Clare. Together with the Admirable Life of S. Catharine of Bologna* (1621), in *The Early Modern Englishwoman, Series I, Printed Writings, 1500–1640: Part 4, Vol. 1, Elizabeth Evelinge, III*, ed. Claire Walker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 25–7.

<sup>40</sup> St Monica's MS E4, fols 82–3.

<sup>41</sup> *Benedictine Statutes*, 39.

<sup>42</sup> St Monica's MS Qu2, fols 92–3.

regulate the distracting intercourse occurring there.<sup>43</sup> In February 1694, the Paris Augustinian nuns were reminded that their constitutions required them to cover their faces when receiving guests in the parlour.<sup>44</sup> Endeavours to reform inappropriate social discourse and the expression of unseemly sentiment at the grate were not simply the concern of male superiors, however. Abbesses, and even some nuns, attempted to bring their errant sisters into line with the requisite emotional style. Anne Ingleby of the Brussels Benedictines complained about the 'vanity and distraction' caused by visitors whose 'wordes and carriage is very unfitting for us to see which hath left the world alltogether'.<sup>45</sup> Abbess Christina Brent reminded her nuns in chapter, the communal forum where faults were acknowledged and corrected, of the peril which might be encountered at the grate, where 'we should neither doe looke nor speake but according to the rules of religious mortification'.<sup>46</sup> The abbess's concern that her nuns might relax emotional restraint at the grate, combined with the requirement that religious women should cover their faces or sit behind a curtain in the parlour, suggests that monastic superiors worried that inappropriate passions might manifest in a sister's facial expression or gesture during sociable visits. Such a departure from the requisite demeanour, apart from presenting the unedifying spectre of weak self-discipline, might encourage reciprocal emotional expression in guests. The resulting contagion from open affective exchanges between sisters and secular people might further threaten the corporate standards for affective conduct.

In spite of these apprehensions and the many stern injunctions against too much contact with worldly people and affairs, it was extremely difficult for nuns to disengage themselves from their kin and other secular friends. The cloisters provided many services to the wider community, and they were dependent upon the religious women's relatives and benefactors for financial security. Negotiating the payment of dowries, arranging other family vocations, and acting as intermediaries between family in England and those abroad necessitated ongoing discourse at the grate and via correspondence. Therefore, while the conduct literature aimed to regulate the terms of such interaction, the presence of kin, whether physically, in the parlour, or vicariously, in the form of correspondence, provided nuns with alternative emotional norms that were often grounded in open familial affection.

---

<sup>43</sup> AAM, Mechliniensia/Reg.8, fols 236c–236d, Visitatio Monastery S. Mariae Ordinis S. Benedicti Anglarum Bruxellen, 10 May 1620. Thanks to Craig Harline for sending me this material.

<sup>44</sup> AAW/A, XXXVI, no. 46, fol. 168, 'Mr Inese's Second Regulations for the Austin Nuns'.

<sup>45</sup> AAM, MS 654.12, Anne Ingleby to Jacob Boonen [1623]. If Ingleby is the 'D Anne' in Scholastica Smith's complaint, this request is at odds with the accusation of inappropriate behaviour levelled at her by Smith, see n. 35.

<sup>46</sup> ADN, MS 20 H 10, fols 887, 882, Christina Brent, 'Some Speeches Made in Chapter'.

Winefrid Thimelby represents the most obvious example of the nun who, in her own words, refused to die to the world as a 'well mortified' religious woman. Thimelby's letters to her sister, brother-in-law, and nieces are characterised by a passionate attachment to her kin, and her effusive expressions of love, fear, hope, despair, and grief attest to the difficulties facing nuns in the quest to shed earthly ties and affections. Writing to her sister, Katharine Aston, the nun insisted that it was impossible for her 'to forget you one day', and she remained 'dayly mindfull of you ... and yours'.<sup>47</sup> Upon Katharine's death in 1658, Thimelby directed her affection and correspondence towards her sister's widowed husband, Herbert Aston. Her early letters to him combined tearful grieving for Katharine with a determination to fulfil her sister's command that she 'infinity love and honore Mr Aston'.<sup>48</sup> Embedded among protestations of her attachment to him was her fervent desire for one of his daughters to join her, and in time become a nun in the cloister. The arrival in Louvain of Catherine Aston, or Keat, as her family affectionately called her, in 1658, triggered in Thimelby an emotional rollercoaster of hopes and fears for her niece's future. Keat suffered bouts of ill health and melancholy in the convent school and had to return to England to recover on more than one occasion. Thimelby recorded her fluctuating 'joy and grieffe' in letters to Herbert while she waited for Keat's return. She importuned her brother-in-law incessantly for news of such an event, writing 'O what hopes of having my dear Keat againe? My want of resignation deserves, I fear, this rod of separation'.<sup>49</sup> Ultimately, Keat was professed at Louvain in 1668, in the same year when her aunt became prioress, fulfilling Thimelby's great ambition to have one of her sister's children settled in the convent.

The correspondence of Winefrid Thimelby suggests that for English religious women, exiled from their homeland and far away from their loved ones, letters provided an emotional refuge in the otherwise restrained monastic environment. The function of correspondence as an alternative emotional community for nuns can be identified in the epistolary exchanges of other women too. Abbess Mary Caryll of the Dunkirk Benedictine cloister maintained a regular correspondence with her brother in the 1690s and 1700s. Many of their letters might be characterised as 'business' missives because they dealt with the economic and political stability of the abbey, and with the settlement of family affairs in England and on the continent. However, the affection between the abbess and John Caryll, who was secretary to the exiled Queen Mary of Modena at the château of St Germain-en-Laye, was implicit. Exchanging news of nieces and nephews, the letters located the abbess firmly within family circles and allowed her to enjoy the affective bonds of kinship. By 1711, when her convent's

<sup>47</sup> BL, Add MS 36452, fol. 63, Winefrid Thimelby to Katharine Aston.

<sup>48</sup> BL, Add MS 36452, fols 68, 64–6, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston.

<sup>49</sup> BL, Add MS 36452, fols 76, 77, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston.

financial situation was perilous, her own health was failing, and she feared for her brother's well-being, Caryll wrote that she did not write too frequently for fear he would feel pressured into responding, conceding 'otherwise I must owne it would be the greatest comfort in my vexing circumstances'.<sup>50</sup> In her final letter, written some months before her death, she confessed her weak physical state, writing 'yours is the only letter I can put my pen too'.<sup>51</sup> To the very end of her life, the abbess expressed a need for continuing contact with her relatives, and familial correspondence evidently filled the void.

Despite the statutory prohibitions on epistolary exchanges, letters like those of Thimelby and Caryll suggest that although strictly at odds with the prescribed emotional style of the cloister, correspondence provided certain nuns with an outlet for the expression of affect. Such sentiments can be found occasionally in correspondence between religious women and business associates, benefactors, and political allies. The letters written by Abbess Mary Knatchbull, of the Ghent Benedictine abbey, to royalist leaders during the 1650s predominantly contained details about her safe conduct of their mail and news about events in England and abroad that she deemed significant. Although filled with good wishes and hopes for Prince Charles's health and success, and that of her correspondents, Knatchbull rarely displayed emotion regarding her own affairs. There is a rare glimpse into her personal feelings in a letter penned to Sir Edward Hyde in September 1659, which she cut short, admitting that she was 'in no very good hummer to write' because one of her nuns, Magdalen Digby, had just died.<sup>52</sup> As well as affirming an affective attachment to her deceased religious sister, Knatchbull's letter to Hyde provided an alternative medium for expressing her grief to the formal monastic protocols for such occasions that encouraged nuns to rejoice in the passing of a sister from the world to the arms of her heavenly bridegroom. It implies that writing about emotion was possible when expressing sentiments physically was not.

## **Mysticism as an Emotional Refuge**

Correspondence was not the only space within which religious women might circumvent the convent's strict emotional regime. Spirituality, or the practice of personal religious devotions, arguably provided the one area in which nuns had liberty to emote freely – so long as the expression of affect was directed

---

<sup>50</sup> BL, Add MS 28226, Letters and Papers of John Caryll, 1648–1711, fol. 139, Mary Caryll to John Caryll, 29 May 1711.

<sup>51</sup> BL, Add MS 28226, fol. 140, Mary Caryll to John Caryll [undated].

<sup>52</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Clarendon 64, fol. 105, Mary Knatchbull to Edward Hyde, 8 September 1659.

towards their divine spouse. Laurence Lux-Sterritt has recently noted that it was in religious women's contemplative writing for themselves, one another, and occasionally wider audiences of clergy and laity that they 'resorted to the most affective language to be found in their manuscripts'.<sup>53</sup> As discussed in the first section, one end of the mortification of the body, will, and senses was to achieve a state suitable for divine contemplation. Once she had attained this state, a nun might indulge in a passionate relationship with her divine spouse. So, when the saintly Margaret Gascoigne expressed the desire to submit herself entirely to God's will by annihilating herself, she wrote that in such a state of perfection:

I would see nothing,  
 Heare nothing,  
 Feele nothing,  
 Know nothing,  
 Understand nothing,  
 Be moved at nothing,  
 Have nothing,  
 But thee and thy will.<sup>54</sup>

She yearned

to suffer, to be made mortified, not to enjoy pleasures, that must not be my lott (at least to affection) in this life, but to be ... hoped for in the future, where only is true, satisfying, everlasting pleasure to be had & enjoyed. I come to yeeld him his needs & pleasure, not my owne.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, as Gascoigne explained, by suppressing her intellect and senses in this life, she would enjoy an unfettered expression of sentiment in the next. Salvation was the ultimate reward for those who moderated their passions and subscribed to the cloister's dominant emotional regime.

Yet other nuns' spiritual satisfaction and union with Christ was more immediate, and did not require the absolute suppression of affection in their daily encounters with him in the cloister. Sister Clare of the Annunciation Darcy of the English Carmelite house in Antwerp died in 1694, leaving various spiritual reflections written for herself and for her spiritual director to read which her sisters included in the convent chronicle. Like many religious women

---

<sup>53</sup> Laurence Lux-Sterritt, 'Divine Love and the Negotiation of Emotions in Early Modern English Convents', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, eds Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 241.

<sup>54</sup> Bath, Downside Abbey Archives (hereafter DAA), Gillow MS Baker 4, fol. 149.

<sup>55</sup> DAA, Gillow MS Baker 4, fol. 149.

she expressed frustration with her failings, writing 'I find a Singular delightful desire to live with God alone and to look into my self but these faults shews how unmortified I am I see humility would cure all my miseries.'<sup>56</sup> She meditated on the passion of Christ and was particularly drawn to suffering, commenting 'In hearing or reading of sufferance my heart seems to feel a particular dearness of affection & content'. She would embrace the crucifix 'with interior dearness of love & affection and dayly to kiss those sacred wounds' in order to receive divine grace.<sup>57</sup> But Darcy also enjoyed the satisfaction of spiritual union with Christ within the convent, recording that on one occasion after receiving the Eucharist 'I found my soul so wholly possest in God' that she was rendered powerless to move: 'I plainly felt his sacred presence longer then ordinarily, it left a deep impression and tenderness of devotion in my Soul with more vigor of Spirit.'<sup>58</sup>

Clare of the Annunciation Darcy's emotional responses to her mystical encounters with the divine were embodied. She equally felt the pain and suffering of Christ's Passion and the ecstasy of union with him. However, she was aware of the restraint needed in the cloistered environment when it came to expressing her affections, even those for God. Pondering how her 'heart is extraordinarily moved with different passions', she interpreted it partially as 'a gift of our Dear Lord' but also as 'an imperfection' in her 'by reason of the connection with nature which is ever violently inclined.'<sup>59</sup> She often felt 'so tenderly moved towards our Dear Lord' that she could not restrain herself from uttering 'passionate loving speaches'. Her body involuntarily responded to this emotion. She admitted 'sometimes it makes the heart sensibly extreem hot and the blood to rise in ones face'. Yet she felt constrained not to reveal such ecstatic moments to her sisters, writing 'when it happens in company it is very painfull to repress it, that it is not perceived, for it is a great pleasure to give freedome to ones affections'.<sup>60</sup> Darcy's spiritual accomplishments enabled her to break free from the convent's strict regime of self-control to experience a passionate relationship with Christ. Such an achievement was fraught with difficulties, however, as even mystical ecstasy could not be expressed openly before her sisters. Like emotions in quotidian life it had to be curbed. Darcy's cognisance of the requirement was noted in a list of goals she needed to attain. The second was 'a Mastery over my passions to give no exterior shew of transportation either of sorrow or joy'.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> 'Short Colections of the Beginings of Our English Monastery of Teresians in Antwerp with Some Few Perticulars of Our Dear Deceased Religious', in *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800, Vol. 4, Life Writing II*, ed. Katrien Daemen-de Gelder (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 161.

<sup>57</sup> 'Short Colections', 162–3.

<sup>58</sup> 'Short Colections', 163. For another example, see 164–5.

<sup>59</sup> 'Short Colections', 166.

<sup>60</sup> 'Short Colections', 166.

<sup>61</sup> 'Short Colections', 173.

The potential fault line that might be caused by the unregulated expression of mystical contemplation in monastic communities drew consternation from some in the early modern Church. In the 1630s, at the Benedictine cloister in Cambrai, the sisters benefitted from the spiritual direction of Augustine Baker, who had encouraged them to find the contemplative method which best suited their individual devotional capacity. While his teaching inspired the kind of mysticism practised by Margaret Gascoigne and her better-known contemporary, Gertrude More, it raised concerns among clergy fearful of its orthodoxy. Doubts were raised about 'Father Baker's Method', as it was termed, in 1633, but the monk's spiritual pedagogy was exonerated. Questions arose again in 1655 when the nuns resisted pressure from their clerical superior to relinquish Baker's manuscripts so that they might be censored of any dangerous doctrine.<sup>62</sup> Although their defiance did not unleash the disharmony that disputed spirituality caused in other convents, like those in Brussels and Paris, it did present a 'counter-cultural' challenge to the dominant emotional style propounded by the clerics of the English Benedictine congregation.

This alternative community with its discordant style can be found in the writing of one of the nuns. Barbara Constable joined Cambrai after Baker's tenure as spiritual director and became a committed disciple of his spiritual method. She was responsible for copying many of his manuscripts and for composing her own devotional texts. Part of the way into a copy of Constable's treatise 'The Complaints of Sinners', the author broke from pious reflections and castigation of her own spiritual failings to launch into a tirade against the opponents of Baker's teaching. She likened them to heathens who persecuted Christians and complained that 'their brutish senses cannot comprehend the wonderful grace that thou [God] bestowest upon Ideots in prayer.'<sup>63</sup> Constable vented her anger at the monks of her order who sought to curtail the devotional method she and so many of the Benedictine sisters at Cambrai found effective, writing:

It seems to me that they think it impossible for thee to bestow the grace of contemplation upon an ignorant woman, because they cannot or do not enjoy it by their curiosity of wit & learning; they forget, it seems, that thou art omnipotent, & can yield more knowledge to a simple Ideot in one hours prayer, (being interiorly pure & converted to thee) than they with all their plodding can obtain in twenty years yea all their life time; O my God what an age is this,

---

<sup>62</sup> Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 145–7; Claire Walker, 'Spiritual Property: The English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and the Dispute over the Baker Manuscripts', in *Women, Property and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, eds Nancy E. Wright, Margaret W. Ferguson, and A.R. Buck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 237–55.

<sup>63</sup> DAA, Hazlemere MS 1886, fol. 44, 'The Complaints of Sinners' a MS Composed by Barbara Constable and in her Hand, Completed in 1649.

when we are more afraid to serve & love thee truly & perfectly than some are to offend thee.<sup>64</sup>

After three pages of heated invective against Baker's detractors, Constable returned to her own devout exhortations.<sup>65</sup>

The passionate outburst contained within a manuscript book of pious reflections reveals again the degree to which a spiritual relationship with the divine presented nuns with an alternative emotional style that allowed for a greater expression of sentiment than quotidian monastic life permitted. It enabled them to express frustration not only with others who hindered their devotional progression, but also with themselves. Later in her 'Complaint', Barbara Constable castigated her own lack of resolve and reformation, chiding:

O when shall I by true & perfect mortification, overcome my evil inclinations & passions? when shall I go about conversion of manners seriously as I have promised. It is now almost ten years (almost 10 years professed) since I promised the conversion of my manners, & obedience according to the rule, but I cannot perceive as yet that I have done any considerable thing towards it; when therefore, O my God, shall I begin? surely it is high time.<sup>66</sup>

As well as confirming the difficulty all religious women faced when it came to subjugating passions learned in the world in the cloistered environment, Constable's heartfelt questioning of her own capacity to achieve the state of perfection that was deemed essential for salvation points to the problems that all nuns faced. Salvation in the cloister depended upon finding the right spiritual path. Yet in the confines of the enclosure, constrained by mortification, what happened if one could not find or access the path to heaven one required? This dilemma lay at the root of the dispute between the Cambrai nuns and their Benedictine brothers. It also underpinned the dissension at Brussels in the 1620s and 1630s when nuns wanting Jesuit spiritual direction were denied access to fathers of the Society of Jesus. It was the problem similarly faced by Agnes Latham and Mary Gabriel Huddlestone in Paris in the 1670s.

Mortification, emotional restraint, and the overarching requirement of obedience to religious superiors underpinned the dominant affective regime in each convent. Promoted as the path to salvation, some nuns discovered that it might equally lead them to damnation if they subscribed absolutely to its sentimental norms. They accordingly sought refuge in alternative 'counter-cultural' styles that permitted them to speak out about their concerns and

---

<sup>64</sup> DAA, Hazlemere MS 1886, fol. 44.

<sup>65</sup> DAA, Hazlemere MS 1886, fols 43–5.

<sup>66</sup> DAA, Hazlemere MS 1886, fol. 213.

endeavour to enact change. They did not always succeed, but by writing letters and embedding complaints within their spiritual texts, they articulated their concerns and expressed their fears, and in so doing attempted to ameliorate the rigidity of the dominant regime. Correspondence also provided a refuge for nuns, exiled from kin and homeland, for the expression of affective bonds with family that could never be annihilated by monastic self-abnegation and death to the world. Ultimately, it might be argued that by challenging the status quo set out in their convent's prescriptive documents, the nuns were proposing new possibilities for emotional expression and even salvation, which were not necessarily at odds with the religious imperatives of monastic life. This is evident in the letters of the woman mentioned at the opening of this chapter. Winefrid Thimelby regularly referred to the pain of separation from her kin, effusively articulated in her letters, as a form of divine punishment for her inordinate passions.<sup>67</sup> Indeed she even considered it redemptive, writing to her sister, Katharine, 'you must give me leave to love our seperation because it helps to secure an eternall mutuall inioying'.<sup>68</sup> Through her correspondence, Thimelby renegotiated the emotional style of her cloister, and in so doing, found an alternative path to salvation.

Establishing and maintaining order in the early modern English cloister was accordingly a complex process. Monastic conduct literature suggested that harmony would be preserved if nuns adhered to a strict emotional regime of restraint. Yet, as individual women's private and public struggles to subdue their passions in the face of spiritual, familial, and communal pressures reveal, stifling sentiment proved challenging. The failure of particular nuns to subjugate their feelings and incidents of corporate failures in disputes, like that among the Brussels Benedictines, demonstrates the danger that might ensue from poorly regulated emotion. It could potentially unleash passions that might destroy not only the stability but also the existence of a convent. For this reason, most nuns subscribed to prescriptive regimens of affective restraint, and encouraged their sisters to similarly comply. Yet, as the example of Winefrid Thimelby reminds us, there were opportunities to participate in alternative emotional communities. In these refuges, often provided by epistolary exchanges with kin beyond the cloister and through devotional writing within the enclosure, religious women, who were ordinarily bound by the strict precepts of mortified self-discipline and the abnegation of sentiment, might freely express their feelings without threatening collective order.

---

<sup>67</sup> BL, Add MS 36452, fol. 76, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston.

<sup>68</sup> BL, Add MS 36452, fol. 62, Winefrid Thimelby to Katharine Aston.

## Chapter 11

### ‘Will we ever meet again?’

# Children Travelling the World in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Claudia Jarzebowski

In 1740, 10-year-old Anton Bering wrote a letter to his 17-year-old brother, Jonas, whom he had not seen for almost nine years.<sup>1</sup> Anton had left Reval (modern-day Tallin, the capital of Estonia) for Kamchatka (see Figure 11.1) in 1733, along with his father, Vitus Bering, his mother, Anna Christina, and his younger sister, Anoushka. With almost 8,500 km and nine years between them, one might assume that it would have been hard for Anton to entertain an emotional, vivid sibling relationship with his brother. Little Anton expresses his specific concerns: ‘My very dear brother ... the more I rely on your brotherly affection, the more I am rather puzzled by the fact that hitherto I have not been granted the honour of receiving a single line written by you.’ In the letter, Anton also surmises the reasons for the alienation he fears: ‘Might it be that the distance between us has enhanced you losing memory of me, your brother. This burden lies hard on me, brother, for which reason I inquire herewith after your health and wellbeing.’<sup>2</sup> With hardly any memory of his own, Jonas must have been an

---

<sup>1</sup> There is no history of emotion without emotions. This chapter has been highly inspired by the many conversations I had with Philippa Maddern in Perth, in Berlin, in Philadelphia, in Kassel, and in Melbourne since 2009 when I first met her at The University of Western Australia. She taught me to trust my own emotions in regard to historical sources as well as the emotions of those women, children, and men I came across in the sources. I am deeply grateful for this lesson and many more.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Ulf Møller and Natasha Okhotina Lind, eds, *Until Death Do Us Part: The Letters and Travels of Anna and Vitus Bering* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008), 72–3, quoting Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AVPRI), f.14, op.14/1, d.91, fol. 27r, Anton to Jonas Bering, 5 February 1740: ‘Mon tres cher frere! Je mehr ich Ihrer Brüderlichen affection versichert bin, je mehr muß mich verwundern, daß bißhero die Ehre nicht habe, auch nur eine einzige Zeile von Ihnen zu sehen ... also werde ich auch Vielleicht nicht unreht thunn, wenn ich in Betrachtung meiner Entfernung von Ihnen fürchte, daß sie mir gar vergeßen haben. Solcher last sich nun zu befreyen, habe ich hierdurch Ihres Wohlergehens, anbey aber auch, wenn es erlaubet ist, des Zustandes ihrer promotion in

unknown figure of a past that had long faded in Anton's present state of mind.<sup>3</sup> His sister, Anoushka, was born in early 1731 and had been only five months old when her parents decided to take her and Anton with them, all the way to the Far East. It took the family almost two years to reach Ochotsk, the place that would be their temporary home for the next five years.

Vitus Bering had been appointed by the Russian Tsar, Peter I, to lead an expedition to chart Siberia and to find a sea route to America, the so-called North West Passage.<sup>4</sup> Less known, however, is that on his second Kamchatka expedition, his wife and two of his children came along. This raises the question of how the Bering family arranged its family emotions during Bering's two, almost decade-long, expeditions, one by himself and one in the company of Anna, Anoushka, and Anton. As we have seen from the short passage quoted above, the expeditions challenged family relations and relationship building for the children and the parents. In the case of the Bering family, the couple had left behind their two older sons, Jonas (born 1721) and Thomas (born 1723), and had taken their younger children, Anton (born 1730) and Anoushka, with them.

During Vitus Bering's first expedition to Kamchatka (1725–30), Anna Christina had stayed at home and taken care of the two boys. Vitus was away for five years and Anna Christina, so the story goes, rented a chariot to welcome her eagerly awaited husband as soon as she heard he was headed home.<sup>5</sup> Soon, Anton and Anoushka were born, and Vitus's plans to continue his geographical and nautical research out in the Siberian East took shape once again. It seems that Anna Christina was unwilling to endure her husband's absence for such a long time again, but at the same time they had four children to take care of. They made the seemingly practical decision to leave the older ones behind and take the younger ones with them. But, to take a one-year-old and a five-month-old

---

Diensten erkundigen wollen.' The letter is partly written in French, a hint that Anton had French lessons.

<sup>3</sup> It becomes clear that Anton had been requested to write this letter. In regards to this practice, see Willemijn G. Ruberg, 'Children's Correspondence as a Pedagogical Tool in the Netherlands, 1770–1850', *Paedagogica Historica* 41 (2005): 295–312.

<sup>4</sup> Orcutt W. Frost, ed., *Bering and Chirikov: The American Voyages and Their Impact* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1992); Stephen W. Haycox, James K. Barnett, and Caedmon A. Liburd, eds, *Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific, 1741–1805* (Seattle and London: Cook Inlet Historical Society/University of Washington Press, 1997); Evgenij G. Kushnarev, *Bering's Search for the Strait: The First Kamchatka Expedition, 1725–1730* (Russian edn, 1976; Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1990); Carol Urness, 'The First Kamchatka Expedition in Focus', in *Under Vitus Bering's Command: New Perspectives on the Russian Kamchatka Expeditions*, eds Peter Ulf Møller and Natasha Okhotina Lind (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 17–33.

<sup>5</sup> See Peter Ulf Møller and Natasha Okhotina Lind, 'Introduction', in Møller and Lind, *Until Death Do Us Part*.



Figure 11.1 Anna Christina Bering and her two children travelled 15,000 km, 11,000 of them without Vitus. This map shows their route through Russia and Siberia

Source: Robert Sayer, 'The Russian Discoveries, from the Map Published by the Imperial Academy of St Petersburg' (1775). Copperplate map, 43.6 x 55.6 cm, with outline colour. From Thomas Jefferys, *American Atlas* (London, 1776). Princeton University Library, Historic Maps Collection.

baby (still to be nursed) on such a voyage, without exaggeration, can be called imponderable and it certainly would not comply with modern standards of safety and sanity. So, different concerns must have been at work.

The example of the Bering family provides a starting point from which we can delve more deeply into matters of emotional family managing in the later early modern period. In the course of the new interest in early modern global history, and rendered possible by the opening of Russian archives and international cooperation, historians now have access to formerly unknown sources. Among these sources are letters and travel accounts shared by families that lived through long-term separations caused by travelling family members. Long-term separations are inclined to stir emotional disorder among family members in that they require a re-organisation of family relations according to physical distance and social availability respectively. The gender element

clearly comes to the fore, when we focus on mothers and their specific roles and challenges they faced during those periods in comparison to fathers. The mothers and wives often travelled on their husbands' coat-tails but they made different decisions regarding their children.<sup>6</sup> However, a new light can also be shed on fathers and their roles in emotional ordering within a family and a social network. In particular comparing the fathers in this chapter allows us to draw out variations of gendered parenthood. Being a mother and being a father were both roles challenged by shifting gender roles in the eighteenth century.

In this chapter, I will focus on the above-mentioned Bering family and on the Forster family (Georg and Johann Reinhold Forster are known foremost for their participation in James Cook's *Voyage around the World*).<sup>7</sup> The sources I draw upon are primarily letters, some diaries, and memorial writings of friends and relatives. These sources, especially the letters, are read as practices in emotional family ordering and at the same time expressions of emotions, as these become explicit at times. With this approach I suggest a way of understanding those family writings as a practice in ordering emotionally charged relationships and, at the same time, as expression of emotions. In analysing family emotions in history, we have to keep in mind that parental perspectives outweigh the children's perspectives due to a lack of children's sources.<sup>8</sup> Philippa Maddern's studies of children's emotions are seminal in charting a field of research that has for long been declared a *terra incognita*.<sup>9</sup> Emotions such as love and affection find their way through action: in educational precautions (socially and financially); tokens of affection (such as Forster sends to his absent daughters as we will see below); and letters as carriers of attention and care (mostly written by the parents, less by the children).<sup>10</sup>

The exemplary stories presented in this chapter reflect a broad panorama of what was possible in eighteenth-century family emotions, even though some of it challenged known norms and limits of acceptability. As a historian of early

---

<sup>6</sup> Sybilla Maria Merian and her 19-year-old daughter, who travelled to Surinam in 1699, lived and worked there for two years, are exceptional.

<sup>7</sup> Georg Forster, 'Voyage around the World', in *Georg Forsters Werke: Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe*, ed. Gerhard Steiner, 18 vols (Berlin: Akademie, 1968–), I, 9–678. This is still the finest edition available.

<sup>8</sup> Keith Thomas, 'Children in Early Modern England', in *Children and their Books: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, eds Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 45–77; see also Rudolf Dekker and Arianne Baggerman, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Philippa Maddern, 'How Children Were Supposed to Feel: How Children Felt: England, 1350–1530', in *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures, 1450–1800*, eds Claudia Jarzebowski and Thomas M. Safley (London: Routledge, 2013), 121–41.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History* 25 (2000): 291–312.

modern history, my approach to the eighteenth century essentially stems from what I know about the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. My perspective does not look backwards from the nineteenth century, but rather looks forward from what we know about family emotions. My use of the term 'family emotions' references the concept of 'emotional communities'<sup>11</sup> and at the same time aims to extend the notion of community to absent family members or associates: in other words, people one feels close to, through practices of emotion such as letter-writing. As is shown here, friends of the family become more important the greater the distance in time and space grows. They take over constitutive functions in keeping order so as to prevent disorder – sometimes successfully.

In early modern history, long distances and long-term separations were not exceptional for royal families or for artisan families, and, perhaps more surprisingly, they were also not exceptional for bourgeois and scholarly families in the eighteenth century. It is important to note that the particular global challenges of the eighteenth century added new dimensions of distance and risk, but the circumstance of living a family life with family members being frequently away was by no means unique to the eighteenth century, certainly since apprenticeships and other working conditions often divided family units in much earlier periods. However, practices did change and with them so did techniques of emotional bonding.<sup>12</sup> This is especially true when we turn towards the evolving social group of the urban bourgeois family. I will, then, focus on the eighteenth-century shift from rural to urban families, from artisan to academically engaged households, and on families that took on the global challenge of extending their professional and personal horizons and the means by which they could do so. In doing so, this chapter aims to scrutinise some long-standing historical opinions about family and emotion in the eighteenth century: firstly, the idea that the bourgeois family was a refuge of homely affection within a new evolving core family;<sup>13</sup> secondly, the notion that emotional bonding required continuous physical proximity, especially between mother and child, as a prerequisite to modern families;<sup>14</sup> thirdly, the idea that

---

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1–32.

<sup>12</sup> Susan Broomhall, ed., *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> See Ann Charlott Trepp, "Never have I been able to bear the thought of wishing to give myself up either here or there!": Marital Relationships of the Bourgeoisie at the End of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', in *Conceptualizing Women in Enlightenment Thought / Penser la femme au siècle des Lumières*, eds Hans-Erich Bödeker and Lieselotte Steinbrügge (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2000), 89–112.

<sup>14</sup> What seems nowadays like an outmoded idea was once cemented by Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic, 1976). Some of his very basic

gender roles are naturally determined through putative biological forces;<sup>15</sup> and finally, the assumption that it was only in Rousseau's eighteenth century that children were 'allowed' to be children and no longer 'little adults', to quote the now-famous phrase of Philippe Ariès.<sup>16</sup>

My approach, however, focuses on the following question: how do emotions and gender contribute to family ordering, and to building hierarchies and social networks? Examined from this perspective, gender and its implications for being a mother, a father, a wife, a husband, a son, and a daughter come to the fore as vital pivots of change in the process of shifting from early modern concepts of family to modern ones. Additionally, the question of age and childhood is an important access point for how we understand ordering a family as an emotionally complex connection.

### **The Bering Family**

When Vitus, Anna Christina, and their small children took off on their great voyage in 1733, no one could predict when they would return. Vitus was destined to continue his search for what would later be called the Bering Strait. So it was clear from the very beginning that Anna Christina and her children would return home without their husband and father whenever the second Kamchatka expedition turned nautical. This happened later than expected, and Anna Christina stayed two years longer than she had planned. Questions come to mind when considering their situation: where did they leave their elder sons during their time abroad? How did they keep up their respective relationships: between siblings, between the parents, and between Jonas and Thomas? Fortunately, a set of letters exists, written to friends and family shortly before Anna Christina, Anton, and Anoushka left on their 18-month return trip to St Petersburg. These letters inform us in a rarely available way about doubts, regrets, and fears of the mother and the father about the sons who remained in Reval. Jonas was 12 years old at the time his parents left him, and his brother Thomas was two years his junior. The young brothers moved in with Adolph Florian Sigismund, the principal of the Reval secondary school (*Reval'sche Gymnasium*) and his family. As studies of early modern university

---

ideas are still influential, however, such as his notion that the employment of nurses signifies emotional distance between mother and child.

<sup>15</sup> See Karin Hausen, "... eine Ulme für das schwanke Efeu": Ehepaare im deutschen Bildungsbürgertum. Ideale und Wirklichkeiten im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 85–117.

<sup>16</sup> Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family* (New York: Vintage, 1962).

life have shown, these arrangements were costly, even among friends.<sup>17</sup> Vitus and Anna Bering were close friends with the Sigismund family, and we know from one letter that marriage plans evolved between Thomas and one of the Sigismund daughters. Clearly, the Bering parents did as much as they were able to in order to establish a potentially prosperous situation for their under-aged sons. They were left with friends and a widely renowned schoolmaster at the same time. In addition, they provided their sons with a sociable and erudite family, at least as erudite as themselves. The Sigismund family was genuinely able to take over family and educational matters for the two boys. The question of emotional matters might not even have crossed the minds of the Bering parents, as emotions were embedded within these decisions about education and future alliances. The intersection of emotion and education becomes even more likely if we consider the options: one option could have been to take all four children with them; another would have been for Anna Christina to stay at home, again, with all of the children. This seems not to have been a favoured option for Anna Christina. A third option would have been to leave the two boys with relatives. But, the most convenient solution for the parents was to place Jonas and Thomas at the Sigismund household and the Reval secondary school as it was the best school available at the time.

Once Vitus and Anna Christina had left Reval, the only way to communicate with the boys was by letter. Fortunately, the postal system was well tested already – at least for three quarters of their way, but it was by no means fast. Once they reached Irkutsk they could send and receive letters once, occasionally twice, a year. From Ochotsk, their final destination, the mail traffic was limited to receiving letters in October and sending them in February. By the time the letters made it to their addressees, a year might have passed. So Vitus and Anna Christina were without any means to take part in their sons' daily lives. Great trust was required: in Jonas and Thomas, in the Sigismund family, and also in their additional support network, consisting of more friends in St Petersburg and Moscow as well as family in Vyborg. As we know from the 1740 letters, Thomas and Jonas visited Nicolai Sebastian Hohenholz, the Habsburg ambassador and a long-term friend, in St Petersburg at least twice while their parents were gone, and Duke Henry Ostermann (managing Russian foreign affairs at the time), who was also a friend of the Bering family, took care of several legal affairs. Anna Christina's brother and sister came to Reval quite frequently but, as we learn from Anna Christina's complaints, not necessarily to their contentment.<sup>18</sup>

Reading the letters that Anna Christina, Vitus, and Anton had written in February 1740 turns historians into interpreters of family affairs, regrets, hope,

---

<sup>17</sup> Gabriele Jancke, *Gastfreundschaft in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft. Praktiken, Perspektiven und Normen von Gelehrten* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Anna Christina held her brother responsible for Jonas's entering the army.

and disappointment, and the desire to regain control, especially over the older son, Jonas. Jonas had decided to leave school early in order to join the Russian army. This would not necessarily have been a problem, but he had joined the musketeers. After receiving this news via Sigismund, Anna Christina was aghast: never in her life did she imagine losing her child to the lowest army rank on offer. Her concerns refer to safety, maturity, and education: 'What in the world are your plans for when your arm or leg gets shot away in your very youth? You will be a ruined creature all your life ... Son, you are far too young for that.'<sup>19</sup> Jonas, then 18, acted as his own master, overlooking his mother's emotions of fear and concern, and neither Sigismund nor Ostermann nor Hohenholz (in addition to his mother) were able to prevent him from stepping down the ladder of social and military mobility. Anna Christina and Vitus were deeply puzzled by the fact that Jonas had ended his education for the allure of a soldier's life, especially as he had no knowledge of the Russian language, as Vitus emphasised, and insufficient life experience to inform his decisions. Anna Christina spells out her concerns in her letters to other mothers, Ms Hohenholz and Ms Sigismund: alcohol, prostitutes, gambling. Obviously, mothers made themselves available as appropriate addressees of such concerns, suggesting an emotional community; that is, an imagined community of shared maternal emotions. At the same time, and in the same letter, Anna Christina attempts to turn back time and move the husbands of Hohenholz and Sigismund, via their wives, to change Jonas's mind and provide him with other professional options. Turning to her son again, she reassures Jonas of her everlasting love: 'I will neither withdraw my motherly love nor my benevolent advice, but rather let my dear son know how much pain I felt and how many tears I cried when I came to know that he has joined an ordinary musketeer regiment.'<sup>20</sup> She clearly expresses her deep disappointment without breaking the connection because of a disagreement. But one can hardly see into Jonas's mind: his connection to his mother, father, and sibling might have been broken in the meantime. The obvious question, of whether family bonds withstand such testing by alleged mutual disappointment, is not easy to answer. The Berings' financial and social efforts to ensure their son's education and culture, however, seem to have been to no avail.

<sup>19</sup> Møller and Lind, *Until Death Do Us Part*, 68, quoting AVPRI, f.14, op.14/1, d.91, fols 22r–24v, Anna Christina, to her son Jonas, 5 February 1740: 'aber was wollet ihr noch bey der Armeee thun, arm oder bein wird euch abgeschossen in eure yünglings jahre. So seid ihr ein Ruignirter mensh all ihr lebthage ... neyn meyn sohn da seid ihr noch zu yüng zu.'

<sup>20</sup> Møller and Lind, *Until Death Do Us Part*, 66, quoting AVPRI, f.14, op.14/1, d.91, fols 22r–24v, Anna Christina, to her son Jonas, 5 February 1740: 'deßwegen werde ich doch meine Mütterliche liebe nebst wohlwollende Raht nicht ab ziehen, sonder berichte meine liebe Sohn wie sehr es mich geschmärzet, und viele thränen gekostet, da ich Vernommen, das er als Mousquetier under ein ordiner Riegement gestället.'

One might think that her son's unwelcome independence may have caused Anna Christina to doubt the appropriateness of her decision to accompany her husband. Instead, she justifies that decision to the wives of Hohenholz and Sigismund, her argument being the putative lack of education and schools in Siberia, and its harsh surrounds: there were no interesting people to exchange thoughts with, no pleasant company, and a continuous low temperature.<sup>21</sup> The Berings had profound reservations about travelling as an educational programme. Clearly, one can assume that both parents were convinced of the need to serve their elder sons' needs (or what they thought were their needs) by providing them with schooling in Reval rather than take them on an adventurous journey. When Anna Christina, Anton, and Anoushka left Vitus in March 1741, he had only a couple more months to live. He died in December 1741 on what is now Bering Island. Jonas worked his way up in the military and died as the commander of a Ukrainian town called Mglin. Thomas dabbled in the army, too, but entered the civil services soon after. It becomes apparent that the Bering parents had no chances to make up for lost time: both sons had left Reval by the time their mother returned. The 'wings' she had wished for in one of her letters had not brought her home in time. We can see from their mother's letters that the distance and time passing between letters and life updates transmutes into a strong burden she calls 'torture'. This 'torture' was the price that she, alone, had paid for her decision to follow her husband and leave her children behind. The long-term separation from her children caused her increasing trouble, as it came into conflict with her notions of being a good mother. It could be concluded that the Berings' preference for education underestimated the emotional requirements of their still-young boys. Anna Christina's insight that serving their educational needs had not necessarily met the boys' and perhaps her own emotional demands may have grown slowly over years of travelling and living apart. Separating her children and herself from them had been an emotionally driven decision in the first place: to avoid another year-long separation from her husband. So, years later and with thousands of miles between them, doubts may have taken over, in correlation with expectations conveyed to her by those stay-at-home mothers with whom she exchanged letters.

Vitus Bering, on the contrary, was at ease with himself. No one would doubt his right to leave his family and commit himself to an important expedition. When writing to his disobedient son, he simply refers to Anna Christina as the one in charge. As a consequence, doubts and the feeling of potential guilt (and the weight of responsibility) was laid upon the mother's shoulders, enhancing the 'torture' to which she was already exposed.<sup>22</sup> In reading these letters, then,

---

<sup>21</sup> For seven months a year, the temperature was  $-40^{\circ}$  Celsius.

<sup>22</sup> From Philippa Maddern, I have learned to read emotions as something even early modern people have felt, apart from approaches which limit emotions to social constructions.

one has to keep in mind that the emotional and physical pain of ‘torture’ could at the same time be the most adequate description of what Anna Christina anticipated as her friends’ expectation after such a long separation.

### **The Forster Family**

Thus far, scholarly work regarding the Forster family has been restricted to the Forsters’ entanglement with James Cook’s *Voyage around the World*, a trip that was a last-minute chance for father Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–98) to get away from England and become part of the global travelling society (1772–75). Under the condition that he take his 17-year-old son Georg with him, Forster agreed within hours to join the expedition. Their lives before this endeavour, however, tells us much about fathers, sons, and their bonding strategies, especially strategies of detaching in the eighteenth century. In contrast to the Berings, Forster made his eldest son his closest companion. By the time Georg turned five, he was strolling their home district with his father in order to classify plants, Georg taking down the notes. When Georg turned 10, his father – an unhappy priest wishing for more – took the opportunity to go on an expedition initiated by Catherine II. He took Georg along to explore and chart the Wolga and Jereslan areas, leaving his pregnant wife with five small children in Wislina (now Poland). The expedition was supposed to take a year. Forster saw this opportunity as a chance for his son, too, as he reminisced in his memoirs written for the public on behalf of his publisher friend Jacobi: ‘My son Georg was my companion on this journey. The many new subjects on the trip enabled me to teach him day by day.’<sup>23</sup> Their travelling together was justified as a rational educational opportunity, not as a result of emotional attachment. But as we have seen in the previous case: emotional attachment might have been a weaker argument. Their relationship was close. Georg was his first son to survive and Forster worried about him from the very beginning, recalling, after his son’s death:

My son was a feeble and raw-boned baby when he was born. His mother’s breasts were so inflamed that the truly nourishing well of the mother’s milk ran dry when he was only three months old. He was then fed with bread and cow’s milk plus water – not to his advantage: he grew slowly, barely prospering when I fell ill with

---

<sup>23</sup> Georg Forster, ‘Ueber’, in *Annalen der Philosophie und des philosophischen Geistes*, Philosophischer Anzeiger Halle, 2 Stück January 14th (1795), 14.

a high and lasting fever and my wife was seized with something called hysterical fever, then Georg was taken away from our care and fostered.<sup>24</sup>

Their relationship was based on emotional attachment and shared work from early in Georg's life. None of Georg's brothers and sisters ever occupied such an important role in their father's life.

After they had finished their Russian expedition and returned to St Petersburg, Forster placed 11-year-old Georg in a school, the highly reputed *St Peter gymnasio* for the German-speaking intellectual society in St Petersburg: 'This is where my son Georg, for the first time in his life, was instructed by strangers, after I alone taught and educated him for eleven years.'<sup>25</sup> Not only does Forster not mention Georg's mother as a person of relevance, but he also expresses his anxiety about allocating his son's education to 'strangers'.<sup>26</sup> However, they would not stay for long in St Petersburg but instead headed for England, the home country of one of his forefathers. Little Georg was fluent in Russian and English by the time they landed in London. For almost a year they earned money, completing translations, which are credited to Georg, as can be found in the Minute Books of the Society of Antiquaries:

The son of Mr Forster, a honorary Fellow of this society, a young Gentleman not 13 Years of Age, but conversant in several Languages, presented a Copy of a Work, translated by him into English, intituled *A Chronical Abridgement of the Russian History ...* Thanks were returned to this young Gentleman for his kind Present.<sup>27</sup>

Always short of money, Forster eventually accepted a position as a teacher in Warrington, approximately 320 km from London, not far west of Manchester. In the meantime, Georg earned his family money as an accountant in a London-based business led by a Mr Lewis. Georg's health was poor and when his mother

---

<sup>24</sup> Forster, 'Ueber', 12: 'Mein Sohn war bey seyner Geburt ein schwächliches und sehr mageres Kind, und da ihm bald darauf wegen eines offenen Schadens an der Brust seiner Mutter, im folgenden Februar die ächte ernährende Quelle in der Muttermilch versiegete, so ward er mit Brod und Kuhmilch, zu der Wasser gegossen ward, erzogen. Er hatte nur ein langsames Zunehmen und Gedeihen, als ein heftiges faules Gallenfieber mich; und ein schweres hysterisches Nervenfieber seine Mutter zugleich dem Tode nahebrachten und ihm unsere Pflege entzogen.'

<sup>25</sup> Forster, 'Ueber', 16: 'Hier bekam nun mein Sohn Georg zum ersten Mahle Unterricht von fremden Personen, nachdem er elf volle Jahre von mir allein ward erzogen und unterrichtet worden.'

<sup>26</sup> These *strangers* were known academics, Georg sharing his classes with, among others, with the theologian Leopold Friedrich August Dilthey's sons.

<sup>27</sup> Society of Antiquaries, Minutes Books, 21 May 1767, in *Werke*, I, 678–9. The original author of the book was Michail Wassilevich Lomonossov.

and six siblings (aged between 10 years and 15 months) came through London en route to Warrington in September 1767, Georg accompanied them, thus allowing his father to re-establish their working relationship. Georg's wife, Therese Heyne, later judged her former father-in-law harshly for his behaviour. She recalls in her memoirs of Georg:

Georg Forster's health had by no means been stable then, he was stunted in his growth. Supposedly because he was such an intellectual worker already in his early youth and took many strenuous efforts to please his father and – at the same time – shared the many burdens of his impoverished family – his physical growth might have been affected.<sup>28</sup>

Georg was 13 when he started to teach his father's students French, all of whom, Heyne wrote, were 'older' and 'stronger' than him. He was engaged as his father's helper for almost three years while his father looked for new opportunities. These three years in Warrington would prove to be the longest time the family lived together as a whole.

When Georg and his father returned from their *Voyage around the World*, they soon parted ways. Johann Reinhold Forster was forbidden from writing his travel account, as the privilege was reserved for the captain, James Cook.<sup>29</sup> It comes as no surprise, then, that Georg, who was a minor when they sailed (and therefore not contracted officially) took over and wrote the *Voyage around the World* in a record-breakingly short period of time. The book was based on his own and his father's notes, and was published in 1777.<sup>30</sup> This would be their last collaboration. Georg, at 20 years old, moved to Kassel and started work as a librarian and university teacher. He married Therese in 1785 and had two children, born in 1786 and 1789.<sup>31</sup> It appears as if Georg had taken the chance to start a life of his own. Unlike his father, he was able to support his family at a reasonable level. However, when he was offered the chance to lead the first Russian expedition to the South Seas in 1787, he accepted with alacrity, knowing that this expedition would separate him from his young family for at least four years, unless he planned to take them with him as Vitus Bering had

---

<sup>28</sup> Therese Huber, 'Einige Nachrichten von Johann Georg Forsters Leben', in *Johann Georg Forster's Briefwechsel*, ed. Therese Huber (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1829), 1–151, at 17: 'Georg Forster's Gesundheit war damals noch nicht befestigt, er war spät gewachsen – vielleicht hatte die der frühen Jugend so wenig angemessene Geistesanstrengung und die Sorge, die er so innig mit seiner Familie theilte, einer kräftigen Entwicklung Abbruch gethan.'

<sup>29</sup> Robert L. Kahn, 'The History of the Work', in *Werke*, I, 678–709.

<sup>30</sup> Kahn, 'History of the Work', 678–709.

<sup>31</sup> Therese Heyne came from a famous philologist's family. She married Georg Forster, but was separated from him shortly before his death. Widowed, she later married Ferdinand Huber.

done. But war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (1787–92) prevented the expedition from going ahead. Georg then became a fierce follower of the French Revolution, a co-founder of the so-called Republic of Mainz,<sup>32</sup> and died in Paris in early 1794.

Even though life was hard for Georg Forster, he was a devoted father of at least two girls.<sup>33</sup> When Therese and Georg eventually separated in 1792, with Therese following her new partner to Switzerland and Georg heading for Paris, he suffered greatly. He established a strong connection to his daughters,<sup>34</sup> then six and eight years old, by sending them letters and presents through a courier, and also little gifts such as a thimble, a neckerchief, and a pocket book that doubled as a sewing kit, which was very modern and French at the time. In his accompanying letter, he paid much attention to all the little sewing tools and explained the thought behind his presents. It is easy to comprehend his strategy here, to become a part of his daughters' daily routine, and bridge the distance between them. Beyond the material signs of his emotional bond he declares Therese a messenger for his kisses and heartfelt hugs: 'Your mother will kiss you and love you dearly in my place and whenever you miss me and long for a hug, run to her, and send me your kisses. This will delight me tremendously whenever she lets me know about it!'<sup>35</sup> They met one last time in a French town called Travers. Here, Therese made it very clear that their relationship was over. Georg returned to Paris and wrote one last letter to Therese, only six days before he died on 10 January 1794. This short letter ended with the words: 'Kiss my sweet little darlings!'<sup>36</sup> It is important to note that this request addressed Therese and Ferdinand, Therese's new partner. They were both asked to cherish the daughters, and in this way Georg passed on his fatherly duties to his successor.

Georg's letters to his daughters are rare examples of fatherly love expressed by means of action and interaction and not in literary terms. His letters are

---

<sup>32</sup> For further reading on the Republic of Mainz/Mayence, see T.C.W. Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany: Occupation and Resistance in the Rhineland, 1792–1802* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

<sup>33</sup> Therese Huber fell in love with Georg's successor Ferdinand Huber sometime around 1790. From this time on, they lived in a *ménage à trois*, with Therese giving birth to a son in 1792 who died soon after. The arrangement ended when Therese and Ferdinand moved to Switzerland later in 1792.

<sup>34</sup> The eldest daughter, Marie Therese, would later publish her father's works and her memories of him.

<sup>35</sup> Letter to Therese d. J[üngere], dated 16 June 1793, in *Werke*, XVII (1989), 368–9: 'Die Mutter wird Euch in meinem Namen küssen und Euch recht lieb haben und wenn ihr gern Euer Väterchen umarmen möchtet, so lauft nur zu ihr, und schickt mir eure Küsse. Das wird mir sehr viel Freude machen, wenn mirs die Mutter schreibt.'

<sup>36</sup> Letter to Therese, dated 4 January 1794, in *Werke*, XVII, 498–9: 'Küßt meine Herzblättchen!'

the carriers of emotional bonds and at the same time install an interactive relationship through which the distance between them could be bridged. Georg, the child and son who travelled the world and had a coerced, close life with his father (at least according to Therese who became a well-known female writer and publisher), but shared no significant time with his mother or his many siblings, made himself emotionally approachable for his daughters, and did not reiterate his father's respective failures. Georg Forster and his daughters would not meet again. This could be viewed as the price of early modern travelling. It also provides a new perspective on late early modern family alliances. Family order was not necessarily determined by descent but the emotional desires and social requirements, primarily of the participating adults. Georg's wife took the liberty to establish a family setting according to her emotional needs – to separate from Georg Forster and to live instead with Ferdinand Huber.

### **Gender, Age, Emotion: Conclusions**

Separation and emotion, education and travelling, mark a common frame of reference in the examples discussed above. Through these examples, we have encountered at least two different types of travelling children: the young Berings, Anton and Anoushka, and the young Georg Forster who travelled continuously with his father until age 20. We have also encountered travelling mothers, wives, and, less surprisingly, fathers. The travelling of women has a noteworthy tradition: Sybilla Maria Merian and her 19-year-old daughter made it all the way to Surinam; Jeanne Baret was supposedly the first woman to circumnavigate the world, and Isabel de Godonais travelled all the way up the Amazon in order to track down her husband.<sup>37</sup> The examples given here, however, lead us more deeply into issues of emotional bonding, matters of separation, and questions of how age and gender roles interplayed when establishing new types of 'global' families.

To take the children along on a strenuous and imponderable expedition was not for the educational reasons one might think of nowadays. The challenge for families in the eighteenth century was to find a creative solution for family managing and ordering. Taking the children along enabled wives to join their husbands, bringing parental responsibilities and emotional demands between the couple into conflict at times. This was true for the Bering family who headed all the way east to Ochotsk, an outpost of the Russian empire. To split the

---

<sup>37</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Glynis Ridley, *The Discovery of Jeanne Baret: A Story of Science, the High Seas, and the First Woman to Circumnavigate the Globe* (New York: Crown, 2010); Robert Whitaker, *The Mapmaker's Wife: A True Story of Love, Murder and Survival in the Amazon* (London: Doubleday, 2004).

children and leave the older ones in Reval clearly complied with the parental notion of educational requirements and responsibility. To take the younger ones along corresponds with norms of emotional bonding, which would later be appropriated by the new type of urban bourgeois families. Both decisions operated in the context of Protestant, scholarly families common in households of the seventeenth century: young sons were sent away to school and/or university at an early age, mostly between nine and 13. So, moving their sons in with the principal of the Reval gymnasium would have made perfect sense to early modern learned parents such as the Berings.

Emotions did not come to the fore when arguments and justifications were made, but as we can see from the letters of Anna Christina, concern about her sons' education was an emotionally charged one. To enable their children's education was the best the Bering parents could do. Emotional turmoil sparked by separation was not anticipated to be an issue until, as in the case of Anna Christina Bering, one lived through it and realised that things did not always work out as planned. For the mothers and fathers featured in this chapter, emotional bonding did not require physical propinquity in the first place. But they were able to change their minds. The children's perspective is harder to comprehend. Many more studies are needed to reconstruct, even rudimentarily, a broader picture of children's emotions in cases of long-term separations. From the examples given here, one might offer the preliminary conclusion that parents might have underestimated the extent of the emotions and potential turmoils that their children might have experienced over years of separation and insufficient communication (by means of words and bodily expressions). This, in turn, sheds some light on contemporaries' notions about children's emotional needs.

In conclusion, the relationship between biological and social children must be considered.<sup>38</sup> The examples given here show a variety of models of parenthood. One is educational parenthood, as executed, for example, by the Reval principal who accepted a child or two as his own in terms of care, maintenance, and education. This responsibility operated independently of biological fatherhood. Social parenthood becomes important too in the way that Georg Forster assigned his fatherly duties and affection to his successor Huber. It was not blood kin that took preference when considering who would be best suited to taking care of one's children, but – echoing opinions first articulated in debates of princely education in the early sixteenth century – rather those who would be inclined to teach and educate the child.

A practical reason to take the younger ones along might be found in the difficulty to find proper care, suitable for the preferences of educated families,

---

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Katherine Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. ch. 5.

and the necessity of nursing. What we learn from these examples is that the global challenges of the eighteenth century, sparked by science and a specific thirst for knowledge that was enabled by the new possibilities of cartography, astronomy, and above all travelling on land and especially across oceans, met traditional notions of childcare in the focus on obligations regarding education. These two strands, a global opening of knowledge, trade and money-earning on the one hand, and the tradition of practices and techniques of managing educated families (emotionally, socially, financially) on the other, evoked new problems and new solutions. It would be interesting to know what Anna Christina would have written in a manual of education after her experiences in the Siberian East. Viewed from this perspective and knowing that temporary separation was not necessarily an emotionally charged issue of concern to adult contemporaries in practice, it becomes comprehensible why the notion of family as a refuge of homely affection within a new evolving core family grew to be so important in the bourgeois manuals and advice literature, and to the historians who have studied them.<sup>39</sup> It becomes graspable as a reaction to the extended perception and experience of the world that might have been perceived as a threat by some of those who did not travel on routes other than the typical educational journey to Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, England, and Germany. This means that the options for women (especially mothers of young children) narrowed by comparison to the seventeenth century.

Shifts in emotions over space and time greatly impacted order and disorder in families who lived separately for a significant time. This is even more so, the more family members were forced to rely on memories, agreements made long ago, and substitute parents. In other words, emotions produced ordering and disordering dynamics of their own. In doing so, gender was vested with special forces, especially as mothers were confronted with new options they had no rules for yet, such as whether to follow one's husband to exotic places or to remain behind with the children. So gender, particularly shifting notions of gender, such as being an educated mother, and emotions worked hand in hand to shape order and disorder: in the individual (as in Anna Christina), in other family members, and certainly within the network of trustees, relatives, and friends supporting these daring new attempts to keep up familial order and to change it at the same time. Masculine gender notions appear at first sight less contested. But, seen from the sons' perspective, Jonas, Thomas, and Georg, one can presage a new generation of fathers, incorporating their experiences of

---

<sup>39</sup> For an exemplary, instructive study, see Benjamin B. Roberts, *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the 17th and 18th Century: Three Urban Elite Families* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998); see also Otto Ulbricht, 'The Emotional Socialization of Boys in Early Modern Germany', in Jarzebowski and Safley, *Childhood and Emotion*, 59–71.

emotional turmoil, gender challenges, and long-term separations at the end of the early modern period.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Chapter 12

# Gendered Power and Emotions: The Religious Revival Movement in Herrnhut in 1727

Jacqueline Van Gent

This chapter discusses the creation of order and disorder as part of an ecstatic revival movement in Herrnhut in 1727, in which young girls took a leading role. This prophetic movement urged the congregation to repent their sins, bury their conflicts, and to work towards a cohesive social community. The emotional state of ecstasy and the spiritual message and management of it created disorder temporarily, but through social intervention and leadership the emotional performance was channelled into a re-ordering of the community. The revival was initiated and led by young girls, but extended gradually to include the whole congregation. These leading daughters of prominent religious refugees forged a spiritual and political space for themselves in the politically torn and newly established community of Herrnhut through their performance of ecstasy as an emotional and spiritual state. The girls' actions severely contested the authority of their fathers, and enabled the establishment of a new social order and emotional style in Moravian communities, which was characterised by an alternative gender order with more direct social agency for women, but which also cemented the political order under Count Zinzendorf.

The years 1722 to 1727 are regarded as the consolidation phase in which diverse settlers, including religious refugees from Moravia fleeing the Counter-Reformation, settled in Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf. It was the period in which Count Zinzendorf had to establish himself as a spiritual leader and design a programme of communal living for this emerging religious community.<sup>1</sup> Following, and indeed only made possible by, the revival movement, a

---

<sup>1</sup> Craig D. Atwood, *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004); Craig D. Atwood, 'Zinzendorf's Litany of the Wounds', *Lutheran Quarterly* 11 (1997): 189–214; Craig D. Atwood, 'The Mother of God's People: The Adoration of the Holy Spirit as Mother in the Eighteenth-Century Brüdergemeine', *Church History* 68 (1999): 886–909; Craig D. Atwood, 'Sleeping in the Arms of Christ: Sanctifying Sexuality in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Church', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8 (1997): 25–51; Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female:*

substantial social redevelopment commenced with the organisation of all members of the congregation, including children, into social units. These social units soon resulted in the formation of spiritual and emotional bonds, and also represented residential and work cohabitation, with people living and working in communities called ‘choirs’. One superior supported by a number of helpers led each choir.<sup>2</sup> These choirs were also highly visible in the public space of Herrnhut. All significant religious rituals were organised with specific task allocations to each choir. Members of each of the girls’ and women’s choirs were outwardly distinguished by their clothes. This division reflected the idea that spiritual development differed according to life stages, and that pastoral care should address the specific state of each person. Private devotional conversations, so-called ‘Speakings’, allowed members of any Moravian community, including adolescents, the opportunity to voice their feelings, problems, and thoughts with the leader of their choir before Holy Communion.<sup>3</sup>

Moravian meditation upon Christ’s suffering, ritualised in the awakening and conversion experience, was central to Moravian selfhood. The religious awakening of Moravians was instigated by meditation upon Christ’s wounds and suffering, which was held to result in a longing for his love and for repentance. In the 1727 religious revival, adolescent girls ritualised the components of Moravian conversion – crying, praying, prostrating oneself, sharing prophetic insights, expressing the need to receive ‘a new heart’, and admitting one’s own worthlessness – for the first time publicly, and committed them to the social memory of future Moravian generations. Based on a tradition of early modern popular prophecies, especially during the Counter-Reformation when minority groups, like the Protestants in Catholic areas, came under considerable political duress, these rituals paved the way for a re-formation of the social group. Within these groups, peer associations, or choirs were the primary social ties. Awakening, or conversion rituals, produced a distinct set of somatic, semantic, and emotional patterns that came to be formative of a distinctive Moravian ‘emotional style.’<sup>4</sup>

---

*Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> On the formation of the Single Sisters’ Choir see, for example, Beverly Smaby, ‘Forming the Single Sisters’ Choir in Bethlehem’, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 28 (1994): 1–14.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the institution of ‘Speaking’, see Katherine Faull, “‘Girls Talk’ – das ‘Sprechen’ von Kindern. Herrnhutische Seelsorge an den grossen Mädchen im 18. Jahrhundert”, *Unitas Fartrum* 57/58 (2006): 183–96; and Christine Lost, “Kinder in Gemeinschaft bringen”. Zu Konzept und Praxis der Kindererziehung in der frühen Brüdergemeine’, in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung*, eds Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 95–109.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the concept of ‘emotional styles’, see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge

## The Emotional Dynamics of the Awakening in Space and Time

The emerging Moravian congregation at the estate of Count Zinzendorf was distributed in three main villages, all in close proximity to each other. Herrnhut was Zinzendorf's estate, to which Moravian religious Protestant refugees were invited (as they had been previously to his grandmother's estate in Grosshennersdorf as workers), and in Berthelsdorf, around 2 km from Herrnhut, Zinzendorf's manor house was located. This is where his family resided. Berthelsdorf was also home to the newly opened boarding school for children from aristocratic families and an orphanage for poor children. Grosshennersdorf, the estate of Zinzendorf's grandmother, also had an orphanage. The *Hutberg*, which is mentioned frequently as the location of the awakening ritual, is a hill situated halfway between Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf, and also the location of the cemetery, 'God's Acre'. To this day, it is still an important ritual place for the Moravian congregation, where not only funeral rites but also Easter processions take place.

In May 1727, the emerging Moravian congregation was torn by internal conflict and power struggles. Zinzendorf attempted to exercise political leadership and authority by trying to resolve conflicts between Protestant refugees and already-resident Lutheran farmers in Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf by formulating and instigating community rules, the so-called statutes. Later that month, children were reported to have had awakening experiences that were expressed in ecstatic states: fervour praying, weeping, prostrating, and prophetic insights. By August that year, events had reached a high point, and on 13 August the Holy Communion with Zinzendorf was accompanied by awakening experiences. Some observers understood this event to be the true spiritual birth of the Herrnhut community, and it is still celebrated as such to this day.<sup>5</sup> The discussion of the revival movement and its social, gendered, and emotional dynamics is mainly based on the Herrnhut diary.<sup>6</sup> This congregational diary recorded all important community events on a daily basis and constitutes the public memory, or chronicle of the group. All Moravian congregations kept such diaries and they represent the most important historical sources for the history of the Moravian communities. These diary entries were copied and circulated among other Moravian communities and thus played an important role in the shaping of a Moravian identity. On congregation days, *Gemeintage*, copies of

---

University Press, 2001). Reddy develops his concept of 'emotional styles' in more detail in his recent book, *The Making of Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Pia Schmid, 'Die Kindererweckung in Herrnhut am 17. August 1727', in *Neue Aspekte zur Zinzendorf-Forschung*, eds Martin Brecht and Paul Peucker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 115–33.

<sup>6</sup> Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut (hereafter UA), R.6.A.b.7, *Gemein-Diarium*, 20 April 1727–21 October 1727.

diary entries from other Moravian communities were read aloud. The entries for the Herrnhut diary for this period were compiled by the Single Brethren, and not by Count Zinzendorf, and the interpretation of the claims to power by the female revival leaders is not always without ambiguity: they are also referred to as separatists. On the other hand, the support and active encouragement for the girls by Zinzendorf is made clear in the Herrnhut diary. The diary entries are complemented by the recollections of some of the revival participants in their personal memoirs, a useful source to investigate how Moravians remembered significant emotional events in their lives.<sup>7</sup>

On 26 May, Zinzendorf's birthday, the Count addressed the girls in Berthelsdorf during the so-called 'children's hour' in a sermon about 'dead hearts', which moved the girls profoundly and 'awakened' a number of them.<sup>8</sup> Johanna Sophie von Seydewitz (1718–1801), a boarder at the school for aristocratic girls in Berthelsdorf, which was founded by Zinzendorf in 1727, remembered the emotional impact of the speech many years later:

[Zinzendorf held weekly] children's hours with us, which we initially listened to with indifference. But on his birthday he opened the children's hour with the verse ... These words so strongly entered our hearts that we all dissolved in tears. From this day on I was concerned about my blessedness. I quietly cried and prayed to the Saviour to make me one of his children. We also spoke about this to each other.<sup>9</sup>

There were no further official comments about the state of the children in the diary until early August. On 6 August the 'Gemein-Diarium' of Herrnhut states that Susanna Kühnel

broke into life that night after a penitential struggle lasting three days. She was so strongly set on fire that she enflamed and moved all other girls. She spent most of

---

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of Moravian memoirs as a literary genre, see Christine Lost, *Das Leben als Lehrtext. Lebensläufe aus der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2007); Thomas Ruhland, 'Religion, Space and Community: The Topos of "the World" in Moravian Memoirs', in *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in History*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: PLUS-Pisa University Press, 2008), 147–69.

<sup>8</sup> Ingeborg Baldauf, 'Zinzendorfs Gemeindec', in *Graf ohne Grenzen: Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf*, eds Dietrich Meyer, P.M. Peucker, and Karl-Eugen Langerfeld (Herrnhut: Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut im Verlag der Comeniusbuchhandlung, 2000), 124–36.

<sup>9</sup> UA, R.22.79.38, Memoir Johanna Sophie Molther (nee von Seydewitz). Translations are the author's own.

the day, like the previous night, in praying and imploring to God, did not take any food, to announce the virtues of her redeemer.<sup>10</sup>

Susanna Kühnel (1716–1785) was 11 years old when she instigated the children's movement in 1727.<sup>11</sup> Moravian sources acknowledge her as the leader of the revival, and in the Herrnhut death register she is even described as a 'Firstling of the children's awakening', a title that is otherwise only bestowed on the first converts on Moravian missions.<sup>12</sup> Her father Friedrich Kühnel moved his family, including his two daughters Susanna and Elisabeth Maria, to Herrnhut in 1724 where they lived in the former widow house. Because the church had not yet been completed, services were held in the back room of the Kühnel house. Friedrich Kühnel soon became one of the leading men in Herrnhut and a member of the council of elders. Susanna describes her early childhood years as part of a pious Protestant family in Moravia, which fled first to another village in Upper Lusatia before finally moving to Herrnhut. She explicitly recalled the piety of her grandparents and could remember her grandmother praying frequently. Susanna's parents played a distinct role in her religious development, and while her mother died while she was still a child, her father's spiritual downfall, despite his initial high standing in Herrnhut, caused Susanna many years of grief.

Susanna's mother died on 2 May 1727, and on this occasion the girl 'was touched for the first time'.<sup>13</sup> Her mother had asked for several members of the congregation to attend her and sing. During the singing, she seemed to pass away, but regained consciousness again briefly to tell her husband and her children about the glory of the crucified Saviour and to urge them to remain people of the Lord. Her awakening on 6 August was directly linked to this experience. The Herrnhut diary explained that Susanna Kühnel had been influenced so strongly by the death of her mother in May that she prayed and cried for three nights without a break. That night in August she prayed intensely until 1 a.m. When she got up in the morning she announced with great joy: 'Father! Now I have become a child of God, and now I know how my mother felt and how

---

<sup>10</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7: Gemein-Diarium, 6 August 1727: 'Nach einem dreitägigen Bußkampf brach in dieser Nacht Susanne Kühnelin, ein Mädchen von elf Jahren ins Leben hindurch, und wurde so kräftig angezündet, daß sie die sämtlichen Mägdlein in Bewegung und Flammen setzte, welche den meisten Tag, wie vorige Nacht in Gebet und Flehen zugebracht, und deswegen keine Speise zu sich nahm, damit sie uns verkündigen könnte die Tugend ihres Erlösers.' Early modern German sources tend to feminise the surnames of women by adding the ending 'in', a woman belonging to the Kühnel family thus becomes 'Kühnelin', of the Nitschmann family 'Nitschmannin', and so on.

<sup>11</sup> UA, *Gemeinnachrichten* (1786), I. Beilage zur 4. Woche I, 2, 11–40, Memoir Susanne Kühnelin (married Hennig) (hereafter, UA, Memoir Susanne Kühnelin).

<sup>12</sup> Schmid, 'Die Kindererweckung', 121.

<sup>13</sup> 'wurde sie zum erstenmal gerührt'.

she will remain to be.<sup>14</sup> Her father was reluctant at first to believe her, but was nevertheless soon convinced of his daughter's extraordinary experience.

Just over a week later, on 13 August, the congregation celebrated Holy Communion and on this occasion two girls were confirmed. The diary's entry for this day makes reference to the tensions and conflict within the congregation, which was split by supporters of Zinzendorf and those who supported the more conservative views of the local Lutheran pastor. These profound social conflicts, which threatened to tear the community apart, were resolved, however, by the force of emotions. The diary describes that the experience of the shared ritual of Communion in church delivered a decisive victory to the Zinzendorf group: while absorbing the singing of the congregation in church, a key opponent to Zinzendorf became so impressed by the unity of the congregation that he was 'completely destroyed'. After the blessing of the two confirmation candidates, the whole congregation sank to their knees before God and began to sing and to cry: 'It was impossible to distinguish whether it was singing or crying, and it also happened that both took place at the same time.'<sup>15</sup> But, despite this political triumph, the awakening ritual and indeed the internal conflicts of the fledgling congregation were not over. At this point, the neighbouring villages of Berthelsdorf and Grosshennersdorf became involved.

For 17 August, the official day of remembrance, there is no specific entry about a children's awakening in the diary. However, David Cranz, who recorded Susanna's memoir in 1770, pointed out that 'her true awakening took place on the well-known 17 August 1727, the day which is still celebrated in memory of the first awakening of the girls'.<sup>16</sup> On this day, the most prominent Protestant refugee from Moravia and the elder of the Moravian Church, David Christian Nitschmann, and his son Melchior announced their intention to return to Moravia to support the members of the Moravian Church who had stayed behind and who still suffered persecution by the Counter-Reformation. The congregation members, including Friedrich Kühnel, regarded this plan as too dangerous and begged the Nitschmanns to stay. But when this did not have any effect on them, everyone sank to their knees, prayed over them, and blessed the men for their journey ahead. This emotional meeting took place in the house of Friedrich Kühnel. Susanna saw and heard everything and when Melchior Kühnel took his leave he laid his hand on her head and said 'Susel, don't you

<sup>14</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 24–5, Gemein-Diarium. A handwritten manuscript of the memoir of Susanna Kühnelin (married Hennig) exists in Herrnhut: UA, R.22.76.25; see also n. 12 above. The memoir was re-published in the nineteenth century in *Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine* 24 (1842): 303–16.

<sup>15</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 30, Gemein-Diarium, 13 August 1727.

<sup>16</sup> UA, Memoir Susanna Kühnelin, 12–40: 'Ihre eigentliche Erweckung aber geschahe an dem bekannten 17. Aug[ust] 1727 von welchen Tage noch immer das Andenken der ersten Mägd-en-Erweckung begangen wird.'

want to belong to the Saviour? You are already His.’<sup>17</sup> In the night, ‘she began to cry, then went to the well behind the house where she cried and prayed till midnight, when she was found by her father after a long search and led to her bed. She continued to pray and to cry the whole night.’<sup>18</sup>

It was 18 August 1727, a Sunday morning, when Susanna Kühnel received reassurance that the Saviour had redeemed her sins. That same morning, her father went to Zinzendorf to tell him what had happened to his daughter during the previous night. Unbeknown to Zinzendorf, and apparently to anyone else, the same evening and at the same hour three other girls had been spiritually awoken. These other girls were Anna Nitschmann, Rosina Fischer, and Julie Quitt. The Herrnhut diary mentions that Zinzendorf summoned all four girls to his room, and together they knelt down and prayed. From this moment, these girls were inseparable, and were acknowledged as the leaders of the awakening among their peers, while Zinzendorf encouraged the revival and managed the affective states of the girls.

Of these four girls, Anna Nitschmann (1715–1760) became the most influential later in life. She was the daughter of the elder of the Moravian Church David Nitschmann.<sup>19</sup> The Nitschmann family had experienced the severity of the Counter-Reformation in Moravia and Bohemia, where David Nitschmann and his sons had been incarcerated for their refusal to give up their Protestant beliefs. In the early 1720s, they moved, with a number of other Protestant families, to Herrnhut to take up refuge on Zinzendorf’s estate. Anna had been present at the awakening movements in Zauchtenthal (Bohemia) in 1724, where hundreds of people had met in her father’s house for communal praying. By the time the Nitschmann family arrived in Herrnhut when Anna was seven, she had experienced the trauma of religious persecution, the incarceration of her family, and their escape. At the time of the revival, Anna was 12. Two years later in 1729, aged only 14, she became the leader of the Single Women’s Choir, a role she retained for almost 30 years. Anna worked in the Zinzendorf household, tending to his daughter Benigna, and became Zinzendorf’s constant and closest female travel companion from the 1730s. In 1757, she married Zinzendorf after his first wife, Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuß, died.

After the revival had commenced in Herrnhut, the neighbouring villages of Berthelsdorf and Grosshennersdorf became involved and became additional

---

<sup>17</sup> UA, Memoir Susanna Kühnelin, 18: ‘Susel, wilst du nicht auch des Heilands seyen, du bist ja seine!’

<sup>18</sup> UA, Memoir Susanna Kühnelin, 19: ‘So fing sie an zu weinen, ging ins Brunnenhaus hinter ihrem Hause, weinte und betete bis Mitternacht, als sie von ihrem Vater nach vielem Suchen gefunden und ins Bett geführt wurde. Sie hielt die ganze Nacht im Beten und Weinen an.’

<sup>19</sup> On the Nitschmanns, see Theodor Gill, ‘Zinzendorf und die Mähren’, in Meyer et al., *Graf Ohne Grenzen*, 37–42, esp. 38–9.

locations for the unfolding of spiritual and political drama. On 18 August, it is reported that ‘the remaining young ladies and girls in Berthelsdorf were awakened by the person recently sent there [Susanna Kühnel], so that they sprang to life and prayed throughout the night.’ It was noted that ‘a general change of mood’ had taken place in the girls’ house, ‘and that the youngest lady von Seydewitz and L. [Lachenall, her sister] prayed heartily, but the Susanna Kühnelin prayed with apostolic power.’<sup>20</sup> The spiritual leadership of Susanna Kühnel, whose prayers were powerful and socially effective in drawing in the other girls, is again acknowledged. Johanna Sophie von Seydewitz remembered how Anna Nitschmann and Susanna Kühnel from Herrnhut visited the girls at the boarding school in Berthelsdorf. Of the awakening movement, she remembered: ‘We went to the *Hutberg* with children from Herrnhut who were in alliance with us, where we prayed to the Saviour, some laid down here and there with their faces down and prayed until late into the night.’<sup>21</sup> Johanna Sophie’s recollections give us details about the rituals that took place at the *Hutberg*, where she, like other participants, remembered the social nature of it, the body language, and the emotional intensity.

Count Zinzendorf arranged a few days later for a spiritual examination of all the children in the orphanage, where it was found that

Among the children of both sexes emerged such drive to pray that it could not be witnessed without movement of the heart. It became a miraculous awakening in their daily meetings among them led by the little Susanna Kühnelin who becomes more serious and loyal by the day.<sup>22</sup>

The adults also emerged as ritual players around this time, although their significance remained subordinated to the girls’ emotional and spiritual experiences and leadership. On 24 August, Brother Andreas Beyer encountered 13 or 14 Brothers on his night watch duty who had met that night on the *Hutberg* to pray. Bigger things were still to come. The following day, 25 August, an awakening took place at the orphanage in nearby Grosshennersdorf, with about a hundred people from other places as witnesses. The whole congregation in Berthelsdorf and Herrnhut felt this awakening with ‘extraordinary power’.<sup>23</sup> Over the next two days, the adolescent girls gathered in the meeting hall for a

---

<sup>20</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 30, Gemein-Diarium, 18 August 1727: ‘Bey dem Besuch des Mägden-Haußes, darinnen eine General Veränderung ist in den Gemüthern, beteten die Jungfer Fräul[ein] v.[on] S[eydewitz] und L[achenall] sehr herz[lich], aber die Susanne Kühnelin mit apostolischer Kraft.’

<sup>21</sup> UA, R.22.79.38, Memoir Johanna Sophie Molther (née von Seydewitz).

<sup>22</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 30, Gemein-Diarium, 23 August 1727.

<sup>23</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 34, Gemein-Diarium, 25 August 1727.

moving emotional performance of singing and prayer.<sup>24</sup> Ongoing conversations were held, and more adult men and women, buoyed by the awakening atmosphere, joined the hourly prayers.<sup>25</sup> At this peak in emotional intensity, when the whole congregation had joined the revival movement under the leadership of the girls, the tension needed to be resolved and order restored. At this moment, as the congregational diary notes on 28 August, Count Zinzendorf publicly offered to give away his personal possessions and to live as one amongst equals. But the congregation rejected Zinzendorf's offer and his elevated social and political position was confirmed. This was a significant acknowledgement of Zinzendorf's political leadership.

Most importantly, on that same day, David Christian and Melchior Nitschmann, the leading men of the influential Nitschmann family, whose departure from Herrnhut on 17 August to support the religious resistance in Moravia had triggered the strong feelings in Susanna Kühnel, returned to Herrnhut. The two men had abandoned their independent political project on the basis that they too had felt the emotional force of the revival movement, even while they had been away from Herrnhut. It seemed that the Holy Spirit had worked independently in these men away from their home community, at the same time as the awakening experiences of the girls had become publicly known in Herrnhut. That morning, and while away from Herrnhut, the Nitschmann men had experienced an awakening: they had kneeled before the Saviour in intense prayer and experienced 'the sweet memory of the congregation with many hundreds of tears. Never before in their life had they felt like this. They thought: what might our congregation be doing now? If only they knew about our circumstances!' This emotional experience of the power of Christ and their loyalty to their congregation, and by implication its leaders, changed their minds and eventually they returned. The timing of their return – coinciding with the acknowledgement of Zinzendorf's political power – was perfect for the restoration of social order.

One last time, the young women played a leading role in the dramatic emotional performances that had opened the period of revival and political reconstitution, and which now brought it to an end. A final revival of the girls took place in Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf in late August: 'On August, 29 one could hear a loud screaming and imploring from the children of the female sex in Herrnhut at night.'<sup>26</sup> The boys also prayed, but in a less spectacular fashion: 'it was such an overwhelming spirit among them that one has no words to express

<sup>24</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 35, *Gemein-Diarium*, August 1727.

<sup>25</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 34–7, *Gemein-Diarium*, 27 August 1727. For this day it was reported that both men and women prayed in hourly intervals, their number had increased to 42 men and 24 women, including seven girls associated with the revival movement.

<sup>26</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 37, *Gemein-Diarium*, 28 August 1727: 'Am 29. August hörte man in der nacht lange ein Geshrey und Flehen der Kinder aus Hhuth und Berthelsdorff

it.<sup>27</sup> A general meeting of the congregation was called for 30 August to reinstate Zinzendorf's community reforms and restore social order, which went ahead without any tears or prostrating. The emotional style had changed, but many of the elements, such as the night watch, the emphasis on tears and the new heart, would be integrated into the emotional expressions of Moravian identity in future congregations in Europe and in the worldwide mission fields that began to develop only a few years later. The following day, the revival movement came to an end and social order was restored, shortly after Zinzendorf's community statutes were put in place.

### **Social Transgressions, Gender, and Emotions**

The Herrnhut awakening movement in 1727 was prophetic in nature, urging the congregation to repent their sins, to bury their conflicts, and to work towards a cohesive community. It was initiated by young girls, but extended gradually to include the whole congregation. It was the daughters of prominent religious refugees, with their previous experience of powerful awakening movements in Moravia and Silesia in response to communities under threat, who forged a spiritual and political space for themselves in the conflicted new congregation of Herrnhut. Their actions severely contested the authority of their fathers, and confirmed Zinzendorf as the principal community and spiritual leader.

While the children required Zinzendorf's authority to retain the public space they had created for themselves, Zinzendorf equally needed the children's awakening movement. The events in 1727 marked a turnaround in Moravian history where conflicts between factions were resolved in Zinzendorf's favour. They enabled him to establish his spiritual authority over the Moravian congregations, which he then retained until his death in 1760. Additionally, Herrnhut emerged as a religious community with several key institutions, such as the choirs, a council of elders, and love feasts, which are still in place today.

Through the use of rituals, despite the seemingly spontaneous nature of the religious awakening experiences, the girls were able to demand a temporary spiritual authority. Their behaviour displayed significant aspects of prophetic self-construction. Firstly, they transcended the social limits of space for their age group: the children met in the evenings, and they left their homes, orphanage, or boarding school to meet outside in the garden or, most importantly, on the *Hutberg*. It was noted that the children walked through the streets of Herrnhut while screaming and crying. This suggests that the children also transcended

---

weiblichen Geschlechts'; 'Es war ein so gewaltiger Geist uner ihnen daß es an Worten fehlt es auszudrücken'.

<sup>27</sup> UA, R.6.A.b.7, 37, Gemein-Diarium, 29 August 1727.

their appropriate voice: they excessively cried, prayed, sang, and screamed, leading a number of adults to complain about their unruly behaviour. As we learn from one memoir, the movement was not met with univocal agreement, but Zinzendorf used his authority to silence any criticism. For example, the mother of Rosina Fischer told the children to keep quiet and that they should not sing and scream so loudly, but Zinzendorf 'punished her, the way Christ had punished the Pharisees at a similar occasion'. The Count guided the movement, and thus the perceived disorder, constantly. This included encouraging the spread of the revival to the neighbouring village, which in effect placed it under his political control. Indeed, it seems that it was Zinzendorf himself who initiated this spread, and who acknowledged himself as an authority in the 'pact' he made with the children, although he did not display the emotional style of the revival himself. This was reserved for the girls:

From here [Herrnhut] the awakening spread to the girls who lived in the institution of the Baron Waterville House. There the two von Seidewitz girls (now married Molther and Lachenall respectively) and the later Mrs Brumm (all three are still alive) were awoken. The Count took the blessed Sister [Susanna Kühnel] to them for several weeks and sometimes children from Herrnhut would go there. The Count prayed with them and made a pact with them. Sometimes children from there and from Herrnhut here went together to the Hutberg, they took turns to accompany each other home while singing praise to the Lord.<sup>28</sup>

The girls transgressed the social norms for bodily comportment: while kneeling down was acceptable during regular church prayers, but throwing oneself on the ground face down was not. The refusal to eat and excessive praying to the point of exhaustion are all trademarks of mystics and prophets, and were not normally considered to be appropriate behaviour for children. While boys, and later men, also joined the awakening movement and the nightly praying and weeping at the *Hutberg*, its ferocity is particularly emphasised in the girls' behaviour.

In Kühnel's memoir, David Cranz emphasised the power of the girls' awakening to spread to other groups of the Moravian congregation: to the boys as well as to adults. All of them exhibited the same emotional and somatic traits:

Later came also an awakening among the boys and in general there was at that time, that is after the 13 and 17 August, such a spiritual movement in the whole congregation that the bush [small forest] was never empty of Sisters and Brothers by day or by night. They several prayed here and there, others kneeled or laid face down, prayed, cried, and sang.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> UA, Memoir Susanne Kühnelin, 20.

<sup>29</sup> UA, Memoir Susanne Kühnelin, 21.

This boys' awakening was later recalled by one of the participants, Jacob Liebich. According to Liebich, the emotional arousal was contagious.<sup>30</sup> He described in his recollections how Susanna Kühnel was especially touched and driven by the Holy Spirit, and that 'she frequently and especially in the evenings and at night went into the garden of her father and there, under the trees, threw herself on her knees and called Lord Jesus for mercy and a true conversion of her soul. This happened under intense praying and tears.'<sup>31</sup> Liebich remembers that the boys heard her praying in the garden at their bedtime because they lived in a wing of the old communal house right next to the house of Friedrich Kühnel. Her praying

touched our hearts so that we could not go in an orderly manner to bed anymore, but instead asked our superior during the following evenings to go outside with us. According to my memory this happened until the end of August. Instead of going to bed at night, we went along the pathways between the wheat fields, threw ourselves on our knees before the Lord and prayed for mercy and true conversion. Our superior had been with us on several occasions and when he finished his prayers and asked us to go home, so went one or two of us together further, kneeled down again, and prayed to Lord Jesus.<sup>32</sup>

The power of the girls' ecstatic emotions was irresistible, and so the boys entered into the social disorder created by it: instead of going to bed they went to the *Hutberg* to pray and to 'wet it with their tears'.

The somatic nature of emotions was an important aspect of Moravian conversions.<sup>33</sup> The transformation of the convert was spoken of in Moravian texts as a somatic renewal process: converts had to acquire a new body, and in particular 'new hearts', as seats of a Christian spirituality. It was only when missionaries were satisfied that such a 'new heart' was acquired that the conversion was seen as complete. Earlier indications of a willingness – or unwillingness – by

---

<sup>30</sup> UA, R.6.A.a.15, 3, Jacob Liebich, 'Die Grosse Erweckung der Kinder und in specie der Knaben in Herrnhut im August 1727 betreffend'.

<sup>31</sup> UA, R.6.A.a.15, 3, Jacob Liebich, 'Die Grosse Erweckung'.

<sup>32</sup> UA, R.6.A.a.15, 3, Jacob Liebich, 'Die Grosse Erweckung'.

<sup>33</sup> For an excellent recent discussion of the link between embodiment and emotions as a social practice, see Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 52 (2012): 193–220. I have elsewhere discussed the relationship between embodiment and the material force of emotions, see Jacqueline Van Gent, *Magic, Body and the Self in Eighteenth-Century Sweden* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

indigenous people to accept and internalise the Christian message was spoken of in terms of them having ‘moved’ or ‘unmoved’ hearts.<sup>34</sup>

Closely connected to the state of hearts were tears and the ritual of weeping.<sup>35</sup> The recent historiographical move towards understanding tears as part of a specific cultural-historical context, and communicating specific social messages, offers a productive perspective on the Moravian tears that were shed as part of the conversion process. The performance of embodied conversions as a form of love entailed an important public performance of weeping, a ritual that was important in the creation of social relationships within the Moravian emotional community. Moravian love expressed appropriate social relationships, including an acceptance of the social order. Love of Christ and of fellow Moravians was a spiritual quality that went beyond friendship.

The ritual weeping, kneeling, and praying is frequently repeated and described as ‘infectious’; that is, their emotional power allows others to join in.<sup>36</sup> The somatic expressions of these emotions of terror (realisation of crisis, Christ’s intervention) are hallmarks of Moravian conversions, both individually and collectively, as they were in the revival.

Most importantly, the collective emotions generated in the ritualised crying, weeping, and praying resulted in the official ritual space of the church (during Communion) playing a part in decisive social change: the ‘opponent’ ‘crashed’ under the power of the emotional outpouring. The immediate change catalysed by these ritualised emotions led to long-term social changes with the acceptance

---

<sup>34</sup> For a more detailed discussion of conversion experiences and emotions in the colonial contexts of Moravian missions, see Jacqueline Van Gent, ‘The Burden of Love: Moravian Emotions and Conversions in Eighteenth-Century Labrador’, *Journal of Religious History* (forthcoming volume 39, issue 3, September 2015).

<sup>35</sup> For a cultural history of tears see, for example, Tom Lutz, *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Elina Gertsman, *Crying in the Middle Ages* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011); P. Nagy, ‘Religious Weeping in the Medieval West’, in *Ritual in its own Right*, eds D. Handelman and G. Lindqvist (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 119–37. The importance of ritual weeping as an expression of social hierarchies has been discussed in Gary L. Ebersole, ‘The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse’, *History of Religions* 39, no. 3 (2000): 211–46, esp. 241–3; A. Michaels, ‘Performative Tears: Emotions in Rituals and Ritualized Emotions’, in *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, eds A. Michaels and C. Wulf (London: Routledge, 2012). Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley understand tears as ‘vehicles for feelings that go too deep for language’. See their ‘Introduction’, in K.C. Patton and J.S. Hawley, eds, *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview discussion of this topic, see Christian von Scheve, ‘Collective Emotions in Rituals: Elicitation, Transmission and a “Matthew-Effect”’, in Michaels and Wulf, *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, 67–9.

of the Zinzendorf reforms. The ritual actors emerged as new political leaders: all of the girls achieved positions of power in the Moravian Church. This dynamic confirms traditional Christian power relations in which subordinates could gain the status of prophet and demand a public voice, as long as their male superiors supported them.<sup>37</sup>

At no point did the female leaders of the revival movement question Zinzendorf's authority. On the contrary, Zinzendorf is named by a number of the leading girls as the initiator of the awakening through his address to the children in May. Throughout the movement, from May until the end of August, he remained in control of the children's religious expressions and ecstatic outbursts. He had continuous contact with Susanna Kühnel, Anna Nitschmann, and the von Seydewitz sisters. The leading girls were summoned into Zinzendorf's room and he made a pact with them. He also defended the children publicly, as in the example of Rosina Fischer's mother mentioned above. We know that Zinzendorf remained close to the central ritual space of the revival, the *Hutberg*, and often walked the children home after they had prayed there. Zinzendorf had the authority to examine the spiritual state of the children in Berthelsdorf. The awakening of these children (and adults) was another phase in his consolidation of power. As was emphasised in the congregational diary, the revival stopped after Zinzendorf had offered to give up his status but was reinstated 'by the Brethren'. After that, the path was clear for the fundamental social reforms and reorganisation of the congregation.

With such close ties between Zinzendorf and the main female protagonists of the children's movement, it is perhaps not surprising that these strategic alliances lasted for much longer than the awakening episode. All of the girls took up political leadership positions in the congregation later in their lives. The most impressive career, as noted above, was that of Anna Nitschmann. Susanna Kühnel's life was overshadowed by an enforced estrangement from the congregation because of her father's social and spiritual downfall, but she remained in the congregation and married a Moravian Brother.

It is striking that the leading girls belonged either to prominent Moravian families (Nitschmann, Kühnel) or came from an aristocratic background (the von Seydewitz sisters). They all had successful careers in the Moravian Church and remained at the centre of their congregations. In contrast, the boys involved in the boys' awakening came from the orphanage. They played only a

---

<sup>37</sup> As Phyllis Mack ('Women as Prophets during the English Civil War', *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 1 (1982): 18–45, at 24) has argued, Quaker women's transcendence of self could provide them with religious agency through ecstatic prophecy while they remained in a state of dependency. Mack has also noted that Protestants – such as Quakers, Methodists, and Moravians – perceived prophecy generally as feminine.

subordinate role and it seems that none of them, except Jacob Liebich, remained in the Moravian congregation (at least, there are no surviving memoirs of them).

## **Conclusion**

I have argued in this chapter that the performance of ecstatic, affective states by adolescent girls in Herrnhut in 1727 resulted in individual conversion experiences, and also a social re-ordering of the Moravian Church and a reinforcement of the authority of its leader, Count Zinzendorf, against competing claims to power by other male members of the Moravian Church. In their dramatic ritual performances of an awakening, the girls embodied some of the central Moravian religious tropes and thus reinforced notions of Moravian selves: intense emotions directed at Christ and experienced in the company of one's appropriate social group are still hallmarks of Herrnhut selfhood. In particular, the descriptions of personal awakening or conversion experiences are scripted in the semantics, emotions, and somatic expression of the 1727 revival: ritual weeping, kneeling, feelings of the sudden realisation of one's own worthlessness (expressed as having a 'dead heart' or being in need of a new one) soon became the hegemonic discourse of Moravians across the globe and across the many different social and cultural groups that engage with the Moravian missions in their conversion accounts.

The revival was modelled on earlier revival experiences of refugee families from Moravia, who had only very recently arrived on the Zinzendorf estate in Herrnhut. Most of the key protagonists came from these families, and had experienced existential crises on account of incarceration and resistance to an enforced re-Catholicisation in the Habsburg Empire. These daughters of Protestant refugees from Moravia moved, in the 1727 revival, from the authority of their fathers to the patriarchal authority of Zinzendorf. These girls were aware of the power conflicts between several factions (some involving their own fathers) in the socially heterogeneous, fledgling congregation of Moravians. Their prophetic powers, which caused disorder in the form of a religious revival, were harnessed by Zinzendorf to create a new social order and to establish himself as the political leader of the Moravian Church with a radically new gendered power system, as the ensuing 1728 social reforms show.

This page has been left blank intentionally

## Select Bibliography

- Abels, R., “‘Cowardice’ and Duty in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006): 3–49.
- Ahmed, S., *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
- *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
- Akkerman, N. and B. Houben, eds, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Amussen, S.D., ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560–1725’, in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 196–217.
- *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
- Atwood, C.D., ‘The Mother of God’s People: The Adoration of the Holy Spirit as Mother in the Eighteenth-Century Brüdergemeine’, *Church History* 68 (1999): 886–909.
- Austin, L.M., ‘The Nostalgic Moment and the Sense of History’, *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011): 127–40.
- Ben-Amos, I.K., ‘Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Family History* 25 (2000): 291–312.
- Benda-Beckmann, K. von and F. Pirie, ‘Introduction’, in *Order and Disorder: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds K. von Benda-Beckmann and F. Pirie (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 1–15.
- Blanning, T.C.W., *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Bourke, J., ‘Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History’, *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 111–33.
- Broomhall, S., “‘Women’s Little Secrets’: Defining the Boundaries of Reproductive Knowledge in the Sixteenth Century”, *Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 15 (2002): 1–15.
- ed., *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2007).
- , “‘My daughter, my dear’: The Correspondence of Catherine de Medici and Elisabeth de Valois”, *Women’s History Review* 24, no. 4 (2015): 548–69.
- ed., *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2015).
- ed., *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

- Broomhall, S. and J. Van Gent, eds, *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).
- *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).
- Calvi, G. and I. Chabot, eds, *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System* (Italy: EUI Working Papers, 2010).
- Carrera, E., ed., *Emotions and Health, 1200–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- Cassidy-Welch, M., 'Prisoners of War after Agincourt: Gender, Mourning and Cultures of Captivity in Fifteenth-Century France', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 12 (2003): 9–22.
- Cassidy-Welch, M. and P. Sherlock, eds, *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
- Cavallo, Sandra and Silvia Evangelisti, eds, *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Early Modern Age, Volume 3: 1450–1600* (Oxford: Berg, 2010).
- Champion, M., 'Scourging the Temple of God: Towards an Understanding of Nicolas Jacquier's *Flagellum haereticorum fascinatorum* (1458)', *Parergon* 28, no. 1 (2011): 1–24.
- Crawford, K., 'Catherine de Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000): 643–73.
- Crouzet, D., "'A strong desire to be a mother to all your subjects": A Rhetorical Experiment by Catherine de Medici', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 104–18.
- Duindam, J., *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995).
- Ebersole, G.L., 'The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse', *History of Religions* 39, no. 3 (2000): 211–46.
- Fasson, D. and R. Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Politics of Victimhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Faull, K., "'Girls Talk" – das "Sprechen" von Kindern. Herrnhutische Seelsorge an den grossen Mädchen im 18. Jahrhundert', *Unitas Fartrum* 57/58 (2006): 183–96.
- Fichtner, P.S., 'Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *American Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (1976): 243–65.
- Fletcher, A., *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Fogleman, A.S., *Jesus is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
- Gammerl, B., 'Emotional Styles: Concepts and Challenges', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16 (2012): 161–75.

- Geertz, C., 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983), 121–46.
- Gertsman, E., *Crying in the Middle Ages* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011).
- Hallett, N., *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600–1800: Early Modern 'Convents of Pleasure'* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- Herdman, E., 'Theatricality and Obscenity in Graphic Histories of the Wars of Religion', *Early Modern France* 14 (2010): 91–113.
- Hochschild, A., *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- Hodgson, N., 'Honour, Shame and the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 2 (2013): 220–39.
- Jarzebowski, C. and T.M. Safley, eds, *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures, 1450–1800* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Karras, R.M., *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
- Kleres, J., 'Emotions and Narrative Analysis: A Methodological Approach', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 41 (2011): 182–202.
- Kuijpers, E. and J. Pollmann, 'Why Remember Terror? Memories of Violence in the Dutch Revolt', in *Ireland: 1641: Contexts and Reactions*, eds M. Ó Siochru and J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 176–96.
- Le Goff, J., *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- Lester, A.E., 'A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 353–70.
- Liliequist, J., ed., *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).
- Lockett, L., *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
- Lutz, C.A., 'Feminist Emotions', in *Power and the Self*, ed. J.M. Mageo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 194–215.
- Lutz, T., *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).
- Lux-Sterritt, L., 'Divine Love and the Negotiation of Emotions in Early Modern English Convents', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, eds C. Bowden and J.E. Kelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 229–45.
- Lynch, A., 'Beyond Shame: Chivalric and Arthurian Narrative', *Arthurian Literature* 23 (2006): 1–17.
- Lynch, A. and M. Champion, eds, *Understanding Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

- Lynch, K., *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Maddern, P., *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1472* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- ‘Weather, War and Witches: Sign and Cause in Fifteenth-Century English Vernacular Chronicles’, in *A World Explored: Essays in Honour of Laurie Gardiner*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1993), 77–98.
- ‘Interpreting Silence: Domestic Violence in the King’s Courts in East Anglia, 1422–1442’, in *Domestic Violence in Medieval Texts*, eds E. Salisbury, G. Donavin, and M.L. Price (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 31–56.
- ‘Order and Disorder’, in *Medieval Norwich*, eds C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (London: Hambledon, 2004), 188–212.
- ‘“In myn own house”: The Troubled Connections between Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography’, in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 45–60.
- ‘Between Households: Children in Blended and Transitional Households in Late-Medieval England’, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 1 (2010): 65–86.
- ‘How Children Were Supposed to Feel: How Children Felt: England, 1350–1530’, in *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures, 1450–1800*, eds C. Jarzebowski and T.M. Safley (London: Routledge, 2013), 121–41.
- Maddern, P. and A. Lynch, eds, *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1995).
- Maddern, P., J. McEwan, and A. Scott, eds, *Performing Emotions in the Medieval and Early Modern World* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).
- Maddern, P. and S. Tarbin, eds, *Material Worlds of Childhood in North-Western Europe c. 1350–1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming).
- Maier, C.T., *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Marchant, A., *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).
- Matarasso, P., *Queen’s Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
- Matt, S. and P. Stearns, eds, *Doing Emotions History* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2013).
- McCartney, E., ‘In the Queen’s Words: Perceptions of Regency Government Gleaned from the Correspondence of Catherine de Médicis’, in *Women’s*

- Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700: Form And Persuasion*, eds J. Couchman and A. Crabb (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 207–22.
- McClary, S., ed., *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Expressive Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
- McIntyre, A., *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd edn (London: Duckworth, 1985).
- Michaels, A., 'Performative Tears: Emotions in Rituals and Ritualized Emotions', in *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, eds A. Michaels and C. Wulf (London: Routledge, 2012), 29–40.
- Mitchell, J.A., *Ethics and Exemplary Narrative in Chaucer and Gower* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004).
- Morillo, S., 'Expecting Cowardice: Medieval Battle Tactics Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006): 65–73.
- Muravyeva, M. and R.A. Toivo, eds, *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Murray, A., *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000).
- Nagy, P., 'Religious Weeping in the Medieval West', in *Ritual in its own Right*, eds D. Handelman and G. Lindqvist (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 119–37.
- Nagy, P. and D. Boquet, eds, *Le Sujet des Emotions au Moyen Age* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008).
- Naphy, W.G. and P. Roberts, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
- Nelson, K., ed., *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013).
- Patton, K.C. and J.S. Hawley, eds, *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Perry, M.E., *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Postlewate, L. and W. Hüsken, eds, *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).
- Reddy, W.M., *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- *The Making of Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
- Reinhart, M., ed., *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 1999).
- Ribordy, G., 'The Two Paths to Marriage: The Preliminaries of Noble Marriage in Late Medieval France', *Journal of Family History* 26 (2001): 323–36.
- Rigby, S.H., 'Worthy but Wise?: Virtuous and Non-Virtuous Forms of Courage in the Later Middle Ages', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 35 (2013): 329–71.

- Rollo-Koster, J., ed., *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- Roper, L., *The Witch in the Western Imagination* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).
- Rorty, A.O., 'The Two Faces of Courage', *Philosophy* 612 (1996): 151–71.
- Rosenwein, B.H., ed., *Anger's Past: The Social uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Ruberg, W.G., 'Children's Correspondence as a Pedagogical Tool in the Netherlands, 1770–1850', *Paedagogica Historica* 41 (2005): 295–312.
- Scheer, M., 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220.
- Scheve, C. von, 'Collective Emotions in Rituals: Elicitation, Transmission and a "Matthew-Effect"', in *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, eds A. Michaels and C. Wulf (London: Routledge, 2012), 55–77.
- Shepard, A., *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Shields, S.A., *Speaking from the Heart: Gender and the Social Meaning of Emotion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 'Passionate Men, Emotional Women: Psychology Constructs Gender Difference in the Late 19th Century', *History of Psychology* 10 (2007): 92–110.
- Shields, S.A., D.N. Garner, B. Di Leone, and A.M. Hadley, 'Gender and Emotion', in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotion*, eds J.E. Stets and J.H. Turner (New York: Kluwer, 2006), 63–83.
- Shirayev, E. and D.A. Levy, *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Critical Thinking and Contemporary Applications*, 3rd edn (Boston: Pearson, 2007).
- Thomas, K., 'Children in Early Modern England', in *Children and their Books: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, eds G. Avery and J. Briggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 45–77.
- Trigg, D., *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia and the Absence of Reason* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).
- Ulbricht, O., 'The Emotional Socialization of Boys in Early Modern Germany', in *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures, 1450–1800*, eds C. Jarzebowski and T.M. Safley (London: Routledge, 2013), 59–71.
- Van Gent, J., *Magic, Body and the Self in Eighteenth-Century Sweden* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- 'The Burden of Love: Moravian Emotions and Conversions in Eighteenth-Century Labrador', *Journal of Religious History* (forthcoming 2015).

- Vera, J.E.D., 'Reconstructing the Old English Cultural Model for Fear', *Atlantis. Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 33, no. 1 (2011): 85–103.
- Vincent-Buffault, A., *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).
- Walker, C., *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- 'Securing Souls or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloistered Life in an English Convent', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. C. van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 227–44.
- Walker, G., *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Watkins, J., 'Marriage à la Mode 1559: Elizabeth I, Elisabeth de Valois, and the Changing Patterns of Diplomatic Marriage', in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds C. Levin and R. Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 76–97.
- Wiesner, M.E., *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Willemsen, A., *Back to the Schoolyard: The Daily Practice of Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
- Woodford, C., *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Yearley, L.H., *Mencius and Aquinas: Theories of Virtue and Conceptions of Courage* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
- Zika, C., *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- 'Images in Service of the Word: The Witch of Endor in the Bibles of Early Modern Europe', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (2009): 151–65.
- 'The Witch of Endor Before the Witch Trials', in *Magic, Heresy and Witchcraft: Contesting Orthodoxy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. L.N. Kallestrup, with J.M. Jensen and L. Søndergaard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2015).

This page has been left blank intentionally

# Index

*Note: Page numbers in bold indicate illustrations.*

- Abels, Richard 21, 25, 32  
acculturation, *see* education  
Adams, Tracy 7, 9–11, 51–65, 68  
Ælfric of Eynsham 25, 31  
Ahmed, Sara 69  
Akkerman, Nadine 67  
Alba, María Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán,  
Duchess of 71–4, 78–80  
Alfen, Hieronymus van 127, 131, 134, 136,  
141–45  
Álvarez, Jesús Bouza 84  
Amodio, Mark C. 20  
Amussen, Susan Dwyer 3  
anger 1, 17, 27, 41, 54, 102, 107, 202  
*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 20, 30  
Anguissola, Sofonisba 72  
Anlezark, Daniel 25  
Anna of Austria 75–7, 81–4  
Anne of Brittany 52–3, 59, 61–5  
Anne of France, Madame 11, 52–58, 59,  
61–3, 65  
antiquaries 6–7, 11–12, 109–125  
Arande, Thomas 151, 162  
Ariès, Philippe 220  
Arnarde, Peter 133  
Artan, Tülay 67  
*Of Arthur and of Merlin* 28–33  
Aston, Catherine (Keat) 208  
Aston, Herbert 208, 214  
Aston, Katharine 208, 214  
Atwood, Craig D. 233  
Augustine of Hippo 105–106  
Ausonius 111  
Austin, Linda M. 114  
Auton, Jean d' 58, 60–61, 65  
Autrand, Françoise 54  
Avery, Gillian 218  
Baggerman, Ariane 9, 218  
Bähr, Andreas 129  
Baker, Augustine 212–213  
Bal, Mieke 120  
Baldauf, Ingeborg 236  
Bale, John 112–13, 124  
Barbaro, Ermolao 54–7  
Barber, Malcolm 36  
Barnett, James K. 216  
Basnage, Jacques 165  
Bass, Laura R. 73  
Bate, Keith 36  
Bately, Janet 20, 23, 32  
battlefield 4, 17, 39–40  
Beaston, Lawrence 19, 25  
Begg, Christopher 153  
Belière, Dom U. 90  
Bély, Lucien 51, 54, 60, 65  
Bemmel, Abraham van 131, 137  
Ben-Amos, Ilana Krausman 218  
Benda-Beckmann, Keebet van 198  
Benecke, Gerhard 59  
Benesch, Otto 153  
*Beowulf* 24–5, 27  
Bergé, Pieter 89  
Bering family 12, 215–17, 220–24, 226,  
228–31  
Bernardo, A.S. 97  
Bernardo, R.A. 97  
Beyer, Andreas 240  
Biow, Douglas 54  
Bird, Jessalynn 35–6, 40

- Bjork, Robert E. 18  
 Blankert, Albert 153  
 Blanning, T.C.W. 68, 227  
 Blase, Frances 202, 204  
 Blondeau, Roger A. 135  
 Bödeker, Hans-Erich 219  
 Bodin, Jean 157  
 Boekhart, Petrus T. 179  
 Boendale, Jan van 177  
 Boerwinkel, F. 131, 137, 140  
 Boheemen, C. van 120  
 Bol, Ferdinand 153  
 Bond, Katherine Thecla 205  
 Bonivard, François 60  
 Bonnet, Francisc Massip 77  
 Boonen, Jacob 204–205, 207  
 Booy, Engelina P. de 179  
 Boquet, Damien 2  
 Born, Lester K. 51  
 Bosco, Giovanni 147  
 Bosma, Jelle 141  
 Bosworth, Joseph 23  
 Boulton, Richard 170  
 Bourbon, Pierre de 52, 57–8, 63  
 Bourbon, Suzanne de 53, 63  
 Bourbon-Mompensier, Charles of 53  
 Bourke, Joanna 5, 69  
 Bousmar, Eric 58  
 Bouts, Dieric 97, 98  
 Bowden, Caroline 210  
 Boyden, James M. 71  
 Bradley, S.A.J. 18, 21–3, 27–8  
 Braet, Herman 95  
 Branca, Vittore 54  
 Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur  
     de 57  
 bravery 17, 18, 20–22, 27–8, 30–32, 48  
 Bream, Teresa 201  
 Brecht, Martin 235  
 Breen, Johannes Christiaan 191  
 Brent, Christina 201, 207  
 Bréquigny, Louis Georges Oudard Feudrix  
     de Vilevault de 62  
 Breward, Ian 151  
 Bridge, John S.C. 62  
 Briggs, Julia 218  
 Brook, G.L. 29  
 Broomhall, Susan 1–13, 67–86, 154, 198,  
     219  
 Brubaker, Leslie 97  
 Bruchet, Max 59–60  
 Bucholz, Robert 52, 69  
 Buck, A.R. 212  
 Buck, Victor de 135  
 Burguière, André 51–2  
 Calvi, Giulia 68  
 Camargo, Martin 37  
 Camden, William 112, 117–22  
 Cameron, Euan 164  
 Carley, James P. 117  
 Carrera, Elena 2  
 Carruthers, Mary 37  
 Carvalho, Joaquim 236  
 Caryll, John 208–209  
 Caryll, Mary 208–209  
 Casaubon, Meric 113–14  
 Cassidy-Welch, Megan 7–11, 35–49  
 Castelli, Patrizia 147  
 Catalina Micaela (de Austria) of Spain  
     71–86  
 Cauchies, J.-M. 89  
 Cavallo, Sandra 8  
 Caviness, Madeline Harrison 90  
 Chabot, Isabelle 68  
 Chacón, Maria 79  
 Chadwick, H. Munro 18  
 Champion, Matthew S. 7, 9–12, 89–108  
 Champion, Michael 2  
 Chandler, John 116–17, 120, 124  
 charity, *caritas* 4, 94–5  
 Charles of Alençon 53  
 Charles of Angoulême 61  
 Charles of Orleans 59  
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 59, 61–2,  
     65  
 Charles VIII, King of France 52, 58–62  
 Charles IX, King of France 69–70, 75–6,  
     83–4  
 Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy 59, 89

- Charlotte of Aragon 53  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 32  
 Chazaud, Martial-Alphonse 53, 55–7  
 children 1, 4–10, 12–13, 67–86, 144,  
     175–95, 215–31, 233–47  
 chronicles 7, 9, 11–12, 89–108, 122–3,  
     127–46, 202, 210  
 civic organisations 3–4, 10, 177, *see also*  
     schools  
 Clark, Stuart 147  
 Cloulas, Ivan 72  
 Coello, Alonso Sánchez 72, 73  
 Comestor, Petrus 151  
 Constable, Barbara 212–13  
 Constable, Giles 41  
 Contamine, Philippe 54  
 Cook, James 218, 224, 226  
 Cook, William R. 101  
 Coppejans-Desmedt, Hilda 89  
 correspondence, *see* epistolary practices  
 Cosandey, Fanny 51  
 Couchman, Jane 68  
 courage 1, 4, 7, 10, 17–33, 42  
 court, royal and princely 4, 7, 9, 11, 51–65,  
     67–86  
 cowardice 4, 7, 10, 17–33, 38, 42–3, 48  
 Crabb, Ann 68  
 Crane, Thomas F. 35  
 Cranz, David 238, 243  
 Crawford, Katherine 68  
 Creemers, Ch. 131, 134, 140–42, 144  
 Crouzet, Denis 68  
 crusade 7, 11, 35–49  
 Cuyp, Benjamin Gerritsz 153  
  
 Daemen-de-Gelder, Katrien 211  
 Damen, Mario 89–90  
 Darcy, Clare of the Annunciation 210–211  
 Davis, Natalie Zemon 228  
 Dekker, Rudolf 218  
 Delaere, Mark 89  
 Delumeau, Jean 1  
 Delvaux, Henri 90, 97  
 Deploire, Jeroen 129  
 despair 101, 104, 106–107, 145–46, 208  
  
 devotional practices 8, 10, 39–40, 44,  
     89–108, 128, 144, 197–214,  
     233–47  
 Deyon, Solange 133  
 Diane de Poitiers 53  
 diaries 8, 12, 128, 218, 235–39, 241, 246  
 Dieterich, Viet 161  
 Di Leone, Brooke 2  
 diplomacy 1, 4, 7, 11, 51–65, 67–86  
 Donaldson, E. Talbot 24  
 Donavin, Georgiana 3  
 Donne, John 111  
 Douais, Charles 72  
 Duchet-Suchaux, G. 36  
 Duchhardt, Heinz 51  
 Duindam, Jeroen 67, 69  
 Dumbar, Gerhard 176  
 Dumont, Jonathan 58  
 Duperray, Eva 98  
 Duval, Frédéric 58  
 dynastic relations 1, 4, 7, 11, 51–65, 67–86  
  
 Earle, John 109–110, 114  
 Ebersole, Gary L. 245  
 education 1, 8, 175–95, 220–25, 229–30  
 Eerenbeemt, B. Van den 189  
 Ehinger, Gabriel 154, 156, 157  
 Eichberger, D. 194  
 Eijnatten, Joris van 129  
 Eimmart the Younger, Georg Christoph  
     157, 159, 160, 161  
 Eisenach, Emlyn 3  
 Elisabeth of Austria 75, 82–4  
 Elliott, J.H. 69  
 Ems, Rudolf von 151  
 Endor, woman of 9, 12, 147–72  
 Engelbrecht, Martin 149  
 envy 6, 23, 120  
 epistolary practice 5, 7–8, 11–13, 35–49,  
     67–86, 197–209, 215, 218,  
     221–24, 227–29  
 Erasmus, Desiderius 51  
 Escudero, José Antonio 70  
 Estius, Guilielmus 135  
*Estoire de Merlin* 30

- ethics 7, 10, 17, 22, 28  
 Evangelisti, Silvia 8  
*excitatoria* 44  
 excitement 7
- Faithorne, William 161  
 family 1, 3–4, 7–9, 11–12, 51–65, 67–86,  
 195, 197–9, 206, 207, 208, 209,  
 214, 215–31, 235, 237, 239,  
 241, 246–7, *see also* children,  
 fatherhood, motherhood, parents
- Fasson, Didier 48  
 fatherhood 12, 57, 76, 218, 220, 223–29,  
 233, 237–9, 242, 244, 246–7
- Faull, Katherine 234  
 fear 1, 4, 7–9, 12, 17–33, 42–3, 45, 143–6,  
 222
- Felfe, Richard 149  
 femininity 9, 194
- Ferguson, Margaret E. 212
- Fichtner, Paula Sutter 52  
*Fight at Finnsburh, The* 18, 22–24, 33
- Fingerlin, Ilse 179
- Fischer, Agneta 2
- Fischer, Rosina 239, 246
- Fletcher, Anthony 3
- Fogleman, Aaron Spencer 233
- Fonbonne, Quiriyn 157, **158**
- Forster family, 12, 218, 224–31
- fortitude 19, 23, 29–30
- Fourquevaux, Raimond de Beccarie de  
 Pavie, seigneur de 72, 74–85
- Francis, Dominic 39
- François I, King of France François I 52,  
 60–61, 63, 65, 69
- François II, King of France 69
- François II of Brittany 62
- friendship 1, 22, 47, 56, 63, 222, 224
- Fröhlich, Andreas 161
- Froissart, Jean 57
- Frost, Orcutt W. 216
- Fuller, Thomas 124
- Fulton, Helen 117
- Funk, Philipp 36
- Füßli, Johann Melchior 147, **148**
- Gaab, Hans 157
- Gammerl, Benno 5, 199
- Garner, Dallas N. 2
- Gascoigne, Francis 200
- Gascoigne, Justina 200
- Gascoigne, Margaret 210, 212  
*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 28
- Geertz, Clifford 68
- Gelland, Mathieu 70
- Genesis*-poet 25–7, 33
- Geoffrey of Monmouth 29, 117, 119
- Gerstl, Doris 157
- Gerstman, Elina 245
- Gié, Pierre de Rohan, sieur de 61, 63–5
- gift giving 5, 71–75, 77, 80–81, 85–6, 227
- Gill, Theodor 239
- Gilmour-Bryson, Anne 109
- Glaesemer, Jürgen 154
- Glanvil, Joseph 161, 170
- Godden, Malcolm 26
- Godefroy, Théodore 58
- Goldschmidt, Peter 170
- Goris, M. 189
- Govers, M.J. 189
- Gransden, Antonia 112, 117
- gratitude 43, 96, 128
- greed 41, 110
- Green, P.R.H. 111
- Grey, Alexia 201
- grief 1, 7, 9, 46, 72, 91, 98–9, 208–209
- Grien, Hans Baldung 152, 165
- Griffith, Mark 27–8
- Haan, Bertrand 69
- Hadley, Alena M. 2
- Haenens, Albert d' 191
- Haggh, Barbara 89
- Hallett, Nicky 198
- Hamilton, Adam 202
- Handelman, D. 245
- Hanselaer, An-Katrien 129
- Harvey, John H. 115, 121
- Haskins, Susan 99
- hatred 24, 128
- Hausen, Karin 220

- Havens, Arnold 125  
 Hawley, John Stratton 245  
 Haycox, Stephen W. 216  
 Hayward, Jane 90  
 Healey, Antonette di Paolo 23  
 Hedeman, Anne D. 96, 99  
 Henderiks, Valentine 97  
 Henri II, King of France 67, 69  
 Henry VIII, King of England 113, 121, 124  
 Herdman, Emma 135  
 Hermans, C.R. 140  
 heroism and the heroic 17–9, 26–8, 32  
 Heusden, P. 189  
 Heumann, Georg Daniel 147, **148**, 149  
 Heyne, Therese (later Huber) 226–27  
 Hicks, Eric 55  
 Hinnebusch, J. 36  
 Hochschild, Arlie 199  
 Hodgson, Natasha 42  
 Hoekx, J. 134  
 Hohenholz, Nicolai Sebastian 221–23  
 Holbein, Ambrosius 192  
 Holden, A.J. 21  
 Honorius III 35–6, 38, 47  
 Hoogeweg, H. 46  
 Hooghe, Romeyn de 165, **167**  
 Horne, Philippe de Montmorency, Count  
     of 133  
 Houben, Birgit 67  
 Houser, R.E. 19  
 Hovius, Matthias 206  
 Hraber, Vladimir E. 54  
 Huber, Ferdinand 226–27  
 Huddleston, Mary Gabriel 203, 213  
 Hüskens, Wim 69  
 Huygens, R.B.C. 36, 38–46  
 Hyde, Edward 209  
  
 Ingleby, Anne 204, 207  
 Iongh, Jane de 60–61  
*Ipomedon* 20  
 Irving Jr, Edward B. 18  
 Isabella of France, Queen of Navarre 55  
 Isabella Clara Eugenia (de Austria) of Spain  
     72–86  
  
 Jaehrling, Stephanie 153  
 Jancke, Gabriele 221  
 Jansen, Katherine Ludwig 97, 99, 101  
 Jansen, Sharon 53  
 Jarzebowski, Claudia 7–10, 12, 215–31  
 Jeffreys, Thomas 217  
 Jensen, Janus Møller 150  
 John of Nivelles 36, 40, 47  
 Johnson, Richard 202, 206  
 Josephus, Flavius 153, 163  
*Judith*, Anglo-Saxon poem, 27–8, 33  
 Judith, biblical heroine 19, 27–8  
  
 Kaeuper, Richard W. 21  
 Kahn, Robert L. 226  
 Kallestrup, Louise Nyholm 150  
 Kamen, Henry 69  
 Kaptein, Herman 133  
 Karras, Ruth Mazo 42  
 Kelly, James E. 210  
 Kent, F.W. 147  
 Kervyn de Lettenhove, Joseph 102  
 Ketele, Jules 135  
 Kienhorst, H. 189  
 Kilian, Philipp Andreas 154  
 King, Archdale A. 96, 101  
 Kitson, Michael 153  
 Klaeber, Fr. 24  
 Klapsich-Zuber, Christiane 51  
 Kleres, Jochen 131, 142  
 Knatchbull, Lucy 201, 209  
 Kohl, Benjamin G. 162  
 Kollman, Nancy Shields 3  
 Kong, Katherine 37  
 Kraft, Hans 151  
 Kratzman, G. 165  
 Krauss, Hans 149  
 Krauss, Johann Ulrich 157  
 Kühnel, Elisabeth Maria 237  
 Kühnel, Friedrich 237–8, 244  
 Kühnel, Melchior 238  
 Kühnel, Susanna 236–44, 246  
 Kuijpers, Erika 5, 7, 10, 12, 127–46  
 Kunt, Metin 67  
 Küsel, Melchior 167, **168**, 170

- Kushnarev, Evgenij G. 216
- La Ferrière, Hector de 71
- Lalanne, Ludovic 57
- Langerfeld, Karl-Eugen 236
- La Sale, Antoine de 57
- Lassalmonie, Jean-François 58
- La Taille, Jean de 162
- Latham, Agnes 203–204, 213
- Laurière, Eustèbe de 62
- Lavater, Ludwig 162
- Lazamon 28–9, 33
- Lebrun, François 51–2
- Lecerclé, François 147, 159, 162, 164
- Le Goff, Jacques 107
- Leland, John 112–113, 115–17, 120–124
- Le Loyer, Pierre 162
- Lemaire de Belges, Jean 58
- Lemkus, Diederich 170, 171
- Lentz, Thierry 54
- Le Page Dominique 62
- Leslie, R.F. 29
- Lester, Anne E. 42
- L'Estrange, Elizabeth 53
- letters, *see* epistolary practices
- Levin, Carole 52, 69
- Levin, S. 97
- Levy, David A. 129
- Liburd, Caedmon A. 216
- Liebernickel, Gottfried 161, 170
- Liebich, Jacob 244, 247
- Liebnitz, Justus Jacobus 166
- Lieburg, Frederik Angenietus van 129
- Lilich, Meredith Parsons 90
- Liliequist, Jonas 2
- Lind, Natasha Okhotina, 215–16, 222
- Lindquist, Sherry C.M. 97
- Lindqvist, G. 245
- Lockett, Leslie 17
- Lombard, Peter 151
- Lombardi, Paolo 147
- Longère, Jean 35
- longing 4, 11
- loss 7, 109–25
- Lost, Christine 234, 236
- Lottin, Alain 133
- Lotz, Ezechiel 89
- Louis IX, King of France 55
- Louis XI, King of France 57–9
- Louis XII, King of France 53, 58–65
- Louise of Savoy 52–3, 59–61, 63–5
- love 1, 21, 56–7, 67–86, 94–5, 98–9, 101, 111, 129, 145, 195, 218
- Lowagie, Hannes 104, 106
- loyalty 1, 18–19, 21–4, 27, 31–2, 67–86, 128
- Lupack, A. 117
- Luther, Martin 161
- Lutz, Catherine A. 5
- Lutz, Tom 245
- Luxford, Julian M. 89
- Lux-Sterritt, Laurence 210
- Luyken, Caspar 157, 163
- Luyken, Jan 163
- Lynch, Andrew 1, 2, 7, 10, 17–33
- Lynch, Katherine 229
- Macaulay, Rose 116–17
- McCartney, Elizabeth 68
- McClary, Susan 2
- McEwan, Joanne 2
- McIlvenna, Una 67
- MacIntyre, Alasdair 22
- Mack, Phyllis 246
- McLeod, Glenda 55
- McMullan, Gordon 113
- McNab, Jessie 90
- Macrae-Gibson, O.D. 30
- Maddern, Philippa 1–3, 8, 33, 105–106, 109, 198, 218, 223
- Mageo, Jeannette Marie 5
- Maier, Christoph T. 43
- Maldon, The Battle of* 17, 19–22, 27, 29, 31
- Marchandisse, Alain 58
- Marchant, Alicia 6–7, 10–11, 109–125
- Margaret of Parma 134
- Margaret of York 89
- Marguerite of Austria 52–3, 59–61, 65
- Maria of Spain 75
- Marie, Duchess of Burgundy 59

- Marmion, Shackerley 110, 114  
 marriage 8–9, 51–65, 75, 80, 84, 221  
 Marsden, Richard 17  
 Marshall, David R. 154  
 Mary Magdalene 10, 97–9, 101–102  
 masculinity 7, 9–11, 17, 19, 28, 42, 112,  
 119–20  
 Mason, Steven 153  
 Master IT 151–2  
 Matarasso, Pauline 59, 63–4  
 Matt, Susan 2  
 Matthew, Tobie 201  
 Matthews, David 113  
 Mattingly, Garrett 54  
 Maulde la Clavière, René de 54, 58, 61,  
 63–4  
 Maximilian, Holy Roman Emperor 52,  
 59–62  
 Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor 75  
 mediation 9  
 Medici, Catherine de 5, 11, 67–86  
 melancholy 7, 12, 109–125  
 memoirs 13, 137, 218, 226, 243  
 memory 89–125  
 Ménager Daniel 54  
 Mendoza, Ana de 71  
 mental health and disorder 6–7, 45,  
 109–125  
 Merian, Matthäus 170  
 Merian, Sybilla Maria 218, 228  
 Meyer, A. de 94  
 Meyer, Dietrich 236  
 Michaels, A. 245  
 Minnis, Alastair 19  
 Miranda, Marie 53  
 Mitchell, Bruce 18, 28  
 Mitchell, J. Allan 57  
 Møller, Peter Ulf 215–6, 222  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 123  
 monastic communities 3–13, 36, 89–108,  
 127–46, 197–214  
 Monogrammist VW 165  
 Montague, Walter 203  
 Mora, George 162  
 moral regimes 7, 11–12, 19, 54–5, 175  
 Moravians 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 233–47  
 More, Gertrude 212  
 Morel-Fatio, Alfred 71–4, 78–9  
 Morice, Pierre-Hyacinthe 62, 65  
 Morillo, Stephen 20  
 mortification 4, 8, 129, 145, 197–214  
 Mortimer, Geoff 136, 140  
 motherhood 11–12, 57, 75, 77, 81–6, 218,  
 220–23, 227–30  
 München, Heinrich von 151  
 Muessig, Carolyn 36  
 Muravyeva, Marianna 9  
 Murer, Christof 162  
 Murray, Alexander 105–107  
 mysticism 6, 209–14, 243  
 Nagy, Piroška 2, 245  
 Nahl, Rudolf van 162  
 Naphy, William G. 1–2  
 Nash, Susie 97  
 Nashe, Thomas 110  
 Nassiet, Michel 62  
 Nelson, Karen 4  
 Neumann, Josef N. 234  
 Ngai, Sianne 6  
 Niles, John D. 19  
 Nitschmann, Anna 239–40, 246  
 Nitschmann, David Christian 238–9, 241  
 Norton, M.D. Herter 60  
 nuns, *see* religious communities  
 Oates, Titus 161  
 obsession 7, 109–125  
 Oexle, Otto Gerhard 95  
 Ohlmeyer, Jane 136  
 O’Keeffe, Katherine O’Brien 20  
 Oliver of Paderborn 46  
 Oostsanen, Cornelis van 152  
*Sir Orfeo* 29  
 Ó Siochrú, Micheál 136  
 Ostermann, Henry 221–22  
 Ousterhout, Robert G. 97  
 Ovid 111  
 Pârier-d’Ieteren, Catheline 97

- pain 4  
 Palmer, Roger 203  
 Palmer, Thomas 110  
 panic 7, 45  
 Panisse-Passis, Henri de 60  
 Papanicolaou, Linda Morey 90  
 paranoia 6  
 parents 4, 12–13, 57, 75–6, 177, 180,  
 191, 215–31, *see also* fatherhood,  
 motherhood  
 Parker, Geoffrey 69  
 Parmigianino 154  
 Pascal, Eugénie 53  
 passions 1, 4, 7–8, 12, 105–106, 129,  
 197–214  
 Pastoret, Emmanuel 62  
 Patton, Kimberley Christine 245  
 Paulmann, Johannes 52  
 peace 7, 9, 30, 51, 53  
 Pearce, Susan 109  
 Pélicier, Paul 62  
 Peporte, P. 89  
 Percy, Mary 204–205  
 Perry, Merry Elizabeth 3  
 Petrarch, Francesco 97–8  
 Peucker, Paul M. 235–6  
 Pfeffel, Johann Andreas 147, **148**  
 Philibert, Duke of Savoy 52, 59–61  
 Philip of Bresse 60  
 Philip I of Castile 52, 61  
 Philip II of Spain 5, 11, 67, 69–70, 75–85,  
 134  
 Philippot, Paul 97  
 Picart, Bernard 157, **158**  
 Pigler, Andor 153  
 Pirie, Fernanda 198  
 Pitra, J.-P. 36  
 Pizan, Christine de 55, 191  
 Pollmann, Judith 136  
 Pope, Stephen J. 19  
 Porter, Willem de 153  
 Post, R.R. 187, 191  
 Postlewate, Laurie 69  
 Poulman, Rik 131  
 Powell, James M. 46  
 Prada, Valentin Vázquez de 69  
 Praetorius, Johannes 170  
 Preißler, Johann Daniel 147  
 Price, Cecily 201–202, 204  
 pride 41–2, 64  
 Prierce, Silvestro Mazzolini da 97  
 Prince, Merrell Llewelyn 3  
 Pritchard, Leander 200  
 prudence 29–30, 54–7, 65  
 Queyroy, Mathurin Louis Armand 53  
 Quitt, Julie 239  
 Raguin, Virginia Chieffo 90  
 Rawcliffe, Carole 3  
 Rechtman, Richard 48  
 Reddy, William M. 6, 199–200, 202,  
 234–35  
 Reinhart, Max 3  
 Rembrandt van Rijn 153  
 Remy, Nicholas 161, 170–71  
 René of Savoy 60–61  
 Reusens, E. 89, 107  
 Reuß, Erdmuth Dorothea von 239  
 Ribordy, Geneviève 52  
 Ricoeur, Paul 91  
 Ridley, Glynis 228  
 Rigby, S.H. 20–21  
 Rivo, Peter de 105  
 Roberts, Benjamin B. 230  
 Roberts, Penny 1–2  
 Robson, Janet 101  
 Rollo-Koster, Joëlle 68  
 Roper, Lyndal 154, 157  
 Rorty, Amélie Oksenberg 29  
 Rosa, Salvator 153–4, 164–65  
 Rosenwein, Barbara H. 1, 5, 96, 197, 199,  
 219  
 Rosier, Bernard du 54–7  
 Rositzke, H.A. 20  
 Rothwell, William 32  
 Ruberg, Willemijn G. 216  
 Rublack, Ulinka 3, 8  
 Rudy, Kathryn 194  
 Ruhland, Thomas 236

- Ruis, Teofilo F. 77
- Safley, Thomas Max 8–9, 218, 230
- Saint Gelais, Jean de 58
- Saint-Gelais, Octavien de 58
- Salerno, Luigi 153
- Salisbury, Eve 3
- Salomons, A. 133
- Sandrart, Jacob van 157, 165
- Saurin, Jacques 157
- Savery III, Jacob 163
- Sayer, Robert 217
- Scheer, Monique 5, 130, 199, 244
- Scheller, Robert W. 62
- Scheuchzer, Johann Jakob 149
- Scheve, Christian von 245
- Schippers, A. 189
- Schmid, Pia 235, 237
- Schmidt, Philip 161
- Schmitt, Jean-Claude 147, 151
- Schnerb, Bertrand 58
- Schönfeld, Johann Heinrich 154, 156
- schools 3–4, 9–10, 12, 175–9
- Schouteet, Albert 177–9, 189
- Schoutens, Stephanus 131
- Schut, Pieter Hendricksz 162–3
- Scot, Reginald 162
- Scott, Anne M. 2
- Scott, Walter 111
- Seafarer, The* 25
- Secousse, Denis-François
- Segalen, Martine 51
- servants 3
- Seydewitz, Johanna Sophie von 236, 240, 243, 246
- Seydewitz, Lachenall von 240, 246
- Sforza, Bianca Maria 59
- Sforza, Francesco 59
- shame 21, 128, 136, 143
- Shepard, Alexandra 3
- Sherlock, Peter 8
- Shields, Stephanie A. 2, 8–9
- Shirae, Eric 129
- Shirburne, Joseph 203
- Shorter, Edward 219
- Sichem II, Christoffel van 162
- Sigismund, Adolph Florian 220–23
- Simpson, James 124
- Simson, Otto G. von 99
- Skeat, W. 31
- Sluter, Claus 97
- Smaby, Beverly 234
- Smith, A.J. 111
- Smith, Lucy Toulmin 113
- Smith, Scholastica 204
- Soenen, Micheline 89
- Søndergaard, Leif 150
- Sonnemans, G. 189
- sorrow 1, 4, 7, 12, 47, 144–5
- Spaans, Johanna Willemina 129, 136
- Spitzel, Gottlieb 168, 169, 170
- Stearns, Peter 2
- Stein, Robert 89
- Steinbrügge, Lieselotte 219
- Steiner, Gerhard 218
- Sternberg, Giora 68
- Stets, Jan E. 2
- Stevenson, John 3
- Stimmer, Tobias 153
- Stone, Kerrienne 153
- Sträter, Udo 234
- suffering 12, 45–6, 95, 101–103, 129–30, 136, 143, 145–6, 211, 234
- suicide 103–107
- Summit, Jennifer 113
- Swan, Claudia 162
- Tarbin, Stephanie 3, 8, 154, 198
- Tavuzzi, Michael 97
- Taylor, Larissa 141
- teachers 12–13, 180–81, 185, 187, 191–2, 194–5, 220–21, 230
- terror 1, 45
- Thimelby, Winefrid 197, 208–209, 214
- Thomas, D. 35
- Thomas, Keith 218
- Thomas, Sophie 116
- Thorpe, Benjamin 26
- Thorpe, Lewis 119
- time, concepts of 11–12, 89–108, 109–25

- Timperley, Elizabeth Anne 203  
 Titian 154  
 Toivo, Raisa Maria 9  
 Tolan, John 35  
 Tolkien, J.R.R. 18  
 Toller, Thomas Northcote 23  
 training, *see* education  
 Trepp, Ann Charlott 219  
 Trigg, Dylan 114  
 Trotter, David 32  
 Tuerlinckx, Ari 131  
 Tümpel, Christian 153  
 Turner, Jonathan H. 2  
 Tyerman, Christopher 41  
  
 Ulbricht, Otto 230  
 Urness, Carol 216  
 Uytven, Raymond van 103  
  
 Valois, Claude de 52, 61, 63, 65, 69  
 Valois, Elisabeth de, Queen of Spain 11, 67,  
     70–72, 74–5, 84, 86  
 Valois, Jeanne de 62  
 Valois, Renée de 65  
 Vandeburie, Jan 36  
 Van den Gheyn, J. 91  
 Van de Putte, Ferdinand 135  
 Van der Coelen, Peter 162  
 Van der Steen, Jasper 141  
 Van Gent, Jacqueline 3, 6, 8–10, 13, 68,  
     233–47  
 Van Male, Zeger 178  
 Vekenstijl, Jan 91, 93, 96–7, 102, 106–108  
 Vellert, Dirck 176  
 Vera, Javier E. Díaz 21  
 Verbeke, Werner 95  
 Verelst, Peter 153  
 Vergil, Polydore 117  
 Viennot, Eliane 53  
 Vincent-Buffault, Anne 245  
 Vine, Angus 117, 121  
 violence 1, 2, 7, 11–12, 17–33, 91, 103,  
     105–106, 119, 127–46  
 virtues, moral and theological 19, 42, 44  
 Vitry, Jacques de 7, 9–10, 35–49  
  
 Vos, Henricus 165–6  
 Vries, M. de 177  
  
 Wace 29–30  
 Waldschmitt, Bernhard 161  
 Walker, Claire 6, 8, 10, 12, 197–214  
 Walker, Garthine 3  
 war 1, 4, 7, 10–12, 17–33, 127–46  
 Warner, John 203  
 Waterlet, Walter 89, 91, 97  
 Watkins, John 52, 54, 69  
 Wayment, Hilary 90  
 weeping 39–41, 97–8, 128, 144, 233–47  
 Weigel, Christoph 157  
 Weijert, Rolf de 152  
 Weiss, Judith 30  
 Wells, S. 110  
 Werner II, Joseph 154, **155**  
 Weyer, Johann 161–2  
 Whaley, Joachim 59  
 Whitaker, Robert 228  
 Whitelock, Dorothy 26  
 Whitmer, Kelly 9  
 Wielant, Anna 131, 136–40, 144  
 Wiering, Thomas von 161  
 Wiesflecker, Hermann 59  
 Wiesner, Merry E. 3  
 wifely duties 56–7, 111, 218, 220, 223  
 Willard, Charity Cannon 55  
 Willemsen, Annemarieke 8, 10, 12–13,  
     175–95  
 Williamson, Paul 90  
 Wilson, Richard 3  
 Wilson-Chevalier, Kathleen 53  
 Wischnitzer, Rachel 153  
 Wissink, W. 189  
 witchcraft 9, 12, 147–72  
 Wolfgang the Elder, Georg Andreas 154  
 Wood, Anthony 124  
 Wood, Juliette 117  
 Woodford, Charlotte 128, 130  
 Woolf, D.R. 112, 121  
 Woolf, Daniel 109  
 Worcester, William 112, 114–17, 120–121  
 Wright, Nancy E. 212

Wulf, C. 245

Wulfstan of York 25–6

Wüstefeld, W.C.M. 152

Wynckius, Charles 135

Yearley, L.H. 33

Zakin, Helen Jackson 90

Zielens, Gisbert 96

Zielens, Walter 95–6

Zika, Charles 9–10, 12, 147–72

Zinzendorf, Nikolaus von 6, 233–47

Zonabend, Françoise 51

Zvereva, Alexandra 72