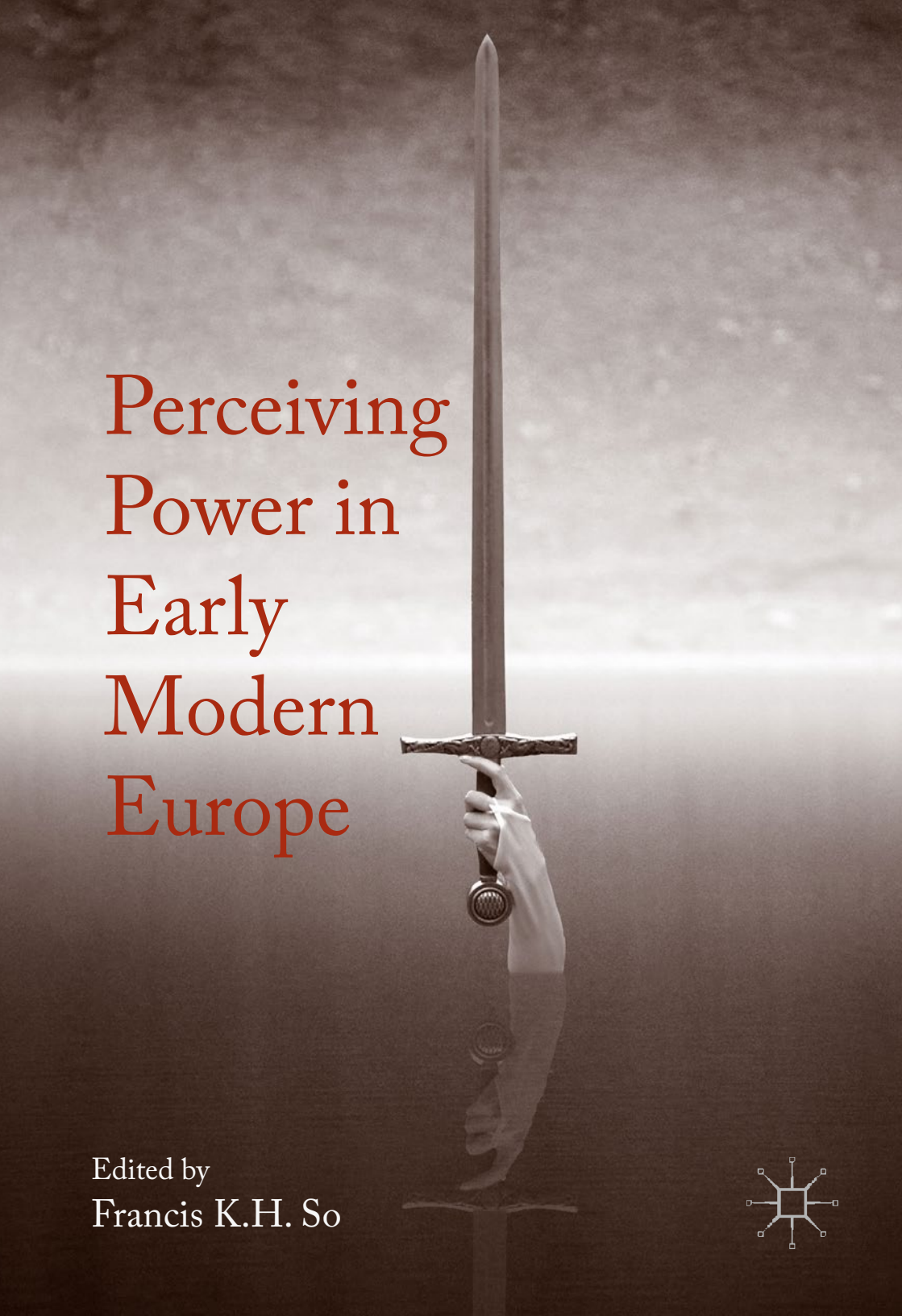

Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe

Edited by
Francis K.H. So

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Preface

The present volume is an outgrowth of the 8th International Conference of the Taiwan Association of Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies held at National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan on October 24–25, 2014. The theme of the conference was "Ideas of Rulership: Kings and Queens in Elite and Popular Cultures." As can be expected, there was a wide range of papers and presentations spanning a huge time line. Most chapters collected here have been presented at the conference, and afterward, in response to the Call for Papers, were screened, reviewed and revised. We are grateful that the anonymous external reviewers of Palgrave Macmillan lent their support to this project.

One special feature of the present *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe* is that, centering on the same theme, the chapters have multifarious contents, covering various disciplines, transnational in judgmental perspectives, multidimensional in interpretation and cross-cultural in synthetic application. We have very conventional approach as well as contemporary voguish social critique and analysis. While the focus has been on the historical past of the West, during the discussion, some classic works inevitably become the popular basis for explication. Much as there are some common concerns in investigation, there are also some subtle Eastern dimensions in viewing the Western past. As the majority of contributors here are from the Eastern world, there is an added value of psychological distance to scrutinize the broiling issues of political disposition or implication of the texts. The intricacy of political favoritism of the set mind imposes no taboo to an alternative argument. Likewise, the strife between different religious denominations, specifically Protestantism and

Catholicism, does not hinder the Eastern view in perceiving the basis of power manipulation. Far from being audacious, without the cultural or political burden of the Western world, our Eastern academics can treat sensitive topics with an unprejudiced and open mind. One demonstrative example is the various ideological persuasions in looking at the same monarch Charles I in this volume. Some called him weak, some called him incompetent, but others would call him martyred and valued. Some of our contributors' detachment from traditional European mainstream political view in reassessing the ruling figures and events is what I would consider an asset due to the contributors' Eastern dimension in explication.

This view reminds us of the famous incident in literary criticism of the nineteenth-century Japan. When in 1881 at the University of Tokyo, the later famous Japanese writer Tsubouchi Shōyō was taking an examination to write on Queen Gertrude in *Hamlet*. He received a poor grade from his American professor. Not that he did not study well but that he applied the Confucianistic tenet of "rewarding the virtuous and punishing the evil" to look at Gertrude. His comments were said to be moralistic and didactic. Yet that Confucianistic tenet has been the backbone of some East Asian cultures when monitoring human behaviors. Having said that, it is hoped that whatever Eastern dimensions there are in the collected chapters will be appreciated as an alternate contribution, alongside the other Euro-oriented contribution, to the larger scope of humanistic purview.

A word of appreciation goes to my former graduate student Yu-chu Lin, who at the last moment, helped me compile and separate versions of similar-looking manuscripts from drowning in the deluge of stages of files. Her word processing technological assistance has been sine qua non.

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Though trailblazing the world to evolve into polities of modern democracy, Europe to this day still retains a number of ceremonial kings and queens who do not enjoy substantive gubernatorial power. Yet legends of kings and queens continue to charm and capture the attention of a large audience. There certainly are some obvious and obscure reasons that engender the phenomenon. When we attend to the royalties of medieval and early modern Europe, rulership will surface as a prominent topic that draws the natural interest of a wide spectrum of fields. Specifically, it denotes the forms of government and accounts of how power is exercised and envisioned by the monarchial kings, queens and rulers. Generally, wherever a king or queen presides, there is a court even if it is itinerant and there forms a power center. The king draws all the attention; so does the court when the king is weak. A powerful king can attain most of his wishes but he will never be almighty. In medieval Europe, a king albeit powerful and enterprising had his limits in certain domains of governance, typically in religious affairs. The Holy Roman Emperor King Henry II (r. 1014–1024) has been described as making attempts to strengthen his ties by rendering services to the Catholic Church and donating land to monasteries and

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dioceses. Yet in 1007, while already King of Germany, when he proposed to create and sponsor a new Diocese of Bamberg he was rebuffed by the synod of bishops (Weinfurter 2003, pp. 19–20). Henry II had to humble himself (virtually throwing himself on the ground) to plead for the synod's concession to his wish. Notwithstanding his kingship, he had to lie low in order to rise high. Intervention on ecclesiastical matters was out of bounds to Henry II as to many other European monarchs in the Middle Ages. The delicate divide of power struggle between the Church and State was a unique European phenomenon and hence ambitious kings wanted to cajole the ecclesiastical hierarchy so that the synods and councils would stand on their side. In Henry's case, he "solidly established his kingship on an ecclesiastical-liturgical foundation rooted firmly in both the Old and the New Testaments and based on Carolingian models of a sacral, fully integrative, and all-encompassing royal dominion" (Bernhardt 2003, p. 41). Only major players of politics could become the ultimate winner of power and such was probably Henry II's scheme. Indeed, it has been observed that "medieval kingship was a game of tricks" (Weinfurter, p. 20). Through his favor and services to the Church, Henry aspired to gain dominion on both secular and ecclesiastical matters which was his scheme of rulership. But in this age, the Church, particularly the pontifical court, looked at such matters differently. The mood led to the subsequent Gregorian Reform movement[1] trying to resolve the conflicts between secular and ecclesiastical matters, though the Reform was mainly focusing on the moral integrity and independence of the clergy. Needless to say there were vigorous resistances. Henry II's attempt in formulating the "highly sacralized notion of rulership" (Bernhardt, p. 44) could be viewed as an early form of Investiture Controversy that the Gregorian Reform intended to rectify. About Henry II's time in the neighboring realm in the valley of Loire, from the late tenth to mid-twelfth centuries, Counts of Anjou found that "the control exercised by the past was least effective" (Southern 1974, p. 90) because "it was a time when claims of allegiance and duty, however well *founded* in law or in history, counted for nothing when they went beyond the bounds of effective personal power" (Southern, p. 81). Before the thirteenth century, some powerful Counts of Anjou had brushed off their obligation to the King of France (except when confronting the strong-willed Philip II) which meant that lords and barons were obliged to pledge loyalty to their sovereign only when the latter had full control of the realm. Upon facing a weak sovereign, the ruled parties would desire to unfetter the yoke and wanted to rule instead. In that case, weak rulers would not be treated

respectfully unless they could exert incontestable authority over their subjects or exert irresistible pressure. The above German and French modes of ruling represent two types of royal personalities which affected the outcome of state affairs and the waxing and waning of power and authority.

Regal Authority and Divine Right of the King

In principle, authority needs the backup of unrelenting strength and esteem on the one hand and the craftiness to appease or to convince on the other. Once the subjects submit themselves to authority, there will be loyalty and a special kind of fellowship. For kings to establish their authority, first and foremost they must gain recognition and the controlling artifice to rule, or legitimacy of the sovereignty. This medieval idea goes back to the Old Testament tradition of *paterna successio* (succession in the paternal line) and it would be subsequently confirmed by anointment by a bishop. Eventually this convention formed the *hereditarium ius* (hereditary right). The ceremonial consecration by a bishop actually carried vital significance because it meant the power originated with God and so *paterna successio* and *hereditarium ius* were considered to be two differentiated concepts (Weinfurter, p. 23). Early literary texts concurred with the practice of consecration. The teenager Arthur having successfully pulled out the sword from a rock was proclaimed the future king of England. Yet, before his true identity as the legitimate son of King Uther Pendragon was revealed, his claim was thought to be an intrigue. Short of the proof of *paterna successio* on the spur, Arthur did encounter initial challenges and contenders among the barons. Despite his fantastic empowerment of pulling the sword out of a rock amid repeated failures of other lords, his coronation was postponed several times. Nevertheless, he was legitimized to assume the sovereignty because he was anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Anointing provides a protective coat to sovereignty and gives it a sacred touch. This mentality was supported by the religious class. After all, in some ancient and primitive worlds which include Africa, there is a prevalent notion of "Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote" (a king is the mingling of a person with a priest) (Feeley-Harnik 1985, p. 274). This theological thinking of being partly person and partly priest supports the king's authority to exercise spiritual jurisdiction and from an anthropological point of view James Frazer would define it as the function of the "priestly kings" (Frazer 1963, pp. 10–12). In England, Bishop John Russell, for example, while in royal service, delivered a speech to the

parliament of King Edward V (r. 1470–1483) stressing that the king was "quasi deus noster in terris [as if our God on earth]: his universal authority was shrouded in the mystery of divine appointment and it was inappropriate for subjects to question his judgement" (qtd. by Watts 1996, p. 19). What the bishop expressed was that the king would be just like a divine king and the episcopal address to the parliamentarians was intending that the divine right would acquire legal effects. Not to make the idea oversimplified, anointed kings had been dethroned in earlier history despite the bishop's assumption. The unpopular Edward II (r. 1307–1327) was forced by his wife Isabella of France to abdicate in favor of his son Edward III. Besides, Archbishop Walter Reynolds, whom Edward had appointed as Lord Chancellor of England in 1310, delivered a sermon announcing the deposition of Edward II (Watts, p. 20). This pastoral move, in stark contrast to Bishop Russell's, indicated that when the divine right of the king faces *vox populi*, *vox Dei* (the voice of the people is the voice of God), the king may prevail if he resorts to the polemics of public interests or rather the commonweal of the people. The divine right would only be justified if it reflected the authentic will of God rather than the ad libitum wishes of the king. The king, however authoritative, did not have full control on all matters, as experienced by Henry II of Germany. Yet not all monarchs would accept that perception. Shakespeare's Richard II would rather firmly believe in the unconditional divine right: "Not all the water in the rough rude sea/Can wash the balm from an anointed king" (*Richard II*, 3.2.50-51). Richard while charging his rebellious subjects who had broken faith in God was making a last ditch effort to maintain his royal authority of divine right to continue his rule. But his opponents argued that not only royal blood but intellect and political shrewdness as well were to determine if a king was qualified. The divine right of the king was not without challenge even in the Middle Ages.

Royal Succession and Power Delegation

Capabilities aside, the French courts throughout the medieval and early modern periods insisted on the male heir succession known as the Salique law. The English, or rather the Anglo-Saxon, comparatively, would accommodate the female line of kingship succession and in that connection, King Henry VIII's daughters, Mary I and Elizabeth I, could be sovereigns. In Scotland, too, Mary Stuart was the enthroned queen to rule before she fled south to seek asylum of her cousin Elizabeth I. But hereditary right

was not the only factor that gave a monarch the authority. Matrimonial relationship, too, would give the spouse the authority to rule. Not only in Europe, elsewhere, "ethnographic data on marriage politics in African monarchies has emphasized the importance of ties through women as a means of concentrating wealth in royal clans, while integrating the community" (Feeley-Harnik, p. 298). But the intricate wielding of regal authority through marriage should be dealt with in another study. In any case, the hereditary monarch needed some secular form of qualifications as well. After the High Middle Ages, European kings appointed knights to help administer their territories and knights had to pledge loyalty to the monarchs. In turn, these knights received certain privileges from the kings. Overall, "in both popular romances and in didactic literature knighthood is perceived as a prerequisite of kingship and the king is perceived as the greatest knight in England" (Kennedy 1992, p. 21). Even if the king or queen regnant was hardly seen by the commoners, the presence of the sovereign would be compensated by the appearance of the knights. In a way, royal deputies carried out the king's ruling in that the "king's knights frequently upheld their lord's 'rychtis' [kingdom] and authority by serving as knights of the shire in his parliament, or, if they were great knights (barons or peers), by sitting with other lords in his Council" (Kennedy, p. 48). Typically, the English Privy Council had served as the institution whereby great knights could share some extent of the monarch's power.

As seen, from Henry II of Germany to Richard II and Edward V of England, monarchs favored the divine right of the king. This explains why anointment by a ranking ecclesiastic was so important because the rite would bestow on the kings the political and religious bases to rule. Anthropologists have found that there are three functions "at the root of Indo-European ideas about kingship: administration of the sacred, force, and prosperity" (Feeley-Harnik, p. 275). These functions recapitulate the religious dimension of power assertion of the foregoing kings. For that matter, rebellion or revolt against a king would be a sin, not just a crime. Shakespeare thus dramatized the pathetic fiasco of Jack Cade's London revolt and portrayed the king as invincible.[2] Apart from England, "it took centuries for Europeans to revolt against kingship. Finally their revolt had to be 'elevated' to the plane of ritual to have any chance of success, and even so, it was not clearly successful" (Feeley-Harnik, p. 300). Charles Plummer, however, remarked that toward the beginning of the fifteenth century, England and Bohemia had experienced two distinctly successful rebellions (Plummer 1885, p. B1).[3] Despite occasional unrest, the sacred

and wishful thinking of turning kingship to be above the law tempted Henry VIII, after breaking away from the Catholic Church, to make himself head of the Church of England and king of England. Such perception of the divine right of the king allowed the monarch to have absolute power in political and spiritual matters. To a large extent, the king would be unrestrained. His personal will would thereby shape the "essential prescription for public acts of judgement and so, by analogy, for all legitimate acts of government" (Watts, p. 17). Such conviction sustained in later periods and was warmly welcomed in the seventeenth century by James I (r. 1603–1625) of England who had another identity as James VI of Scotland (1567–1625) and Louis XIV of France (1643–1715). Another way of putting this political adoption from a modern point of view is that "the public power" is "at the king's disposal" (Watts, p. 17 n17). Unrestrained royal power and authority inevitably included the fulfillment of the king's caprices and personal wishes.

East Asian Version of the Divine Right of the King

This kind of authority that accommodates the whimsicality of the ruler as well could be despotic in practice and yet was desired universally by monarchs. Far away in a totally different land, the Chinese kings and emperors too have been adopting a similar notion of divine right of the king, or traditionally named the heavenly mandate. Though there were no bishops or high priests to anoint the Chinese king, the *hereditarium ius* convention was generally observed. The idea of heavenly mandate was initially a comment by Confucius on a form of government that ancient sages like King Tang (c. 1617–1588 BC) of the Shang dynasty and King Wu (1087–1043 BC) of the Zhou dynasty had received the heavenly mandate (*shou-ming yu tian*).[4] Hence, these rulers took it as their political mission to bring harmony and to appease the chaotic world. After Confucius, the first emperor of the Qin dynasty Shihuang (c. 259–210 BC) having subjugated the competing warring states and unified the states began his sovereignty with an imperial seal carved with the dictum *shou-ming yu tian*. Despite his quelling other lords and overthrowing the Zhou dynasty, he beautified his authority with the symbolic seal (Chinese version of regalia) which spelt out his mandate as to have received grace from heaven. After all, since the Zhou dynasty, emperors were addressed as Sons of Heaven which signifies that kingship is sacred and mystically related to the High Lord in heaven. This mentality has been respectfully observed in other

neighboring Confucian cultures such as Korea, Japan and Vietnam. Japan in particular would mythically take their emperor as the descendant of their Sun God (Amaterasu-ōminokami or Tenshō-daijin). The king's close relationship with Heaven put the subjects in reverence thereby all the more strengthening the royal authority. What the early European monarchs emboldened to assert, their Chinese counterparts had rhetorically or politically achieved. After the founding emperor of a new dynasty, his successors would generally practice *paterna successio*. Though in history there had been female monarchs, or queens regnant, on the whole, enthroning the royal male heir was the rule. Without the Church as in Europe to somewhat balance the government, the Chinese monarch had a relatively free hand in ruling. Yet the Chinese king, however whimsical, could not be at will all the time. Much as his mandate had to be supported by the doctrinaire thinking of the learned class, or the literati, the *vox populi* and his other subjects, there were those among the courtiers often giving him proper counsel by playing the devil's advocate or admonishing him against adopting certain policies. A high-ranking courtier next to the prime minister, named *yushi dafu* (Grand Master of Censors), was instituted for such purpose. A well-known example was Grand Master Wei Zheng (A.D. 580–643) of the Tang dynasty who often thwarted Emperor Taizhong, yet Wei was unequivocally valued by the emperor.[5] But other kings and queens might not share the same sentiment. There is a common saying of "*ban jun ru ban hu*" (Accompanying a king is like accompanying a tiger).[6] This simply means the king's temper should not be roused and one would do so at one's peril. As often as not, the anger of the ruler is more political than interpersonal and is hard to predict, and the stakes of the offender are high.

The Politics of the King's Wrath

Typically in European polities the king's tempestuous emotion was indicative of one form of power. Royal anger (*ira regis*) did serve its political purpose in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Holy Roman Empire and in the Carolingian courts.[7] Yet there are alternate opinions suggesting *ira regis* was simply a royal ideology in the Middle Ages.[8] Anger is normally branded as one of the seven cardinal sins. Yet, churchmen would agree to the *ira regis* when it applied to crusade, to do justice on heretics for the Church and to enforce excommunication, but not with "unfettered validity" (Hyams 1998, p. 103). The most pragmatic treatment of royal anger

as observed by the Norman chroniclers was "to inspire fear among the realm's enemies" though clemency was to be praised (Hyams, p. 104). Still, the danger of ideological and whimsical anger sparked the counteraction of the king's power partners, the barons. Mainly for protection for the barons from illegal imprisonment, access to swift justice, protection of church rights, restricting unsolicited tax and other issues, the barons banded together with the Archbishop of Canterbury to draft the Magna Carta in 1215. The final version of it during Edward I's reign in 1297 became part of England's statute law. The epoch-making law stipulated that the king's power was not unlimited and there was law for him to abide. The king was by no means removed but he was reminded to avoid being an unjust ruler.

Justice and Peace as Power

To all the king's subjects and public interests, *ius et pax* (justice and peace) was vital and much desired. A fifteenth-century English legal writer and at one time Chief Justice of the King's Bench Sir John Fortescue (1394?–1479) observed in his *The Governance of England* (c.1475) that there were two types of kingship: *dominium regale* (i.e., absolute monarchy) and *dominium politicum regale* (i.e., politically ruled monarchy). The first type of kingdom is that the king rules and makes all the laws without consent of his people. The second type of kingdom has the king rule with laws assented by the people and he may not impose other laws without their consent. Fortescue cites St. Thomas Aquinas to say that God favors the Israeli to be ruled under the Judges "regaliter et politice" (ruled regally and politically). Hence it would be better for the people to be ruled politically and royally (*dominium politicum et regale*, Fortescue 1885, p. 110). This is to say that the king should not unilaterally enforce any policies or changes against the will of his people though he may preside like the Biblical Judges, having had the assent of God the King.

> ffor it is not only good for the prince, that mey therby þe more surely do justice than bi its owne arbitrment; but it is also good for his peple that resseyve thair bi such justice as thai desire thaim self. Now as me semyth it is shewid openly ynough, whi on king reignith vpon is peple dominio tantum regali, and that other reignith dominio politico et regali; ffor that on kyngdome be ganne of and bi the might of the prince, and that oþer be ganne bi the desire and the institucion of the peple of the same prince. (Fortescue, p. 113)

Fortescue took advantage of the occasion to compare the English kingship with that of the French and claimed the English with a parliament setup relating to the *dominio politico et regali* was a better system. Comparatively the French foreshadowed the image of a tyrant. With a somewhat partisan view on the French, Fortescue cited a definition of St. Thomas: "whan a kynge rulith his reaume [i.e., realm] only to his owne profite, and not to the good off is [i.e., his] subiectes, he is a tyrant" (Fortescue, p. 117). The complexity of tyranny such as the "tyranny of the majority" in a democratic state will be discussed later by Jonathan Hart in his essay. Basically the idea of royal justice conforms to the medieval ideal kingship, *rex pius et iustus* (dutiful and lawfully just king). Despite Fortescue's qualms on the French *dominium regale*, traditionally Louis IX of France was considered a model of the medieval ideal king whose justice, that is, law and ruling, had been impartially applied to all subjects. "Even the members of his own family had to submit to the rule of law. His people loved him for the peace, stability and true justice he gave them and after his death in 1270 the Church canonized him for his piety and crusading zeal" (Kennedy, p. 23). Historical view is often conditioned by one's channeled vision and political disposition if not partiality. Thus if we neglect the English subjectivity of Fortescue, thirteenth-century France did provide a model of how ruling could be administered justly and how without armed forces the crown could be admired and revered. More importantly, Louis IX proved that peace and stability of the country come along with true justice. This is not something that can be brought by the sword or arms. Real power means active participation in proper role-playing and active assumption of responsible authority.

Justice in the sense of executing and enforcing law to keep peace has a close link with the king's knights, the adoption of which can be traced back to the early Plantagenet monarchs. Keeping the royal peace was supported early on by the Norman legal writers to do away with private jurisdictions and irregularities in the land (Beard 1967, p. 15). Richard I of England in 1195 began to commission his knights to preserve the king's peace in tough areas and they were known as *custodes pacis* (keepers of peace). In the fourth year of Edward II's reign, that is, AD 1311, not only knights but "good and lawful men in every county" (i.e., the gentry) were assigned to keep the peace with power of police to deal with offenses against peace (Beard, p. 36). During the reign of Edward III in 1361, the formal title Justice of the Peace came into being (Beard, p. 33). This kind of royal police power was initially applied to "certain persons, times

and places" but soon "to include churches, monasteries, great highways, and houses of important men in the kingdom" and then the whole realm (Beard, pp. 13–14). The Church supported the act because it also received protection from the king. This mechanism thus brought all men and institutions under the direct and supreme authority of the state. Kingship is seen as not only the monarch but the crown, or body politic, that rules the state. Though labeled as the king's peace keepers, these officers signified an extension of royal prerogative and the formation of a royal administrative system with knights carrying out the enforcement.

In a nutshell, Fortescue sums up the inevitable *noblesse oblige* of a king, or for that matter, of a female monarch as well:

> a kynges office stondith in ij thynges, on to defende his reaume ayen þair enemyes outwarde bi the swerde; an other that he defende his peple ayenst wronge doers inwarde bi justice, as hit apperith bi the said first boke of kynges; wich þe Ffrench kynge dothe not, though he kepe Justice be twene subiet and subget; sithin he oppressith thaim more hym self, than wolde haue done all the wronge doers of þe reaume, þough thai hade no kynge. (Fortescue, p. 116)

Of the kingship's two obligatory roles, national defense demanding the monarch's attention does not need further explanation. Not only recognized by Fortescue, Niccolò Machiavelli, too, believed in military forces and duties in advising the prince or monarch to act on them to gain and to hold power. As to wiping out the internal wrong doers to maintain peace, the task was enthusiastically discussed by the parliament in the sixth year of Edward II in 1313. The king was then advised that he should assign lords to be special guardians of the county with the sheriffs and other personnel to assist them. To guarantee additional security, "the king was to ride through the land from county to county, supervise the proceedings of the guardians, and to punish the culpable and disobedient." The proposal was passed as a law in cooperation with the clergy that "issued a sentence of excommunication against all those who disturbed the peace and quiet of the church and the realm, and especially against those who made alliances by covenants, obligations, federations, or in any manner through malice. Those who aided in such disturbance of the peace were included" (Beard, p. 38). Clearly, the disturbances of the peace so mentioned were not such offenses as theft and robbery but organized crimes or riots so that the parliament had to reprioritize its agenda and held off the deliberation of

launching a crusade to the Holy Land. Justice and peace after the outbreak of violence and social disruption of the time was an urgent state matter. The advice and support of the parliament reflected the serious impact it had on the daily life of the people. All these remedial measures were enacted and proclaimed in the name of the king with the commonweal rather than the king's self interest in the making. Eliminating social vices and keeping them under control was an area in which the State and Church concurred and could work together. What the king offered was not just police control but ridding of people's terrifying fear and to put society back to order. This fundamental human right of the subjects was guaranteed by the ruler when he brought back justice rather than imposed further malice on the people. Peace, the result of order, allowing the king's subjects to comfortably settle down to achieve prosperity, is a manifestation and proclamation of governmental power.

Justice can also mean the airing of grief so that the afflicted mind will be eased and peace regained. The Arthurian knights who have pledged an oath to keep the code of honor and to do justice ultimately had to keep peace and settle disputes. Besides serving the king, the queen and the Church, Arthurian knights frequently had to deal with oppressors and evildoers such that they might need to revert the seized castles or properties to the victims. When done, many of these knights would identify themselves as coming from Arthur's court to publicize the renowned name of their sovereign. The Knights Templar,[9] too, followed a similar pattern of deeds between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. In protecting Christian pilgrims and the interests of the Church in general, these knights formed a task force of enviable guardianship. Aside from mustering military forces and building stronghold castles they also gave advice to travelers as to how to avoid thieves, bandits and even dishonest innkeepers while traveling. The Templars did not serve any local monarch but Christ the Lord and they received papal license, as good as regal ones, to carry out their acts. They were performing much more than the Justices of the Peace for the English crown. The Church, in fact, did not organize the Templars; they arranged their own communities to fight in order to keep peace and guarantee safety to various travelers and to the Christian lands, including the Holy Land. Generous donations from all sources made them rich and their elitist formation made them powerful to become a glamorous arm of the power of the Church. Despite their conviction to justice and peace, ironically it was Philip of France, their fellow Christian and a secular king, who eradicated the chivalric order.

Political Power of Medieval Women

A good ruler would actively protect people's lives and properties while passively defusing the subjects' fear or frustrated ego. This ruler not only should show his power and might but also provide people of all walks of life with the leisure and means to love what they want to do and to do things for. One unique example was the rulers under whom queens, ladies, nuns and even laywomen could develop their artwork of embroidery. These women serving as patrons, commissioner or embroiderers did not seem to be directly related to the traditional understanding of power. But in a small way high and low females could participate in creative art, adorn ecclesiastical vestments and decorations of the Church as well as practice their spiritual growth.[10] Some of the illustrious commissioners and donors of embroidery or participating embroidery workers included the sixth-century Irish saint Ercnat (the name means embroideress in Gaelic), the seventh-century abbess-saint Eustadiola, St. Etheldreda (d. 679), English queen and founding abbess of Ely, Queen Ermengard (d. 851), the wife of Lothar I, Queen Judith (d. 843), wife of Louis the Pious and mother of Charles the Bald, Ermentrude (d. 869), wife of Charles the Bald, Queen Emma, wife of Louis the German, Gerberga (fl. 962), sister of Emperor Otto I and of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, St. Edith of Wilton (d. 984), daughter of King Edgar and repudiated wife of Wulfryth, Giselda (d. 1037), sister of Henry II and wife of King Stephen of Hungary, Queen Emma (d. 1052), wife of Ethelred II and Cnut, Queen Matilda (d. 1083), wife of William the Conqueror, Queen Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093) and so on (Schulenburg 2009, pp. 89–101). Their work represented triumph over ennui and mundane chores while developing social connections and political power apart from internalizing their religious faith. These examples show that a good number of the "holy women" belonged to the ruling class. Besides these embroideresses and donors, there were other pious-minded noble ladies founding religious houses from the twelfth century onward. This was especially true when the ladies became the sole remaining heir of their families. Often these noble ladies contributed to the economic development of the time. Their authority exerted great impact and power within many regions though previously they were overshadowed by the primogeniture system of the ruling houses and were neglected (Berman 2009, pp. 137–149). In some sense, these ladies participated in the preparation for sacred authority. Their talents in artwork signified that they had been given full rein to develop potentiality and

liberality, a clear indication of social stability and prosperity. This marked the capability of the power of Christian love and inward peacefulness. True peace includes the bestowing of freedom and the disengagement of physical and spiritual control which reflects the credit of the monarch.

Wang dao as Justice and Peace

Similarly, peacefulness has been aspired in East Asian Confucian countries and the preferable form of rulership is *wang dao* (way of authentic kingship), as versus *ba dao* (hegemony). *Wang dao* not only includes justice and peace but implies a crucial moral rectitude of benevolence (*ren*). Ruling via benevolence was believed to lead the world to harmony and eschew disturbances. It is an ideal that has been frequently and conveniently slighted by monarchs. Its execution needs to go through persuading and cultivating the people, not by coercing but by means of words, deeds and virtues. Rather than privileging the monarch to pursue their whims, benevolence restrains or edifies the royal ego from degrading into despotism[11] and hence terror, but to elevate the royal self to an exemplary awareness of humanity. Supreme regal power was charged with full responsibilities to rule the subjects under the principles of humanity, righteousness, propriety, intellect and trustworthiness.[12] Upon administering these virtues the ruler can be said to have adopted *wang dao*, granting the state with soft power of politics. In conceptual term, *wang dao* is quite similar to what Fortescue labeled as the *dominium regale* pattern plus benevolence and compassion. True power of the monarch is a force and perhaps movement too, not to have the subjects intimidated, but to infuse them with respect and reverence. This *wang dao* monarch is similar to Plato's philosopher king. Unfortunately, often this *wang dao* has not been the case in Chinese rulership. While *wang dao* may be difficult to carry out, the resort to forceful means to rule, including violence, frequently has its market and advocates.

Machiavelli's Perceptions and After

Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532) testifies how true the situation could be. While he strongly advised that monarchs should tackle political reality rather than moral ideas in their ruling (Machiavelli 1988), the Chinese kingship (or *wang dao*) of practicing benevolence and compassion has been entirely ruled out. A good ruler, to Machiavelli, is one who

should take advantage of the weaknesses of the people so that he would prevail on the fear of the people rather than their love if both could not exist at the same time (Skinner and Price 1988, p. 59). Machiavelli sees that human beings are essentially fickle, bending toward the evil and the corrupt whereas the Confucians tend to believe that human beings are by nature benign and good. Machiavelli's monarch should exercise stringent means, including forces when the state is at stake. All wrongful doings in the state should be done with, just like the enforcement of the Justices of the Peace, even at the expense of sacrificing moral values so that the monarchy is safe and survives. To maintain the end of upholding authority and supreme power, the ruler is justified to adopt malicious means and immoral practices. Though there has not been a lack of criticism on the Machiavellian assumptions of rulership, some of Machiavelli's views of the absolute power have actually been foreseen by former kings, queens and thinkers like Fortescue. It takes the French political philosopher Jean Bodin (1530–1596) to revise Machiavelli's extreme techniques of principality. Bodin reminded the monarch from a Christian point of view not to forsake God's will and the law of nature though he opposed the Church to interfere with the government of the State. While he supported the divine right of the king and favored a centralized monarchy, he argued that the sovereignty was to be perceived as the power of a republic, meaning matters of public law and politics.[13] Bodin's theory of sovereignty was a landmark and had been influential in the European political arena leading to the beginning of absolutism. But his celebrated theory and impact deserves a separate treatment.

All in all, the notion of monarchial authority and power in early Modern Europe had a strong base in Christological origin of constitutionalism and secular religion of humanity as Ernst Kantorowicz endeavored to match (Kahn 2009, p. 79). Whereas rulership is an art, vision and accountability, the ruler has to discreetly deal with force and will. The power of rulership, as perceived by early monarchs and the kingship advice books, does not differ drastically from its modern day republic state mechanism[14] in exercising decision making, arbitrating, granting land, privileges and rights, providing protection, forming alliances and international relationships, enacting laws, levying taxes and revenues, manipulating and playing politics, subjugating and providing subjects with accommodations, raising military forces and stabilizing the kingdom, and so on (Marriott 1927, 1 pp. 385–387). When the king is absent, for a short or long period, there will be his surrogate and political entity of royal power to continue the rule. The continuity of

kingship has convincingly been explicated by Kantorowicz's theory of *The King's Two Bodies* (1957),[15] that is, the body natural and body politic that assert largely the divine right of the king. In the case of the queen regnant, focusing on Elizabeth I of England as an example, Marie Axton has enlightened us with *The Queen's Two Bodies* (1977). These historical and literary texts, though sporadically selected, unanimously concur on the above visions of power of the rulers that dictate the social energy of the time.

Diverse Modes of Rulership in a Gist

To begin this collection of articles with Philopappus' monument means much more than a flashback to reconstruct the kingship of the Commagenian royal bloodline of the Greco-Syrian kingdom. The funerary monument erected within the boundary of Athens manifests that Philopappus was a celebrated Roman Consul, and the prestigious location of it certifies that it belongs to a powerful ruler who makes the "king's body" prevalent after death. Politically, Philopappus accepted the subdued fate to have his Commagenian power dispersed and to assume his seat in the Roman Athens. His grandfather, Antiochus IV, was a Commagene client king of the Roman Empire and the grandson chose to adopt the Athenian rulership under Roman patronage. Ching-Yuan Wu has amply shown us that the honor and prestige of the unique monument verifies that Philopappus has fully utilized the setup of client-kingship within the Roman hierarchy. This Commagenian descendant, though deprived of his ancestral territorial kingdom, had artfully acted and lived like a king in his time.

Also viewing kingship obliquely, Lola Sharon Davidson presents Pascalis Romanus's dreams of kings in the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*. The book's oneirocritical function dates its precedent to Biblical antiquity when Joseph resolved to interpret the dream for Pharaoh (Gn 41:17–36). The book also sacralized the king within a divine order. Yet, for commoners to dream of royal events and such identities may signal a bad end. The power of the rulers is prohibitive to ordinary people. While the appearance of kings was not obviously described, likewise was the queen; her position is plainly next to the king. This Byzantium treatment of the queen is more of the queen consort than the queen regnant. The regal dreams depicted by Pascalis were dominantly concerned if kings would win over their enemies and most interpretations are with the favor or disfavor of the powerful. The overall picture of the king, Davidson concludes, was a military leader who exercised his powers in a feudal Western and courtly society.

In the midst of the flowering of chivalric literature in twelfth-century Europe whereby females' social status was distinctly elevated, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannia* also contributed to sensitize such awareness in his historicizing of queenship. Sophia Yashih Liu analyzes four types of Galfridian queenships: queen consort, queen regent, dowager queen and female king. Queens in the twelfth century enjoyed more political autonomy than their counterparts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While Queen Matilda of King Stephen was noted as a praiseworthy queen consort, Empress Matilda of Roman Emperor Henry V was not, though both performed similar functions. The crucial reason seemed to be Empress Matilda was acting more like a female reigning monarch which was not readily accommodated by the time. The only exception was Cordeilla, daughter of King Leir. Yet, in a way, Cordeilla ruled as a partner of the French king. Wace's Cordeilla and Shakespeare's Cordelia would avoid that female kingship complication. Female rulership in the forms of queen consort, regent queen or dowager queen worked out fine in the Galfridian historiography, but not with female monarchy. Complete political power to the ruling queen had yet to come.

Homosociality as a gender ideology plays an important role in Western culture's conceptualization of kingship. Ying-hsiu Lu remarks that men demand homosocial allegiance to be given primacy over heterosexual bonds so much so that female sexuality is presented as a disturbing force to the bond of male rivalry, as in the Arthur–Guenevere–Launcelot love triangle. Even Arthur's marriage is seen to strengthen his male bonding with King Lodegreance though on the surface it is the fulfillment of Arthur's desire for Guenevere. The homosocial relationship is so compelling that Arthur deliberately ignores the illicit love between Launcelot and Guenevere to maintain the male bonding fellowship of the Round Table. Arthur's gender relations override the tensions and contradictions structured around familial ties and marital bonds in order to uphold his kingship. Preclusively rather than inclusively, masculinity and male bonding illustrate one dimension of the cultural notions of kingship and ideal kingly virtue during the days of Malory.

Much younger than Arthur when Henry VI became king of England and hence historians often address him as a child king. The long period of Henry's kingdom being governed by regents and later influenced by his queen Margaret of Anjou has led the court to factions. Chiu-yen Lin points out that the guiltless but incompetent king's mismanaging the government was condoned by John Lydgate in his political poems and cited

two ancestral saintly kings to excuse the child king. The king was specifically advised to maintain order and exercise justice as all virtuous kings should. Though ultimately deposed, Henry VI was known to later generations as a supporter of education and religion thereby winning him the name martyr king. Supporting education actually means the dissemination and sharing of power. The power and strength that Henry did not enjoy during his lifetime was vindicated by good fame after death. A weak king in his time turned around to be a charitable king posthumously. Kingship in history seems to necessitate frequent and refreshed assessment, and political power in life need not be the only concern of a king.

John Ford's play *The Broken Heart* dramatizes the arbitrariness of two family heads in arranging forced marriages that ruin young couples. Minghsiu Chen alludes the play to King Charles I's prerogative power in levying a forced loan at the expense of the people. Despite Charles' claim to his divine right he is seen as an oppressor breaching the statutes. Ithocles and Bassanes, rulers of two noble households, or allegorically King Charles, force their subordinates to yield up their desire and property. The female protagonist Penthea and later the Spartan queen Calantha, too, died as victims, one because of an unjust decision and the other of a broken heart resulting from the death of her spouse. Chen points out the fallibility of the ruler of an unjust government which affects the joint fate of the ruler and the subjects. She also notes that Ithocles' rash decision to force Penthea to marry Bassanes signified Charles' indiscretion in levying a loan despite the authority of the parliament. The play is to be seen as Ford's political criticism of the king's encroachment on the liberty and welfare of his people.

An entirely different view on Charles I's rulership is from the stance of his queen Henrietta Maria who was traditionally besmeared to have caused the downfall of her husband. Mainly because of her French Catholic background, the English public and history scholars opted to imagine her to be a foreign queen wielding harmful sexual power. Recent scholarship, however, gives her a fairer reevaluation. Grace Cheng, using the underestimated Queen's House at Greenwich, argues that Henrietta actually assisted Charles I outside the court as queen consort. The artistically decorated House demonstrates Henrietta perceiving her queenship role with courtly préciosité and honnêteté backdrop while envisioning honnête as a form of conservative feminism in early modern Europe. The House became a space to welcome and entertain visitors to the court and mediate between opposing factions, functioning socially and politically. Much as Henrietta

played a mediatory role between the Protestant Charles and the moderate Catholics, she was an inspiration to l'honnête homme, bringing peace and harmony to the court. Ironically, she was often condemned for her frivolity as a French Queen. Despite the historical prejudices, Cheng asserts that Henrietta presented herself as the ideal queen consort in England.

The fame of Charles I is further savaged by a staunch Anglican Katherine Philips, a popular poetess of her time. Battered by the Presbyterian parliamentarians Charles ultimately lost his remaining support of the royalists. Hui-Chu Yu argues that Philips on the one hand toned down the negative perception of Charles I in order to create a more positive portraiture, and on the other hand exploits biblical allusions to create a devotional figure to defend the king from charges of the Presbyterians. The grievous "sin" Charles I committed was his being suspected by the Parliament of leading England to Catholic apostasy. Ultimately Charles I was executed by the Parliament and Philips portrayed him as a forgiving monarch and martyred king, juxtaposing him with the Christ image. The so-called "justice" portrayed by Philips was a means to satiate the rebels' desire to seize political power. Charles' son was exiled and came back to claim the divine right to rule as Charles II. Yu finds that Philips associated both Charles I and II with the victimized image of Christ, suffering for the people. The royalist images of the deposed king and exiled king, in Philips' poems, reflect much of the political reality of the Stuart monarchy and also the impact on the royal family and English society.

Looking through Alexis de Tocqueville's democracy lens, Jonathan Hart surveys kingship and rulers from classical times to the Renaissance. Hart finds Aristotle's discussion of kingship and tyranny bears critiques of Socrates' views. As to Plato and Aristotle, whose ideas form common themes in literary writings of Renaissance England, they both show caution of tyranny. The twelfth-century John of Salisbury opined that pride and deviation from the divine law by putting oneself above that law is the cause of tyranny. This view resonates with St. Thomas' definition of a tyrant. While suppressing freedom, tyranny also demands conformity and indistinguishable character as witnessed in the USA and elsewhere today. Hart further asserts that Shakespeare like his other key contemporaries tries to present the nature of the private and public, just and tyrannical rule and his tyrants and kings often have the power of language. While John of Salisbury frames tyranny as a kind of impiety or blasphemy in the context of Christian salvation, De Tocqueville investigates the tyranny of the majority. Tyranny in its naked form causes trauma

and reveals the malicious dimension of power. De Tocqueville's vision of democracy enables us to look back to Shakespeare and his contemporaries meaningfully.

Braving the eighteenth century, Tobias Smollett witnessed the passage of the Stuart into the Hanoverian monarchs. Simon White uses three works of Smollett to present the vista of Smollett's sense of rulership. In *The Regicide*, though the angry king claims his divine right to be the savior of the state, he is portrayed as a kingly power-grab, ruling not according to the "common weal." The rebel Athol in the play casts like Cade in Shakespeare's *Richard II*. Kingship in Smollett's novel *Roderick Random* is obliquely presented. The power of royal prerogative has transited to ministerial patronage. The Georgian monarch evinced the commercial interests taking the reins of power away from the vested interests of landowners. The former species of king has ceased to exist. The other novel *Humphrey Clinker* depicts the king as a politician, working in one of the offices within the system of constitutional monarchy. Instead of giving order to his barons, he now has to compromise as he (George III) is only the first among equals. Despite Smollett's Tory inclination, White argues, Smollett has to concede that the monarch's prerogative and rights have shifted to assumptions about the "natural" rights of the people as time has changed.

In sum, part of the title of this book "Early Modern Europe" is quite arbitrary, as the collected articles spread out a time frame of almost two thousand years from the classical times to pre-modern eras. Yet the core notions are clear: how rulers exercise and perceive power on their initiative as well as how their councilors would advise them to hold on to it for the benefit of them and for the ruled subjects. Short of building up a paradigm of the institution of kingship or queenship, these articles nevertheless investigate the transition, transmission and transference of tactics of governmental stability and durability from multidisciplinary perspectives. The embedded assumptions are sociologically realistic rather than romantic in presenting some assertive and intriguing forms of power-grabbing strategies and some reluctant and helpless modes of keeping the sovereignty. The more modern the times the less powerful the rulers seemed to be. The various disciplines and persuasions represented by the articles here bear witness to the evolution of absolute monarchy into constitutional monarchy. Among all the monarchs discussed, King Charles I gains the most exposure with drastically different evaluation on his rulership. His case perhaps best illustrates the intertwining complexities of Church and

State and interest groups. Barring religion, personalities of the monarchs definitely make the difference in manipulating power. The stronger the rulers' character, the firmer grip they will impose on governance; the milder their will in insisting, the looser their control over vital affairs will be. That includes the highly acclaimed King Arthur. Monarchial rule has time and again come to the crossroads of power struggle. At their back, many monarchs often hear the winged chariot of power-sharing democracy hurrying near.

Notes

1. Lola Sharon Davidson's article in this collection will add notes and further illustration on the Gregorian Reforms. Additionally, Uta-Renate Blumenthal explicates on the monastic reform and the Investiture issue in England, France and Germany after Pope Gregory VII's successors in *The Investiture Controversy*: *Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988. More historical texts in translation with annotation are in T.J.H. McCarthy, *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest*: *Frutolf of Michelsberg and his continuators*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2014.
2. Corruption and abuse of power of the unpopular Henry VI gave Jack Cade enough grassroots support to launch a rebellion. The incident was claimed to remove the traitors around the weak king but ended in an uncontrollable situation. The rascal image of Cade was portrayed by Shakespeare in *Henry VI*, *Part 2*. For historical treatment, see I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991 and Alexander L. Kaufman, *The Historical Literature of the Jack Cade Rebellion*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
3. Plummer was a nineteenth-century editor of John Fortescue's legal work. He wrote a long "Introduction" to Fortescue's *The Governance of England*: *Otherwise called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*. Ed. Charles Plummer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885. The text is accessible in the Google Digital Archive: https://archive.org/details/governanceengla00fortgoog and the University of Michigan "Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse" e-text project: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/AEW3422.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.
4. Confucius did not say these exact words. He propounded on the notion based on early classics. Yet generations of scholars have built

on the idea, forming a Confucian tenet. One Tang dynasty scholar Huang Po (fl. A.D. 843) wrote an essay "lun shou-ming yu tian [On *shou-ming yu tian*]," which has been incorporated in the *Quan Tang Wen* [*Complete Tang Dynasty Essays*], a *collectanea* of classical prose written during the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) with numerous editions and reprints over the centuries.

5. Wei Zheng aside from keeping disciplinary surveillance over the Tang dynasty officialdom often admonished the emperor when making judgments. Wei's most renowned memorial to the emperor advising him to cherish ten virtues is titled: "*jian Taizhong shi si shu*" [memorial to remonstrate emperor Taizhong on ten counts of virtue]. The memorial has been rote memorized by millennia of Chinese scholars and later collected in the widely circulated *Anthology of Exemplary Classical Essays* (*guwen guanzhi*, prefaced 1698). A handy modern edition is by Wu Chu-cai ed., *Guwen guanzhi*. Taipei: Guoli Taiwan shifandaxue chubanzhongxin [National Taiwan Normal University Publications Center], 2012.
6. The expression was first opined in a vernacular 40-chapter novel *Shuo Hu quan zhuan* (published between 1735 and 1796); since then the saying has been widely circulated.
7. The notion was long ago sparked by J.E.A. Jolliffe in *Angevin Kingship*. 2nd ed. London: A and C Black, 1963. In chapter IV: Ira et Malevolentia, pp. 87–109, Jolliffe suggested that royal anger would place the disfavored subject in an agonizing situation often unprotected by law. In recent years, historian Gerd Althoff re-ignited the interest in "Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger" in Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed. *Anger's Past*: *The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 59–74. A number of discussions with various perspectives follow suit, including Michael J. Chan, "Ira Regis: Comedic Inflections of Royal Rage in Jewish Court Tales," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 103:1 (Winter 2013), 1–25.
8. Paul Hyams takes issue with Althoff in his article, "What Did Henry the Third Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?" in Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed. *Anger's Past*: *The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, pp. 92–126. See also Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger" *Anger's Past*, pp. 127–52.
9. Over time, there had been more hearsay than authentic history chronicling on this knightly order. Indeed, the Templars formed an enviable force serving no single European ruler but the Church's interest and demesne in general. Accountable discussions include Malcolm

Barber, *The New Knighthood*: *A History of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Helen Nicholson, *Knight Templar 1120–1312*. Oxford: Osprey, 2004 and Karen Ralls, *The Templars and the Grail*: *Knights of the Quest*. Wheaton, IL: Theosophical Publishing House, 2003.

10. This often slighted embroidery role of medieval females who while demonstrating their religious piety also captured the admiration of high churchmen and played an important part in the liturgical preparation and celebration. See Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Holy Women and the Needle Arts: Piety, Devotion, and Stitching the Sacred, ca. 500–1150," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe*: *Gender*, *Power*, *Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, ed. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009, pp. 83–11.
11. The French economic thinker François Magalona Quesnay was probably the first European who wrote in appreciation of the meritocratic system of Chinese politics in *Le Despotisme de la Chine* (1767) against the backdrop of the cumbersome French aristocratic politics. An English translation by Lewis A. Maverick is available entitled: *China*, *a model for Europe*. San Antonio, Tex.: Paul Anderson, c1946. In the twentieth century, the idea of despotism in China was stigmatized to ruling by terror as argued in Karl A. Wittfogel's, *Oriental Despotism*, *A Comparative Study of Total Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. Frederick W. Mote, however, reviewed the book from a historian's point of view to say that Wittfogel's "total power, total terror" theory needs to be modified and it has to take into consideration the historical development and institutional function of terror. Mote's long article is "The Growth of Chinese Despotism: a Critique of Wittfogel's theory of Oriental Despotism as Applied to China." *Oriens Extremus*, 8(1961.1), 1–41. Contemporary Chinese evaluation of kingship is discussed by Ge Quan's article, "Lun wangquan zhuyi shi yizhong jiquanzhuyi" [On kingship as a kind of totalitarianism] in *Wangquan yu shehui—Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu* [Monarchical Power and Society—A Study of Chinese Traditional Political Culture.] Cui Xiangdong et al. Wuhan: Chongwen Books, 2005, pp. 12–29.
12. These items are traditionally called the five perennial principles (*wu chang*). They are sequentially built up by Confucius (the first three principles), Mencius (the fourth one) and Han Confucian thinker Dong Zhongshu (179–104 B.C.) in the order of *ren* (humanity), *yi* (righteousness), *li* (propriety), *zhi* (intellect) and *xin* (trustworthiness), with *ren* (meaning both benevolence and humanity) heading

the list. These virtues cultivate a person to become a proper gentleman (similar to the notion of l'honnête homme) and are the expectations of a ruler to render his state into a world of harmony.

13. Bodin's voluminous works somehow have escaped the favor of English translators though the original was widely read and adopted. His basic work related to our discussion is in *Les six livres de la République*. Aalen: Scientia, 1961. This publication is marked as the facsimile of the 1583 Paris edition, "Faksimiledruck der Ausgabe Paris 1583." For the core concepts of Bodin in a modern edition, see Julian H. Franklin ed. *Jean Bodin*: *On Sovereignty* : *Four Chapters from The Six Books of the Commonwealth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Julian Franklin also did a couple of important studies on the French thinker: *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, and *Jean Bodin and the 16th Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
14. A relatively modern concept of State should not be confused with that of a Nation. A State, as argued by John Marriott, needs to have these features: defined territories, ordered and permanent government served by officials to perform governmental functions including the protection of borders and its people from external attack, laws and rules for officials and subjects alike to abide, and a body of men and women sharing communal interests as well as enjoying rights and obligations of citizenship (Marriott 1927, p. 14). Marriott's book has a comprehensive treatment of the topic from Plato, Aristotle to the twentieth century, detailing forms of government and modes of democracies.
15. The impact of Kantorowicz's seminal work can be seen by the popular reference to it in the various papers in this anthology. One of his major notions that "the king dies but the crown lives" has won universal acclaim by theologians, philosophers and legal scholars. For a brief legacy of the work, see Stephen Greenblatt, "Introduction: Fifty Years of *The King's Two Bodies*," *Representations* 106.1 (Spring 2009): 63–66.

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"Live Like a King": The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship

Ching-Yuan Wu

Introduction

The Philopappus Monument on the Mouseion Hill at Athens hails as a displaced descendant of the Commagenian dynasty (163 BCE–72 CE) with a lavish façade projecting two sitting statues and a processional frieze toward the Athenian Acropolis, the most revered space of the ancient city. Inscriptions on the monument façade identify the sitting statues as kings: flanking the central figure to the left is Gaius Julius Antiochus IV (fl. 17–c. 72 CE), the last king to rule Commagene before Vespasian (9–79 CE) divested him of his kingdom. In the central arcuated niche sits Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus (c. 65–116 CE), the grandson of the divested king. It is likely that Philopappus died in Athens and was interred in the monument, where scholars hypothesized that the now dismantled and exposed space behind the monumental façade may have been a funerary chamber housing a sarcophagus (Santangelo 1947, pp. 244–253; Kleiner 1983, pp. 41–44).

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The Philopappus Monument can be viewed in the context of the growing extravagance of self-aggrandizement among the Roman aristocracy under the empire (Cormack 1997, p. 139ff; Raja 2012, p. 215–218). They invested in competitive monumental construction with overwhelming size and multiplicity of architectonic symbols—a trend since the Late Republic (Zanker 1990, p. 16ff). One such hallmark is the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, which served as a monumental tomb for Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus (45–120 CE), along with some 12,000 scrolls enclosed in the library's extravagantly designed and decorated façade (Strocka 2003, pp. 34–40). As provincial elites continuously invested local communities with monumental projects that displayed their power, status, wealth and influence, the variant forms of design and aesthetic taste reflect in turn selective mixtures of cultural expressions (Thomas 2003, pp. 7–8). Diana Kliner has identified resemblances between Philoppapus' monumental façade and the architectural elements of Greco-Roman tombs at Pompeii, Rome, St. Rémy and Capua; Roman arches, such as the Arch of Titus in Rome and the arches of Trajan at Ancona and Benevento; and also other structures, such as funerary pyres, nymphaea and theaters (Kleiner 1983, pp. 97–98).

The aggrandizing and eclectic aspects of the sculptural program of the Philopappus Monument, along with its role as precursor to the Hadrianic revival of monumental construction at Athens (Boatwright 2000, p. 144–157), provoked surprisingly few responses, both ancient and modern. The lone witness from antiquity regarding the monument is Pausanias the Periegete (c. 115–180 CE), who in his *Periegesis Hellados* commented simply that the monument was built "for a Syrian" (μνῆμα... ἀνδρὶ ᾠκοδομήθη Σύρῳ, 1.25.8 Santangelo 1947, p. 158; cf. Steinhart 2003). It would not be until the fifteenth century that travelers such as Cyriacus de' Pizzicolli of Ancona (c. 1391–c. 1455 CE) began to take interest in reporting and sketching the monument (Kleiner 1983, p. 22–26). Cyriacus' report of two missing inscriptions—one inscribed on the pilaster flanking right of the central niche stating Philopappus' royal lineage, the other inscribed on the base of the right niche stating that the missing statue figure is the diadoch Seleucus Nicator—remains critical to the understanding of the monumental façade's dismantled past (Santangelo 1947, p. 196; Kleiner 1983, p. 15).

Modern studies have approached monuments such as that of Philopappus' by unpacking the dynamics of viewing artistic objects and the construction of identity behind surviving visual representation (Fig. 1) (Elsner 1995, p. 19ff).

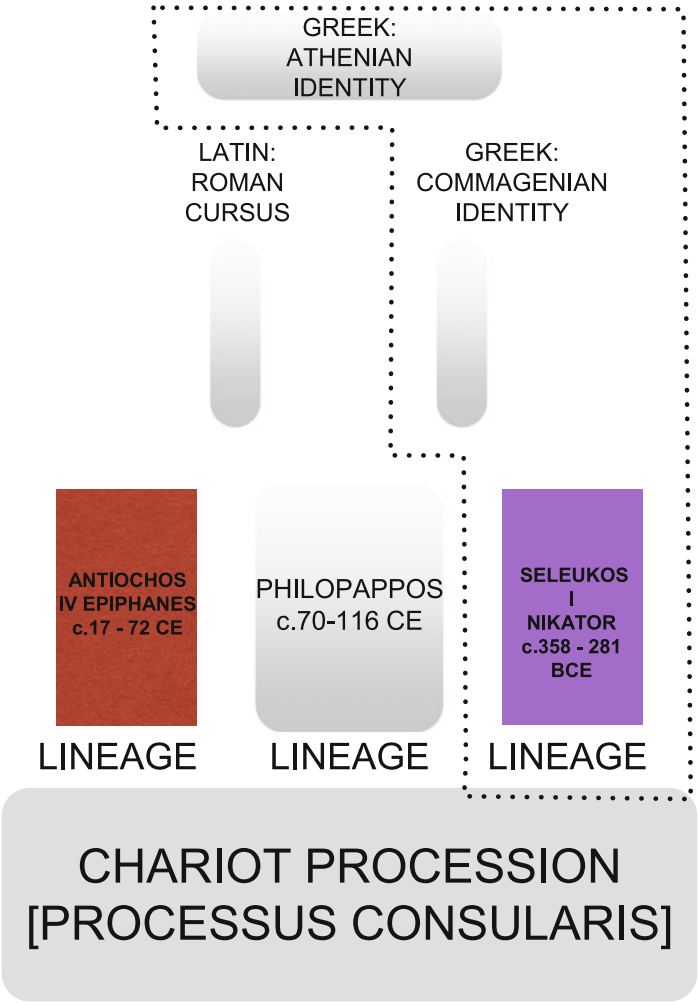

Fig. 1 Philopappus Monument Façade Layout

The first critical study of the monument was carried out by Maria Santangelo, who saw the eclecticism of the monument's sculptural program as an "imperial koiné" (Santangelo 1947, p. 224). She also observed that the architectural traits of the monument resemble

Commagenian *hierothesia* built in the Commagenian heartland, hence infused with "multiplistic inspirations from the Orient," including Persian, Armenian and Greek variations (ibid., 253; also see Sanders and Young 1996, pp. 378–471). Diana Kleiner observed that the placement of the monument near the summit of the Philopappus Hill may be a tribute to the royal tomb-sanctuary at Nemrud Dagi and elsewhere in the Commagenian heartland (Kleiner 1983, pp. 53ff), and that various details—such as the rayed sun behind the head of Philopappus on the processional relief, and the enshrined Herakles emblem on the processional chariot—were deliberately incorporated to signify Commagenian origins in a manifestly Roman scene (Kleiner 1983, p. 87). Yet, Kleiner determined that the overall design was evidently "non-Commagenian, but Greco-Roman," because "the source of many of the [sculptural and architectural ideas] lay outside Athens and the East," and, in particular, "its architectural form … was based in part on Roman commemorative arches" (Kleiner 1983, 85, pp. 97–98). Recently, scholars such as Margherita Facella further downplayed the "Commagenian" choices, privileging the Greco-Romanness of the sculptural program as the feature that actually attracts attention (Facella 2006, pp. 355–358). Some even declare the monument to be one for "a Roman aristocrat in the Greek heartland" (Kropp 2013, p. 188). In sum, Richard Miles' reading is representative of the current opinion regarding the sculptural program of the Philopappus Monument in this way: "the fact that Philopappus can represent himself as a Roman consul, an Athenian archon, a Commagenian king and even a god on the same monument shows that identity is a constructed rather than a fixed reality" (Miles 2000, p. 34).

This chapter proposes a reading of the Philopappus Monument as a piece that "talks" about the role of Commagenian kings (Clarke 2003, p. 9–12 & 16–17). The visual language of the monument—a togate statue of "king" Antiochus IV, and a Roman consul Philopappus who is the king designate—is a continuous and consistent concept of kingship under Roman rule. By reading the monumental façade from the viewpoint of the togate representations of both Antiochus IV and Philopappus, this chapter wishes to explore the theme of client-kingship from the perspective of the client-kings themselves: the design of the Philopappus Monument can be understood as a unique concept of kingship as part of the Roman bureaucratic system in the early principate.

Reading the Façade

From some distance away, a viewer could easily see the central arcuated niche housing a figure in heroic nudity, and to the left, a niche housing a Roman magistrate. Cyriacus of Ancona's drawing reports that the right niche housed a third seated figure, who was identified by an inscription—now also lost—as the diadoch Seleucus Nicator (c. 358–281 BCE). Below them runs a frieze commonly identified as the *processus consularis* (Beard 2007, p. 385 n. 67; Versnel 1970, p. 303). All three features blend into a calculated curvature (Cerutti & Richardson 1989, p. 175–176). More difficult to see are the two Greek and one Latin inscriptions that identify—in the case of the Greek inscription on the pilaster left of the central niche—and qualify the honorands (Santangelo 1947, pp. 194–199; (I)nscriptiones (G)raecae (volume) III (edition) 1, 557). On the left, the Roman magistrate is supposed to be "king Antiochus son of king Antiochus" (βασιλεύς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέ[ως Ἀντίοχου]), also known as Antiochus IV of Commagene. The hero in the center is "Philopappus son of Epiphanes, demesman of Besa" ([Φιλό]παππος Ἐπιφάνους Βησαιεύς), who was Antiochus IV's grandson.

Considered the last king of Commagene, Antiochus IV's Roman *toga* and *sella curulis* are somewhat unexpected features. Diana Kleiner, apart from a short description of what clothes and chair they were, made no additional comment (Kleiner 1983, p. 90). Maria Santangelo, on the other hand, emphasized that "il re Antiochos è stato ritratto panneggiato nella toga e seduto sedia curule nel l'atteggiamento di un vero e proprio magistrato romano. Antiochos, il grande avo che perduto il regno venne onoratio dai Romani con pubbliche magistrature, appare ritratto nella pienezza delle sue funzioni, vestito con tunica e toga" (Santangelo 1947, p. 203–204). Togate representations were fashionable in the Roman East during the first century CE due to the rarity of citizenships awarded in the early years of the Julio-Claudian emperors (Smith 1998, p. 65). While it might be that Antiochus IV is togated to emphasize that he is the first to receive citizenship, this might not have been the case, as Mithridates III (ca. 36–20 BCE, P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, M 637) and Antiochus III (c. 12 BCE–17 CE, P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, A 740) were more likely to have been the first (Raggi 2010, p. 94; Braund 1984, p. 43; Sullivan 1977a, p. 783). Also, the choice of adopting his iconography shown on coinage issued in Commagene was clearly avoided (Facella 2006, pp. 335–345), making his portrayal as a "true Roman magistrate" noteworthy. The *sella curulis*

Fig. 2 Antiochus IV and the sella curulis

is even more striking: such chairs were used only by curulian magistracies as part of their official signia. No record indicates that Antiochus IV held Roman magistracy (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, I 149), aside from Gaius appointing him as the king of Commagene and coastal Cilicia (Dio 59.8.2). The design of Antiochus IV as the Roman magistrate may be a unique self-definition regarding the nature of the client-kingship as the Commagenian royals saw it: a Roman office (Fig. 2).

Roman magistracy is indeed a pronounced theme on the monumental façade, considering the Latin inscription cut into the upper portion of the false column to the left of the central niche (Santangelo 1947, p. 198; *CIL* 3.552 = 7278 [*ILS* 845]):

> Gaius Julius Antiochus Philopappus son of Caius of the tribus Fabia Antiochus Philopappus consul, frater Arvalis, adlected among the praetorian rank by Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus, optimus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus.
>
> C. Iulius C. f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Antio|chus Philo|pappus co(n)s(ul), || frater Ar|valis alle|ctus inter | praetori|os ab Imp(eratore) | Caesare || Nerva Traia|no, optu|mo Augus|to, Germa|nico Da||cico.

Unlike the Greek inscriptions, the Latin inscription—which includes Philopappus' Roman name, his affiliation to the Roman tribe of the Fabii, his membership in Arval brotherhood, the consulship and adlection into the praetorian rank by Trajan—would hardly be legible even from up close, as it is. The relationship between this inscription and the frieze can be seen as record and re-enactment: the visual narrative—likely the consular procession that would have taken place should Philopappus be physically in Rome—enacts what the inscription says, namely, Philopappus' attainment of the consulship (Mommsen 1887, p. 616). In the account of the monumental façade, Antiochus IV attained higher magistracy befitting the *sella curule*. The visual presentation shows that his legacy and Philopappus' success are interconnected. Even more, Antiochus' *sella curule* can be seen as part of a selection of visual highlights, a sequence secondary to the inscriptions; it is an ensemble including the rayed sun behind Philopappus' head, and the Herakles-in-naiskos emblem on Philopappus' chariot, both of which are imprints of a sense of self-awareness of exclusive birth and status (Kleiner 1983, pp. 87–89).

Philopappus' membership in the Arval Brethren is unique in terms of demarcating status. This priesthood was an office described as "a short step to ornamenta consularia," "select and exclusive," but more deridingly, a title that "permitted an approach to one of the ideals of a leisured society: something to live for and nothing to do" (Syme 1980, p. 115). Ronald Syme observed that the pattern of appointments of the Arval Brethren reflects that the institution was an inclusive instrument of "chance and change," particularly under the Flavian emperors: those who are enrolled as Arvales—Julius Polemaeanus, Julius Candidus and Julius Quadratus, for instance—were magnates of Asia, and swung the Roman East in Vespasian's favor (Syme 1980, pp. 75–77, 113–118). It is perhaps possible that Philopappus' inclusion is the result of his family's legacy. In other words, Philopappus was the successor of one of the Flavian emperors' eastern supporters, and an asset even for Trajan, as the marriage connection between the royals of Commagene and other kingdoms in the region—Parthia included—formed an "Eastern dynastic network" that constituted the geopolitical fabric of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, and could create support as well as havoc when mismanaged (Sullivan 1977b, p. 938).

What Cyriacus of Ancona also reported in the drawings includes an inscription on the pilaster between the right and the central niches: "*basileus* Antiochus Philopappus, son of king Epiphanes son of Antiochus"

(*IG* II² 3451 =(I)nscriptiones (G)raecae (volume) III (edition) 1, 557). The title *basileus*, which literally means "king," drew considerable attention, as Plutarch in the *Questiones Conuiuiales* described that "when *basileus* Philopappus was *agonothete* and acted as *choregos* for all the civic tribes together, the civic *agon* attained most intense of rivalries" (Plut. *Moralia* 628a-b).

How much power should we assign to Philopappus' title of "basileus"? Santangelo thinks that while the inscriptions seem to present Philopappus in "triplice condizione di cittadino attico, di cittadino-magistrato romano, e di re," the sense of king ought to be reconsidered, hence "o meglio di principe reale," as Philopappus held no kingdom, unlike his grandfather (Santangelo 1947, p. 199). This moderation of basileus was adopted by Diana Kleiner, who thinks that Philopappus was "rather a man who was destined to be king, but who, thanks to the Romans, never achieved that position" (Kleiner 1986, p. 11). Yet, as Marie-Françoise Baslez has shown, the epithet was attached to Philopappus regularly ever since he entered into public life around 92–94 CE (Baslez 1992, pp. 96–97). One such example comes from an inscription dedicated to the tribe of Oineis (*IG* II² 3112); as well as another, found at Lykosoura in Arcadia (*IG* V.2 524). Another inscription found in one of the underground tombs (known as the "Syringes of Thebes") at the Valley of the Kings, likely dedicated by a Commagenian soldier from the *ala I Commagenicum* and datable to 94–96 CE by his mother's remarriage, also calls Philopappus "basileus."

Baslez thinks that Philopappus may have benefited from a series of "oriental promotions" under the Flavians and later by Trajan, creating a class of nobility of the empire that would fill up the ever-growing number of praetorian provincial appointments, and particularly when emperors adopt anti-Parthian policies and even campaigns, such as under Trajan, likely just before Philopappus' own death (Baslez 1992, p. 98). One might even argue that the creation of a class of nobility began much earlier, as part of the ring of pro-Roman principalities, which David Braund dubbed "friendly kings," in which relationships with Rome were not simply conqueror and conquered, but constructions of friendship from which Rome could draw manpower and resources, but could not afford to antagonize all at once (Braund 1983, p. 6). With Commagene, the line between province and friendly principality was even more ambiguous. According to Josephus, when Antiochus III (r. 12 BCE–17 CE) died, "there rose a conflict between the *plethoi* (or the masses) and the *dynastoi* (or men of note)," both sending embassies to Rome demanding what they deemed necessary: the masses demanding ancestral

monarchy, while the men of note demanded Roman rule (J. *AJ* 18.53; Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.5). Tiberius subsequently provincialized Commagene into a senatorial province, governed by a certain praetor Quintus Servaeus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4). Twenty years later, the province was again reverted to a kingdom, this time led by Antiochus IV, the son of Antiochus III. Along with the king of Judaea, Agrippa I, Antiochus was called a tyrant-trainer by the emperor Gaius, and subsequently was appointed king of Commagene, with an expanded territory that included Rough Cilicia (Dio 59.8.2). Similar appointments of kings to oversee particular regions are found elsewhere, for example, the appointment of Herod as strategus of Coele-Syria and Samaria (Braund 1983, p. 85).

Philopappus' Kingship

What if Philopappus was more than a nominal "king" like his grandfather, being one of the classes of nobility who could be deputized by the princeps for extraordinary appointments at provinces when there is a need? According to current *communis opinio*, Philopappus held office in his early career of agonothetes (c. 92 CE), eponymous archon and agonothetes of the Dionysia (c. 93 CE) and agonothetes and choregos of all tribes (c. 94 CE) (Byrne 2003, pp. 308–309). The importance of these offices could be downplayed by emphasizing that they were wealth-based (Arafat 1996, p. 192–194), and aimed to distinguish notable Athenians who have acquired Roman citizenship (Notopoulos 1944, p. 155). On the other hand, Philopappus was no ordinary Athenian—there is no indication that the family of Antiochus IV came to Athens, only to Sparta and Rome, according to Josephus (J. *BJ* 7.239–240).

James Oliver's theory is that Philopappus was "encouraged" to participate in Athenian affairs, perhaps to deal with the "uncomfortably independent and uncooperative" philosophical schools that were revived during Vespasian's time (Oliver 1981, p. 418). During the Julio-Claudian period, Athens was free and exempt from taxes and from intervention by the provincial governor, also known as a special status of *ciuitas foederata libera et immunis*, essentially meaning that Athens enjoyed autonomy, however limited (Abbott & Johnson 1926, pp. 39–54). The privately funded and propertied philosophical schools of Athens were exemplary in that effect, whose *diadochoi* or successors protected school properties and interests, which were often in contradiction with the Roman administrative agenda (Dio 66.12–13). Inscriptions regarding the *diadochoi*

of these schools are not found to pre-date Vespasian's reign, however, leading Oliver to suspect that there was a revival of the philosophical schools (Oliver 1977, pp. 163–165). Oliver observed that four of the five *diadochoi* names now attested in inscriptions use the *trianomina*, and the earliest—Flavius Menander—bears the nomen of Vespasian (Oliver 1981, p. 418). It is likely, then, that Vespasian revived the philosophical schools by appointing Roman citizens as *diadochoi*, who could protect the properties and interests against local administrative abuse, while being a political check on the activities of the schools themselves. Oliver also suspects that Philopappus was identified by Domitian as a "Roman" philosopher and therefore "encouraged" him to participate in Athenian civic affairs for the same purpose as Vespasian appointed the "Roman" *diadochoi*.

Historical change in Athenian demography may have led to a shift in imperial policy toward Athens. The prosopographical data collected by Sean Byrne suggests that Athenians began to receive Roman citizenship with more regularity, starting from the reign of Claudius. From the Flavian period onward, Roman citizenship became so prevalent that only six archons can be certainly identified as *peregrini* instead of Roman citizens (Byrne 2003, p. xiv–xv). The corollary of this development may be that there is an actual need for imperial supervision—if not intervention—by agents chosen by the emperor, without challenging the city's bestowed legal status that guaranteed the opposite. It so happens that Domitian is known for "micromanaging" provinces (Jones 1992, p. 73 & 110–114). Could Philopappus have been his agent? A parallel case would be Neronian: according to Tacitus, the first "Roman" archon Gaius Carrinas Secundus, *philokaisar* ("Caesar lover") and priest of Drusus, was dispatched by Nero to hunt down Greek art in 64 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 15.45). Oliver substantiated Tacitus' report with an inscription from a statue base found in the Agora dedicated to a certain Gaius Carreina, who became eponymous archon (*IG* II^2 4188). His archonship has been interpreted as an attempt by the Athenians to limit the extent of his damage by means of public honorification (Byrne 2003, p. 100). If true, then the relationship between an eponymous archon and an imperial agent would, in this particular case, be one not only of appeasement but rather of bestowing the highest possible civic recognition onto the figure wielding the most authority, however temporarily.

To push Oliver's theory further, Philopappus' role as Roman consul would seem to be a reward of his success in his administration of Athens. One might even suspect that the Trajanian appointment of the Frater Arvalis, the consulship, and the entry into the praetorian rank

were preparations for Philopappus to take on a larger role, maybe in the Parthian theater (Syme 1958, p. 3ff). The Roman consuls in the imperial period, be it *ordinarius* or *suffectus*, have become appointed posts by the emperor (Millar 1977, p. 307). Even the senatorial *cursus* is carefully selected by the emperor, which shows the intricate ties between a figure such as Philopappus with Domitian and Trajan. While the method of attaining even the senatorial qualifications has become entirely dependent upon the *amicitia* of the emperor instead of clan competition in the Republican period, consulates are by no means only honorary as a result, but remain a standard pathway to proconsular governorships of senatorial provinces or imperial legates in imperial provinces (Stevenson 1975, pp. 106–110). In fact, as Haensch pointed out, the governor must be a Roman senator and must be of senatorial rank in order to command the legions of the Roman Army, as the Roman military command dealing with the Judaean revolt of 66–70 CE shows (Haensch 2010). By selecting consuls and praetors, the emperors were selecting persons whom they could deploy, and their selections have consequences that go beyond the respective reigns of each emperor (Kagan 2006, p. 358–361). As John Crook observes, friends of the emperor do not lose their position after the emperor dies: it was the friends—not only counselors to the emperor, but also soldiers and governors—who maintained continuity in imperial policy by serving in the government (Crook 1955, p. 29). Philopappus' consulship—assumed to have taken place in 109 CE (Degrassi 1952, p. 32)—happens to have occurred during a time when Trajan is about to shift from the Dacian to the Parthian theater, in which event Philopappus' legitimacy to control Samosata and other key positions on the Euphrates frontier could be more than welcomed (Millar 1995, p. 42).

Philopappus' consulship also took place a decade after Philopappus' tenure as Athenian civic magistrate in the late years of Domitian's reign, leading to the question whether Trajan's favors—Philopappus' consulship and adlection into the praetorian rank—were related to both his success in Athens as Domitian's administrator and what Josephus called "the ancient friendship between the Romans and the Commagenians." Josephus reported that, after Paetus captured Antiochus and dispatched the king to Rome, Vespasian (J. *BJ* 7.239-240; trans. William Jones):

> could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner [i.e., in chains], but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon

> pretense of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also.

The ancient friendship to which Vespasian was referring was the backbone of Roman political organization in the Roman East since the Late Republican period (Facella 2010, p. 186–191; Speidel 2005, p. 86–89). The choice for Antiochus to appear in Roman garb and take a Roman magistrate seat makes sense in this context, as well as Josephus' account on Antiochus IV's response toward the Syrian governor's aggression. "The king did not venture to make war towards the Romans on account of necessity, but rather bearing fate what must be endured" (J. *BJ* 7.231). This is the position of a king who thinks like a Roman magistrate. Philopappus' choice of representing Antiochus IV as a magistrate beside him, and describing himself as "grandfather-loving," gives the impression that he intends to emulate his grandfather in terms of understanding what "king" means—namely an extraordinary Roman magistrate, living like a king. Herein lies the principle of kingship as Philopappus saw it. The images, and in particular, the inscriptions of Philopappus' monumental façade can be read, then, as a continuity of Antiochus IV's concept of kingship down to Philopappus, a concept that is expressed by Antiochus IV's appearance as a Roman magistrate (despite being *basileus*), and to Philopappus as a Roman consul (and *basileus*).

Politics of Burial and Remembering

Such understanding of how Commagenian kingship operates—not only subordinate to, but also integrated with the Roman administrative system—can bring a new perspective on the extraordinary location of Philopappus' funerary monument, as Athens prohibited intramural burial (Camp 2004, pp. 198–199). Even Romans had to respect such a tradition, as a letter from Servius Sulpicius to Cicero shows (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 4.12.3; trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh):

> I could not induce the Athenians to grant him a place of burial within the city, [Note] as they alleged that they were prevented by religious scruples from doing so; and it is a fact that they had never granted that privilege to anyone. But they allowed us, which was the next best thing, to bury him in any gymnasium we chose.

The fact that Athenians in the Late Republic still observed the notion of "intra urbem" even when the Athenian walls were dismantled by Sulla a generation earlier suggests that the notion of Athens proper does not perish with the walls.

Of course, as Kleiner pointed out, "intramural burials may not have been as rigorously opposed in Philopappus' day as they were earlier" (Kleiner 1983, p. 16). For instance, when Panathenais, the daughter of Herodes Atticus, died, "the Athenians softened [his sorrow] for Panathenais his daughter, burying her in the city" (τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Παναθηναίδι τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπράυναν ἐν ἄστει τε αὐτὴν θάψαντες, Philostr. *VS* 2.1.557-558; trans. Wilmer Wright). In comparison, the burial site of Herodes was significant not in relation to the city boundary but rather with the Athenians' response to Herodes' benefaction (Philostratus *VS* 2.1.565–566; trans. Wilmer Wright):

> The Athenians, carrying him off by the hands of ephebes, bore him into the city, all the youths meeting the body at the bier, crying with tears, as if sons bereft of a good father, and they buried him in the Panathenaikos [stadium].

Herodes was brought *to Athens proper* (ἐς ἄστυ) to be honored, but later entombed in the Panathenaic Stadium, which lies outside both the Themistoclean and the Valerian walls (Theocharaki 2011). Joseph Rife is careful to make the distinction that Herodes did not receive the honor of intramural burial, but rather a "substantial, conspicuous and accessible monument," whose foundation has been identified as being on the east hill of the stadium (Rife 2008, p. 102, 109f). While Herodes seemed to have received "the nearest thing" permitted by the Athenians for Sulpicius' friend, to be buried in a gymnasium, it must be also pointed out that the act of bringing him into the city to be honored can be understood as a symbolic intramural burial—in this sense, he was buried outside of the ancient city boundary only because he could be better honored by being buried at his own benefaction.

From the case of Herodes Atticus and his daughter Panathenais, Philopappus could have been awarded an intramural burial. Why then the Mouseion Hill? The Mouseion Hill upon which the Philopappus Monument is built has been quite an attractive location in itself, as our only ancient witness Pausanias sees Philopappus Monument and explains (1.25.8; trans. William Jones):

> After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares,

> but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it.

The reason for the hill's attraction to foreign occupation lies in its strategic advantage. It is the second highest elevation other than the Acropolis Hill within the old city boundaries, and also overlooks the vital road between Athens and the Piraeus (Costaki 2006, 16 no. 53, 581–5). Enemies of Athens fortified themselves there, the list including Demetrius Poliorcetes, Mithridates and Sulla (Facella 2006, p. 355). As such, the Mouseion Hill resembles a *lieux de mémoire*, embodying the Athenian historical, mythical and present memorial consciousness, and as historically a space that is associated with the struggle against foreign occupation (Nora 1989, p. 12).

It is significant that Pausanias invoked the Philopappus Monument in the context of shaping up Athenian mythical and historical consciousness: he may be invoking the "complex, innovative, and hybrid cultural expressions of ethnic and social identification that took shape in Commagene from the Late Republican period onwards" (Andrade 2013, p. 67). The specific context in which such Syrianness was invoked—namely, foreign occupation—implies tension instead of hybridity. Pausanias may have employed a rhetorical practice of distain that is akin to his own earlier comment concerning the rededication of icons of Miltiades and Themistocles, "reinscribing the names of the two into a Roman and a Thracian" (Paus. 1.18.3; Habicht 1985, 137, no. 79). Admittedly, this reading of the Philopappus Monument in the context of the mythical and historical significance of the Mouseion Hill assumes that Pausanias learned about a considerable pushback against Philopappus' presence in Athens. Yet it could be that the location of the Philopappus Monument became controversial or even undesirable as his influence toward the Athenian elite circle became less distinct.

It is curious that Philopappus' benefactions did not create lasting impressions in Athens to mythologize his monument. Kleiner pointed out that there are no buildings that can be attributed to Philopappus' benefaction, which could be one reason behind the quick fading of the memory of his involvement in civic affairs (Kleiner 1983, p. 17). What may also have been

a factor was that Philopappus was a figure wielding considerable foreign influence. For example, Magarita Facella thinks that Philopappus' connection to the emperor Hadrian helped to increase the favorable opinion of Hadrian toward Athens, and hence he was rewarded with the honors of intramural burial by the Athenian citizens (Facella 2006, p. 356). Facella assumes that Philopappus was close to Hadrian, an opinion adopted by many scholars, particularly because Philopappus' sister Balbilla was part of Hadrian's retinue on his travels to Egypt (Brennan 1998, p. 233; Facella 2006, p. 345ff). The relationship between Philopappus and Hadrian is however difficult to ascertain due to the paucity of evidence. James Oliver observed that Philopappus and Hadrian shared the same demotic (Oliver 1942, p. 60; Oliver 1951, p. 348) and Athenian civic offices (Puech 1992, p. 4861); he proposed that Hadrian followed Philopappus' footsteps to enter into Athenian politics (Oliver 1950, p. 298), even though he has nothing else other than a bold emendation of the text of the *Vita Hadriani*, that Philopappus —not Philip—was whom Hadrian wished to emulate when becoming an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries (*HA* Hadrianus 13.1; Oliver 1950, p. 298). What Oliver wishes to propose is that Philopappus was "the representative of the glorious Hellenistic tradition" of a "genuine *basileus*," and that Hadrian was drawing from the successful implementation of Philopappus' model to establish himself in Athens (Oliver 1950, p. 298–299).

Roman emperors do employ eastern dynasts as local governors (Syme 1988, p. 9ff). From Flavian emperors onward, persons whose background were from eastern aristocratic or dynastic groups began to attain the consulship (Millar 1982, p. 21–22). Some also entered into the Arval Brethren, and even rose to prominent leadership positions in eastern provinces, such as Gaius Claudius Severus (*PIR* C 1023), the first governor of Arabia in 105–106 CE (Sullivan 1977b, p. 936); Gaius Julius Bassus, the governor of Bithynia in 98 CE; and his son Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus, the governor of Asia in 105 CE (Mitchell and French 2012, pp. 227–230). Like these eastern elite, Philopappus rose to the consulship and entered into the Arval Brethren at a time when political arrangements and gubernatorial choices between 109 and 111 CE were designed to facilitate war and logistics.

In this respect, Hadrian's career shares some similarity with Philopappus. When Trajan was preparing for war against Parthia, Hadrian was assigned to Syria in preparation for the war around 111 CE (Dio 69.1.1), and coin types including the celebration of Trajan the Elder's triumph against Parthia, as well as those with the legend of Fortuna Redux, often associ-

ated with overseas journeys for emperors, were issued between 106 and 109 CE (Bennett 2005, p. 187). Trajan himself arrived at Athens perhaps in 111 CE, after having been elected eponymous archon in the same year, and it was at Athens where the Parthian embassy met him and presented requests for peace (Dio 68.17.2).

Yet, it is striking that Philopappus' career does not resemble the likes of his relatives, who took up military provinces and fought in wars (Syme 1988, p. 11–15; Cotton & Eck 1997, p. 41–42). For example, Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus (c. 70–117 CE), a Galatian aristocrat whose family was tied into the Asia Minor royal marriage network. He received the consulship (cos. 105) four years earlier than Philopappus (cos. 109), and was a military commander under Trajan in the second Dacian war; most significantly, Quadratus Bassus subsequently held Cappadocia, Syria and Dacia, all military provinces (Syme 1988, pp. 12–13). His relatives include three consuls, all from similar royal ancestry, who attained consulships under Trajan: C. Julius Alexander (cos. suff. CE 103?), Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus (cos. suff. 110 CE) and C. Claudius Severus (cos. suff. 112 CE) (Mitchell and French 2012, p. 227). This discrepancy between the two careers is much more apparent when considering that Domitian organized the defenses of the Danube with the *ala I Commagenorum* while grooming Philopappus in Athens, separating homeland, armed force and royal heir.

If, according to Henry Oliver, Philopappus was encouraged, if not even assigned by Domitian, to take up a career in Athens, then it would be a separation from the roles which eastern aristocrats would generally take up—roles in which they are much more valuable. Philopappus taking up a non-military role may be related to the strained relationship between his family and Roman administrators.

Rehabilitation

Philopappus is a cognomen that essentially means grandfather-loving, and in extension, his grandfather's actions were part of what Philopappus loved. Such love would justify how, in the face of dissolution of his kingdom when the Syrian governor attacked Samosata, Antiochus IV "having bemoaned his own fate, endured with patience what was inevitable" (τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ὀδυρόμενος ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν ὑπέμενε, J. *AJ* 7.231; trans Whiston). In contrast, Philopappus' father, Epiphanes, and uncle, Callinicus, were no *philrhomaioi*, and took up arms to resist—quite successfully, too, until Antiochus decided to take his wife and daughters to

flee to Cilicia, causing the dissolution of the Commagenian force. This, in turn, forced Epiphanes to take refuge at the court of the Parthian king Vologeses, a connection based on marriage networking that was in place since the time of Antiochus I Theos (c. 70–c. 36 BCE; Dio 49.23.4). As further antagonism between Commagene and Rome would result in a Parthian intervention on the pretense of ancestry (Facella 2006, p. 334), Vespasian took care to ensure the safety and dignity of Antiochus and his family, "having a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them" (τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιῶν φιλίας μᾶλλον αἰδῶ λαβεῖν, J *AJ* 7.239; trans. Whiston). After all, Vespasian's concerns have already been addressed with the incorporation of Commagene into Syria (Bowersock 1973, p. 135; Facella 2010, p. 197). In return, Antiochus IV maintained a low profile as a guarantee of peace (cf. Kleiner & Buxton 2008, p. 77–79), and his son was willing—or perhaps forced—to return from the court of Vologeses and attend to his father in Sparta, and later Rome. Philopappus' choice of portraying the pro-Roman grandfather and anti-Roman father creates a career, but perhaps more importantly continues to prove that their family was of no harm to Roman interests.

Philopappus' sister Julia Balbilla (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, I 650), whose nomenclature invokes her and Philopappus' maternal grandfather, the imperial prefect of Egypt (55–59 CE), Tiberius Claudius Balbillus Modestus "the Wise" (c.5–c.70 CE), was perhaps working along the lines of Philopappus to reassert their royal line as being pious instead of a threat to the Roman imperial court (Cirio 2011, p. 55–56). A poem of hers was inscribed onto the colossus statue (Bernard and Bernard 1960, Colosse *de Memnon* 29):

> But I don't think that this statue of you could ever perish, and I sense in my heart a soul herafter immortal. For my parents and my grandparents were pious, Balbillus the wise and Antiochus the king: Balbillus was the father of my mother the queen, and King Antiochus was my father's father. From their race, I, too, have obtained noble blood, and these are my writings, Balbilla the pious. (Trans. A. & E. Bernard)

The emphasis of piety and on Antiochus IV, along with a subtle downplaying of her father Archelaos Epiphanes, can be read as following a similar rationale on the Philopappus Monument. Her grandfather Balbillus "the wise" and her mother "the queen" Claudia Capitolina (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, C 1085) were important references, too,

as connections to respectable elements feature prominently when it comes to deciding who is proper (Rosenmeyer 2008, p. 350–351). Baslez saw the union between the Antiochus Epiphanes with Balbillus' daughter, a fundamental change from the dynastic to the philosophic. The astrologer and prefect of Egypt offered not only eastern royal ancestry but also intellectualism (Baslez 1992, p. 100). Plutarch took note of Philopappus' learning and wit, giving him a speaking part in his *Questiones conuiuiales* (628b-d) in the witty persona of a Democritus the Philosopher. Democritus wanted to go to the place where his slave-woman claimed to have bought a cucumber, because the cucumber is so sweet that he needs to see it himself. When the slave-woman explained that the sweetness was because she dropped the cucumber into a honey jar, Democritus feigned anger, and said that he will seek the explanation as if sweetness were proper and natural to that cucumber.

In a way, Philopappus' role at Athens was no less important compared to imperial legates in military provinces (Birley 1997, p. 216). Athens required no arms to control, but rather learning and wit. As James Oliver pointed out, Vespasian deliberately revived the diadoch tradition of philosophical schools at Athens (Oliver 1979, p. 159), in order to give philosophers greater protection in a Roman court of law, and also to control their political activities; the appointee must be a Roman citizen, and the community property must be managed with Roman legal formulae (Oliver 1983, p. 102). Notable appointments likely include Plutarch himself, and Arrian the "consular philosopher" (ὑπατικὸς φιλόσοφος, SEG 30.159, SEG 31.174; cf. Oliver 1983, p. 71). Philopappus can very well be a Domitian and Trajanic consular philosopher who governed the free city.

Conclusion

If there was a unitary theme in the eclecticism of the Philopappus Monument, it would not be Syrianness, but a self-expression of what client-kingship means to Philopappus and his family. Antiochus IV's kingship was in form and essence a sort of Roman office, and this is the example that deserves to be mentioned, unlike the example of Philopappus' father Epiphanes, whose defiance in the face of Roman annexation led to a downplay of his representation on the façade of the Philopappus Monument.

Philopappus' credentials—a consulship and a member of the Arval Brethren—is identical with some of the eastern aristocrats who have taken up gubernatorial and even military posts under the Flavians and Trajan.

Philopappus' attainment of such credentials under Trajan perhaps related to his successful career at Athens, which, if following James Oliver's supposition, was devised by Domitian. Philopappus' understanding of the essence of his family's kingship—a Roman office—may have played a part, but his ability to engage in the philosophical circles of Athens was certainly key to a successful career in Athens. To Plutarch, Philopappus was a philosopher king of sorts who completed the renovative process of the Commagenian line from a Persian-Greek heritage to a Roman-Greek one, and took a path that was no longer banking on returning to their ancestral kingdom to rule as a client-king, but a proper Roman magistrate who found a place and rule as sovereign.

The role of Seleucus Nicator could be explored further. Though Nicator was barely a distant relative of the Persian-Greek Orontids, the Nemrud Dagi epigraphic program presents him as second in line in their ancestral genealogy, only after Alexander the Great (Dörner 1996, pp. 376–377). What would Nicator wear? How would his presence add to the self-explanation of what Commagene is? Further studies that explore the Hellenistic influence of the idea of kingship and its subsequent transformation in the Roman context would be needed to further understand the full story behind the Philopappus Monument.

In sum, the Philopappus Monument can be treated as a document regarding the nature of the Roman institution of client-kingship by kings themselves. Under the Roman scheme, kings thrive on influence and status, and will be able to live like a king, provided that they understand that their territory of control was guaranteed by Roman authorities. Since the death of Antiochus III, Commagenian kingship was effectively prolonged by severing the notion of kingship from the ancestral, territorial kingdom. Philopappus was able to fully recognize this dissociation. Like his grandfather, they understood that a king was, under Rome, a new concept. Both Philopappus and his grandfather represented a new paradigm that his father and uncle did not recognize fully when they resisted the Syrian governor.

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Dreams of Kings in the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* of Pascalis Romanus

Lola Sharon Davidson

Scholars studying medieval political structures are able to draw on an extensive contemporary literature concerning kings, their ideal virtues and their many actual failings. Monastic and clerical historians provide us with varyingly biased portraits of particular rulers and the many "mirrors of princes" offer a clear view of what a ruler should be. Within the context of a complex relationship between church and state, simultaneously mutually reinforcing yet profoundly competitive, the king was sacralized as the embodiment of a divinely ordained social order within a divine order itself conceived as fundamentally hierarchical and monarchical. The symbolism of the king as divine ruler and the divine ruler as king was endlessly reiterated in ritual, image and word. Christ Pantocrator, Christ as Universal Ruler, was the dominant religious symbol of the Early Middle Ages, an affirmation of stability in a chaotic and violent world. The rhetoric of kingship was all-pervasive. Yet how did people really feel about kings? How far did this rhetoric penetrate the collective unconscious? The *Liber Thesauri Occulti* (Book of Hidden Treasure) is a treatise on dreams written at Constantinople in 1165 by the Latin cleric Pascalis Romanus. Simone Collin-Roset edited the Latin text in 1963. It includes a dream key

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selectively compiled from two Greek sources and makes frequent reference to kings. In this chapter, I shall examine Pascalis' interpretations in relation to his sources and the image of kingship that emerges from them.

Pascalis Romanus and Twelfth-Century Renaissance

Pascalis' work is part of the intellectual flowering of twelfth-century Renaissance. A flood of translations from Arabic and Greek brought to the Latin West the scientific and philosophical heritage of the Classical world and the scholarly tradition which it inspired. A major focus of this movement was Aristotle and his Arabic commentators.

Bodleian Digby 103, a manuscript from the late twelfth century, contains the following texts on dreams, all produced in Constantinople at this period:

1. ff. 41r-58v *Liber Thesauri Occulti* of Pascalis Romanus
2. ff. 59r-127v *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet (trans.) Leo Tuscus
3. ff. 128r-131v *De sompno et vigilia* of Aristotle (*vetus translatio*)
4. ff. 131v-135r *De insomniis* of Aristotle (*vetus translatio*)
5. ff. 135r-136v *De divinatione per sompnum* of Aristotle (*vetus translatio*)

The works are written consecutively in one English hand, with each beginning on its own folio, except that the three treatises comprising Aristotle's *De sompno* are treated as one work in three books, as one would expect. The *De sompno* formed part of a group of short treatises on the natural sciences called the *Parva naturalia*. James of Venice, working at Constantinople in the first half of the twelfth century, translated all the *Parva naturalia*, except for the *De sompno* and the *De sensu*, and this, for the simple reason that an anonymous translator, also apparently working in Constantinople, had already completed this task (Minio-Paluello 1952, p. 288). Together, their translations formed part of the *Corpus vetustius*, that is, the old translation of Aristotle's works. A completely new translation of the entire available corpus was made in the thirteenth century by William of Moerbeke, again working in Byzantium.

The *De sompno* was a relatively popular work. The anonymous translation survives in 102 manuscripts, and the Moerbeke translation in 162 (Davidson 2013, p. 200). Digby 103 is probably the oldest surviving copy of the anonymous *De sompno* translation (Ricklin 1998, pp. 307–322). Only three other copies survive from the late twelfth century, although

there are many from the thirteenth century onward. Although it may seem logical for the *De sompno* to be accompanied by two works on dream interpretation, it is unusual. In all other manuscripts, the *De sompno* occurs with other works by Aristotle and his commentators. What connects the texts in Digby 103 is that they all concern dreams and were all produced at Constantinople in the twelfth century. It would be nice to think that these dream texts reached the West together, and this is not impossible, since the fact that the manuscript is in an English hand does not necessarily mean that it was copied in England. Moreover, although James of Venice's translations had reached France by 1160, the earliest reference to the *De sompno* seems to be in a work by Alfred of Sareshel dated 1203 (Ricklin 1998, pp. 324–25). So it is just possible that the *De sompno* was translated earlier but reached the West later than James' translations. Aristotle's *De sompno* does not sit easily with either the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* or the *Oneirocriticon* (Dream Book) of Achmet, both of which view dreams as providing access to a higher truth. In contrast, Aristotle's treatment of sleep and dreams is entirely materialist and denies dreams any mantic or prognosticatory value. Aristotle's philosophy was widely studied, but his materialism was as problematic for Latin Christians as it had been for Greek Christians and for Muslims. In any case, it failed to dim popular enthusiasm for dream interpretation (Oberhelman 1981; Collin 1967).

Leo Tuscus' translation of Achmet's *Oneirocriticon* follows Pascalis' *Thesauri* in Digby 103. Leo was an interpreter for Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1118, 1143–80). Manuel Comnenus liked to surround himself with Latins, not least because he had hopes of healing the schism between the Greek and Latin churches and thereby gaining for himself the Western imperial crown. This lofty ambition was ruined when Frederick Barbarossa recognized Alexander III as pope at the Peace of Venice in 1177. Leo translated Achmet's *Oneirocriticon* while he was on campaign with the emperor in 1175–1176. The translation was prompted by a dream of Leo's brother, Hugo. Hugo Etherian had studied theology in Paris. Hugo was involved in attempts to reconcile the Latin and Greek churches. He dreamt that he saw the emperor, surrounded by Latin advisers, mounted on the bronze horse on the Augustinian column at Byzantium. Manuel was reading a Latin book but interrupted his reading to address Hugo, ignoring all the others. This dream was realized when, at a council in 1166, Manuel used a now lost treatise of Hugo's to resolve a doctrinal controversy on the relation between the Father and the Son. Like the Roman emperors of whom they were the direct descendants,

Byzantine emperors were God's representatives on earth. No distinction existed between their sacral and secular rulership. Manuel's concern with doctrinal orthodoxy was an essential aspect of his imperial role. It was, however, one that would inevitably have clashed with papal views on the relations between religious and secular rulers, even if political events had not frustrated Manuel's aspirations. Manuel also requested from Hugo a treatise concerning the Latin position on the Holy Spirit. In addition, Hugo wrote a book in support of Manuel's edict against the Bogomils, advocating burning them, as well as a commentary on his own Holy Spirit treatise, a treatise on the difference of natures and persons, another on the soul and its afterlife, requested by the Pisan clergy to refute heretical objections to prayers for the dead and a translation of a Greek work on the heresies of the Latins, requested by Cardinal Arduin, followed in the interests of balance by a work on the heresies of the Greeks. In recognition of these attempts to heal the schism, Hugo was himself made a cardinal—replacing one killed in the massacre of Latins following Manuel's death (Haskins 1918; Dondaine 1952).

While obviously eminent and close to the emperor, it is not clear whether Hugo occupied an official position in Byzantium. Leo, when not interpreting for the emperor or assisting Hugo in his compositions, found time for only two independent works—his translation of Achmet and a translation of the Mass of St. John Chrysostom (Haskins 1918; Dondaine 1952). Twelfth-century copies of several works by Hugo and Leo and of Aristotle's *De sompno* are in Austria, possibly in consequence of the 1148 marriage of Henry of Bamberg to Manuel's niece, Theodora (Ricklin 1998, p. 324). Leo's translation of Achmet survives in 12 manuscripts. It was translated into French and Italian, and eventually printed several times in both languages. The earliest surviving Greek manuscript is from the thirteenth century.

Pascalis Romanus

Leo translated Achmet in 1175, ten years after Pascalis composed the *Thesauri* in 1165. However, Hugo's dream, which prompted Leo's translation, must have occurred shortly before 1166 in order to be realized at the conference that year. It would seem scarcely conceivable that these Latin translators were unacquainted with each other, so it is possible that Hugo's dream was also a partial inspiration for Pascalis' dream treatise. The *Thesauri* survives in only five manuscripts. B.L. Harley 4025, from

the fourteenth century, which is probably copied from Digby 103, follows Pascalis with Achmet and another dream-related text. Vatican lat. 4436, from the thirteenth century, contains only Pascalis and a few medical prescriptions. Paris B.N. 16610, also from the thirteenth, places Pascalis with cosmological texts, and Vatican Ottoboni lat. 1870, from the late thirteenth century, groups it with natural science works. Pascalis' work was not totally without influence. Berlin lat. qu. 70 preserves an Anglo-Norman translation of Leo Tuscus' translation of Achmet, the preface of which clearly draws on Pascalis, probably again following Digby 103 (Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 117–121, 135–6).

We know rather less about Pascalis than about Hugo and Leo. Clearly, his name suggests that either he or his parents came from Rome, and in one manuscript, he refers to himself as *infimus clericus*, from which we can infer he was in minor orders. This does not in itself shed much light on his status since it seems likely that Hugo Etherian was also only in minor orders and was indeed married with a son before becoming a cardinal late in life. It has been suggested that, like Leo Tuscus, Pascalis worked as an interpreter for Emperor Manuel Comnenus, but while this seems highly likely, we have no evidence that it was so. Pascalis is responsible for two translations dedicated to Enrico Dandolo, the patriarch of Grado (c. 1100, 1134–1182), a town between Venice and Trieste, bordering the Byzantine Empire. In 1155, Dandolo was made Primate of Dalmatia, and in 1157, he was given authority to ordain Latin bishops in any Byzantine cities where Venice had churches, including Constantinople. In 1170, he appointed an agent to collect revenues from the patriarchal properties in Constantinople, but the contract was rendered void the next year when the imperial government imprisoned the Venetians and seized their assets (Madden 2003). Uncle of the famous Venetian doge, Dandolo was an energetic supporter of the Gregorian Reform. Beginning in the eleventh century, the Reform sought to purify the Church by freeing it from the worldly corruptions of sex and money. The reformers' particular targets were clerical concubinage and simony, which they defined as any lay involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. The Reform provoked a long-running conflict in the West between secular and ecclesiastical rulers, while the papacy's claim to ultimate lordship over all secular rulers effectively sought to transform it into a theocratic monarchy. One of the translations Pascalis dedicated to Dandolo is a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian attributed to Saint Anastasius and preserved in 14 manuscripts, and the other is a life of the Virgin Mary by Epiphanius preserved in only one manuscript.

These seem rather conventional offerings, possibly designed to secure the goodwill of Dandolo or even commissioned by him since he is known to have visited Constantinople and participated in theological discussions during the attempt to reunite the churches. The *Dialogue* is dated 1163 in some manuscripts. Pascalis seems also to have been responsible for a considerably more popular work, the *Cyranides*, preserved in at least 23 manuscripts. The introduction is dated 1169 and states that the translation was requested by Ka, who remains unidentified. The *Cyranides* is a collection of medical and magical recipes, originally compiled from two books but part of an ongoing Greek tradition whose earliest manuscript survival is, in fact, Pascalis' translation. Certainly, the *Cyranides* shows a certain commonality of interest with the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* (Collin-Roset 1963).

While Pascalis' other works are all translations, the *Thesauri* is a composition based on both Greek and Latin sources, with a dream key selectively compiled from two different Greek sources. It represents an attempt unique for its time to reconcile the scientific, medical and oneiromantic traditions within a Christian framework. Book I of the *Thesauri* opens with a reference to *integumentum*, to a need to uncover the veiled meaning of things, which evokes immediately the approach of the School of Chartres. For the Chartrians, nature was a book to be decoded, a divine message from God to man but one which, like the Bible with its literal, allegorical and tropological layers of meaning, required interpretation. Pascalis compares dreams and literature as metaphoric expressions of truth which require to be properly interpreted (Kruger 1992, pp. 33–4, 64). He follows this with medical explanations of dreams, relying particularly on *Constantinus Africanus*' translations of Galen but also on Aristotle's *De sompno*. He places these reflections firmly within a Neoplatonic context of the soul seeking truth when freed from matter. Naturally, Pascalis refers frequently to the Bible and the Fathers, and to the main medieval sources for dream theory, namely Calcidius' partial translation and extensive commentary of Plato's *Timaeus*, made in the early fourth century, and Macrobius' encyclopedic fifth-century *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, the dream itself being taken from Cicero's *De re publica*. Both texts were beloved of the Chartrians. Pascalis also quotes extensively from the book on the marvelous properties of stones by Marbod of Rennes (c. 1035–1123) and uses the *De philosophia mundi* of William of Conches (c. 1090–c.1154), showing that he was very much in touch with contemporary French scholarship.

The *Thesauri* is an unfinished work, ending abruptly at the beginning of Book III. It is this failing which the compiler of Digby 103 attempted to remedy by tacking on Leo Tuscus' translation of Achmet. Clearly, we do not know why Pascalis did not finish the *Thesauri*. The most obvious reason is that he interrupted the work because, as he said, he had been asked to translate the *Cyranides*, and he simply never got back to the *Thesauri*. Perhaps having finished the *Cyranides*, he went on to further translations concerning the virtues of stones and herbs which have come down to us without the name of a translator. He might also have abandoned it because of Leo Tuscus' translation of Achmet. However, such a decision is not really in keeping with Pascalis' method since although his text is based on other texts, these are selected, paraphrased and combined, never simply transcribed.

Pascalis begins Book II with some general comments on how to interpret dreams, including the seasons and time of night, and then moves on to the interpretations. These are drawn in part from the famous second-century *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus of Daldis (Artemidorus 1975a, 1975b; Pack 1965) but predominantly from the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet, neither of which had been translated into Latin at this time. Pascalis supplements these with a sprinkling of interpretations of unknown origin. A notable feature of both Artemidorus and Achmet is that a dream must be interpreted in accordance with the social status of the dreamer. Such social distinctions are completely absent from the dream interpretation texts current in the Latin West at this time—namely, the *lunaria* and the *Somniale Danielis*. The *lunaria* provide prognostications for every day (or night) of a 30-day lunar month. They predict the outcome of a range of subjects, but the most widely distributed and also the most commonly grouped *lunaria* are the ones on illness, bleeding and dreams. They derive from a long tradition of lunar beliefs but were probably compiled around the second century and translated from Greek into Latin around the eighth century (Förster 1925/26, p. 64). The *Somniale Danielis* is an alphabetical list of things seen in dream with their accompanying meaning. Attributed to the biblical prophet and dream interpreter Daniel, much to the disgust of its clerical critics, it was composed in Greek sometime after the fourth century and translated into Latin around the seventh century (Martin 1981, pp. 1–2). Both the *lunaria* and the *Somniale* were quickly translated into the main Western European vernaculars. Whereas these texts assign a single meaning to each dream, Artemidorus and Achmet

assign multiple, related meanings. The occasional mention of kings in the various versions of the *Somniale* will be discussed below.

The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet was compiled by an anonymous Christian Greek between the ninth and eleventh centuries. It was put together from four sources—a dream key from "Syrbacham the dream-interpreter of the king of India," a dream key from "Baram the dream-interpreter of [the] Saanisan king of Persia," a dream key from "Tarphan the dream-interpreter of Pharaoh king of Egypt" and a collection of dream interpretations by "Achmet, the son of Sereim, the dream-interpreter of the caliph Mamun," from which the text draws its traditional attribution of authorship (Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, pp. 86 s.2 & s.3, 87 s.4, 94 s.19; on the Arabic character of Achmet's sources, see Mavroudi 2002). The Indian sections are clearly Christian, presumably either Syrian or Nestorian, while the Egyptian and Persian sections appear Islamic. Since all four sources are ostensibly written by the dream interpreters to kings, their primary concern is with the meaning of kings' dreams.

Kings figure far less in Artemidorus than in Achmet. This may, indeed, go some way to explaining Pascalis' preference for Achmet over Artemidorus, since the complex social world of late antiquity was less focused on kings and lords than the feudal and theocratic societies which succeeded it. The principal medieval audience for dream interpretation, and indeed, future prediction of all kinds, was courtiers whose fortunes were painfully dependent on the favor of the prince and the machinations of those around them. That said, Pascalis is less focused on kings as dreamers than is Achmet and more inclined to generalize the interpretations.

Pascalis takes great care to Christianize his material. He removes Achmet's references to the Egyptians, the Persians and the Indians and such culturally specific terms as pharaoh, all of which are retained in Leo Tuscus' translation. He draws predominantly from the obviously Christian material attributed to the Indians and never uses the sections attributed to the Muslim dream interpreter, Achmet. He adapts the material from the Persians and Egyptians, even, on occasion, reversing its meaning. He also Christianizes his sources by introducing saints, by substituting God for gods, temple for temple of the sun and so on. However, he does not substitute *ecclesia* for *templum*—that is, church for temple—and some of the dreams involving fire in the temple still seem more appropriate to a pagan context. Perhaps he was ignorant of the significance of Zoroastrian fire worship and associated it with the burning of incense.

Although Pascalis' treatise is unfinished, it is clear that he was selecting and rearranging the material for his own ends. He may have been ordering his material in terms of a Neoplatonic spirit/matter continuum. This would have been consonant with both the Augustinian Neoplatonism of the early medieval West and the Platonism of the School of Chartres. The dream key starts at the top of a spiritual hierarchy. It begins with Christ, angels and saints, their images, royalty, priests, judges, demons, temples, the dead, dying and the heavenly bodies. Book III moves on to fire, air and water and so may have been intended to continue with earth, thereby covering the four elements. In that case, animals, plants and then stones would have come in Book IV, completing the spirit/matter continuum. The differentiation of dreamers by social status is confined to Book II. The dreams of Book III are treated as having universal application. The fragment of Book III is quite short, so most of the dream key is the section on people, featuring numerous references to dreams by kings and dreams of kings.

Comparing this structure with the structure of Achmet shows how selective Pascalis was being. Sections 5–17 of Achmet concern religion and judgment, 18–119 deal with the human body, 120–123 with killing, 124–130 with signs and women, 131 and 132 with death, 133–141 with pollutions, 142–148 with buildings, 149 and 150 with priests and icons, 151–157 with belongings, 158–192 with weather, 193–214 with plants, 215–266 with belongings again and 267–300 with animals (Achmet/Oberhelman 1991). Rulers are not singled out for particular consideration but rather are present throughout, whereas Pascalis allots them a specific section in his treatment of important people. Pascalis completely ignores the sections on the human body, plants, animals and belongings. He picks a single interpretation from many related ones, abridges, conflates and paraphrases, often subtly changing the meaning. He alters the order of even closely related interpretations and intersperses Achmet's interpretations with ones drawn from Artemidorus.

Pascalis uses *rex* (king) and occasionally *imperator* (emperor) to translate the Greek *basileus*. The choice seems to be determined by a desire for stylistic variation rather than context. Byzantium, of course, had an emperor and so did the West, in the Holy Roman Emperor. However, these two figures functioned in quite different political structures. Kings and feudal lords were the dominant figures in the West, and, as we have noted, the German emperor did not possess the theocratic attributes of the *basileus*. Pascalis often refers simply to *princeps* (prince/ruler) or *potentes* (powerful

people) and even uses this where his source has used *basileus* (See, e.g., Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 178–79 compared to Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 98 s.16 & s.17). All these terms designate secular rulers.

Monarchical Dreams

In considering the role of kings in the text, it is necessary to distinguish between dreams as interpreted for kings, kings appearing in dreams and kings in the interpretation of dreams. Pascalis begins his interpretation section by observing that:

> Dreams are to be judged according to the way of life and dignity of different people… For the same dream signifies differently for a king, for a man of the people, for a religious person, for an impious person, for a soldier, for a rustic, for a rich man, for a poor man, for a husband, for a wife, for a virgin, for a loose woman as, with God favoring, we will demonstrate in many ways. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 165; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 86 s.2, p. 245 s.301)[1]

He explains that he will not cover the full range of these possibilities due to the tedious detail this would require. So he reduces his dreamers to kings and princes, commoners, slaves, the sick and women. Eight interpretations promise freedom to slaves or those imprisoned and a few of these also threaten evildoers with retribution. Whereas Achmet records numerous interpretations on the fate of the dreamer's own slaves, slaves occur almost exclusively as dreamers in Pascalis.

Seventeen interpretations concern the sick. Alas, they die far more often than they get well, even when the dream appears favorable to other sorts of dreamers. In part, this is due to the definition of death as a change of state.

> Death signifies freedom to a slave; to an unmarried person of either sex, marriage; indeed death and marriage are as the end of a person; whence to the sick, to carry out a marriage or to be a groom signifies death. (Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 184–85; Artemidorus/White 1975, II 54)[2]

Presumably, interpretations could be considered valid for a dreamer of either sex unless otherwise specified, though it is clear that, unlike Artemidorus, Achmet assumes a male dreamer. Pascalis gives twelve interpretations for married women and three for unmarried. Each inter-

pretation parallels that for the undifferentiated dreamers while reducing its application to the defining institution for women—namely, marriage and its intended consequence, the birth of a male. If the dream has a positive outcome, an unmarried woman will marry and a married woman will bear a son. If the dream has a negative outcome, an unmarried woman will die and a married woman will lose her husband. Dreams which show a commoner plotting against the king or otherwise contriving treachery show a woman plotting against her husband, or in one case, her mistress. The equation of husband and lord is obvious.

In the case of slaves, the sick and women, the status of the dreamer influences the interpretation, but more usually, it is a matter of degree. The same dream will signify:

> to a commoner moderately, to a powerful person more fully and to a king yet more strongly. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 169; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 153 s.150)[3]

Kings' dreams are stronger since a king dreams for his entire kingdom, while a commoner normally dreams only for himself.

> If a Christian sees himself to be a Jew, he is an infidel, a blasphemer and a son of perdition. If however the king sees this, a new heresy will arise amongst the people. A commoner who sees this will concoct false testimony; a woman indeed will plot against her husband; a servant will be against his lord. (Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 179–80; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 90 s.12)[4]

Interestingly, Pascalis has altered his source here, so as to shift the focus from the king to his kingdom. In Achmet, it is the king who "will forcibly thrust heresy onto his subjects" in line with the personal interpretations for the other dreamers (Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 90 s.12.). In the West, the papacy was not beyond declaring secular rulers heretical, but in the Byzantine context, Pascalis may have found the concept incoherent or frankly dangerous.

The main concern for the king as dreamer is whether he will be victorious over his enemies or they over him. Around half of the kings' dreams predict this. Of the nineteen interpretations specific to royal dreamers, one promises a noble wife, two promise a son or chosen successor, one warns of an outbreak of heresy and two warn that the king will be unjust and be punished by God, while two promise honor and glory, one a

strengthening of peace with another king and the remaining ten promise victory or its opposite.

Turning now from the king as dreamer to the appearance of kings in dreams, such appearances are entirely favorable. Pascalis quotes Artemidorus who groups kings with people worthy of respect:

> God, a saint or a priest, or a king, a prince or teacher or a prophet, provided he not be evil, whatever they say in dreams will be true. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 167; cf. Artemidorus/White, 1975, II 74)[5]

From Achmet, he cites:

> If a king should come into the house of anyone unaccustomed to him, some new joy and wealth will come to that house. If, however, the king be unknown and dressed in royal and ceremonial garments, it means an angel of the Lord, and in whatever place he has entered, all perversity and iniquity will depart from thence and there will be joy and peace and victory there. If anyone should speak with a known king, everything which the king says will be fulfilled, because the king is received in the person of Christ and never speaks falsely. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 176; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 132 s.126)[6]

Furthermore:

> Whosoever accepts gifts from the emperor will find riches and the salvation of his soul. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 176; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 132 s.126)[7]

These interpretations assert a parallel between earthly and heavenly hierarchies, a principle equally accepted though variously construed in the Islamic world, Byzantium and the Latin West. In the *Somniale*, to see kings means to go from this world—that is, to die—presumably also as a reference to the divine ruler (Martin 1981, p. 158).[8]

Dreams of royal appearances are, however, rare in Pascalis, and when we turn to dreams of royal regalia, the outcome is far less positive. Apparently, the state of being a king is not an enviable one. From Artemidorus, Pascalis quotes:

> A diadem, a sceptre and royal regalia signify nothing good. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 170; cf. Artemidorus/White 1975, II 31)[9]

And again:

> Likewise to accept a diadem, sceptre or royal stole is bad. To see oneself as king means death to a sick person, loss of a family member to a healthy person, prison and chains to an evil doer, liberty to a slave, trouble to a poor man. If anyone is made to wear gold or purple robes of honor, it signifies anguish and death. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 176; cf. Artemidorus/White 1975, II 31)[10]

Furthermore:

> A gold crown indicates misfortune and death to everyone. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 177; cf. Artemidorus/White 1975, I 79)[11]

From Achmet, he selects:

> If anyone is crowned by the king and is not of royal rank, he will be raised up into glory but end badly. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 177; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 219 s.245)[12]

These interpretations contrast with those of the *Somniale,* where accepting a crown signifies happiness and honor (Martin 1981, p. 107).[13]

Queens never feature as dreamers in Pascalis. Presumably, their dreams may be assimilated to those of kings or married women, as appropriate. In the *Somniale*, queens are a positive symbol and seeing one signifies joy (Martin 1981, p. 207).[14] In Pascalis, they take their place as second to the king in the hierarchy.

> The sun, indeed, designates a royal person, the moon a queen or another person second to the queen. Jupiter, Mars, Venus also and Mercury signify powerful men, princes of the church, leaders of armies and all splendid persons and the most famous, wise and learned of the people, and the many others {stars} according to the nature and virtue given them by God, as is plainly shown in astronomical books. The remaining stars, however, denote the common herd according to the differences of their bodies and lights. (Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 188–89; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p.169 s.166)[15]

The "queen or person second to the queen" is a little surprising since one would have expected "other person second to the king." In fact, in

Achmet, the moon does not symbolize the queen at all, but rather "the man second from the king." The queen is symbolized by the planet Venus (Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, pp. 167 & 169, s.166). In his paraphrase, Pascalis has chosen to shift both the symbolism and the hierarchy to that used in the West. He is consistent in this change, even though it may seem slightly incongruous in view of the obvious female imagery of Venus. Thus:

> And if he will have adored an idol of Venus, he will please the first minister of the emperor. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 191; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 91 s.13)[16]

The insistence on the moon as female emerges again in the following, where he substitutes queen for king:

> If the moon shines in someone's home, that one will find favor from the queen or her ministers; and if the lunar body was in his house and ruled it, he will be lord of the substance of him who is first minister of the queen. For the moon signifies a wife, mother and sisters and their things. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 190; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 169 s.166)[17]

It is not only symbolism that is at stake here but the political structure. The vizier held a place in an Islamic court that had no equivalent in the West.[18] In the West, it is the queen who is second to the king.

> If a part of the temple or palace should fall, the queen will die; the collapse or burning of the temple designates the death of the king or a great man. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 175; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 151 s.148)[19]

Or indeed, the king and queen are simply assimilated:

> whatever happens to the chair or throne, bad or good, will so happen to the emperor or empress. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 177; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 227 s. 259)[20]

Although neither queens nor ordinary women appear often in dreams, they do occur frequently in the interpretations. However, in contrast to Achmet, where both kings and commoners often dream that their wife is pregnant with a male child, dreams about women in Pascalis are almost exclusively concerned with women as bearers of property and status. A

seat signifies dignity, a wife and power in proportion to the worth of the seat; building a temple is marrying a rich wife; dreaming one's wife is dead means loss of property; dreaming of watching your wife or daughter having intercourse with a dead person means money from the deceased's estate; dreaming of having intercourse with your dead mother is favorable but only in respect to land (Collin-Roset 1963, pp. 177, 175, 184, 185). This is consistent with the important role played by marriage in dynastic unions and the transfer of property.

By far the largest category of dream interpretations in Pascalis is concerned with the favor or disfavor of the powerful. There are 41 interpretations which presage favor or advancement from the ruler and 17 which predict disfavor, some of which are simply the inversion of the ones bestowing favor and some because the favor itself is accompanied by unpleasant consequences. For example,

> whoever sees himself dying will serve a prince and profit, although he will suffer from inflammation of the eyes and conjunctivitis. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 184; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 140 s.132)[21]

Presumably, finding favor with the king is a good thing but a certain ambivalence remains, as we saw in dreams of royal regalia. Kings are dangerous.

> All-pervasive wind signifies the king and fear of him. If the wind smashes trees or houses, the king will destroy great men. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 197; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 166 s.164)[22]

Though a ruler may come in priestly disguise, he is not to be welcomed.

> If a priest dressed in holy vestments enters a house which is not accustomed to him, trouble and anguish will come to its inhabitants from the prince. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 172; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 151 s.149)[23]

Pascalis here uses *princeps* rather than *rex*, but it is his divergence from his source which is interesting. In Achmet, the priest symbolizes a judge, not a ruler. In both the Islamic and Byzantine worlds, although rulers could act as judges, this function was normally performed by officials appointed for the purpose. In the West, judgment was a function of the feudal lord. Indeed, even the gifts of a king are not to be trusted.

> The sun neither carrying off nor bringing something is very good, for carrying off means evil and danger while giving will often mean money from a king. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 189; cf. Artemidorus/White 1975, II 36)[24]

Moreover:

> But if he should accept a golden seal from that one [the king], he will suffer tribulation from the king or for his faith. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 176; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 132 s.126)[25]

The *Somniale* also takes a dubious view of kings and gifts, for giving a king something for oneself signifies great sin (Martin 1981, p. 207).[26] Far better to be the one who

> holds the sun without its rays, (for) he will cast aside tribulation and infirmity and he will be made prosperous and, if he is a great man, he will despise the emperor. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 189; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 168 s.166)[27]

Indeed, it might be better to avoid the powerful altogether.

> If anyone should be beheaded, he will be separated from his own lord and lead a good and honest life; a slave will be freed; a sick person will be cured, he will cast aside tribulation and debt and usury. (Collin-Roset 1963, p. 185; cf. Achmet/Oberhelman 1991, p. 129 s.120 & s.121)[28]

This interpretation, put together from two adjacent sections in Achmet, omits the meaning for a royal dreamer. Though this simply parallels the others, the omission is telling. Pascalis is not as concerned with kings as is his main source. Despite his preamble, he is more interested in the common dreamer.

Conclusion

The dual nature of the *Thesauri* as both a scholarly treatise and a dream key created a problem of classification which may have contributed to its very limited diffusion. Although two manuscripts follow it with Achmet, it was generally placed with natural science works, yet the audience for dream interpretation was essentially courtly and vernacular, and it is in a vernacular text that it finds its only faint echo.

Writing in Constantinople, using sources from the Byzantine and Islamic worlds, Pascalis was presented with a theocratic model of monarchy, but such a model was appropriate neither to the political reality of the Latin West nor to the intellectual currents with which Pascalis was associated. The long-term thrust of the Gregorian Reform was to transform the papacy into a theocratic monarchy supreme over secular rulers. This discourse emphasized the monarchy of Christ at the expense of what was later to become the divine right of kings. While it would be too much to suggest that Pascalis was putting forward a coherent model of kingship, either divine or secular, it is not unreasonable to suppose that as a cleric in contact with the Reform movement, he would select and arrange his material in a manner which reflected his own view of the world.

Compared to Achmet, his main source, Pascalis downgrades the role of secular rulers. His dream key is firmly grounded in the feudal and courtly society of the Latin West, a world of constant warfare and legal battles, patronage, dynastic alliances and wealthy wives. Although the heavenly hierarchy figures as an analogue of the earthly hierarchy and religious symbolism permeates the text, its interpretations are worldly. Kings sit, somewhat precariously, at the summit of a social pyramid, but they are not essentially different from other powerful men, simply the most powerful of the powerful, and while their fate will impact on their kingdoms, it is ultimately they who are defeated or victorious. The picture of the ruler that emerges from Pascalis' reordering of his sources is that of a military leader and a distributor of largesse rather than an incarnation of the social order. A king may symbolize Christ, the divine ruler, in a dream, but as himself, he is only a feudal lord.

Notes

1. "Dijudicantur itaque sompnia secundum habitum et dignitatem personarum diversarum.... Nam unum idemque sompnium aliter significat regi, aliter populari viro, aliter religiosi, aliter impio, aliter militi et aliter homini rustico, aliter diviti, aliter pauperi, aliter in viro, aliter in uxore, aliter in virgine, aliter in corrupta, ut in pluribus Deo ostendemus favente."All translations from the Latin are my own.
2. "Mors servo libertatem significat; innupte vel innupto, conjugium: mors enim et conjugium quasi finis hominum sunt; unde infirmantibus nuptias agere vel nuptum mortem significat."
3. " plebeio vero modice, potenti plenius, regi autem fortius."

4. “Si quis christianus viderit se hebreum esse, infidelis est et bla[s]phemus et perditionis filius. Si autem hec rex viderit, nova heresies insurgent in populo ejus. Communis homo qui hoc viderit, falsum testimonium machinabitur; mulier vero insidiatur viro suo; servus erit contraries domino suo.”
5. “Deus autem, sanctus vel sacerdos, sive rex, princeps vel magister aut divinator qui non sit maleficus quecumque dixerint in sompniis vera erunt.”
6. “Si quis rex ingressus fuerit domum alicujus inusitatam illi, aliquid novi gaudii et divicie accident domui illi. Si autem fuerit rex ignotus indutusque regalibus et solempnis vestibus, angelum Domini significant, et in quemcumque locum intraverit, om[n]is versucia et iniquitas inde discedet eritque ibi gaudium, pax et victoria. Si quis collocutus fuerit regi cognito, omnia implebuntur que re[x] dixerit, quoniam in persona Christi accipitur rex et nunquam loquetur falsa.”
7. “Quicumque acceperit donativa ab imperatore, divitias salutemque anime inveniet.”
8. “Reges viderit: de saeculo migrare significat.” The *Somniale* often show a fine disregard for grammatical correctness.
9. “Diadema, s[c]eptrum et aulurgida non significant bonum.”
10. “Similiter diadema, [s]ceptrum vel stolam regiam accipere malum est. Se regem quis videre, infirmanti mortem, sano consanguineorum perditionem, malefactori carcerem et vincula, servo libertatem, pauperi tribulationem significant. Quod se aliquis cogatur ferre vestimentum dignitatis aureum vel purpureum, angustiam vel mortem significant.”
11. “Aurea corona omnibus malum et mortem indicat.”
12. “Si quis a rege coronatur et non est de prole regis, exaltabitur quidem in gloria sed male desinet.”
13. “Coronam cujusque rei accipere: letitiam significat. Coronam accipere: honorem significat.”
14. “Reginam videre: gaudium.”
15. “Sol quidem personam regis designat, Luna quoque reginam vel aliam secundam personam a regina. Jupiter, Mars, Venus quoque et Mercurius viros potentes, principes sacerdotum, duces miliciarum et cunctas spendidas personas ac famosissimas ac sapientiores et doctiores populi significant, aliaque plurima secundum naturam et virtutem eis a Deo attributam, velud in astronomicis libris patenter ostenditur. Relique autem stelle vulgum significant secundum differentias corporum et luminum suorum.”

16. “Et si adoraverit ydolum Veneris, primo ministro imperatoris placebit.”
17. “Si luna refulserit in domo alicujus, ille inveniet gratiam regine vel ministrorum ejus; et si lunare corpus fuerit in domo ejus et dominetur illi, erit et ipse dominus substantiarum ejus qui primus est minister regine. Nam luna significat uxorem, matrem et sorores et earum res.”
18. On the moon as vizier in Achmet’s Arabic sources, see Mavroudi 2002, pp. 217–18.
19. “Si ceciderit pars templi vel palatii, regina morietur; templus casus vel combustio mortem regis vel magni viri designat.”
20. “ quicquid evenerit scampno vel throno malum sive bonum ita eveniet imperatori vel imperatrici.”
21. “ qui viderit se ipsum morientem, principi serviet ac proficiet, verumptamen lippitudinem oculorum et obtalmiam pacietur.”
22. “Ventus universalis et localis regem significat et ejus timorem. Si ventus concassaverit arbores vel domos, rex magnos viros destruet.”
23. “Sacerdos sacris vestibus paratus, si ingressus fuerit in domum que non est illi usitata, habitantibus in ea tribulation et angustia erit a principe.”
24. “Sol neque auferens neque dans aliquid, forte bonum est; nam auferens, malum et periculum significat; multociens tamen dans lucrum a rege significabit.”
25. “Sed si acceperit sigillum aureum ab illo, tribulationem a rege vel pro fide sua patietur.”
26. “Regem aliquid tibi dare: multum pectasse.”
27. “tenuerit solem absque radiis, tribulationem et infirmitatem abiciet ac prosperabitur, et si est magnus vir, contempnet imperatorem.”
28. “Si quis fuerit decollatus a proprio domino suo separabitur et bonam et honestam vitam aget, servus liberabitur, infirmus sanabitur, tribulationem ac debitum vel usuram eiciet.”

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The Jewel for the Crown: Reconsidering Female Kingship and Queenship in the Galfridian Historiography

Sophia Yashih Liu

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (*The History of the Kings of Britain*), together with its numerous redactions and translations, shaped the influential Galfridian historiography in the Middle Ages.[1] Recently, medieval female kingship and queenship in the Galfridian historiography has been the focus of much scholarly work. Fiona Tolhurst (2013), a feminist medievalist, argues that Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* is a work that supports the possibility of female kingship. She contends that Geoffrey's presentation of female kingship is "part of a larger program of creating a pro-female version of the British past", and these fictional precedents for female kingship are consistent with King Henry I's careful preparation for the reign of his daughter, the Empress Matilda (p. 15). In her analysis, the Galfridian females "change the course of British history" and the female figures influence "readers' perceptions of male figures", who often need female correction and guidance (p. 11). Redactors and translators such as Wace, Layamon, and Matthew Paris increasingly degraded, undermined, and eliminated the possibility of female kingship when they described these ladies in conventionally and stereotypically misogynistic ways. Although Tolhurst convincingly

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demonstrates that the *Historia* presents a pro-female historiography in which the royal ladies were described in more positive ways, her study is in need of further analysis of different medieval expectations toward a ruling queen consort and a female king. When Tolhurst discusses how the literary figures of queen consorts, princesses, and dowager queens help to support the possibility of female kingship, she does not clearly distinguish how the medieval mind viewed ruling queenship and female kingship differently. However, this chapter argues that it is crucial to distinguish between the queen as a queen consort and a female reigning monarch, especially in the political context of the twelfth century. It is important to examine whether Geoffrey of Monmouth treats a ruling queen in the capacity of a queen consort or a female reigning monarch before we conclude that his work supports female kingship. Therefore, this chapter first examines the nature of medieval English queenship to clarify the difference between ruling queen consorts/female regents and female reigning monarchs. Both models of queenship existed in twelfth-century England when Matilda III of Boulogne was Stephen's queen and Empress Matilda strived to be the female reigning monarch. The chapter then considers Geoffrey of Monmouth's depictions of his ruling queens consort in the light of Queen Matilda. Finally, it ends with the only example of the literary representation of female kings in Geoffrey's work to demonstrate the subtlety between the regent queenship and female kingship in the Galfridian historiography.

Medieval Queenship in England

In medieval England, queens could be queens consort, female regents, and dowager queens. A queen consort was more than an aristocratic woman. Enjoying a higher level of legal independence, a queen had her own household. Her coronation ceremony indicated that she shared in the king's majesty. Just like the king, she had a symbolic body.[2] After being anointed and crowned, she sat in state, her right hand holding the scepter of St. Edward and her left hand the scepter of the realm. In late eleventh- and early twelfth-century England, the queen was regarded as the king's partner in rule. At William the Conqueror's coronation, Matilda of Flanders, his queen, was crowned with a new formula added to the Anglo-Saxon *Coronation ordo*. Lois L. Huneycutt points out that the new *ordo* adds three significant phrases to the ceremonial for installing the queen:

> She is now conceived of as being placed by God among the people ("constituit reginam in populo"), and she shares in the royal power ("regalis imperii … esse participem"). According to the rite, the English people are fortunate in being ruled by the power of the ruler and the ability and virtue of the queen ("laetatur gens Anglica domini imperio regenda et reginae virtutis providential gubernanda"). (p. 51)

Percy Ernst Schramm (1937) comments that the new *ordo* made the queen "a sharer in the royal power" and "the English people were to rejoice in being governed by the power of the prince and by the ability and virtue of the queen" (p. 29). Jennifer Ward (2006) states that medieval queenship can be viewed as an office. While a king's role included military leadership, lawgiving, and serving as God's representative,[3] a queen consort would issue charters, dispense justice, intercede to plead for mercy, give patronage, educate the royal children, and act as the governmental head if the king was absent in court. In twelfth-century England, King Stephen's queen Matilda of Boulogne (r.1135–1152) and Henry II's queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (r.1152–1204) were both good examples. During the civil war, Queen Matilda assisted Stephen with duties needed to hold England together. When Stephen was captured by the Empress during the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, Queen Matilda not only acted in Stephen's place as head of state, but also rallied the king's supporters to raise an army in support of her husband (Tanner 2003, p. 3). Also in the twelfth century, Eleanor of Aquitaine, during the first decade of Henry's reign, acted as a regent while the king was away, issued charters for England and Aquitaine, sat in justice at court, and helped educate their children (Flori 2007, pp. 1–3). In these cases, both queens acted as the king's partner in rule and wielded power.

English queens in the early twelfth century enjoyed more political autonomy than queens in the late fourteenth century. With the development of institutionalized bureaucracies, the queen became more removed from the day-to-day practice of rule. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the queen was increasingly regarded as intercessor, patroness, benefactress, mother, and iconic representation of monarchy. The coronation order preserved in the 1375 *Liber Regalis* emphasized intercession and motherhood as the major roles of queenship. While the queen enters the church, the prayer asks God to guard her as He guards Judith and grants her the same fertility that He gives Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel (Legg 1901, p. 109). Apparently, the expected major roles of a queen were to intercede as Judith did and to produce heirs as Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel did.

Nonetheless, even in twelfth-century England, when queens enjoyed more political autonomy than queens in the late fourteenth century, accepting a female king was still a controversial issue in England. The civil war (1135–1154) between the Empress Matilda and King Stephen was the best example. Even though King Henry II, in 1127, 1128, and 1131, obtained oaths of allegiance to his daughter and only heir, the Empress Matilda, from all the bishops and magnates present in his courts—oaths swearing that they would defend her right to the throne loyally if Henry died without a male heir[4]—Stephen still successfully seized the crown when he convinced the Church and English people that he was a better candidate to sit on the throne. In the medieval mind, regnant queenship was not regarded as a form of kingship. A king was a specifically male-gendered public role; a queen could act in the king's place only when she was a queen consort or queen mother. Charles Beem (2006) states that, for queens, political power was "exercised through the auspices of legitimate male authority, in their positions as elite male appendages, which enabled them to represent their kinsmen in the public realm of government", and the really difficult feat for a woman was "to obtain and hold onto recognition of wielding power in her own right, and in doing so, possessing the sovereignty of kingship" (p. 5). In other words, women may wield power, provided that the source of power comes from male authority.

For example, when the Empress Matilda was with her first husband, the Roman Emperor Henry V, she was remembered in the empire as "the good Matilda" (Chibnall 1992, p. 45). At that time, Matilda carried out the duties of a queen properly, such as intervening in response to petitions, sponsoring royal grants, and playing an important part in the ceremonial and actual work of government. She also acted as regent, upholding the dignity and authority of the emperor when Henry V was not in court. When Henry V died, he even left Matilda the imperial regalia for safe-keeping (Chibnall 1992, pp. 18–44). As the wife of the emperor, Matilda shared the emperor's regality, and her wielding of political power was respected. Nevertheless, when Matilda fought for her own right to wield the same political power, the situation changed. Twelfth-century English chroniclers offered starkly different evaluations of Stephen's queen Matilda and the Empress Matilda, despite the fact that the Empress Matilda undertook many similar actions to Queen Matilda's, including issuing charters, governing men, rallying an army, and fighting for the crown. While the Empress Matilda was usually described as arrogant and haughty, Queen Matilda was brave and noble. In terms of raising an army to fight, the

chroniclers tended to blame the Empress for creating the havoc of war but praise the Queen for bringing the peace to people. In the *Gesta Stephani* (1976), the chronicler described the moment when the Empress first landed at Arundel in 1139 that, with a strong body of troops, "England at once was shaken and quivered with intense fear" (p. 87). However, Queen Matilda, rescuing her husband, was described by the same author that "the queen, expected to gain by arms what she could not by supplication, brought a magnificent body of troops across London … and gave orders that they should rage most furiously around the city with plunder and arson, violence and the sword" (p. 123). The word "supplication" indicates the expected feminine role of a queen. When the queen could not rescue the king by supplication, her usage of military force was thus praised. As a feminine woman with many capabilities, Queen Matilda was then admired for "forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness" when "she bore herself with the valour of a man" (p. 127). Queen Matilda's feminine ways of managing the king's job were acceptable, but the Empress Matilda's strategy to act like a man to prove that she could do a man's job was not successful. Marjorie Chibnall (1992) points out that "Matilda certainly tried to show the man in the woman, unfortunately the comments of hostile chroniclers make plain that what might in a man have passed for dignity, resolution, and firm control were condemned in her as arrogance, obstinacy, and anger" (p. 97). Therefore, even though the Empress Matilda and Queen Matilda both fought for the crown, the significances were different: Queen Matilda was a queen consort, whose political power came from her husband and she thus acted in the king's place, while the Empress Matilda claimed her own legitimacy to inherit the throne and strived to be the sole reigning queen of England.[5]

The Ruling Queens in *Historia regum Britanniae*

The position of Geoffrey's *Historia* with respect to the distinctions between ruling queenship and female kingship is ambiguous. The different versions of the dedications on the existing manuscripts of the *Historia* demonstrate the changeable and complicated positions of its author. Approximately, 170 manuscripts bear dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Henry I's bastard son, who strongly supported his half-sister's claim to the throne since 1138. Nine extant manuscripts have double dedications, to Robert and to Waleran of Meulan, a Norman noble and Robert's political opponent, who supported Stephen until 1141. There is also one manuscript

bearing double dedications to Stephen and Robert.[6] Michael J. Curley (1994) observes that Geoffrey may have written these different extant dedications to gain patronage and personal advancement when the dedicatees were "some of the principal players among the Anglo-Norman aristocracy of the civil dispute over succession to the throne of England following the death of Henry I" (p. 9). The fact that Geoffrey himself became Bishop of St. Asaph shortly after the end of the civil war indicates that Geoffrey's strategy was successful, since bishops were either appointed by the king or elected by church councils in twelfth-century England. Hence, with regard to the changeable and complicated political position of the *Historia*, the purpose of its author's intention to depict female ruling as a better choice has to be reconsidered. If the queen figures, as Tolhurst (2013) argues, were written in an effort to show that female ruling corrects "male misdeeds" (p. 109), then it is necessary to consider that this female ruling may connote two possible interpretations: One is, as Tolhurst argues, for preparation for the Empress Matilda's ruling, while the other is a complimentary gesture to Stephen's queen, Matilda of Boulogne.

Historians have noted that Stephen's queen Matilda can be seen as a model of medieval queen consort. She played an important supporting role for the king throughout her life as a queen. First, her lineage strengthened Stephen's claim on the throne. Just like her maternal cousin the Empress Matilda, Queen Matilda descended from their grandmother, Margaret of Scotland, from the pre-Conquest kings of England.[7] She had further claim of royal blood through her father Count Eustace III of Boulogne, a descendant of Æthelred II. Her arranged marriage with Stephen by King Henry I thus revealed an aristocratic alliance between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. In fact, this marriage has the same significance as Henry I's own marriage: Henry I married Matilda of Scotland, the daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland and St. Margaret, whose lineage can be traced back to Edmund Ironside and thus ultimately to King Alfred. Hence, Queen Matilda's line descended from ancient Wessex also helped Stephen to claim that their marriage was a union between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. Furthermore, as Stephen's queen, Matilda also helped him in every aspect of his rule. She acted as regent to rescue her husband, negotiated with the church and magnates as a diplomat, counseled the king for better strategies, and strived to help her son Eustace as the next king. David Crouch (2000) comments that "Queen Matilda had been a great queen. She had been a regent, a diplomat, and even a war leader for her husband, and had been accomplished in all she

did" (p. 260). Although Matilda had been queen just for three years at the time when Geoffrey finished his composition of the *Historia*, her irreplaceable queenship during Stephen's reign must have been recognized in the court.

Hence, it is crucial to reconsider the stories of queens in the *Historia*. Despite the fact that the Galfridian queens mostly serve as a supporting role—as the king's consort, who functions as an intercessor for the people, a mother to the future king, or a protector of the throne—there are two exceptional ruling queens: Guendoloena and Marcia. Tolhurst categorizes Guendoloena, Marcia, and Cordeilla as "the female kings" in the Galfridian historiography. Nonetheless, if we examine these three female figures carefully, it is noteworthy that the stories of Guendoloena and Marcia describe them more as queens regent acting in the king's place than as female kings ruling in their own right. Queen Guendoloena serves as the queen consort of King Locrinus and dowager queen of King Maddan (lines 24.40-26.68). Queen Marcia is the queen consort of King Guithelinus and dowager queen of King Sisillius (lines 47. 257-65). In the following section, I will discuss them as ruling queens, whose deeds might have been written in the light of Queen Matilda's queenship.

In the early history of Britons, Guendoloena is a very special queen. She is the queen of Locrinus, who is the eldest son of Brutus, the founding father of Britain. Locrinus falls in love with a foreign princess, Estrildis, before he marries Guendoloena under the pressure of her father, Corineus. After Corineus dies, Locrinus repudiates Guendoloena and makes Estrildis queen. Fighting against Guendoloena's troops, Locrinus dies in the battle. Guendoloena becomes the first ruling queen in this very early period of British history. I argue that Guendoloena is more like a queen regent who rules when the king passes away before the heir comes of age, rather than a female king who rules in her own right. All she does is to pave the way for her son to be the next king. It is worth noting that Geoffrey does not describe how she rules her people and what she does for her people. The only event that Geoffrey describes in her ruling is how she gets rid of the other child who has the king's royal blood:

> Perempto igitur illo, cepit Guendoloena regni gubernaculum, paterna insania fuerns. Iubet enim Estrildem et filiam eius Habren praecipitari in fluuium qui nunc Sabrina dicitur fecitque edictum per totam Britanniam ut flumen nomine puellae uocaretur; uolebat etenim honorem aeternitatis illi impendere quia maritus suus eam generauerat. (lines 25.57-62)[8]

> [After his (Locrinus's) death, Guendoloena took the throne, inheriting all the fury of her father. For she ordered Estrildis and her daughter Habren to be thrown into the river now called the Severn, and issued instructions throughout Britain that the river should be named after the girl; she wanted Habren to enjoy immortality since her own husband had been the girl's father.]

Since Habren is also a royal heir whose mother is made a queen after Guendoloena is repudiated, she is a legitimate daughter of Locrinus and thus a threat to the rights of Guendoloena's son to be the next king. As her son's regent, Guendoloena needs to dispose of this new queen and heir. However, recognizing the royal blood in the girl, Guendoloena names the river after her. The naming gesture clearly shows that Guendoloena's throwing the mother and daughter into the river is not only an act of revenge, but also an indication of how seriously Guendoloena cares about the girl's royal blood, as that blood also threatens to hinder her son's inheritance of the throne. This point becomes clearer in the paragraph that immediately follows the quoted one. When Guendoloena reigns for 15 years, she has her son Maddan crowned king. Geoffrey writes that "et cum uidisset Maddan filium suum aetate adultum, sceptro regni insigniuit illum, contenta regione Cornubiae dum reliquum uitae deduceret" [when she saw that her son Maddan was grown up, she had him crowned king, being herself content with the region of Cornwall for the rest of her days] (lines 24. 66-68). The keyword in this sentence is "contenta", which indicates that Guendoloena, seeing her son successfully inheriting the throne, as if she had accomplished the most important task in her life, feels satisfied and then retreats to her hometown Cornwall for the rest of her life.

The other ruling queen, Queen Marcia, is also a female regent who acts in the king's place. She is the queen of King Guithelinus. Geoffrey writes that:

> At ut Guithelinus obiuit, remansit gubernaculum regni praedictae reginae et filio ipsius, qui Sisillius uocabatur. Erat tunc Sisillius .vii. annorum nec aetas ipsius expetebat ut regnum moderation illius cessisset. Qua de causa mater, quia consilio et sensu pollebat, imperium totius insulae optinuit; et cum ab hac luce migrasset, Sisillius sumpto diademate gubernaculo potitus est. (lines 47.261-66)
>
> [On his death, Guithelinus' crown passed to his wife Marcia and his son, called Sisillius. The latter was then seven years old, too young for the government of the country to be entrusted to him. His able and intelligent mother therefore came to rule the whole island; and after her demise, Sisillius reigned as king.]

In Marcia's case, the crown passes to her and her son together. She rules in the king's place because the old king passes away and the heir is too young. Although she rules the whole island, I argue that she is still a queen regent, not a female reigning monarch who rules in her own right. The source of her ruling power comes from her deceased husband and her young son, not coming from herself. Marcia needs to share the power with her son. It is worth mentioning that Geoffrey describes Marcia's ruling over the whole island from the perspective of Marcia being Sisillius's mother: "Qua de causa mater, quia consilio et sensu pollebat, imperium totius insulae optinuit" [His able and intelligent mother therefore came to rule the whole island]. As a queen-mother, Marcia fulfills her duty responsibly.

Hence, in Geoffrey's descriptions, Guendoloena and Marcia are more like regent queens, and ones who regard themselves as female regents, rather than female kings who rule in their own right. Because their kings were incapable of ruling, Guendoloena and Marcia acted in the king's place as ruling queens. If we compare these two queen figures in the *Historia* with Queen Matilda, we see striking similarities. Being the daughter of Corineus, Guendoloena has her own territory base in Cornwall, just like Queen Matilda, who, as the only child of Count Eustace, was *suo jure* Countess of Boulogne. When Guendoloena is repudiated by King Locrinus, she goes back to Cornwall and gathers all the forces of the region to harry her enemy. Queen Matilda also asked for the help and soldiers from Boulogne to rescue the prisoned king when her queenship was endangered. Marcia's intelligence and wisdom is similar to Queen Matilda's wise negotiations and smart strategies during Stephen's reign. The efforts of Guendoloena and Marcia to help their sons inherit the throne also remind readers of Queen Matilda's effort to prepare her eldest son Eustace to be the next king. As the eldest son of Stephen and Matilda, Prince Eustace was raised with high expectations. He was brought to do homage for Normandy to Louis VII of France in 1137, and he was arranged to marry Louis VII's sister, Constance, in 1140. Queen Matilda did everything she could to ensure that her son Eustace would inherit the throne after Stephen. Hence, Geoffrey's depictions of how Guendoloena and Marcia ensure their sons to gain the throne also echoed the contemporary issue in ways that flattered the royal spouse.

The Female King in *Historia regum Britanniae*

In the long history of the *Historia*, Geoffrey indeed describes a female reigning monarch, King Leir's daughter, Cordeilla, who is a real female king, inheriting the throne in her own right. Although Cordeilla is the

French king Aganippus's queen, she herself inherits the British throne from her father. The source of her power does not come from her husband or her son. She herself possesses the right to sit on the throne. I argue that Cordeilla, whom Trolhurst views as Geoffrey's third female king, is actually the first and only female king in Galfridian history. Since Brutus founded Britain, male heirs continued the royal lineage until King Leir, who has no male offspring and intends to give his kingdom to three daughters, Gonorilla, Regau, and Cordeilla. This is the first time in Galfridian history that no male heir is available to succeed the throne. As the result of being angered by Cordeilla's honest reply to love him as a daughter should do, Leir gives his kingdom to his two elder daughters. Finally, Leir is deserted and has to ask the help of Cordeilla, who is already a queen consort in France. Geoffrey describes that, with the help of the French Army:

> duxit secum Leir filiam et collectam multitudinem in Britanniam pugnauitque cum generis et triumpho potitus est. Deinde, cum quosque potestati suae reddidisset, in tercio anno mortuus est. Mortuus est etiam Aganippus rex Francorum. Cordeilla ergo filia, regni gubernaculum adepta. (lines 31.252-56)
>
> [Leir took his daughter and the assembled army to Britain. He fought with his sons-in-law and beat them. Three years later he died, having restored all to their rightful positions. The French king Aganippus also died. Cordeilla therefore took over the kingdom.]

The deaths of Cordeilla's father and husband are very important because their deaths make Cordeilla a *feme sole*, "a woman unrestrained in the ownership of property and in her public dealings by any male guardian" (Beem 2006, p. 7). Since her father dies, she is the only available legitimate child to inherit the crown. The death of her husband also enables her to rule the kingdom by herself without a co-ruler. In her sole rule, Cordeilla "regnum per quinquennium pacifice tractasset" [ruled the kingdom peacefully for five years] (lines 32.260). This comment of "peaceful ruling" is a very positive one in Geoffrey's writing since one of Geoffrey's major purposes of composing this book is to promote peace.[9] This indeed shows that Geoffrey creates the possibility for female kingship. Besides, in Geoffrey's description, Cordeilla is much more than a dutiful daughter. She is deliberately described as a princess with integrity, who "tries to save her father from the consequences of a poor decision-making process grounded in foolish credulity" (Tolhurst 2013, p. 115). She is also a wise and skilled queen consort, who knows how to introduce her father to the

French king properly to help restore Leir's kingly dignity. As the queen consort, Cordeilla and the king Aganippus *both* give Leir jurisdiction over all France before helping him regain his possession of Britain. Geoffrey writes how Aganippus and Cordeilla formally meet with Leir, who is already furnished with the apparel and household of a king: "At illi, cum consulibus et proceribus obuiam uenientes, honorifice susceperunt illum dederuntque ei potestatem totius Galliae donec eum in pristinam dignitatem restaurassent" [They in turn came to meet him with their earls and nobles, greeted him with respect and gave him jurisdiction over all France until they could restore him to his former glory] (lines 31.246-9). When Cordeilla inherits the throne, she is a good and competent ruler, who can bring peace to her kingdom. In this story, Geoffrey depicts the possibility of Britain being ruled well and promisingly by a female king. Nonetheless, Geoffrey also exhibits some discomfort about a female ruler. At the end of her reign, Cordeilla is attacked by her two nephews because "indignati sunt Britanniam femineae potestati subditam esse" [they resented a woman having power over Britain] (lines 32. 265-6). This unwillingness to be ruled by a female may partly reflect the situation when Stephen successfully persuaded the English nobles to crown him to be king.

If we compare Wace and Layamon's translations of the story of Cordeilla, we will clearly see how the later writers treat the female kingship differently. In Wace's *Roman de Brut* (2002), finished in 1155, Wace does not show that Cordeille has real practice of rule as a queen consort. It is the French king himself, not the king and the queen together, who commands that "Que sun suegre trestuit servissent / E sun comandement feïssent" [everyone should serve his father-in-law and do his bidding] (lines 2023-4). Moreover, Wace does not mention that Cordeille rules the kingdom peacefully. It is King Leir, who, in his last three years, holds the realm in peace (line 2044). Moreover, just before the nephew's rebellion, Wace adds the sentence that "Mais ja ert vedve senz seinnor" [But now she was a widow, without a husband] (line 2052). This further suggests that because Cordeille is a woman without any male protection, her kingdom is thus attacked. Interestingly, while Geoffrey describes that the reason for the nephews' attack is that they resent a woman having power over Britain, Wace describes that "Pur la terre l'ante haïrent" [they hated their aunt because she had the land] (line 2057). Wace shifts the point from the issue of a female king's ruling to one of greed and family dispute. This shift becomes clearer when it comes to Cordeille's death. In Geoffrey's story, when Cordeilla is defeated and imprisoned by her nephews, "ob amissionem

regni dolore obducta sese interfecit" [overwhelmed by grief at the loss of her kingdom, she killed herself] (lines 32.269-70). Wace avoids the subject of a female king's grip on power and revises this situation as the nephews "Ainz la tindrent tan ten prison / Qu'ele s'ocist en la gaiole / De marrement" [held her so long that she killed herself in prison from sorrow] (lines 2064-6). Again, Wace shifts the point from the loss of feminine sovereignty to personal feelings of sorrow.

Layamon's treatment to this story is more interesting. In Layamon's *Brut* (1995), Cordoille's relationship with the French king is especially emphasized. As the French queen consort, Cordoille is "arranged" by her husband to go to England with King Leir to govern the land in the future. It is Aganippus, who proposes that Cordoille shall go with King Leir, while he asks Leir to " irum al þat lond. and sete hit Cordoille an hond / þat heo hit al habbe. Efter þine daie" [conquer the whole land and give it to Cordoille's keeping that she may possess it all after your lifetime] (lines 1847-8). When King Leir takes the kingdom, he gives it to Cordoille, who is noted as "Francene quene" [queen of France] (line 1855). It seems that Cordoille's source of power and her identity comes from her husband, the French king, rather than her father. Wace says that King Leir holds the realm in peace in his last years, while Layamon claims that Cordoille is given the kingdom and then Leir lives three years more before he dies. This makes Cordoille a co-ruler, not a *feme sole*. It seems that Cordoille cannot rule by herself. Layamon also describes that, after Leir dies, during Cordoille's five-year reign, the French king dies and she becomes a widow (lines 1862-4). When the news of the deaths of both Aganippus and Leir spreads, she is then attacked by the king of Scotland and the duke of Cornwall, who initiate the wars because "hit was swuþe mouchel scome. and ec swiþe muchel grame / þat scholde a queen. beon king in þisse londe, / and heora sunen beon buten,. þa weren hire beteren" [it was both very shameful and very wrong that a queen should be ruler in this land, and that their sons who were her betters should be deprived] (lines 1870-2). In Layamon's version, Cordoille becomes the female king when her king-father and king-husband are both alive. After these male protectors are dead, she is immediately attacked. Compared with his predecessors, Layamon's version treats Cordoille as a queen regent, whose source of power comes from her husband. Layamon's *Brut* also clearly shows how a female king attracts attacks from the neighboring kings.

From the above analysis, I conclude that Geoffrey of Monmouth is indeed more flexible regarding the issue of the possibility of English

female kingship. Although Tolhurst uses numerous examples of queens in Geoffrey's history to demonstrate that female ruling can be a better choice, it is remarkable that the female ruling elicits two different interpretations. While the story of the female kingship can pave the way for the Empress Matilda, the stories of queens regent also compliment Queen Matilda. Since the *Historia* is a work of ambiguous political position, it is hard to determine which side Geoffrey of Monmouth writes the story of female kingship for. After all, even though the story of Cordeilla illustrates the possibility of a successful female king for the Empress Matilda, the arrangement of the nephews taking the throne from Cordeilla through war grants favor to Stephen, who was King Henry I's nephew waging a war against the Empress Matilda.

Notes

1. For the influence of the *Historia* on chroniclers in England, see Laura Keeler (1946). The *Historia regum Britanniae* and Four Medieval Chroniclers. *Speculum*, *21*(1), 24–37. For the influence of the *Historia* on the insular historiography, see Robert W. Hanning (2014). *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth*. New York. For the development of the *Historia*'s later translation and its influence on vernacular literature, see Kellie Robertson (1998). Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Insular Historiography. *Arthuriana*, *8*(4), 42–57, and Jane Zatta (1998). Translating the *Historia*: The Ideological Transformation of the *Historia regum Britanniae* in Twelfth-Century Vernacular Chronicles. *Arthuriana*, *8*(4), 148–61.
2. The installation of the queen became a normal ritual occasion in Europe in the ninth century. The Anglo-Saxons developed an inauguration ceremony focused on the ritual enthronement of a new queen, especially after Judith, the queen of King Æthelwulf of Wessex. See Lois L. Huneycutt (2003). Strategies for Success: English Queenship before 1100. *Matilda of Scotland*. 31–53. For the idea of king's two bodies—the body natural and the body politic—see Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1957). *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*.
3. For discussion of the social construct of kingship, see Henry A. Myers (1982). *Medieval Kingship*. 2–13; Paul Kleber Monod (1999). *The Power of Kings*. 6–41.

4. The details of the oath-taking can be found in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* (1908), the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (2000), and *The Historia Novella* by William of Malmesbury (1955).
5. It is worth noting that the Empress Matilda and Queen Matilda were first cousins, whose maternal grandmother was Saint Margaret of Scotland. With very similar Anglo-Saxon background on their mothers' side and Anglo-Norman background on their fathers' side, the Empress Matilda and Queen Matilda were situated in the same cultural backdrop: Even though the Salic law, which was practiced in France to bar women from attaining the crown, didn't exist in England, it was still uncommon for a female ruler to rule by her own.
6. Besides these dedications, there are 16 manuscripts whose introductory chapters are omitted, and 27 manuscripts with nameless dedication. For details of the dedications, see Julia C. Crick (1991). Dedications. *The* Historia regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth IV. Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages*. 113–120.
7. Queen Matilda's mother was Mary of Scotland, a younger sister of Queen Matilda of Scotland, wife of King Henry I. In other words, Queen Matilda and the Empress Matilda had Malcolm III of Scotland and Margaret of Wessex as common grandparents. Since Margaret of Scotland, also known as Margaret of Wessex, is the sister of Edgar Ætheling, her descendants have the royal blood from the Anglo-Saxon kings.
8. The texts quoted from *Historia regum Britanniae* are from the version that Michael D. Reeve edits and Neil Wright translates: Geoffrey of Monmouth (2007). *Geoffrey of Monmouth*: *The History of the Kings of Britain*.
9. See Paul Dalton (2005). The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*: History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century.

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King Arthur: Leadership Masculinity and Homosocial Manhood

Ying-hsiu Lu

This chapter adopts contemporary concepts of male homosociality and homosocial desire to analyze King Arthur's masculinity as portrayed in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*.[1] Given Malory's aristocratic background and "noble and dyvers gentylmen of thys royame of Englond" as William Caxton's[2] projected readers, Malory's presentation of homosocial manhood as witnessed in Arthur's gender relations stands for the hegemonic definition of masculinity. Acclaimed as the first and chief of the three greatest Christian men of the "Nine Worthies,"[3] Arthur embodies ideal knighthood. With his exceptional martial competence and the unsurpassed Fellowship of the Round Table, Arthur's court epitomizes the "floure of chevalry" (118.15–6). On this basis, this chapter examines the cultural construct of Arthur's leadership masculinity in terms of lineage, physical appearance, male–female relations and male–male relations. There will be an emphasis on the contradictory and destructive aspects of male bonding, which is effectively manifested on the struggle and tensions between Arthur's pledge to the Round Table Fellowship and his kinship ties. I will argue that the destruction of Camelot and Arthur's tragic end derives from the paradoxical nature and functioning of male bonding in the story's Western cultural context.

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Viewed through the lens of male homosociality and homosocial desire, the collapse of Camelot occurs as a result of the conflict between Arthur's family relations and his bond to his knights. This chapter concludes with an investigation of the homosocial paradox of Western culture's conceptualization of kingship that reflects the gender ideology in Malory's King Arthur.

Male Bonding

Homosociality is often used to describe and define social bonds between persons of the same sex. In the study of masculinities, male homosociality is understood to be a mechanism that explains the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity through men's friendship and close collaborations with other men (Bird 1996; Lipman-Blumen 1976). In line with this concept, sociologist Michael Kimmel (1994) observed that masculinity is largely a homosocial enactment. He states that:

> We are under constant careful scrutiny of other men. Other men watch us, rank us, grant our acceptance into the realm of manhood. Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval. It is other men who evaluate the performance. (p. 128)

Kimmel (1994) further suggests that in contemporary Western societies, women are a form of currency contributing to a man's status and ranking on the masculine social scale (p. 129). In other words, men are encouraged to pursue amorous relations with women so that they can enhance their social ranking among other men or bond with other men. Sociologist Michael Flood (2008) also points out that in the Western male homosocial realm, a man's heterosexual activity is a key path to his masculine status; further, male homosocial relations take priority over male–female relations, both social and sexual, and male homosocial obligations are positioned as primary. Kimmel's and Flood's theories highlight the beliefs of rigid binaries of man/woman and masculine/feminine and state that heterosexuality is a crucial site for the construction of masculine identity in the West. However, what is overlooked within this homosocial manhood ideology as perceived by Kimmel and Flood is a validation paradox: men are encouraged to pursue male–female amorous relations so that they can enhance their status among other men, but simultaneously, male–female relations are censured and suppressed as men demand that homosocial allegiance be given primacy over heterosexual bonds.

The contemporary dominant Western discourse of homosocial manhood is further characterized by male homophobia which functions as a central organizing principle of the cultural definition of manhood (Kimmel 1994, p. 131). Male homophobia nevertheless signifies homosexuality as demeaning to masculinity. Lipman-Blumen (1976) further suggested that homosociality does not necessarily involve same-sex sexual interaction (p. 16). How then, is homosexuality positioned in the spectrum of homosocial bonding, in the sense that it inevitably provokes a cognitive dissonance in relation to homosocial bonding?

In *Between Men*: *English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, Eve K. Sedgwick (1985) uses male homosociality and male homosexuality to refer to two ends of a continuum of male gender relations. Sedgwick points out that "homosocial" is applied to such activities as "male bonding" which is often characterized by homophobia, fear and hatred of homosexuality (p. 1). However, she also observes that the nature of gendered relations informing that continuum is sometimes ambiguous because what is conceptualized as erotic or sexual "depend[s] on and affect[s] historical power relationships" (p. 2). To highlight the erotic/sexual potential of men's relations with other men, yet without automatically including it, she names the entire continuum of male gender relations "male homosocial desire." "Desire" in this context is seen as a "social force" which shapes an important relationship (p. 2). Male homosexual desire is just one position on the continuum that her theory of male homosocial desire attempts to situate. In addition, Sedgwick observes that heterosexual relations may themselves be strategies of male homosocial desire (p. 21). Drawing on Sedgwick's definition of male homosocial desire, I intend to show that "male bonds" ally among males an established social relationship, and to suggest by "male bonding" is meant the broad spectrum of male–male bonding practices. Further, my use of the term "heterosexual" refers to male–female relationships, including both amorous relations and platonic friendships.

Lineage

In Malory, lineage is a key factor in the portrayal of Arthur as an ideal king. As the son of Uther and Igraine, Arthur holds legitimate claim to his father's kingdom. However, his birth is the result of Uther's unlawful desire for Igraine, the wife of Uther's vassal, the Duke of Tintagel. To satisfy his desire, Uther launches a war against the Duke of Tintagel. With

Merlin's aid, he unfairly tricks Igraine into sleeping with him, and consequently, Arthur is conceived. Arthur's birth is therefore subject to moral suspicion. For example, before Arthur's origin is disclosed, on hearing Arthur's success in pulling out the sword in the stone, a task destined for the future king of England, many barons complain: "it was grete shame unto them all and the reame to be overgovernyd with a boye of no hyghe blood borne" (15.23–5). When Merlin reveals Arthur's royal parentage, these barons immediately question: "Thenne is he a bastard [?]" (18.3). Their suspicion directly highlights lineage as a crucial component of kingly qualification and leadership masculinity. Projected as a great king, Arthur's birth has to be above any moral criticism. Merlin promptly clarifies:

> Nay, after the deth of the duke more than thre houres was Arthur begoten, and thirtene dayes after kyng Uther wedded Igrayne, and therfor I preve hym he is no bastard. (18.4–7)

Through Merlin's explanation, Arthur's pure and high birth is affirmed. His legitimate claim to the throne is validated and his honor preserved.[4] Further, the text tells that Arthur is the "chosyn kynge by adventure and by grace" (97.1–2). Arthur's birth, artfully sanctioned by Merlin, the medium of God, highlights the theological aspect of the nature of kingship.[5] Similarly, Arthur's sword tests, which confirm Arthur's legitimacy to rule, also reinforce the idea that the power to rule is divinely sanctioned.

To further legitimize Arthur's claim to the throne and enhance his stature as Britain's national hero, Arthur's kinship is supported by the commoners. When King Lot and other barons challenge Arthur's right to rule, many plebeians protest: "We wille put hym no more in delay, for we all see that it is Goddes wille that he shalle be our kynge, and who that holdeth ageynst it, we wille slee hym" (16.12–5). In Arthur's military campaigns against the northern rebels, many commoners also fight for him (19.23–4). Plebeian support is discursively represented as a factor in the enhancement of Arthur's sovereign power.

Appearance

Before Arthur's rise to power, he is referred to as a "berdles boye" by northern rebels such as King Lot (17.23). On the one hand, the expression speaks for Arthur's youth,[6] and on the other hand, it emasculates Arthur as it implies his inexperience in political and military affairs, a domain where Arthurian men win worship. King Lot's mocking of Arthur

as a lad without a beard references bodily or facial hair as an indicator of manliness as noted by critic Kam Louie (2002, p. 27). Despite his youth, Arthur nevertheless progresses to be a competent king, demonstrating high level of martial prowess and good leadership, such as willingness to accept counsel during his power struggle with King Lot. With assistance from Merlin, he defeats his rivals and unifies Britain within a few years.

Turning into adulthood, Arthur is represented as a good-looking man and his facial appearance is referred to in *The Noble Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius* (185–247). After his conquest of Rome, he continues his invasion to Tuscany. At one point, a duchess offers him her city and pleads with him to spare her people's lives. Courteously, Arthur "avalyd and lyffte up his vyser with a knyghtly countenaunce," and kindly promises her that none of his subjects would do harm to her and her people (241.22–3). Although Arthur's looks are not elaborated, the description "knyghtly countenaunce" nevertheless connotes modesty and majestic bearing and signifies his magnanimity. Arthur's physical portrayal conforms to the discourse of knightly appearance in Malory, in which an ideal knightly image is distinguished by good looks as in the depictions of Launcelot (898.10–11), Gareth (293.29–31) and Tor (99.15–6).

Swords are another crucial element in the cultural construction of knightly appearance and identity. In the narrative, Arthur has two swords; both are symbols of phallic power. He obtains his first sword (the sword in the stone) by pulling it from a stone, a miracle witnessed by many barons and commoners. His second sword is Excalibur and is given by the Lady of the Lake who tells him that its meaning is "Kutte Stele" (65.18). As "the sword in the stone" signifies Christian divine providence and the Excalibur represents Celtic otherworldly royal regalia, Arthur's right to rule is further confirmed and his sovereign power is elevated. While both swords are signifiers of power and penile potency (Louie 2002, p. 28), the scabbard (of the Excalibur), a feminine symbol, is associated with indestructibility and invulnerability because it can protect anyone who bears it from losing any blood when wounded. Yet later, Morgan le Fay steals the magical scabbard (150.20–28). Arthur's loss of the scabbard can be interpreted as a symbolic castration and articulates the tension in the gender relations between him and Morgan.

Male–Female Relations: Arthur as Sexualized King

Heterosexuality is a key element in the construction of knightly masculinity, and heteronormativity is implicitly endorsed in the conceptualization of knightly sexuality in Malory (Armstrong 2003, p. 36–7). Arthur, as

a knight and a king, is portrayed as a sexually attractive and competent man. In his early career, he has two major love affairs. He falls in love with Lady Lyonors, an earl's daughter, and begets a son named Borre (38.31–34). He also takes another lover, Margawse, and begets a son, Mordred (41.12–20). As sexual virility is a means to measure manliness and a key component of masculinity (Gilmore 1990, p. 223), Arthur's manhood is validated because he is sexually active and virile as shown in these two relationships. Furthermore, Vern Bullough (1994) pointed out that in the Middle Ages, it was believed that "[a] man's maleness was also demonstrated by the sex of his child.… Strong male sperm tended to reproduce in another being the sex and characteristics of the individual from whom it had come" (p. 40). In this sense, Arthur's masculinity is discursively enhanced by begetting two sons from the two relationships, both of whom grow up to become Round Table knights.[7]

Arthur's lover Margawse, however, is in fact a spy sent by her husband King Lot to keep an eye on Arthur's court. What is worse, she is Arthur's half-sister. Because of this sexual transgression, God condemns that Arthur and his kingdom will be destroyed by Mordred, the product of this incest. Certainly Arthur's lust is represented as a masculine flaw, yet his status as a great Christian king and a British national hero necessitates manipulation of the narrative to preserve his sexual honor. The story is told that Arthur commits the sin unknowingly; he does not know Margawse's real identity during their relationship and is the ignorant victim of his erotic desire. Arthur's honor therefore is technically kept intact though his sin cannot be denied.[8] On the other hand, except for Merlin's warning of Arthur's sexual sin and his destined death, Arthur's incest is intentionally silenced in the text, minimizing its doctrinal impact. Moreover, despite the punishment for his incest is death, the tale explains (through Merlin) that it is not a shameful but "worshipful dethe" (44.30).

Aside from Arthur's lust calling on his own destruction, Margawse's sexuality is represented as a disruptive force to male homosocial relationships. In addition, to configure Arthur's masculinity, cuckoldry is used to emasculate Lot in their rivalry.[9] As explicated,

> [F]or because that Kynge Arthure lay by hys wyff and gate on her sir Mordred, therfore kynge Lott helde ever agaynste Arthure. (77.5–7)

Although King Lot sends his wife to spy on Arthur's court, it is perhaps Margawse's idea, not Lot's, to seduce Arthur in an attempt to facilitate

her husband's political ambition. Or, the Arthur–Margawse amorous relationship is a result of their mutual attraction.[10] In either case, Lot's masculine honor is greatly humiliated and his hatred for Arthur, which began long before when Arthur ascended the throne, intensifies. In the enactment of the bond of male rivalry, female sexuality is represented as a disturbing force, as is shown in the Arthur–Guenever–Launcelot love triangle, which I will discuss in the section, "Male–Male Relations: Arthur's Emasculation."

Although sexually active before his marriage, Arthur is a faithful husband to Guenever. The narrative details sorceress Lady Annowre's persistent attempts to seduce Arthur. She fails because Arthur always "remembird hym of hy[s] lady" (490.18–9). The text promotes fidelity in love as a masculine virtue and highlights sexual self-control as an attribute of heroic masculinity.

On the other hand, the marriage between Arthur and Guenever aptly illustrates Gayle Rubin's (1975) theory of trafficking of women in the enactment of male homosocial bonds. As Armstrong (2003) notes, in Arthur's marriage with Guenever, Guenever functions as a political commodity transferred by her father King Lodegreance to Arthur, in a transaction that benefits both men (p. 56). The tale explains that Arthur provides military aid to King Lodegreance when his land is invaded. It is then that Arthur first sees Guenever and falls in love with her (39.8–18). For Lodegreance, giving his daughter to Arthur is a convenient way to repay Arthur's magnanimity; it also secures Arthur's future military support. Arthur is given 100 knights and the Round Table as the wedding gift. Since the Round Table was formerly the property of Arthur's father Uther, Arthur's acquisition of the object further validates his legitimate claim to the throne. As to the 100 knights, they constitute the major force of Arthur's fellowship, so that marrying Guenever also strengthens Arthur's military might and allows him to bond with elite men in his realm.[11] The marriage to Guenever therefore contributes greatly to male bonding in the Arthurian community.

Male–Male Relations: Arthur's Emasculation

Arthur's allegiance to the Round Table Fellowship—his political instrument to maintain peace and justice in the realm—is foregrounded significantly in the text. Portrayed as the keeper of justice and head of the fellowship, Arthur prioritizes his bond to his fellow knights over that to

his queen. To safeguard the unity of the fellowship, Arthur intentionally ignores the illicit relationship between Launcelot and Guenever and his tolerance ultimately emasculates him.[12] At one time, King Mark writes a letter to Arthur in an attempt to shame him. Narratively, King Mark is known as a knight-destroyer whose nephew Sir Tristram is the lover of his queen (Isoud). Because of his jealousy of Tristram, King Mark expels Tristram from Cornwall and takes every opportunity to destroy him. In his letter to Arthur, King Mark "bade hym entermete with hymself and wyth hys wyff, and of his knyghtes, for he was able to rule his wyff and knyghtes" (617.7–9). Arthur's manhood is insulted by King Mark's implication that he is a cuckold, a man who lacks sexual dominance over his wife. Mark's words remind Arthur that Morgan le Fay once implicitly suggested to him the illicit nature of Launcelot's relations with Guenever (557.30–35). However, deeming Morgan as his enemy, Arthur decides to pay no regard to the suggestion that Launcelot and Guenever might be lovers. Although Arthur does not get upset at Mark's scorn, he does become angry when reading King Mark's open declaration of his hatred for Tristram, a Round Table knight. Arthur believes that King Mark would commit more treacherous acts to harm Tristram (617.17–21). Arthur's emotional response shows that he, as a king and the head of the Round Table Fellowship, ensures the safeguarding of his knights above his own sexual honor and heterosexual bonds. King Mark's shaming of Arthur also demonstrates that masculinity is largely a homosocial enactment as Kimmel observed, and highlights the importance of women and female sexuality in the enactment of male rivalry in this cultural context.

Launcelot—the best knight of the realm whose clan forms a powerful faction in the Round Table Fellowship—has been projected as Arthur's object of homosocial desire. When Guenever's adultery with Launcelot is unequivocally exposed, the narration states that:

> [T]he kynge had a demyng of hit, but he wold nat here thereof, for sir Launcelot had done so much for hym and for the quene so many tymes that wyte you well the kynge loved hym passyngly well. (1163.20–5)

In line of male homosociality, Arthur tolerates being cuckolded because he positions his bond with Launcelot above that with Guenever and his sexual honor. Nevertheless, in this love triangle, Arthur is rendered a feminized husband and lord, whose emasculation is further made explicit in the remarks of Arthur's kinsmen Agravayne and Mordred:

> [W]e know all that sir Launcelot holdith youre queen, and hath done longe; and we be your syster sunnes, we may suffir hit no lenger. And all we wote that ye sholde be above sir Launcelot, and ye ar the kynge that made hym knight, and therefore we woll preve hit that he is a traytoure to your person. (1163.7–11)

In the eyes of Agravayne and Mordred, Arthur's tolerance of Launcelot's and Guenever's sexual transgression implies his powerlessness and failure of kingship. Further, embedded in Agravayne's and Mordred's words is the belief that Arthur's cuckoldry inflicts shame not only on himself but also on all his kin. As Sedgwick (1985) takes note,

> [t]he bond of cuckoldry [is]…necessarily hierarchical in structure, with an "active" participant who is clearly in the ascendancy over the "passive" one. Most characteristically, the difference of power occurs in the form of a difference of knowledge: the cuckold is not even supposed to know that he is in such a relationship. (pp. 50–51)

The fact that Arthur knowingly and passively accepts the cuckoldry ironically highlights his emasculation by heightening his "feminine–passive" position against the "masculine–active" Launcelot.

Caught in a conundrum, Arthur, however, pledges his allegiance to the fellowship above that of his heterosexual bond, but in doing so, he simultaneously brings shame to himself and to his entire clan. Ultimately, he chooses to prove his manhood, giving consent to Agravayne's and Mordred's plot against Launcelot. Consequently, Launcelot is discovered in Guenever's chamber to be with her and he has to kill 13 knights in order to escape.[13] On hearing the news, Arthur laments:

> [A]las, me sore repentith that ever sir Launcelot sholde be ayenste me, for now I am sure the noble felyshyp of the Rounde Table ys brokyn for ever, for wyth hym woll many a noble knyght holde. (1174.13–16)

The adultery is exposed and Arthur's fellowship, symbol of Arthur's power and authority, is doomed to fall—symbolic of Arthur's dwindling masculinity. Further, the split of the Round Table Fellowship is a result of Arthur's submission to the demands of his kinsmen, a private bond affiliated under the Round Table Fellowship. In his last attempt to reestablish his fragile manhood and to avenge his loss of the fellowship, Arthur commands that "my quene muste suffir dethe" (1174.18).

Arthur's decision to punish Guenever further demonstrates that the bond of the Round Table Fellowship is consistently positioned higher than heterosexual bonds.

The primacy of the Round Table Fellowship over heterosexual allegiance is further shown in Arthur's lamentation on the death of Sir Gareth and Gaheris, both of whom are accidentally killed by Launcelot in his attempt to rescue Guenever from the stake:

> Alas, that ever I bare crowne uppon my hede! For now have I loste the fayrest felyshyp of noble knyghtes that ever hylde Crystyn kynge togydirs. Alas, my good knyghtes be slayne and gone away fro me, that now within thys two dayes I have loste nygh fourty knyghtes and also the noble felyshyp of sir Launcelot and hys blood. (1183.7–12)

Arthur goes on,

> And much more I am soryar for my good knyghtes losse than for the losse of my fayre queen; for quenys I myght have inow, but such a felyship of good knyghtes shall never be togydirs in no company. (1184.1–5)

Arthur does not care about Guenever but only fears the dissolution of the Round Table Fellowship. Guenever is projected not only as an exchangeable but also as a disposable commodity in the male bonding practice in the Arthurian community. C.D. Benson (1996) has rightly observed that Arthur chooses "the role of king over that of husband…even more important, that he chooses the love between comrades over the erotic passion so often celebrated in Arthurian romance" (p. 230).

On the other hand, Arthur's manhood and identity are directly linked to and validated by the Round Table Fellowship. A Roman senator once comments:

> [O]f all the soveraynes that we sawe ever he is the royallyst kynge that lyvyth on erthe, for we sawe on Newerys Day at his Rounde Table nyne kyngis, and the fayryst felyship of knyghtes ar with hym that durys on lyve, and thereto of wysedome and of fayre speche and all royalté and rychesse they faule of none. (192.11–16)

With the breakup of the fellowship, Arthur is symbolically emasculated and his identity as a king is in jeopardy.

Arthur's End: Father–Son Relations

Male bonding not only demands Arthur to ally to the Round Table Fellowship above his bond to his queen, but also impels him to prioritize it over his paternal tie with Mordred. However, the functioning of male bonding between Arthur and his men creates a contradictory outcome: Arthur's allegiance to his fellow knights requires him to kill his son Mordred, as Mordred's treachery has further damaged the Round Table Fellowship. As a result of his termination of Mordred, however, Arthur also destroys both himself (he dies of severe wound inflicted by Mordred) and the kingdom he has built.

In Malory, Arthur's role as Mordred's father is largely silenced but Mordred's identity as Arthur's bastard son and a product of incest is assumed to be common knowledge. In addition, the father–son relations between Arthur and Mordred are characterized by rivalry, as disclosed in Arthur's massive murder of infants born on May Day in response to Merlin's prophecy of his downfall at the hands of Mordred. Mordred, born on that day, however, survives and is raised by "a good man" who brings him to Arthur's court when he is 14 years old (55.30). When Mordred reappears in *The Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake* (249–287), he is already a knight of the Round Table. Functioning as a tool to facilitate Arthur's tragic end, Mordred is destined to be an infamous man in the Arthurian community. His treacherous nature is first brought to the foreground in his (and Agravayne's) deliberate disclosure of Launcelot's and Guenever's adultery. The tale elucidates that Mordred's exposure of the affair is impelled by his hatred for the queen and Launcelot (1162.12–3). For personal and selfish causes, he reneges his allegiance to the Round Table Fellowship, resulting in the fellowship to become divided.

While the dissolution of the Round Table Fellowship enfeebles and emasculates Arthur, it empowers Mordred. Because of Launcelot's unintentional killing of Sir Gareth, Launcelot and Sir Gawain, two of the most worshipful knights in Arthur's court, become enemies. With Launcelot and his kin banished from Arthur's court and Sir Gawain intent on avenging Gareth's death, no one else in court can stop Mordred's manipulation of and ascendance to power. Pressured by Gawain, Arthur launches a military campaign against Launcelot in France. Before he sets out for France, he appoints Mordred to rule the kingdom and look after Guenever (1211.8–9). Mordred, however, betrays Arthur:

> [Mordred] lete make lettirs as thoughe that they had com frome beyonde the see, and the lettirs specifyed that Kynge Arthur was slayne in batayle with sir Launcelot. Wherefore sir Mordred made a parlemente, and called the lordys togydir, and there he made them to chose hym kynge. (1227.1–6)

Mordred's usurpation of the throne symbolically and politically emasculates Arthur. Also, as has been noted, Guenever functions as "the mark of power for the man who possesses her" (Armstrong 2003 p. 194). To further cement his power and assert his superiority, Mordred attempts to usurp Arthur's bed: "he toke quene Gwenyver, and seyde playnly that he wolde wedde her (which was hys unclys wyff and hys fadirs wyff" (1127.9–10). Although Mordred does not succeed in marrying Guenever, who flees to the Tower of London, his intended incestuous advance politically heightens his evil nature[14] and further threatens Arthur's manhood.

The intensity of the rivalry between Arthur and Mordred reaches its height in their duel in Salisbury. On hearing of Mordred's betrayal, Arthur quickly abandons his war against Launcelot and returns to England. Arthur and Mordred engage in fierce battles against each other and both suffer severe losses. They agree to cease-fire to discuss a truce. During their meeting to enact the peace treaty, however, a knight draws his sword to strike a snake and his action makes both Arthur's and Mordred's sides think they have been betrayed in an ambush. The battle resumes, almost wiping out the entire armies of both sides. Seeing his men dying on the battleground, Arthur lets out a desperate cry:

> Jesu mercy…where ar all my noble knyghtes becom? Alas, that ever I shulde se thys doleful day! For now… I am com to myne ende. But wolde to God that I wyste now where were that traytoure sir Mordred that hath caused alle thys myschyeff. (1236.16–21)

Arthur is overwhelmed by the loss of his knights—all dead except himself, Sir Lucan, and Bedevere. When he sees Mordred in the distance, Arthur, consumed with rage, immediately asks for a spear and is determined to kill Mordred despite Lucan's counsel that they have won the war and none of their enemy except Mordred survives. Dictated by his fraternal allegiance to his knights, Arthur runs toward Mordred, crying "[t]raytoure, now ys thy dethe-day com!" (1237.11). Father and son come face-to-face to meet their deaths:

> [K]yng Arthur smote sir Mordred undir the shylde, with a foyne of hys speare, thorowoute the body more than a fadom. And whan sir Mordred felte that he had hys dethys wounde he threste hymself with the myght that he had upp to the burre of kyng Arthurs speare, and ryght so he smote hys fadir, kynge Arthure, with hys swerde holdynge in both hys hondys, uppon the syde of the hede, that the swerde perced the helmet and the tay of the brayne. (1237.14–21)

Arthur slays Mordred, but he is also fatally injured: his death is later confirmed by the discovery of his tomb in a chapel at Glastonbury. For the love of his knights and fellowship, Arthur offers his own life, and so, terminates the last of his royal bloodline.[15] His fraternal affection and allegiance to his knights, upheld as the noblest bond in the Arthurian realm, paradoxically leads himself and his kingdom to an end. Loyalty to and love for fellow comrades as embodied in Arthur's allegiance to his knights and the Round Table Fellowship are culturally promoted as ideal leadership masculinity.

Conclusion

Arthur's gender relations have been examined in terms of leadership masculinity and homosocial manhood. It has been seen that male homosocial discourse is positioned above male–female (husband–wife) and familial (father–son) ties. For the unity of the Round Table Fellowship and the love for his fellow knights, Arthur tolerates King Mark's ridiculing him as a cuckold and passively puts up with Guenever's adultery with Launcelot. When the unity of the Round Table Fellowship is broken, Arthur consistently subordinates his bonds with Guenever to those with the Fellowship and his fellow knights, sentencing his queen to the stake. When Mordred usurps his throne, Arthur again chooses to avenge for his knights rather than to forgive his son, resulting in the death of Mordred. The homosocial manhood as shown in the portrayal of Arthur's gender relations, however, is problematic. Arthur's death, the end of his bloodline and the destruction of Camelot derive from Arthur's unswerving conviction to the Round Table Fellowship and his knights. How then, does this homosocial paradox relate to the overarching gender ideology of the Western culture? Female sexuality is a key factor in the paradoxical functioning of male bonding in Arthur's tragic end and the doom of Camelot. The breakup of the Round Table Fellowship is closely linked to Guenever's sexuality,

and her role as object of desire to Arthur, Launcelot and Mordred. Female sexuality, however destructive, nevertheless proves the centrality of heterosexuality in the narrative. The homosocial paradox thus conforms to and reinforces the conceptual binaries of man/woman and masculine/feminine as fundamental characteristic of the Western gender ideology.

Arthur's gender relations also inform the tensions and contradictions structured around familial ties and male bonding that he has to cope with in order to uphold his kingship. Arthur's kingship is weakened or threatened when his bonds with his fellow knights are disrupted. With Launcelot–Guenever's adultery exposed, Launcelot leaving the fellowship and Mordred's treason, Arthur's kingdom soon becomes divided and crumbles. To reaffirm his identity as a king, Arthur is impelled to send his queen to the stake and declare his son his mortal enemy. To avenge his knights, Arthur kills Mordred and tragically brings about the termination of his life and sovereignty. Arthur's death reinforces male bonding as the most vital force in validating and valorizing kingship. After Arthur's death in Salisbury, the legend goes, "kynge Arthure ys nat dede, but h[ad] by the wyll of Oure Lorde Jesu into another place," and other men say that "he shall com agayne, and he shall wynne the Holy Crosse" (1242.23–5). Arthur dies a worshipful death and his love for his fellow knights immortalizes his kingship.

Arthur's tale transmits a prescriptive set of behaviors highlighting the struggle and anxiety surrounding familial relations, male bonding and kingship. It creates a better understanding of men's relations in both private and public spheres and the conflicting demands and forces that men must deal with on an individual basis in maintaining their masculinity. It also allows readers to decode these paradigms and contradictions according to the received notions of masculinity and male bonding that illuminated the cultural notions of kingship and ideal kingly virtue during Malory's day.

Notes

1. The quotations and references in this chapter are from: Eugène Vinaver (Ed.) (1990). *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols. 3rd edition. Revised P.J.C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Citations from this edition are given by page and line.
2. William Caxton was the first publisher in Britain who edited and published Malory's Arthurian romance and named it *Le Morte D'Arthur*.

3. The Nine Worthies mentioned in Caxton's preface to the work are: Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar (three pagans); Joshua, King David and Judas Maccabaeus (three Jews); and King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon (three Christians). See Vinaver (1990, p. cxliii).
4. However, Elizabeth Archibald notes that "illegitimacy has never been a bar to future success for legendary heroes." See Archibald (1989a, p. 4).
5. Elizabeth T. Pochoda (1971) argues that Arthur's birth and his predestination of kingship exemplifies the fifteenth-century English political theology, especially the theorization and conceptualization of kingship in the theory of the "King's Two Bodies" (p. 31–56).
6. Malory does not tell readers how old Arthur is when he ascends to the throne, but in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Arthur is 15 years old when he takes the crown of the kingdom. See Geoffrey of Monmouth (1996, p. 212).
7. It is noted that Arthur's marriage to Guenever does not produce any heirs. As Arthur's sexual potency has been validated in his begetting of Sir Borre and Mordred, the text implicitly suggests that Guenever is sterile. Guenever also does not get pregnant during her illicit relationship with Launcelot, though it seems fairly easy for Launcelot to father a son (Galahad) through his one-night encounter with Elaine.
8. Archibald points out that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, moralizing incest stories were in fashion as the church exploited them to illustrate the monstrous sin and to promote Christian doctrine on contrition. See Archibald (1989a, b). Although Arthur may be spared of incest, he is still faulted with adultery.
9. Other notable examples illustrating cuckoldry as a discursive means to emasculate a man are relations between King Mark, Tristram and Isoud, and Arthur, Launcelot and Guenever.
10. The text only specifies that Margawse, accompanied by her four sons, Gawain, Gaheris, Agravayne and Gareth, is sent to spy on King Arthur's court. Because she is an exceedingly fair lady, Arthur falls in love with and desires her. They agree to become lovers, and Arthur begets Mordred in their monthlong affair (41.12–22).
11. There are 150 knights in the Round Table Fellowship. In addition to the 100 knights given to Arthur by Lodegreance, Merlin recruits another 48 knights at Arthur's command. Sir Pellinor and Galahad are the last two knights who join the fellowship (98.29–36).

12. For the explicit depiction of Guenever–Launcelot adultery, see "The Knight of the Cart" episode (1120–40). The illicit nature of their relationship has also been suggested in *The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones* (554–5) and *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (895–6).
13. Probably motivated to preserve the moral image of Launcelot as the best knight, Malory only tells that Launcelot and Guenever are together; what they are doing at that time is not told in his French sources. He further implicitly blurs the adulterous nature of their love by saying that "for love that tyme was nat as love ys nowadayes" (1165.13).
14. In her discussion of Arthur's and Mordred's sexual sin of incest, Archibald (1989a) commented that: "uncontrollable lust is bad enough, but deliberate incest would be an insurmountable handicap" (p. 19). Because Arthur commits unwitting incest, his reputation does not suffer much; in contrast, Mordred's deliberate and intended incest with his father's wife presents him as a more debased man than his father.
15. Arthur's other son Sir Borre largely disappears from the narrative after the episode "Healing of Sir Urry" (1150.25–6). I assume that he dies either during the strife between Arthur and Launcelot, or during Arthur's battle against Mordred in Salisbury. Whatever the case, Sir Borre never figures prominently in the work.

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Innocent and Simple: The Making of Henry VI's Kingship in Fifteenth-Century England

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During King Henry VI's lifetime, his contemporaries praised him as a benevolent and pious king who showed more passion for religion and education than for administration and rulership. Most people considered him to be an incompetent king whose occasional lunacy had left his court in the hands of covetous courtiers and his queen, Margaret of Anjou. Posthumously, however, Henry VI was remembered primarily as a martyr and saint, not as an incompetent king. On the surface, the images of an incompetent king and that of a martyr and saint do not seem to go hand in hand. Nevertheless, beneath the surface, what the two images share in common is a latent but coherent discourse on constructing and interpreting Henry VI's kingship.

This chapter intends to explore the constructing and interpreting of Henry VI's kingship through his royal image and his martyr-saint image, the former in his lifetime and the latter in his posthumous cult. The making of Henry VI's royal and martyr-saint images manifests a variety of epithets such as innocent and simple in a spectrum of texts by both supporters and opponents. By tracing the use of the epithets in fashioning the images of Henry VI, this chapter argues that the epithets fabricate a coherent discourse

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on shaping up Henry's kingship, which not only reflects fifteenth-century understanding and frustration of an incompetent king but also responds to anxiety and political tensions in the fifteenth-century English court.

The Making of Kingship in Late Medieval England

The idea of kingship in the Middle Ages is geared to encompass both the sacred and secular realms and the natural and civil worlds. A medieval king, as pointed out by Francis Oakley (2006), not only rules the realm but rules in the name of God, the indivisibility of religion and politics in medieval understanding of kingship:

> Kingship, … , emerged from an "archaic" mentality that appears to have been thoroughly monistic, to have perceived no impermeable barrier between the human and divine, to have intuited the divine as immanent in the cyclic rhythms of the natural world and civil society as somehow enmeshed in those natural processes, and to have viewed its primary function, therefore, as a fundamentally religious one, involving the preservation of the cosmic order and the "harmonious integration" of human beings with the natural world. (p. 7)

This monistic view of kingship can be traced all the way back to Egypt where the Pharaoh was recognized as a god in human flesh and whose duty was to maintain harmony of the world and the cyclic rhythm of the seasons. In later medieval period, a king as the representative of the realm was metaphorically compared to the head of the body and the whole society was conceived to be an entity. Subsequently, medieval kings in all respects act as God's representative on earth and the representative of their realm, and their exercise of kingship is anticipated to manifest "'harmonious integration' of human beings with the natural world" (Oakley 2006, p. 7) and that of God's will with the collective will of the realm. From this perspective, a king is sacral and, through hereditary succession, the sacral kingship is to be bequeathed to the next heir in line.

In addition, since the king is sacredly crowned, he is able to assume not only the role of an administrator on secular matters but also the role of a quasi-priest.[1] Although in theory medieval kings could exercise their sovereignty within the realm over secular matters as well as matters of the church, conflicts of interests often occurred when both parties—the king and the church—tried to lay their hands on secular and spiritual matters.[2]

The anticipation of the monistic unity of the sacred and the profane in kingship is not without its inner conflict. On the one hand, the king's sovereignty is exclusively bound by God's will marking the exclusivism between God and the king. On the other hand, as the body politic theory suggests, a king embodies the realm and his personal will is expected to represent the collective will of his people. As John Watts (1996) notes, "kingship [in the Middle Ages], …, was essentially a means for the authorization of public opinion" (p. 29). The embodiment of exclusiveness and inclusiveness in kingship problematizes the practice of kingship and has caused much political turbulence in the English court in the later Middle Ages.

One of the paramount events that has the full impact on the perception of English kingship and on power struggle in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English court is the Hundred Years War with France.[3] The long war against France reifies the sense of Englishness that accords with the assertiveness of sovereignty and kingship of English monarchy. More than 200 years ago, the Norman Conquest had brought the English royalty under the influence of French politics and culture; through marriages with the French royals, several English monarchs had been more French than English. The interconnectedness of the English ruling class with the French had shifted to the subordination of English monarchy to the French king. In 1259, King Henry III consented to the Treaty of Paris in that the King of England not only became the duke of Aquitaine but also had to pay homage to King of France. Ever since then, several English kings had been summoned to the French court to answer the inquiry of, and paid homage to, the French kings. The subordination of English king as vassal to the French king causes both legal disputes in the duchy and a sense of identity crisis that infuriates the already souring relations of the two nations (Christopher Allmand 1989, p. 11).

Moreover, the intricate relation of English and France has become even more complicated by the intermarriages between the English and the French royals that bestow England monarchs with the legal right to the French crown. In 1327, the death of childless Charles IV gave Edward III, his maternal nephew, a favored legal position to contest for the French crown.[4] For English kings, the outbreak of the Hundred Years War lifts the burdened feudal duties from their shoulder, and their sovereignty within the realm is therefore asserted. On top of that, English kings found themselves in an advantageous legal status to contest for the throne of

France that reinforces both the assertiveness of English kingship and the importance of the royal images.

From the outset, the long war seems to fortify the awareness of Englishness and English kingship, whereas from the within, it brings bitter disputes and resentment to the court of England which puts English kingship in crisis. At the early stage of the war, Edward III had serious disputes with his ministers and Archbishop John Stratford that led to a series of political maneuvers with dismissals of the ministers and the counteraction of excommunication of Edward III by the Archbishop. In Richard III's reign, although he was more inclined to make peace with France, the wealth he granted to his court favorites worsened the already critical financial situation. Countering Richard III's royal patronage, the Wonderful Parliament held in 1386 set out to limit the authority of Richard III by forming a commission to reform the royal house. Subsequently, this rivalry triggered a brief uprising of Lords Appellant against royal favorites in 1387 (J.A. Wagner 2006, p. xliii). Indeed, the resentment on the abuse of royal power, rising national debt and heavy poll tax gave rise to the Peasant's Revolt in 1381. Henry VI's reign saw the same bickering on the war with France and power struggles in the court that resulted in the Wars of the Roses.

The violent political clashes of the Hundred Years War reached its peak in the reign of Henry VI, a period when the sacral kingship met severe challenges in real practice. The political turbulence began with the minority rule. A council of regency was formed to assist child Henry VI to manage the realm and to defend English interest in France. Henry V's brothers, John, Duke of Bedford, acted as the Regent of France for his nephew, while his younger brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, acted as the Lord Protector. Although Henry VI's minority rule is not the first in English history, it is the longest ever. The problems of a council of regency ruling the nation on behalf of the child king pose an issue of legitimacy. Since kingship was marked by exclusiveness, only the king in person could channel the authority and will of God. Therefore, the idea of a council of regency clearly violates that prerequisite of kingship. Further, the rivalry of Humphrey of Gloucester and the lords in the council on the policy of the war with France also reflects another problem of kingship in practice. On foreign policies, when the child king needed assistance, the thorny problem is that his lords and council of regency were vying for representing the will of Henry VI that ought to reflect the collective will of the English people. Still worse, besides

domestic political turmoil, Henry's dual kingship was faced with enormous challenges from Dauphin Charles who claimed to be the rightful heir to the French crown. In response to the anxiety of the absence of an adult king, the problems of minority rule and the challenge from Dauphin, the favorite court poet, John Lydgate, was assisting to fashion the image of Henry VI as child king in the minority. By creating an image of the virtuous and innocent child king, Lydgate finds a way around the dilemma of the conciliar regency to create a proper image of English king against Dauphin. From his full assumption of kingship in 1437, his intermittent mental breakdowns in the 1450s to his deposition in 1461, Henry VI witnesses the beginning of the full-fledged civil war between the Lancastrian and the Yorkist parties.[5] In contrast to his warrior father, Henry V, Henry VI was preoccupied with education and religion rather than political affairs and warfare. He supported the founding of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. Contemporaries considered Henry VI to be a king who came up short when it came to managing the government and exercise of kingship. Also, he was a susceptible man easily being persuaded by the court favorites. At the time, the court was full of Henry VI's favorite courtiers, while those who were excluded from Henry VI's patronage voiced their resentment and attempted to return to the center of power. Besides power struggle in the court, Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450 fueled the resentment of the people due to years of massive expenditure on war, frustration of English defeats in the French territory and the abuse of power by court favorites. The worst came after Henry VI's mental breakdown in 1453. Margaret of Anjou took full control to run the English government and led the Lancastrians against the Yorkists, signaling the breakout of the Wars of the Roses.

Clearly, Henry VI fails to maintain the stability of power in the court and social order in his realm; in other words, he was failing to perform a king's role as a representative of God, mediating and channeling divine order in the human world. Nonetheless, contemporaries and the king's Yorkist rivals did not place the blame squarely on Henry VI's misgovernance; rather, they laid the blame on the queen, Margaret of Anjou, and the court favorites. Henry VI was later deposed by Edward IV in 1461, but unlike the deposition of Richard II, the Yorkists did not find it urgent to rewrite the image of Henry VI as a king with a fatal flaw.[6] Instead, the chroniclers and contemporaries still remembered him as a simple and innocent king. Even after his death, Henry VI was commemorated as a saint and martyr.

Perhaps, the rivals of Henry VI did not find vilification of Henry VI as a wise political strategy in their favor. More likely, as this chapter argues, it is another way of reading the lack of ideal kingship in Henry VI. A king as the chosen representative of God on earth is deemed sacral and his kingship should reflect God's will and the will of his people, but in reality, kings are also human beings with a variety of disposition and personalities. Some of the kingss might not be considered the best example of kingship, but certainly not the worst. Hence, a king like Henry VI, whose incompetency is more like the result of naïve personality and lunacy, is less likely to fit the stereotype of a bloodthirsty tyrant, not even a bad king. His incompetency shows a lack in dispositions to rule the realm properly and not to avert covetous suggestions.

It is against this backdrop of kingship that his royal image and his posthumous cult will be explored to inspect how a series of epithets shape the representation of Henry VI's kingship and how they reveal the concerns of his subjects about their king and society as a whole.

The Making of Child King to Innocent and Simple King

Henry VI's reign can be divided into two major phases: the minority rule from 1422 to 1437 and after his coming-of-age in 1437. In the minority rule, he is the child king whose promising innocent virtues are praised, while later he is criticized as an incompetent king whose poor management skills lead England to civil wars. Nonetheless, these two images share a latent discourse on the understanding of Henry VI's kingship which is manifested by a set of epithets such as innocent, virtuous and simple. The use of epithets in different texts and context, as this chapter argues, corresponds to the public concern with Henry VI's kingship with regard to the absence of an adult king, the political turmoil in the court and the war with France.

The most important court poet who helps to fashion Henry VI's royal image in the minority is John Lydgate.[7] Maura Nolan (2005) contends Lydgate's works in the minority are in the middle of struggles with expansion and limitation of the so-called public sphere through the representativeness of king, which "reaches outward—to merchants, for example—and retrenches, here embodying the aura of representation in the king" (p. 8). Nolan's observation (2005) actually corroborates Watt's idea (1996) of

the representation of king in the Middle Ages as mediation of the public and the private. Accordingly, through Lydgate's political poems, we may very likely get a sense of the public representation of Henry VI's kingship that mediates the private concerns of his subjects.

Lydgate (1934) had been commissioned to write several short political poems to commemorate the coronations of Henry VI in Westminster in 1429 and in Paris in 1431 and the coronation banquets. Four political poems are included in this discussion.[8] In "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI" (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* pp. 613–622), Lydgate was bidden by Lord of Warrick to translate and edit Laurence Calot's French verse on Henry VI's pedigree and title. Lydgate's short poem "Roundel for the Coronation of Henry VI" (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* p. 622) was written to accompany a roundel for the coronation of King Henry VI. "The Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI" (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* pp. 623–624) contains three short stanzas attributed, respectively, to three courses on the banquet of Henry VI's coronation. "Ballade to King Henry VI Upon His Coronation" (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* pp. 624–630) was written in 1431 following Henry VI's coronation in Westminster as King of England.

To confirm Henry VI's right to inherit the English and French crown, Lydgate constructs the image of a child king from asserting his lineage of both royal families. He first acknowledges the dispute over the inheritance of the French crown in the prologue of "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI":

> Trouble hertis to sette in quyete,
> And make folkys their language for to lette,
> Which disputen in their opynyons
> Touching the ligne of two regions,
> The right, I mean, of Inglond and France,
> To put awey all maner [of] variaunce,
> Holy the doute and þe ambyguyte,
> To sette the ligne where hit shuld[e] be,
> And where hit aught iustly to abide,
> Wrongfull claymes for to set aside. (p. 614)

The "trouble" and "disputen" in people's opinions are caused by the "variaunce," "doute" and "ambyguyte" on the lineage of England and France. To refute the confusion, in "The Title," Lydgate carefully traces

the genealogy of Henry VI's royal family on both sides. Henry VI's French lineage is validated by adopting the symbol of the French monarchy, *fleur-de-lis*. In "Roundel," Henry VI is compared to "a braunche þat sprang oute of the floure-de-lys" (p. 622). In "The Soteltes," Henry VI is said to "enheretour of the floure de lice" (p. 623). The symbol of *fleur-de-lis* is not only deployed to legitimize Henry VI's royal lineage, to praise Henry VI's budding youth and ultimately to link Henry VI's kingship with his saintly French ancestors. In "Ballade," the legend of the *fleur-de-lis* is used and the meaning of three peddles of gold is further explained:

> Doven frome þe heven thre foure delys of golde,
> þe feelde of asure, were sent til Clodove.
> To signefye, in story it is told,
> Parfyte, byleeve and sooþefast vnytee
> Of three persones in þe Trynyte. (p. 625–626)

By comparing the French royal heraldry, *fleur-de-lis*, with Trinity in liturgy, Lydgate affirms a king's sacrality which passes down to Henry VI from both his father and mother sides. Moreover, Lydgate establishes not only Henry VI's earthly royal family tree but also his saintly royal family. The English patron saint, St. Edward, the late English King, Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), and the French patron saint, St. Louis, the late French King Louis IX (1214–1270), are repeatedly summoned in pairs when Lydgate attempts to trace Henry's royal saintly lineage: "Reioice, ye reames of Englond & of Fraunce, / A brauche þat sprang oute of the floure-de-lys, / Blode of Seint Edwards and Seit Lowys" ("Roundel," p. 622); "Loo here two knynges righte þerfit and right good, / Holy Seint Edward and Seint Lowes" ("The Soteltes," p623); "Royal brauche descended frome two lynes / Of Saynt Edward and of Saynt Lowys, / Hooly sayntes translated in þeyre shrynes, / In þeyre tyme manly, prudent, and wys" ("Ballade," p. 625). The purpose of Lydgate's associating Henry VI with royal saints is not only to authorize Henry VI as the rightful heir of the English and French thrones but also to hope that these two saintly kings would guide young Henry VI to become a virtuous and wise king as they were "In þeyre tyme manly, prudent, and wys" ("Ballade," p. 625).

In contrast to Henry VI's budding youth, in "The Title," the epithets associated with Dauphin, later Charles VII of France, are those about treason, falsehood and scandal (p. 616). Curiously, in "The Title," Lydgate

does not negate Dauphin's right to inherit the French crown, but rather it notes Dauphin's violent murder of John of Burgundy and his offending of Lord Herry Bully in the church, both of which point to the treacherous and cruel nature of Dauphin and which deprives his title of the French crown:

> That this Dolfyn shuld in any wise
> So high tresoun compassen or devise,
> Himself alas! in hindrying of his name,
> Thurgh the world to sclaundre & to blame;
> Causing in soth his vnabilite
> For to succeed to any dignite,
> Of knyghtly honure to regne in any lond,
> As by letres enseealid with his hond. (p. 616)

In fact, Dauphin's juridical right to the crown is abolished by the Treaty of Troyes signed by Henry V and Charles VI in 1420. The abolition was made official in 1421 when the Parliament of Paris declared that Dauphin Charles had no right to succeed the throne and banished him from the realm. Nevertheless, "The Title" seeks to portray the vile nature of Dauphin Charles as the major cause of compromising his right to the French throne. His scandalous profile strongly contrasts to Henry VI's flowering knighthood and innocent youth, and the contrast is used to reinforce and justify Henry VI's claim as the ideal heir to the French throne.

On the one hand, Lydgate's poems serve its political function in establishing Henry VI's royal lineage and to assure Henry's claim to the French throne. On the other hand, Lydgate's works in the minority, as Nolan (2005) contends, "betray a deep level of anxiety about sovereignty and are characterized by a sense of profound loss at the death of Henry V" (p. 19). The anxiety that Nolan observes manifests in the didacticism in Lydgate's poems as an attempt to guide child king Henry VI to the duties and virtues a king ought to embody as his forebears. In "Ballade" (pp. 624–630), after setting up Henry VI's royal lineage, Lydgate soon turns to address to Henry VI:

> And sith þou art frome þat noble lyne
> Descendid dovne, be steadfast of byleeve,
> þy knightly honnour let hit shewe and shyne,
> Shewe þy power and þy might to preove

> Ageyns alle þoo þat wolde þe chirche greve,
> Cherisshe þy lords, haate extorcion,
> Of þyne almesse þy people þou releve,
> Ay on þy communes having compassyoun. (p. 626)

Lydgate reminds Henry of his duty to defend the faith, to treat his lords tenderly and to have compassion for his subjects so long as Henry lets his inherited "knightly honnour" to shine inside out. Lydgate confirms Henry VI's inherited virtues of kingship, yet how to channel and realize those virtues is the main concern of Lydgate, and he further addresses Henry with regard to demonstration of king's virtues in justice and mercy:

> Noble prynce, þe heeghe lord to qweeme,
> Sustyne right, trouthe þou magnefye,
> Differre vengeaunce alwey or þou deeme,
> And gif no doome til þou here yche partye,
> Til noþer part þy fauour not applye,
> And eeke consydre in þyne estate royal
> þe Lord above which no man may denye
> Indifferently seeþe and considerþe al. (p. 626)

A king as a mediator and integrator of the divine and human is bound to maintain socio-political and religious harmony in the realm. But for the child king Henry VI, Lydgate anxiously notes the way to maintaining order and to exercising justice. The tone of urgency in the poem shows not only the anxiety of the absence of an adult king but also the compelling need to assist the innocent child king.

Urgent attendance to the child king is further stressed by the comparison of innocence and manhood of King Henry VI and his father. In "Ballade" (pp. 624–630), Henry VI is presented as "Moost noble prynce of Cristin prynces alle, / Fouring in youþe and virtuous innocence" (p. 625) while his father is praised as "myrrour of manhede" (p. 628). In "The Kings of England" (*The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* pp. 49–54), John Lydgate presents Henry V as "of knyghthoode ode starred, / Wysse ande manly playnly to termyne" (p. 53), whereas Henry VI is addressed as being "brought for the in alle vertu" (p. 54). The paired epithets, manly and young, knighthood and virtuous innocence, indicate kingship in different stages. Henry V's knighthood and wisdom are what Henry VI has yet to accomplish. Innocence in this context stresses Henry VI's disposition of sinlessness, guiltlessness

and purity that, in turn, justifies Lydgate's didactic tone and the need to provide guidance.

Accordingly, Henry VI's child innocence resolves the dilemma of conciliar regency evoked by the juridical predisposition of kingship as exclusive. Through hereditary succession, Henry VI inherits the crown, yet his kingship in the minority is surrogated by the regents. Nicholas Orme (2001) has indicated that in the late Middle Ages, childhood and adulthood were perceived differently, and both the church and the common had regulated certain activities barring children. For example, children should not acquire the right to administer their own affairs and property until their coming-of-age, often at 15 as the law laid by Henry III (p. 7–8, p. 322). For Henry VI, his virtuous innocence is in great jeopardy without proper guidance and advice, which come short due to Henry V's death. Conversely, Henry VI needed to take advice from experienced lords who had served his father. Thus the legal dilemma of council of regents is resolved. Lydgate's political poems provide us a glimpse of the political crisis in the representation of Henry VI's kingship in the minority. However, the young, virtuous and innocent child king soon turns into a simplistic king when he assumes the reign of government.

With the factions in the English court and defeats by the French, Henry VI's incompetence as a king is to be blamed.[9] But instead, his courtiers and queen become the primary targets of the public and the pro-Yorkists party. "A Warning to King Henry" (Thomas Wright 2012, pp. 229–231) sends an alert to Henry VI concerning the greedy courtiers around him. The narrator acknowledges the foul doing of the courtiers who " have the kyng to demene, … Ffor ye have made the kyng so pore, / That now he beggeth fro dore to dore" (p. 229). The narrator does not blame Henry VI of impoverishing the nation; instead, the blame is to be laid on the courtiers who mislead Henry VI. A similar view is shared in "On the Popular Discontent at the Disasters in France" (Wright, pp. 221–223) written in 1449 that laments the court is emptied of wise and brave warriors who were mostly killed in the battlefields. Yet the court is full of unpopular courtiers who "have made our Engulle blynd" (p. 223). Henry VI's misgovernance is seen to be the direct result of being beguiled and blinded rather than his poor rulership. Besides greedy attendants, Henry's misgovernance is also caused by his queen. In "A Political Respect" (Wright, pp. 267–270) written in the reign of Edward IV recapturing the Lancastrian past with a strong Yorkist viewpoint, the narrator lists the causes of confusion and disasters in England from the usurpation of Henry

IV to Henry VI. In criticizing Henry VI's reign, the narrator emphasizes the abuse of queenship, "Moreovyr, it ys right a gret abusion, / A woman of land to be a regent, Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hathe ment / To govern alle England with might and poure, / And to detroye the right lyne was here entent" (p. 268).

Furthermore, Henry's insufficiency in rulership is perceived by the Yorkists as weakness of his disposition. Also in "A Political Retrospect" (Wright, pp. 267–270), the confusion in Henry VI's reign, in addition to his queen's misrule, is attributed to Henry VI's temperament, "Also scripture saithe, woo be to that region / Where ys a kyn unwise or innocent" (p. 268). The narrator eschews direct criticism on Henry VI's kingship, and he assorts to the Scripture and notes the temperament unfitting for the king. The epithet "innocent" is extrapolated from a positive attribute that affirms Henry VI's virtues and royal lineage to its negative political implication as being simple and incompetent.[10] Similarly, in *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI Written Before the Year 1471*, the chronicler indicates that "the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseylle, and owed more then he was worthe" (Arbor p.80).[11] Simple as being blameless, guiltless and therefore innocent accord the child king with an image of virtues and innocence. In contrast, when simple is linked to Henry VI's rulership, it is treated as inadequate, weak and feeble, not the desirable disposition of an ideal king. Consequently, as the chronicler notes, the end result is that Henry is misled by "couetous counseylle" which causes him to make wrong decisions.

In sum, the desiring attributes of virtues and innocence in the minority rule promote Henry VI's royal lineage and right to the French throne. They also signify Henry's child innocence which requires adult's support and guidance and which reconciles the predicament of the conciliar regency. Nonetheless, when Henry VI assumes the reign of government, his innocence and simpleness become negative attributes that reify his lack and incompetence in kingship. Later, the same set of epithets is reincorporated into the discourse on narrating Henry VI's sanctity.

The Cult of Henry VI: Martyr-Saint Making

It was believed that Henry VI died on 21 May 1471 in the Tower of London. The untimely death was suspected to have been a political murder. Nevertheless, the cult of Henry VI burgeoned right after his death despite Edward IV's ban on the official worship of Henry VI. Later when

Richard III came to the throne, he ordered to transfer Henry VI's body to Windsor Castle and reburied him at St. George's Chapel (Danna Piroyansky 2008). In the reign of Henry VII, he made great efforts to sanctify his half-uncle, Henry VI. The cult of Henry VI reached its peak in the early Tudor reign. But as soon as the political propaganda was no longer needed, in addition to Henry VIII's breakup with Rome and his abolition of the church, the cult gradually diminished.

An overview of the cult of Henry VI shows a close relation of the rise and fall of the cult and the changes of political regime. Though not all the cult of English royal saints is so dependent on certain political regime like Henry VI's, the saintliness of royal saints rests primarily on the prerequisite of their earthly role as kings. Besides Henry VI, several kings are recognized as royal saints, such as Saint Edward the Confessor and Saint Edmund the Martyr, both of whom had been kings before they died. But besides their kingship, their saintliness was earned by defending the Christian faith though in different manners. Saint Edward the Confessor was noted as pious and unworldly even in his lifetime, while Saint Edmund was martyred for defending his country and Christian faith in the face of the invasion of the pagan Danes. Yet, unlike the two royal saints, Henry VI did not die defending Christian faith or was he a king ruling the realm successfully and dedicating himself to religion like Edward the Confessor. The immediate popularity of Henry VI's cult after his dubious death, apart from the Tudor propaganda, owes much to the inherent factors that work to fashion the cult and the saintliness of Henry VI.

Before the political maneuvering of Henry VII to sanctify his uncle was in place, the cult of Henry VI had already become quite popular. Danna Piroyansky (2008) notes that the posthumous popularity of Henry's cult "was linked to his manifold representations during the existence of the cult" (p. 80). By "manifold representations," Piroyansky (2008) means to refer to Henry's identity as a martyr, king and saint, but nonetheless, these multiple representations of Henry VI contribute to the discourse that creates his royal images in his lifetime. Henry's identity as a martyr is fabricated by the broadening definition of martyrdom, his untold death and his marked innocence. In fifteenth-century England, as Piroyansky (2008) argues, martyrdom had a broader implication than the mere sense of suffering death for religious cause or persecution (p. 6–22). The injustice a lord suffered in the court or the daily laboring of the peasants is considered in a broader sense of martyrdom in that unjust sufferings, though different in manner and degree, could be compared metaphorically to the

suffering for faith, and their suffering and preservice would earn them with spiritual reward in this life or the one after.

Within the broader sense of martyrdom, Henry VI's suspicious death and his disposition of simpleness and innocence give room to creating an image of his being a political martyr. As previous discussions suggest, Henry VI was seen as a helpless king whose incompetence and simple disposition left his court open to covetous courtier and the power was in the hands of the queen. Therefore, Henry was a passive victim of political struggle and rivalry between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians. In term of Piroyasky's (2008) broadened definition of martyr, Henry's innocent life was being taken away unjustly by the unidentified abuser. Nevertheless, Henry VI's death did not incite further fractions among the Yorkists and the Lancastrians. In fact, the cult of Henry VI provides pro-Lancastrian supporters with a sense of consolation and memory of their late king, but it also furnishes the rivals with a positive interpretation of Henry VI's death so as to relieve them the burden of being charged with a political murder. In this respect, Henry VI's cult actually helps to maintain harmony and concord of the nation that had suffered years of civil war.

Besides Henry VI's innocent martyred death, his sanctity and miracles have reflected much of his experience when he was a king. Henry VI's saintliness has mainly derived from his kingship. He did not perform the healing power when he was alive, but right after his death, there were numerous reports of miracles of Henry VI. Some of the witnesses reported recovery from illness after their pilgrimage to Windsor, while some prayed to Henry and their medical needs were met instantly. What is specially noted is that devotees would incline to invoke Henry VI when they were in adversity or in grave danger. Leigh Ann Craig (2003) observes that the devotees believed Henry VI would sympathize and understand their adversary situation since he had experienced much adversity in his lifetime (p. 202).[12] The characteristic of Henry VI's posthumous miracle-making has reflected what he had experienced in the turbulent world.

More importantly, his noted virtuous and innocent dispositions are deemed a sign of his sanctity. His documented virtues and personality resonate with the royal imagery in which he was often depicted with a beardless childlike look, recalling his enthroning as a child king in the minority. In a letter to the Pope to promote canonization of his uncle, Henry VII highlighted his uncle's virtuous characteristics and behavior instead of his martyred death and his kingship (Piroyansky 2008 p. 77). His virtuous and pious disposition is also observed by his biographer, John Blacman

(2009), in the biography of Henry VI. Blacman praised Henry for being a simple and just man, a devotee to the church, a chaste and generous man, a patient, compassionate and forgiving king. His chastity is depicted by his refusing to see the naked body of dancers, an action showing his saintly integrity. His virtues and personality shown in his lifetime become living proof of his kingship as well as after-death sanctity instead of his achievement or incompetency as king.[13]

Henry VI did not turn out to be a manly king as Lydgate anticipated in his political poems, yet he was the child king whose innocence and purity were appraised in his later identity as King of England and France. Although in his reign, he was incompetent with regard to administrating and governing the country, he was the virtuous, simple and pious king who paid heed to education and religion. In Lydgate's poems, the making of Henry VI's kingship as the virtuous, innocent and young child king reflects his subjects' anxiety over the absence of an adult king and expectations from this young king. Through political conflicts and maneuvers, the royal image of Henry VI's kingship is moving from a virtuous, innocent child king to a simple king whose innocence is fruitful only to the realm of religion and education. His innocence is interpreted as being incompetent and simple in politics and administration. In his posthumous cult, what is represented as the marks of Henry VI's kingship in his lifetime becomes the traits of his sanctity. His incompetence is further removed from the political to the religious and re-interpreted as simple and innocent. Therefore, the representations of Henry VI as a saint and martyr after death, as a child king in the minority and later as a simple and incompetent king are two sides of the same coin—both are coherent understanding of Henry VI's kingship though from different perspectives.

Notes

1. Francis Oakley, *Kingship*: *The Politics of Enchantment* (Malden: Blackwell, Pub., 2006) 117–20. The clergy, especially the Pope, was extremely concerned about the sacrality of kingship in the Middle Ages.
2. The most notorious conflict between king and the clergy which resulted in a political murder would be that of Henry II and his lifelong friend, Thomas Becket, later the Archbishop of Canterbury.
3. The war officially begun in the year 1337 when Edward III was in throne, and ended in 1453 in the reign of Henry VI.

4. Despite the fact that Edward III's contestation is mostly ignored by the French, the legal justification for his right to the French crown is certain which won him support and raised a just cause to declare war on France.
5. Henry VI was crown at Westminster in 1429 and at Paris in 1431, but he could only assume his kingship until he was declared of full age in 1437.
6. Jenni Nuttall (2007) observes in deposing Richard II, the pro-Lancastrian literati and chroniclers use a coherent narrative to portray Richard II's fatal flaws. Nuttal argues that "The demerita notoria in effect rewrote the history of Richard's reign. They categorized Richard as a failure, an unsuccessful, dishonest and selfish king who had acted against the interests of his subjects" (p. 2).
7. John Lydgate was a monk from St. Bury Edmunds, had been favored by Henry IV and Henry V and occupied important positions in the court of Lancastrian dynasty. He claimed himself the successor of Chaucer. The sheer bulk of his work testified his claim, and he had experimented almost every genre that Chaucer had except for the ones that did not seem to fit his profession as a monk. Lydgate had several prestigious patrons, including the mayor and aldermen of London, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Richard de Beauchamp, the fifth Earl of Warwick, Henry V and Henry VI, to name just a few.
8. The four political poems are all from *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*.
9. In 1444, Henry VI married Margaret Anjou, a niece of Charles VII, which was a political marriage in hope to bring peace to the two countries. But, in 1445, without counsel with his lords and the Parliament, Henry secretly surrendered the county of Maine to the French, the act of which signified giving up sovereignty of the area to the French. Later in 1453, the English lost all their French territories and the Hundred Years War with France officially ended.
10. According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, the word, "innocent," denotes a state of sinlessness, guiltlessness and purity or the prelapsarian condition, a habitual adoption of a favorable attitude, candor, simplicity, guilelessness and naïveté. In a more negative sense, it also denotes a state of ignorance and incompetence.
11. The chronicle is documented annually with major incidents. It deals with the reign of Henry VI with a focus on detailing every important battle, summons of parliaments and the correspondence of the Yorkists to Henry VI in the civil war.

12. See Leigh Ann Craig, "Royalty, Virtue and Adversity: The Cult of King Henry VI," *Albion* 35 (2003): 202. Also, Piroyansky (2008) observes that devotees to Henry VI were inclined to believe the compassion and sympathy Henry would have for them. It is also likely the compassion and sympathy of Henry that attracted adherents of all works of life and from different social class because when they needed help in emergency, Henry VI was the saint they would turn to.
13. During Henry VI's reign, he did not have much achievement in his political career. The only earthly achievement mentioned in the biography of Henry VI was the funding of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge.

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Mending People's Broken Hearts: The Fashioning of Rulership in John Ford's *The Broken Heart*

Ming-hsiu Chen

In the prologue to *The Broken Heart*, John Ford (1633/1980) reminded the audience, "What may be here thought a fiction, when time's youth / Wanted some riper years, was known A TRUTH" (Prologue.15–16). Several critics have speculated about the historical truth Ford was referring to here. Stuart P. Sherman (1909) reckoned that the remote setting of this play in Sparta is to veil the true English love story of Sir Philip Sidney and Penelope Devereux (p. 279).[1] Frederick M. Burelbach (1967) suggested this play is based on the alleged true story accounted for in Book Three of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (p. 212). Michael Neill (1975) supplemented Burelbach's finding with a more immediate English source, identifying Queen Elizabeth's maid of honor Margaret Ratcliffe, who starved herself to death due to a broken heart caused by extreme grief, as the prototype of Penthea and Calantha (p. 249). These critical opinions tend to focus on the origin of either the love story or the individual characters of the play. A key angle which has eluded critical attention is the political interpretation made possible by the play's references to the forced loan in 1626 and the Five Knights' Case, both of which were specified in the Petition of Right, passed in 1628. This chapter will

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examine *The Broken Heart* in light of those contemporary political events concerning the crown's infringement on the liberty of its subjects, which the Commons of Charles I's 1628 parliament strove to redress through the Petition. I will demonstrate that *The Broken Heart* dramatizes and criticizes Charles's use of his prerogative powers in levying a forced loan and in the Five Knights' Case. In addition, by underscoring the fallibility of the king's body natural, Ford relies on the medical doctrine of his time to stress that the king is susceptible to human frailty. Ford deploys the concept of body politic to emphasize the joint fate of the king and his subjects. The reasonable characters in Ford's play are offered as both criticisms of King Charles and apt role models whose example King Charles might do well to follow.

Staging the People's Grievances

The Broken Heart is a tragedy of enforced marriage. In order to seal peace between two feuding families, King Amyclas has prompted Crotolon and Thrasus to consent on Orgilus and Penthea's marriage. However, Ithocles, the new head of the family after his father's death, has forced his sister to marry the elderly nobleman Bassanes despite Penthea and Orgilus's mutual love and legally binding betrothal. Penthea's misery is further aggravated by Bassanes's extreme jealousy when he confines her in their house, spies on her and her brother's private talk and even suspects them of incest. Due to Bassanes's groundless suspicion, Penthea is placed under her brother's care until her husband regains his reason. Nevertheless, Penthea believes her honor has been tarnished by her lawless marriage to Bassanes after having already been betrothed to Orgilus. She therefore suffers from melancholy and eventually starves herself to death. Her death prompts Orgilus to take vengeance on Ithocles by murdering him after using a trap-chair to render him defenseless. Orgilus is sentenced to death by Calantha, the newly crowned queen of Sparta. He chooses to bleed himself to death. In fact, the success of Orgilus's revenge, in turn, prevents Ithocles from marrying Calantha after their betrothal. Though grief-stricken by the successive deaths of her loved ones, Calantha manages to keep her composure. She brings her betrothed husband's murderer to justice, appoints her own successor and various other officers to govern the state and causes a marriage rite to be performed officially binding her with Ithocles, whom she promptly joins after dying of a broken heart.

Although on the surface this story seems drenched not only in blood but also in love, insanity and passion, the root cause of the tragedy is

the practice of enforced marriage. In fact, Penthea's enforced marriage has in its core a political message that goes beyond the exposure of "a real contemporary social evil" of enforcement of marriage (Blayney 1959, p. 463) or even the proposal that "marriage should be based upon love" (Anderson 1972, pp. 64–65). The political overtone of the play is secured by the analogies inculcated into the English people of Ford's time that compared a family and a marriage to the commonwealth, a father and a husband to the king. These analogies were used in catechetical instruction that all had to learn (Schochet 1975, p. 6) and in popular books like *Of Domesticall Dvties* (Gouge 1622, p. 18). King James I compared himself to the father and husband of his people (1616, pp. 488, 529–530), so did King Charles (Cobbett and Hansard 1806, pp. 40, 200). Ford contrives to introduce elements into the plot which would have suggested, to a contemporary English audience, associations between Penthea's grievances and those of the English people under Charles's prerogative government. The suffering Penthea has to endure due to the enforced marriage echoes that of the English people in the incidents of the forced loan and the Five Knights' Case, where, as specified in the Petition of Right, Charles encroached on the liberty of his subjects' property and persons.

The common factor shared by the forced loan of 1626 and the enforcement of Penthea's marriage lies in the ruler's exercise of prerogative power to force his subjects to give up their property without their consent. During Charles's reign, the constitutionally determined process by which the monarch levied taxes worked through the parliamentary grant of subsidies. The House of Commons, "the representative body of the whole commons" (Cobbett and Hansard 1806, p. 37), was responsible for the initiation of the measures for general taxation, which became law with the consent of the Lords and the king (Hexter 1978, p. 33). However, after Charles dissolved the 1626 parliament without obtaining the funds to assist his uncle, the king of Denmark, who was at war, the young king levied a forced loan on the subsidy payers. This prerogative taxation was considered "parliamentary taxation without parliamentary sanction" (Lockyer 1999, p. 245) because it was a subsidy that Charles had failed to attain from his 1626 parliament. As delineated in the Petition of Right, where several statutes were invoked to expose the illegality of taxation without parliamentary consent, the forced loan by Charles was an encroachment on the legal right of the people to their possessions.

In *The Broken Heart*, by forcing his sister to marry Bassanes after Penthea's precontract with Orgilus that legally made her the latter's wife,

Ithocles politically compels his subject to give up her lawful possessions against her will. Glenne H. Blayney (1958) was right to have observed that readers' recognition of the play's "motives of betrothal and of marital enforcement in violation of a pre-contract of betrothal" (p. 1) is key to understanding the play. Acknowledging the legal effect of Penthea and Orgilus's spousals helps us comprehend better Penthea's loss and guilt. Although Blayney did not specify which type of spousals Penthea and Orgilus have contracted,[2] what she referred to as "formal betrothal vows" (p. 2) is clearly the ones made in spousals *de praesenti*,[3] which were "considered, both by custom and by law, to be as binding as were the marriage vows themselves" (p. 2). The spousals forged an indissoluble marital bond that not only made the contractors man and wife in effect but also invalidated subsequent solemnized marriage. Ford's contemporary Henry Swinburne (1686), an ecclesiastical lawyer, explained thus:

> that woman, and that man, which have contracted Spousals *de præsenti* … cannot by any Agreement dissolve those Spousals, but are reputed for very Husband and Wife in respect of the Substance, and indissoluble Knot of Matrimony; and therefore if either of them should in fact proceed to solemnize Matrimony with any other person, consummating the same by Carnal Copulation, and Procreation of Children: This Matrimony is to be dissolved as unlawful, the Parties marrying to be punished as *Adulterers*, and their Issue in danger of *Bastardy*. (p. 13)

To impress the audience with the fact that Orgilus and Penthea's pre-contract is legally binding, Ford has Orgilus claim his right to possess his wife (2.3.71–72) and Penthea respond with the proper acknowledgement: "How, Orgilus, by promise I *was* thine, / The heavens *do* witness" (2.3.77–8, emphasis added). Although Penthea refuses to comply with Orgilus's demand to consummate their marriage so as to maintain the loyalty she owes to her unlawfully wedded husband, she does acknowledge her indissoluble marital bond with Orgilus when confessing to Ithocles later, "she [Penthea] that's wife to Orgilus and lives / In known adultery with Bassanes, / Is at the best a whore" (3.2.73–75).

Granting that Penthea *is* Orgilus's wife, by forcing her to marry Bassanes, Ithocles deprives her of the possessions guaranteed to a lawfully wedded woman—the company and comfort of her spouse, the enjoyment of wedlock and the procreation of children ("The forme," para. 4, 1604). Penthea's marriage with Bassanes forfeits her claim to the benefits

that her lawful marriage to Orgilus would have granted her. Ford contrives the "accidental" rendezvous between Orgilus and Penthea to make her loss distinctive. Though Penthea confesses that her love for Orgilus does not change after being married to Bassanes, her solemnized marriage allows her only so much as to kneel and kiss Orgilus's hands. To protect her honor, she has to sever all future communication with Orgilus (2.3.112–23), renouncing the comfort and company he can offer her. Likewise, she has to turn down his just claim to consummate their marriage (2.3.63–64, 71–72), relinquishing her right to enjoy physical intimacy with her lawfully wedded husband. As a result, she will never be able to give birth to any legitimate children. Among all the benefits of lawful marriage she is forced to forfeit, the loss of having legitimate children haunts her the most (2.3.90–91, 3.2.54–58, 4.2.87–94). In her raving complaint, she grieves:

> Since I was first a wife, I might have been
> Mother to many pretty prattling babes.
> They would have smiled when I smiled; and, for certain,
> I should have cried when they cried.—Truly, brother,
> My father would have picked me out a husband,
> And then my little ones had been no bastards.
> But 'tis too late for me to marry now.
> I am past child-bearing. 'Tis not my fault. (4.2.87–94)

The fault is clearly Ithocles's, which parallels that of Charles when he commanded a forced loan levied on his subjects, compelling them to relinquish their right to the money due them without consent made by their representatives in the parliament.

In addition to infringing upon the liberty of his subject's property via the exercise of political power, Ithocles also has this in common with King Charles: immunity from legal prosecution and punishment for his misdeed. As the supreme ruler of England, Charles had privileges that prevented him from being sued; the most his subjects could do was to petition for redress of grievances (Weston and Greenberg 1981, p. 10). If a king's command were proven to be illegal, it would be the officers executing the royal command who suffered the consequence. As Glanville (Cobbett and Hansard 1806) explained during a parliamentary discussion regarding the liberty of subjects on April 17, 1628, "indeed he [Charles] cannot do injury, for if he command to do a man wrong, the command is void … and the actor

becomes the wrong doer" (p. 326). In *The Broken Heart*, Charles's legal protective shell is dramatically presented in Ithocles's immunity from any legal punishment for Penthea's bigamy. Since Penthea's precontract with Orgilus is legally binding, when Ithocles forced her to marry Bassanes "By cunning partly, / Partly by threats" (1.1.42–43), he has compelled her to commit bigamy. Penthea alone charges herself with the offense. She recognizes simultaneously the validity of her marriages with Orgilus and Bassanes: one witnessed by God (2.3.78) and the other by the public. Her honor is further compromised when her marriage with Bassanes is consummated. She therefore confesses, "There is no peace left for a ravished wife / Widowed by lawless marriage" (4.2.146–47). In this confession, she admits her role not only as Orgilus's wife but also as Bassanes's. Her guilt drives her to starve herself to death. She is victimized, subject to Ithocles's arbitrary decision. Nevertheless, Ithocles, like Charles, is seemingly immune to punishment for her bigamy because Penthea—and not Ithocles—is the bigamist. When Ithocles is later killed by Orgilus, the murder is referred to as "sacrifice" by the murderer and "revenge" by the victim, but not as legitimate punishment for Ithocles, who is referred to as one of "those tyrants" (4.2.144). Whereas Charles's infringement on the liberty of the subject in levying unparliamentary taxation might be legally justified by his discretionary authority to dispense with statutes (Weston and Greenberg 1981, p. 15), when presented dramatically in Penthea's forced marriage, its inequity and cruelty is manifested in "Penthea's groans and tortures, / Her agonies, her miseries, afflictions" (4.4.34–35). Ford's audience would have understood this as analogous to the suffering that Charles's command inflicted on his subjects.

In addition to the allusion to Charles's immunity from legal punishment, Ford also includes another detail referring to a charge made in the Petition of Right to subject Charles's prerogative command to reprehension. In the Petition, statutes consented to by Kings Edward I and III are invoked as evidence that the forced loan of 1626 is illegal. In *The Broken Heart*, Charles's breach of the consent made by his royal predecessors is simulated to in Ithocles's breach of his deceased father's consent to Orgilus and Penthea's precontract. Ford's dramatization of Charles's breach serves to discredit the constitutional sanctification of Charles's discretionary authority in order to subject it to moral criticism. Ithocles's violation of "the last will of the dead, / From whom you [Ithocles] had your being" (3.2.41–2) is suggestive of Charles's violation of the statutes sanctioned by his royal forebears. When King Charles's political decision

was alluded to and presented in the play as a disobedient act against the will of his royal predecessors, its legitimacy was weakened and the criticism of it justified. In the play, Charles's prerogative use of power is further dramatized as an infamous act that disgraces his family name. As Penthea proclaims, for Ithocles's betrayal, he would be haunted by his deceased parents, who would come back to blame him for his "bloody guilt" (3.2.78). It seems almost uncanny that Ithocles's fate was also Charles's when the king was decapitated in 1649. This historical hindsight suggests the possibility that the discontent voiced by Penthea might have been sympathetically felt by those who were of the same mind as some members of the 1628 parliament who believed the king had failed to keep his promise of redressing the grievances when he continued the prerogative levy of tonnage and poundage.

Aside from Ithocles, Bassanes, the other tyrant inflicting insufferable misery on his subject, also behaves in a way that is suggestive of King Charles's misdeeds as described in the Petition of Right. Bassanes confines his wife to their house without cause, an act that echoes Charles's imprisonment of the five knights in the Five Knights' Case. The Five Knights' Case occurred in the aftermath of the forced loan of 1626.[4] After the loan defaulters were imprisoned, five of them applied for writs of *habeas corpus*. The return of the writ should have indicated the reasons for the knights' detention, which would then have allowed the judges to decide whether the knights could be released on bail or not. However, instead of revealing the reasons for their imprisonment, the returned writ merely stated that the knights were imprisoned and were to be detained by the king's special command (Gardiner 1906, p. 58). Accordingly, Lord Chief Justice Hyde ruled that they were ineligible for bail because the concealment of the reasons for their imprisonment demonstrated that their detention had to do with matters of state that the king thought fit to keep from public knowledge (Gardiner 1906, p. 64). The Petition of Right described that outcome as an encroachment of the crown on the subjects' right to their persons because the prerogative detention kept the case from being tried according to due process of the law (Gardiner 1906, pp. 67–68).

In the play, Charles's prerogative detention of the five knights is alluded to Penthea's "house arrest," unfairly ordered by her jealous husband Bassanes, even though she has committed no breach of propriety. At the beginning of act 2, scene 1, when Bassanes and Penthea make their debut on stage, Bassanes directs his servants to convert his house into a virtual prison in order to prevent Penthea from seeing or hearing from other

people. After the handmaid Grausis reports that Penthea is melancholic, Bassanes proclaims that she can do whatever she likes for recreation so as to cure her melancholy. However, considering that the remoteness of their house may contribute to her sadness, he ironically suggests that they move to his island, a dwelling much more isolated than their present one. Grausis's disgruntled comparison of the island to a prison is indicative of Penthea's present seclusion. Queen Calantha's subsequent comment that she has not seen Penthea for a long time adds further emphasis.

Ford's dramatic treatment of the Five Knights' Case demonstrates that his allegiance lies with his fellow countrymen rather than with the crown because, through Penthea and Bassanes, the dramatist presents the loan defaulters as innocent victims and the king as a paranoid oppressor. No matter whether these defaulters would have been able to justify their defiance in the trial denied to them, it is irrefutable that they had disobeyed the king's order. However, Penthea's absolute loyalty and obedience to Bassanes makes her an innocent prisoner. By analogy, the five knights' crime, if any, is obscured; their imprisonment, through analogy, is represented as unjust. Moreover, Bassanes keeps Penthea from the world because he is afraid that others may encroach upon his prerogative over her, and so he tries to hide his tyranny by claiming that he is being concerned for her welfare. Similarly, King Charles justified his royal exercise of power by claiming that he was doing his duty to maintain the welfare of his people. Bassanes's hypocrisy accordingly serves as a criticism of King Charles's justification of his prerogative command.

Fashioning Rulership

If Charles did not follow his father's advice to govern the commonwealth according to the law of the land, he doubtlessly assimilated the divine theory of kingship that James I had elaborated. Not only did Charles reiterate the divine right of kings and have it propagated by clergymen like Roger Maynwaring, but he acted it out in his handling of the Five Knights' Case, which could only be considered justifiable on the grounds that the monarch is accountable to no one but God. When explicating the supreme role of the monarch as God's lieutenant on earth, James (1616) also adopted father/child, head/body analogies to expound the hierarchical relationship between the monarch and the subject (p. 529). The analogy of the body politic was used to emphasize that the fate of the subject was utterly at the king's disposal but not the other way around. In *The Broken Heart*,

however, Ford adopts this analogy but mingles it with the concept of the king's two bodies[5] to neutralize the theopolitical supremacy of the king and to propose a rationale for government. Through the titular reference to the fatal result of melancholy, suffered by rulers and subjects alike in the play, Ford suggests the fallibility of the ruler, the devastating effects of unjust government and the joint fate of the ruler and the subjects. Ford further proposes that reason, manifested in the administration of justice is an infallible principle for good government.

At the end of the play, Calantha, the short-lived queen of Sparta, literally dies of a broken heart—presumably the one alluded to in the title of the play. Before she dies, she confesses that her death is triggered by "silent griefs which cut the heart-strings" (5.3.75). As Lawrence Babb (1951) pointed out, the expression of a broken heart was not a figure of speech in the Renaissance because it was thought to accurately explain the physiological results of the passions as understood at the time (pp. 15–16). Accordingly, Calantha's death is accountable physiologically and psychologically on the grounds of the contemporary medical theory. By grounding his characterization in contemporary scientific thought, Ford not only makes his characters more credible but also discredits the sovereignty of the king's body politic by accentuating the frailty of his body natural. What Ford presents to us through Calantha's abrupt death is a ruler who is as human as her subjects and whose subjection to emotions turns out to be fatal. This is actually the key not only to the political comments indirectly made in the play but also to Ford's characterization of the unjust rulers and their victims.

Thematically speaking, *The Broken Heart* is a tragedy of passions. It exposes the dangers of acting on emotions instead of reason (McDonald 1966, p. 318)—the classical moral commonly propagated by the Renaissance treatises on passion and melancholy (Babb 1951, p. 17). Ford contributes to that line of thought by situating the moral in the political context to demonstrate the harm a ruler can do if he succumbs to the sway of passions. The credibility of Ford's characterizations, on the one hand, helps to convince the audience of the truthfulness of the characters and, on the other hand, lures them into associating the credible frailty of the dramatic characters with that of King Charles. To make the characters relevant, Ford characterizes the two unjust rulers, Ithocles and Bassanes, in ways that are allusive to Charles. Each has particular physical conditions that drive them to take their passionate actions, for it was believed in the Renaissance that people's personality and inner drives were determined by their physical condition (Wright 1630, p. 38).

Of these two, Ithocles is the one who most resembles King Charles physically. Like Charles, he is young. In fact, Ithocles himself admits that it is his youth that makes him command Penthea's enforced marriage (2.2.44–49). Among the passions of the young, Ithocles falls under the sway of pride the most, as it was regarded as a natural passion of young people because of the abundance of heat, moisture and humors in their body (Wright 1630, pp. 38–39). Early in this play, Orgilus points out this trait in Ithocles. It is his pride that drives Ithocles to force Penthea to marry Bassanes for "glory in revenge" against Orgilus's family because he is "proud of youth, / And prouder in his power" (1.1.39–40). In other words, to gratify his desire to triumph over the old enemy of his family after he becomes his family's head, Ithocles overlooks his duty to secure the welfare of his sister even though she is now under his care and direction. Ithocles and King Charles have both ignored their duty in order to gratify their pride and their family's honor: Ithocles when he sacrifices Penthea to spite Orgilus, while Charles when he steals from his people in order to support his uncle's war. By relating Ithocles's and Charles's shared flaw of pride to their similar physical condition, Ford emphasizes the fact that the king is human and, as such, naturally prone to mistakes because of his physical and emotional drives. This view undoubtedly undermines the concept of the king's infallibility as God's deputy on earth and justifies the moral criticism of young King Charles's government by prerogative.

While Ithocles characterizes King Charles physically, Bassanes is a caricature of Charles's jealousy, as revealed in Charles's jealous defense of his royal prerogative. Robert Burton (1621/1904) has pointed out that "three things cause Jealousy, a mighty state, a rich treasure, a fair wife" (p. 299). Bassanes and Charles both unjustly imprison their subjects, establishing a link which suggests further correlations. When the Commons endeavored to redress the liberty of the subjects, Charles was very protective of his prerogative, rhetorically positioning his royal prerogative in opposition to the liberty of his subjects. Immediately after giving his formal consent to the Petition of Right, Charles (1628) took care to declare that his answer to the Petition "was to confirme all your [his subjects'] Liberty, knowing, (according to your own protestations,) that you neither meane, nor can hurt my *Prerogatiue*" (para. 3, emphasis in original). After learning that the House of Commons was drafting a remonstrance against his unparliamentary levy of customs duties, he made another declaration that his prerogative was not harmed in his answer to the Petition just as the subjects were not granted any new liberty (Gardiner 1906, pp. 73–74).

Through King Charles's dramatic counterpart Bassanes, who suffers from jealous melancholy,[6] Ford subtly interprets Charles's overzealous defense of his prerogative as a symptom of jealousy which, according to Burton (1621/1904), is the "most notorious" "of Princes" as some of them "*are still suspicious*, *lest their authority should be diminished*" (p. 297, emphasis in original).

To foster an association of Bassanes's jealousy with Charles's, Ford carefully shapes the causes of Bassanes's jealousy by means of the Renaissance physiology of passion to draw attention to the frailty of the king's body natural. To stress how passion can lead one astray, Ford characterizes Bassanes as a frantic husband falling prey to almost every possible trigger of his jealous melancholy. His misery results from marrying a beautiful, young wife, on whom he dotes, in his old age. Being cold and dry, he is by nature melancholic and jealous because old age itself was considered a disease in the time of the Renaissance (Burton 1621/1904, p. 306). When married to a young wife, he would become even more likely to be suspicious of her chastity as he might not be able to satisfy her sexually (Burton 1621/1904, p. 306). Since his wife is beautiful, contrastively his physical decrepitude further intensifies his jealousy because he suspects his wife cannot love him and all the other men dote on her just as he does (Burton 1621/1904, pp. 310–311). It is only natural that "His [Bassanes'] jealousy has robbed him of his wits" (3.2.147). He breaks into Ithocles's chamber with a dagger in his hand to avenge his imagined cuckoldry since jealousy is "a most violent passion … a main vexation … a madness itself" (Burton 1621/1904, pp. 302–303). Bassanes's jealous frenzy would have been interpreted by Ford's audience as a manifestation of disease in keeping with the contemporary "scientific determinism."[7] By analogy, Ford suggests that Charles's suspicion may have resulted from a passion so violent that he could not fight it. After all, the king, like his subjects, is only human, and so likely to yield to passion if he did not strive to keep it in check. The results of Ithocles's and Bassanes's tyranny indicate the greater a ruler's power is, the more damage his outbursts of passion can do to both his subjects and himself, the joint constituents of the body politic.

The plot highlights the fact that a ruler relies on the services of his subjects just as they rely on his direction. Penthea, after being wronged by Ithocles, plays a decisive role in rescuing him from his love melancholy by helping him to secure Calantha's hand in marriage. Penthea's reason for doing so is that she and Ithocles are "two branches / Of one stock, 'tis not fit we should divide" (3.2.112–13), which underscores that the head and body

together comprise the political entity. But for Penthea's assistance, Ithocles's love for Calantha, the sole heir to the crown, might never be expressed. Though unjustly treated, Penthea still faithfully assists her tyrannous brother by protecting him from harm (3.5.98–99) and gains for him personal and political advantages (3.5.97). Her loyalty to the head of the family helps to reduce her pang of conscience resulting from breaching her marriage with Orgilus (3.2.68–71) as she asserts that "My reckonings are made even" (3.5.111) after she has done her duty as a subject to secure Ithocles's happiness. However, her allegiance does not stop the reckoning which Ithocles must face as his tyrannous exercise of power ultimately triggers a series of devastating consequences both to the subjects and to their rulers.

Through Penthea's fatal melancholy, Ford dramatizes the misery a king's subjects suffer under unjust rule, the dire consequences of which the ruler has to share as well. As Penthea resigns herself to death, she yields herself completely to her grief, caused by "those tyrants, / A cruel brother and a desperate dotage" (4.2.144–45). When characterizing Penthea, Ford bolsters the verisimilitude of her deadly grief with medical descriptions of its causes and symptoms. Of the three external causes for sorrow William Vaughan (1616) pointed out—the death of a loved one, "the William Vaughan's work or discredit of our name, fame, and goods," and poor diet (p. 136), Calantha's death is caused by the first; Penthea's, the second and the third. In fact, Penthea's symptoms of melancholy closely follow what Vaughan has described. To Vaughan, grief "causeth a man to fall into a Consumption, and to be weary of the world, yea, and of himselfe" (p. 139), and "Some of extreme sorrow, haue turned mad, famishing themselues to death" (p. 137). Before Penthea yields completely to her passion, she has already indicated a strong desire to die (2.3.146–51, 3.2.64–67, 3.5.28–29, 3.5.31–33, 3.5.41–42, 3.5.95–96, 3.5.111–12), which she fulfills through self-starvation. In no time, she turns mad and dies of anorexia, her madness brought about by the dishonor of her enforced marriage and her husband's jealousy. Her death directly leads to Ithocles's as Orgilus decides to take his just revenge upon Ithocles in payment for Penthea's afflictions and his own injuries. Penthea's and Ithocles's deaths, in addition to Calantha's father's death, lead to the queen's death. Queen Calantha dies of a broken heart, the physiological result of the grief both Calantha and Penthea have experienced. All of these deaths are foreseeable results of Ithocles's tyrannous decision. None in the corporeal entity of the family, emblematic of the state, has escaped its fatal effects—not the head of the family, Ithocles, nor his subjects, Penthea and Calantha.

The plot dramatizes the destructive effects of a passionate mind ruling a nation and then offers the corrective: a dispassionate, reasonable ruler in control of herself. Ford's formulation of the ideal ruler, like his formulation of the tyrant, is founded on contemporary physiological and psychological theories. Ford's contemporaries argued that whether passions are to be regarded as "a disease of the soul" (Coeffeteau 1621, p. 69) or the "Wright's work and vassals" of the reasonable soul (Wright 1630, p. 13), passions must be subject to the direction of reason. Reason is esteemed above all as the faculty that distinguishes a human being from a beast. It is the recognition and practice of reason that makes Bassanes a rounded character. He endeavors to "show good proof that manly wisdom, / Not overswayed by passion or opinion, / Know … how to lead your [his] judgement" (3.3.182–84) in order to win back his right to be united with his wife and to guide her again. Coming to his senses, Bassanes acknowledges:

> Beasts, only capable of sense, enjoy
> The benefit of food and ease with thankfulness.
> Such silly creatures, with a grudging, kick not
> Against the portion nature hath bestowed.
> But men endowed with reason, and the use
> Of reason […]
> Repining at these glories of creation,
> Are verier beasts than beasts; and of those beasts
> The worst am I. (4.2.18–29)

In this monologue, Bassanes reiterates a moral commonly upheld by treatise writers of Ford's time, emphasizing that not acting according to reason not only breaches natural law but also makes one bestial. With this recognition, he strives to bridle his passion. Although Penthea's death prevents him from re-joining his wife, he eventually wins himself the post of Sparta's marshal as a result of his stoic endurance of humiliation and grief.

While Bassanes's reformation serves more as an example of the necessity and benefits of following the guidance of reason, Tecnicus's elucidation on honor spells out the rationale for government, which again lies in the direction of reason and is manifested in the meting out of justice. As he explains:

> Honour consists not in a bare opinion
> By doing any act that feeds content;
> Brave in appearance, 'cause we think it brave.

> Such honour comes by accident, not nature;
> Proceeding from the vices of our passion,
> Which makes our reason drunk. But real honour
> Is the reward of virtue, and acquired
> By justice, or by valour, which for basis
> Hath justice to uphold it. He then fails
> In honour who for lucre or revenge
> Commits thefts, murders, treasons and adulteries,
> With such like, by intrenching on just laws,
> Whose sovereignty is best preserved by justice. (3.1.32–44)

In other words, for a ruler to maintain the esteem appropriate to his exalted position, he should subordinate his desire for profit or revenge to the administration of justice by governing his subjects within the limits of the law. Although Tecnicus's speech is literally intended to dissuade Orgilus from carrying out any illegal schemes, its thematic function is to criticize Ithocles's arbitrary government and, by extension, Charles's, and to advise the king to govern the commonwealth according to the law of the land. Judged according to Tecnicus's view, Ithocles does not gain honor by vengefully depriving Orgilus of his lawful wife and triumphing over Orgilus, against whose family Ithocles's own family has a grudge. Likewise, Charles failed in maintaining his honor because he used coercion to deprive his subjects of their money in order to defeat the enemy of his family. Both of them should have administered justice, inherent in the proper execution of the laws, by giving others what was due to them—Penthea to Orgilus, and liberty in property and persons to the people of England.

Not only is this rationale for government illustrated through Tecnicus's speech, but it is demonstrated in the just behaviors of some other exemplary characters who are able to subdue their passion and give their inferiors their just due. Through Orgilus and Nearchus—the contrasting counterparts to Ithocles—Ford reveals the positive alternatives of Ithocles's unreasonable decision which afflicts his subject. Technically speaking, because his father is still alive, Orgilus, unlike Ithocles, should not have a say in his sister Euphrania's marriage decision. However, in order to make Orgilus an exact counterpart to Ithocles, Ford has Orgilus obtain his father's permission to oversee his sister's marriage. In this role, when Prophilus asks for Euphrania's hand in marriage, Orgilus is faced with the same dilemma as Ithocles—to satisfy his own passion for revenge or to seek for his sister's happiness. Although Orgilus does harbor enmity toward Prophilus because Prophilus is Ithocles's close friend, Orgilus even-

tually gives his consent to his sister's marriage. Orgilus does so because he knows Euphrania's love for Prophilus, and because it is the command of his father and the king, and for the good of the family. Likewise, although Nearchus may be able to win Calantha's hand in marriage by exercising his political influence as the prince of Argos, he is rational enough not to make the mistake Ithocles made by abusing his power. He proves himself an exemplary ruler, living up to the ideals expounded by Tecnicus (Stavig 1968, p. 167). Knowing Calantha's love for Ithocles (4.3.205–9), he not only allows them to obtain their hearts' desire but also subdues both his own passion for the princess and his desire to punish Ithocles for an earlier display of insolence. His succession to the throne at the end of the play therefore indicates a restoration of order after the death of several main characters.

Although Calantha refers to her fulfillment of royal duty in dispensing justice in the denouement as an "antic gesture" (5.3.68), she actually lives up to the ideals of rulership proposed in the play by being "faithful to her royal obligations" and controlling "her emotions for the good of everyone around her" (Spinrad 1986, p. 31). Her astonishing ability to set aside her extreme grief in order to carry out her duty as a queen makes her another of the play's exemplary rulers. In her short reign, she endeavors to mete out justice. She sentences Orgilus to death for murder while sparing his father and sister from witnessing the execution. She appoints her successor and officers, ensuring that the political integrity of Sparta remains intact and that the sorrow of her subjects will be appeased by political stability. Finally, she completes the marriage rite in order to give Ithocles his due—his lawfully wedded wife—and consummates their marriage by joining him in death.

As a result of his legal education in the Middle Temple (Sargeaunt 1966, p. 2), it is not surprising that Ford concerned himself with topical legal matters and offered his comments through his dramatic work. In this light, *The Broken Heart* can be seen as a dramatic reaction to the constitutional events beginning from the forced loan of 1626 to Charles I's silencing of the people's voice in his Personal Rule, during which time this play was staged. Because the grievances of the people could not be uttered in parliament, the theater became the public arena for political discussion during the Personal Rule (Sanders 1999, p. 22). By fashioning King Charles's dramatic counterparts Ithocles and Bassanes as human rulers susceptible to the influence of physiological and psychological conditions, Ford justifies his political criticism of the king's encroachment on

the liberty of his subjects. The suffering of Penthea and Calantha dramatizes the suffering of King Charles's subjects. Through the misery of the victims under the arbitrary government of the passionate Ithocles, the grievances uttered by the House of Commons in the Petition of Right are given a physical reality and a psychological depth. The concrete and fatal suffering of the rulers and the subjects in the play exhort the king to reform his own bad policy so as to mend the people's broken hearts and, ultimately, to save the crown itself from destruction as well. This play expresses a yearning for a reformed king who, like Queen Calantha, can subdue his passions to mete out justice and who, like Nearchus, can learn from mistakes and tolerate harmless liberties taken by his subjects. Had King Charles taken the political advice given in the play, as Ford hinted in the epilogue, the broken heart of the people of England would have been "pieced up again" (Epilogue. 14).

Notes

1. See Sargeaunt (1969, pp. 111–12) and Oliver (1955, p. 60) for disagreement with Sherman's argument.
2. Two distinguished forms of spousals were practiced in seventeenth-century England—spousals *de praesenti*, where promise of marriage was made in the present tense, and spousals *de futuro*, where promise of marriage was made in the future tense. Unlike spousals *de praesenti*, spousals *de futuro* were dissolvable and not legally binding (Swinburne 1686, pp. 12–13).
3. Peter Ure (1974) suggested that what Penthea and Orgilus have contracted is something "very near" to spousals *de praesenti* and that Penthea's enforced marriage occurs either "between the contract and the solemnization or … just before the precontract had been virtually accomplished" (p. 161). It is true that Orgilus makes no declaration that his spousals with Penthea have been made in the prescribed wording for *spousals de praesenti* and no formal ceremony of their betrothal is mentioned in the text (p. 161). However, the textual references to the "vows" (1.1.33, 2.3.29), "troth-contracted love" (2.3.39) which is "Sealed with the lively stamp of equal souls" (2.3.41), and "promise" (2.3.77), without which Orgilus and Penthea's recognition of each other as man and wife would be incomprehensible, testify that they have contracted the spousals *de praesenti*, which binds them in marriage. For more textual support of this argument, see Blaney (1958, p. 4).

4. Resistance to the unpopular forced loan mounted and spread out after the news that the judges had refused to validate it. Seventy-six people were imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan. Five of them sued for *habeas corpus* with the intention to have the legality of the loan examined in the trial. However, the return of the writ prevented any such attempt (Lockyer 1999, pp. 243–44). The Commons of the 1628 parliament maneuvered to force Charles to confirm the English people's liberty of property and persons, which had been granted by the laws of England, by obtaining his formal consent to the Petition of Right.
5. The medieval doctrine of the king's two bodies was popularized through Plowden's law report on the case of "Dutchie of Lancaster" (spelled "Dutchy of Lancaster" in the table of contents) published during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. According to Plowden (1650), the king's body politic and body natural are inseparable, while the former is not affected by the imperfections of the latter. When joined together in the king, both bodies contain "the properties, qualities, and degrees of the body politique" and the king's order will not be made void by the incapacity of his body natural (pp. 134–135).
6. See also Ewing (1969, pp. 56–60) for analysis of Bassanes's jealousy as a symptom of melancholy.
7. G.F. Senabaugh's term to describe Ford's reliance on the contemporary medical doctrine for the basis of his characterization (1944, pp. 13–93).

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Henrietta Maria as a Mediatrix of French Court Culture: A Reconsideration of the Decorations in the Queen's House

Grace Y.S. Cheng

This chapter is a study of Henrietta Maria's (1609–69) patronage in the Queen's House in Greenwich, particularly architectural elements and decorations which reflect aspects of contemporary French court culture in the 1630s before the English Civil War broke out in 1640. In investigating elements related to such French court culture, specifically *préciosité*, in the royal couple's second home, this chapter explores ways in which Henrietta Maria expressed her notion of the ideal queen consort.

Historians writing in the years before 1970 have portrayed Henrietta Maria as a malignant influence over Charles I (White 2006, p. 1. White (2006) cited Haynes 1912; Oman 1936; Oliver 1940). This view corresponds to the popular perception of the queen. Henrietta Maria has long been viewed as a divisive figure who contributed to the downfall and execution of her husband, Charles I (1600–49). The 15-year-old Henrietta Maria had arrived in Dover on 22 June 1625 as the bride of Charles I, nine years her senior. The French princess brought with her an entourage of ladies-in-waiting, a bishop and 20 priests. As stated in the articles of

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the marriage treaty, Henrietta and her household were allowed to freely practice Catholicism in Protestant England. Charles grew increasingly frustrated with his wife's French entourage, blaming them for diverting Henrietta from him and his people (Charles I 1625, qtd. in White 2006, p. 12). On 26 June 1626, he dismissed all of Henrietta's French household including all the clergy in attendance (Skrine 13 August 1626, pp. 82–83, qtd. in White 2006, p. 12). Henry Duncan Skrine, esq., wrote in 1626 that the expulsion was "a resolution which the people have heard of with infinite satisfaction." This record testifies to the unpopularity of Henrietta's French court being brought over to England owing primarily to the Queen's Catholicism. In the late 1620s and 1630s, the queen consort failed, perhaps intentionally, to project an amiable image to the English. There were few open criticisms because such public denunciations were crimes of high treason. Even so, some such as William Prynne condemned Henrietta openly and was eventually imprisoned, fined and branded as a seditious libeler (Orgel and Strong 1973, I, p. 51). In the 1640s, after the Civil War broke out, censorship laws were not properly enforced. A propaganda campaign against the queen propelled her to become the devilish figure, linking her to a sinister Catholic popish plot and drawing a tight connection between her and the rebels in Ireland (White 2006, p. 100. See also White 2009).

In the 1970s, Quinton Bone and Elizabeth Hamilton challenged the conclusion that Henrietta had a powerful influence on the King (White 2006, p. 2). They proposed that Henrietta's influence has been exaggerated. Bone claimed that Charles often ignored Henrietta's counsel and that the queen's "influence was primarily of a personal and familial sort rather than of a significant political nature" (Bone 1972, p. vi).

In the last few decades, historians such as R. Malcolm Smuts (1987, 1996), Caroline Hibbard (1983, 1991, 2006), Kevin Sharpe (1992), Michelle Anne White (2006), Erica Veevers (1989), Karen Britland (2006), Erin Griffey (2008) and Gesa Stedman (2013) attempted to situate Henrietta Maria more neutrally in Caroline English history by focusing on particular aspects of her political role, her position in court and her patronage in the arts (White 2006, p. 4). Erica Veevers's *Images of Love and Religion*: *Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (1989) re-evaluates Henrietta's position by analyzing her role in Caroline court masques in the decade 1630-40. Prior to Veevers, Caroline court masques have been seen generally from the point of view of the King, the Parliament and public affairs (Orgel and Strong 1973). Veevers discusses how concepts in vogue in France in the early seventeenth century such as

préciosité, *honnêteté* and Neoplatonic love were deployed in Henrietta's masques, positioning her as a translator of French concepts to the English court. The book presents a shift from the then popular view of Henrietta as a frivolous, naïve queen by demonstrating the queen's agency in staging the court masques.

Erin Griffey's *Henrietta Maria*: *Piety*, *Politics and Patronage* (2008) is a collection of essays which explore the ways in which Henrietta made religious-political commentary via her patronage of the arts. Her book fills a large research gap whereby the queen's patronage of visual arts, fashion, furniture and tapestries is analyzed in the same way as Charles I's patronage was by scholars such as John Peacock and Oliver Millar among others (Griffey 2008, p. 2). Griffey claims that not only scholars but also documentation itself favors the male connoisseurial ideal. Consequently, Henrietta's active role as an art patron has been unjustifiably subsumed under that of Charles I. Largely by emphasizing the importance of "decorative arts" and the queen's "private" activities, Griffey's volume revives Henrietta and her importance as an important political figure who attempted to shape court politics through her cultural patronage of and representation in art, drama and music with the notion of Catholic piety as the principal tool (Griffey 2008, p. 6). Jessica Bell's essay in the volume, "The Three Marys: The Virgin; Marie de Médicis; and Henrietta Maria," attempts to draw a parallel, maternal dynastic lineage to the dominant model of patrilineage by considering allusions of Marian images in artworks commissioned and acquired by Marie and Henrietta. However, Bell did not place any emphasis on ideas of fecundity, marriage and love. Caroline Hibbard's chapter "'By Our Direction and For Our Use': The Queen's Patronage of Artists and Artisans Seen Through her Household Accounts" scrutinizes the paper trail of financial records, demonstrating that expenditure on luxury objects such as textile, clothing and jewelry were substantial components of the queen's patronage. As a subsidiary but important argument, Hibbard asserts that a separation of the queen's and king's budget for decorations and artworks is blurry and artificial (Hibbard 2008, p. 115). None of the chapters in Griffey's book deals with architecture, a substantial omission since the Queen's House is one of the most famous buildings in English architectural history. This chapter, however, addresses this unexplored area of scholarship.

Gesa Stedman's *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (2013) is the most recent work on the queen. It dedicates one of the three chapters to Henrietta. Stedman situates Henrietta as the cultural ambassador in the first phase of cultural exchange between France and

England within a framework developed by Urs Bitterli which posits three phases of exchange, namely cultural contact, acculturation and cultural collision (Stedman 2013, pp. 20–21). While the application of a particular framework to historical observations may be useful, Stedman's imposition of the cultural exchange model onto seventeenth-century England does not seem fruitful. England and France have had a shared history tracing back to the eleventh century, which renders Stedman's argument about a specific period of cultural initiation difficult. The second problem of Stedman's chapter is that she does not distinguish between cultural and religious influences of Henrietta's, but rather attributes her impact to her "Frenchness" (Stedman 2013, p. 61). Stedman's chapter explores generally new cultural elements introduced by Henrietta into England, in the realms of religion, fashion, theater and drama without connecting these French aspects to conceptions of a queen consort.

The Queen's House has been studied by architecture scholars mostly from the point of view of Inigo Jones (Chettle 1937; Colvin (Ed.) 1975; Colvin (Ed.) 1982; Summerson 1966; Harris and Higgott 1989; Newman 1994). The Queen's House was commissioned by Queen Anne of Denmark, consort to James I, in 1616. She turned to Inigo Jones, who was by that time an established architect. The building was left unfinished at the time Anne died in 1619. It was not until 1629–30 when work resumed under the patronage of Henrietta Maria (Bold 2000, p. 52). John Bold's *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (2000) puts the building into the geographical and historical context and gives the two queens, Anne and Henrietta, a proper place in the building of the Queen's House. The present chapter aims to provide an interpretive angle needed to explain the choices made by the patrons.

This chapter appreciates that royal building projects are always collaborative efforts, involving the patron, architect, decorators, painters, sculptors and members of the court. Henrietta's commission of various works on the Queen's House in the 1630s should be investigated in the specific historical context. In 1628, Charles I's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated. Charles increasingly turned to Henrietta for counsel and affection. By the summer of 1629, Henrietta was pregnant with the future Charles II. The queen's works on the Queen House in the 1630s were undertaken and completed in the best part of Henrietta's life: "I was the happiest and most fortunate of queens, for not only had I every pleasure the heart could desire, I had a husband who adored me"

(Ashley 1963, p. 131). At the same time, Henrietta's refusal to attend Charles I's Protestant coronation, her French entourage—in particular, the Capuchins priests—and the staging of lavish masques all seemed to give her a terrible press. Henrietta's Queen's House was conceived in this period of apparent conjugal harmony and political tension.

The chapter explores the relationship between the Queen's House and concepts of queenship in Europe in the 1630s. Caroline Hibbard stated justly that "the historiography of Henrietta Maria reflects our failure to construct useful models for discussing consorts" (Hibbard 2006, p. 92). By investigating French elements in the Queen's House, this chapter aims to illuminate concepts of queenship in relation to Henrietta Maria specifically, and to foreign-born queens generally. I suggest that Henrietta's patronage in the Queen's House is tied to her perception of the role of queens consort within a court culture of *préciosité* and *honnêteté*. The Queen's House articulates a social identity, emphasizing the female *honnêteté* ideal and the concept of Neoplatonic love as key characteristics (Hibbard 2006, p. 94). By considering primarily the decorations placed in the building with a focus on paintings and sculptures, this chapter investigates how ideas of French court culture are made manifest.

The Question of Henrietta Maria's Agency

The Queen's House was the first royal gendered space. Situated in the outskirts of London, the architecture falls into the category of villas. Unlike the traditional English country house, the Queen's House was not the primary residence of the owners, whose income typically derived from the rents or architectural development of the estate of which they were a part (Girouard 1978, p. 135). The Queen's House as a villa traced its origin and ideology to that of Pliny the Younger, who contrasts the relaxation and carefree luxury of a villa with the city, delineating a rural-urban antithesis (Pliny the Younger, Epistles, V.vi.45, qtd. in Ackerman 1990, p. 13). Henrietta's Palladian Villa was occupied by the King and Queen as a second home when they were away from London, where they resided in Whitehall. Before the Queen's House, none of the villas or country houses in England or France was tied explicitly to the Queen herself. The eponymous building bears an inherent concept of the house as linked to the Queen herself, perhaps including her court. Without any contemporary commentary on the building itself, it is still safe to conjecture that the Queen's House was perceived as a space granted to and owned by the Queen.

Inigo Jones had been credited with importing the classicism of Palladio and Scamozzi to England (Girouard 1978, p. 136). The Queen's House, as the first Italianate architecture ever built in England, was and still is regarded by many as the genius architect's great creation. Henrietta's agency, particularly in the design of iconographic program and decorations, was stripped away from her and transferred to the architect. This is an unjustified speculation, given Henrietta's influence on the architect in the stage designs for court masques, which revealed the Queen as "exigent mediatrix of her native culture" (Lindley (Ed.) 1995, p. 155). Henrietta took extreme care to ensure her gardens in the Queen's House were authentically French. She even dispatched a servant to France "to get some fruit-trees and some flowers" (Green (Ed.) 1957, p. 19, qtd. in Bold 2000, p. 54). At least one French designer submitted a design for the queen for a fountain at Greenwich in 1637 which John Webb, Jones's pupil, redrew (Bold 2000, p. 54). Henrietta's eagerness to transfer French garden designs to her villa indicates her active role in the patronage and selection of artworks in the interior.

In addition, given Henrietta's personal involvement in the commissioning of works and her pivotal role in mediating between the English court and Cardinal Francesco Barberini, her input in the decorations and renovations of the Queen's House is certainly underestimated. Even if Henrietta was not the mastermind orchestrating the architectural project, she had a large degree of control over the choice of artworks in the building.

The Queen's Fashions

Queen's House's architecture and its decorations represent a sophisticated statement of Henrietta Maria's social "fashions," involving concepts of *préciosité* and *honnêteté* carried over from France in the 1630s. Henrietta Maria's country house is constructed as a social space where her French-originated fashions are manifest. The role of the *honnête* woman is intermediary, promoting harmonious personal and social relationships. Henrietta's Queen's House is a space to welcome and entertain visitors to the court and mediate between opposing factions. Her role is therefore not so much political as social. It was Catherine de Medici who was most notable for fostering a culture of her court in the Valois reign that the Caroline court may have turned to for ideas (Veevers 1989, p. 7). Henrietta's fashions, however, were unique in that they incorporated con-

temporary concepts to cultivate a court culture where the queen was not a mere complement to the king.

In order to understand the Queen's fashions, it is crucial to pin down exactly the kind of *préciosité* adopted by her at a time when she came to have a decisive influence at court, from about 1629 onwards. *Préciosité* is difficult to define. The word has somewhat unfavorable connotations of affectation and overrefinement (Veevers 1989, p. 20). In her *Images of Love and Religion*: *Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments*, Veevers rightfully criticized claims such as that of G.F. Sensabaugh's that the Queen's cult of Platonic love encouraged deeply immoral attitudes at court as a misunderstanding of the term *préciosité* (Veevers 1989, p. 20). The word will be used in this chapter without the value judgments imposed on it by the etymological development later in the seventeenth century.

Préciosité in France has its origin in the circle at the Hôtel de Rambouillet and Honoré d'Urfé's romance *L'Astrée* (Fletcher 1903). There was circumstantial evidence that Henrietta had probable contact with members of the Hotel de Rambouillet when Marie de Medici received the group at court before Henrietta left for England (Upham 1908, p. 319). However, Henrietta's version of *préciosité* was not acquired directly from the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but from circles at the French court dominated by her mother, Marie de Medici (Veevers 1989, p. 2). These circles were influenced both by the *salons* and by the religious enthusiasms of the Counter-Reformation, namely the Devout Humanism of St. François de Sales (Veevers 1989, p. 2). Devout Humanism shared with *L'Astrée* an element of Neoplatonic idealism. By the late 1620s, these two contemporary influences, the salons and Devout Humanism, combined in a phase of *préciosité* of which *honnêteté* was the distinguishing feature (Veevers 1989, p. 2). Although we now often associate *honnêteté* with men, this concept was important for the behavior of women in France in polite circles in the 1630. Veevers observed that female *honnêteté* is a milder form of the extreme "woman-worship" of *L'Astrée*, in which women exercised their beauty and virtue so as to make for cordial relations between the sexes and for a general social harmony governed by religion (Veevers 1989, p. 3). The concept of *honnêteté* started as a model for ideal behavior in court.

As Veevers suggests, Henrietta's *honnête* fashion is a form of conservative feminism in early modern Europe (Veevers 1989, p. 3). Women were given a place in court through the establishment of proper relationships between the two sexes. At the English court, Walter Montague translated the first important book for women in the genre, Jacques Du Bosc's

L'Honneste Femme, under the title *The Accomplish'd Woman*. Du Bosc dedicated his book of 1632 to Mme de Combalet, Richelieu's niece, who was a regular guest at the Hôtel de Rambouillet (Maland 1970, p. 6). In his preface to the reader, Du Bosc explicates that his object is to praise those qualities in women that will bring them success in society, and at the same time allow them the name of *honneste femme*. It is likely that Henrietta was aware of original French version of the book as she had probable contact with the circle at the Hôtel. Montague's translation of it was significant in defining the type of *préciosité* adopted by Henrietta in the 1630s. As a leading figure in Henrietta's *précieux* circle, Montague served as a link between the interests she left behind in France with those she developed in England (Veevers 1989, p. 28). He was also personally close with Henrietta and Marie de Medici, having met the former at the time of the marriage negotiations in 1624. The Queen turned to Montague to entrust him with the task of writing a masque in 1632. Henrietta's relationship with Du Bosc and especially with Montague made it improbable that she had no knowledge about the book. The book's popularity in both France and England, in French or in translation among Henrietta's circle, points to an influence in shaping the ideal of feminine conduct at the English court.

Du Bosc's book sums up a new image of woman. The *honnête* ideal for women stressed traditional feminine qualities such as piety, chastity and beauty, but at the same time insisted that women take a lively part in the activities of society, helping to influence it by displaying both virtue and grace. Women were admired for their good qualities, but a much more rational attitude toward the admiration of women than romances like *L'Astrée* was adopted. On the other hand, women were not supposed to be too austere, and dull piety was discouraged. Ideally, women should be "religious without austerity, amiable without lightness, elegant without affectation" (Veevers 1989, p. 27). In addition, women had a special responsibility for the smooth running of society. According to Du Bosc, one of their main functions was to set attractive example of virtue for men so that the *l'honnête femme* was to be a companion and inspiration for *l'honnête homme*. Women's mediatory role raised the status of women in the 1630s by granting them the responsibility of maintaining peace. This was, however, not a novel idea in the history of feminism. The proto-feminist Christine de Pizan, whom Simone de Beauvoir called the "first woman to take up her pen in defence of her sex" (de Beauvoir 1989, p. 105), argues in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, dated 1405, that

women must recognize and promote their ability to make peace, which will allow women to mediate between husband and subjects (Redfern 1995). Henrietta's patronage of decorations of the Queen's House performed a mediatory role by complementing the King's politically geared visual program.

Du Bosc's chapter in *The Accomplish'd Woman* "Of Knowledge and Ignorance" describes the ideal accomplished woman not only as "the mother of a family, that can governe well her maids, and takes care to combe her children. Musick, History, Philosophy, and other such exercises, are more sutable to our designe, then those of a good huswife" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 67). As a good wit always accompanies good conscience (Du Bosc 1656, p. 66), wit and knowledge are essential qualities of the ideal *honnête* woman. The way to communicate this quality was through "reading and conference" which are "absolutely necessary to render both the wit and the humor acceptable," as reading "collects the matter of our discourses," and conference or conversation "gives us a method to expresse them gracefully, to joyne together facility and abundances; otherwise conversation is but an insupportable tyranny, and tis impossible without suffering the tortutre, to stay long with such women, that can entertaine one with nothing but with the number of their sheepe, if they be of the country; or if they be of the Court, that speake nothing but what bands and gownes are in fashion" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 67). Du Bosc did not only encourage women to acquire knowledge and engage in studying and thinking about the arts and history, he thought that such knowledge is necessary to make a woman interesting in conversation with men. He disparaged women in court who could only discuss trivial matters such as fashion. Again, the emphasis on witty, informed conversation as an important element in the development of feminism could be traced back to de Pizan. In *The Book of the City of Ladies*, de Pizan created a symbolic city in which women are appreciated and defended, not unlike the *préciosité*'s notion of woman-worship. She constructed three allegorical foremothers (Reason, Justice and Rectitude) with whom she enters into a dialogue from a completely female perspective (De Pizan 1999). Together, they create a forum to speak on issues of consequence to all women, arguing that stereotypes of woman can be sustained only if women are prevented from entering the dominant male-oriented conversation (Campbell 2003, p. 7). Henrietta was aware of the necessity of being knowledgeable as a court woman and the importance of engagement in conversations with members of court, both male and female, to express thoughts and humor.

Ironically, she was often condemned for her frivolity as a French Queen. The Queen's House reflects an iconographic program that requires sophisticated reading of image, disproving claims of the country house as only fit for sensual pleasure and indulgence.

The most frequently discussed aspect of Henrietta's *préciosité* was Neoplatonism, in particular, Platonic love. Plato's idea has gone through many transformations in Renaissance after gathering Christian significance in the Florentine Academy (Bochet, "La théorie de l'amour platonique," Chap. 4; Bray, la Préciosité, p. 47, qtd. in Veevers 1989, p. 17). *L'Astrée*'s version of Platonic love managed to bring Renaissance idealism down to a human scale, and to place it in a social setting where it exercised an influence on the everyday life of society (Veevers 1989, p. 16). Henrietta's version deviated from *L'Astrée*'s in that it was no longer depended on the extremes of courtly love, that is, worship without hope of reward. On the other hand, the Queen's version did not rely on the traditional Platonism of, for example, Castiglione, that left the human beloved behind for the more perfect love of God (Veevers 1989, p. 33). In *Miscellanea Spiritualia*, or *Devout Essaies* (part I, London, 1648) dedicated to Henrietta Maria, Montague expressed Platonic love as following the Devout Humanists in arguing that religion validated all forms of virtuous human love, which depended on the daily practice of piety to keep it within bounds of moderation, modesty and chastity (Veevers 1989, pp. 30–33). Henrietta, through the decorations in the Queen's House, expressed her version of Platonic love.

Decorations in the Queen's House

A reconstruction of the decorations in the Queen's House in its entirety is impossible, given the dispersal of paintings, sculpture, chimneypieces and other decorative objects during Cromwell's republican regime. The following is a summary of paintings and sculpture based on documentary evidence or derived from such evidence, most of which is presented in Bold's book (Bold 2000, pp. 63–76).

The Great Hall is the two-story centerpiece of the building. The largest room in the house, it comprises a 40-foot single cube and sits on the north side of the building. The change from a one-story hall intended by Anne of Denmark was one of the major changes in plan by Inigo Jones for Henrietta Maria. It may have reflected Jones's notable enthusiasm for cube and double-cube rooms (Bold 2000, p. 65), but judging from

the purpose of the room to serve as a grand reception area for guests, Henrietta's intention to enlarge the room to underline the space as a social one could well be the reason why the second story was added. The Great Hall undoubtedly functioned as a spectacle, a sculpture and painting gallery for the Queen. The attempts by scholars to categorize Queen's House as a private pleasure palace for the royal couple are worth further scrutiny. Enlargement of a room for display testifies to the patron's intention to host social gatherings.

It is not known exactly which statues or sculptural works were placed in the Hall. Some of the statues came from the former Gonzaga collection from Mantua (Brown and Elliott (Eds.) 2002, pp. 13–17). Inventory of the king's goods made for the Commonwealth sale indicates that some of the finest works were at Greenwich, including studies of Bacchus, Sabena, Adonis, Apollo, Perseus, Diana, Jupiter and Venus (BL, Harley 7352; Millar (Ed.) 1972, pp. 138–139). The number of statues placed in the Hall and the building can be estimated by the number of pedestals built to set the marble statues. In 1638–9, workmen prepared the settings for these antique statues, "working and making ten carved pedestals to set marble statues on and setting those stages on them in the gr[ea]t room" (Bold 2000, p. 65). Zachary Taylor carved "ten pedestal of timber for marble statues," and John Hooker, a turner, was paid for "turning fifteen great pedestals of olive timber with their bases and capitals at 12s the peece" (PRO AO1 2429/71, qtd. in Bold 2000, p. 65). In the Hall alone, there stood at least ten marble statues, and in the whole building, at least 15. The most valuable piece of sculpture was likely displayed in the niche in the south wall of the Great Hall. It was Gianlorezo Bernini's bust of King Charles I based on a triple portrait by Anthony Van Dyck (Bold 2000, p. 65).

There were likely five paintings in the Great Hall. The first was the Orazio Gentileschi's *The Allegory of Peace and Arts under the English Crown*, comprised of nine canvases decorating the ceiling around 1636–8. The other four paintings are *Lot and his Daughters* (Fig. 7.1), *The Finding of Moses*, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (Fig. 7.2), all Old Testament subjects by Orazio Gentileschi and *Tarquin and Lucretia* by Artemisia Gentileschi. The *Finding of Moses* and *Lot and his Daughters* were large canvases, approximately eight feet high by ten feet wide. They were probably hung on the east and west walls in the Great Hall.

The Great Hall could be imagined visually as a space of luxurious display. The Queen's House's ceiling and gallery were painted white with gilded

enrichments when finished in the 1630s (Bristow 1995, p. 109). Seen as a unified whole, the patterned marble by Nicholas Stone in 1636–7, gilded gallery, magnificent ceiling paintings, huge ornately painted canvases on the walls, a dozen of full-length marble sculptures along the south wall and in the corners created a spectacular space, according the Queen's House's reputation as the House of Delight.

In the Queen's Bedchamber, the ceiling cove was painted by either John de Critz, who painted the Royal Closet at Somerset House, or Matthew Gooderick (Bold 2000, p. 70). The grotesque work was an example of a form of Italianate decoration popularized during the Renaissance. The central canvas was intended to be painted by Guido Reni, one of the queen's favorite artists. In 1637, Henrietta requested the papal agent to the Stuart court, George Con, to mediate with Cardinal Francesco Barberini to commission Guido to paint a mythological work, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, for the ceiling of her Bedchamber (Bold 2000, p. 73). The work was finished by 1640 but never shipped to England. It was apparently destroyed in France in 1650 (Madocks, September 1984, pp. 544–547, qtd. in Bold 2000, p. 73). An etching by G.B. Bolognini after Guido Reni in the British Museum collection provides a hint as to the painting Henrietta commissioned. Instead of Guido, a 14 feet by 7 feet Daedalus and Icarus was inserted into the ceiling space in the Bedchamber after the initially proposed subject of *Cephalus and Aurora* was rejected due to its content as a rape scene (Bold 2000, p. 73). Millar's inventory in 1649 described it as "One peece in ye seeleing, being Daedulus Aicorus done by Julio Romano" (Millar (Ed.) 1972, p. 137). The painting is now lost. In addition, Henrietta also attempted to commission Guido to execute a painting for her "chapel at Greenwich" (Green 1857, p. 35, qtd. in Bold 2000, p. 74). No evidence of a private oratory in the Queen's House survives, but the existence of a chapel was mentioned during the 1680s (Bold 2000, p. 74).

The Queen's Cabinet or Withdrawing Room housed Orazio's *Lot and his Daughters*, Artemisia's *Tarquin and Lucretia*, a Van Dyck portrait, The *Archduchess Isabella*, a large *Flora*, a Giulio Romano, *The Emperor Otho on his Funeral Pyre* and Jacopo Tintoretto's *The Muses* as recorded in Abraham van der Doort's inventory (Millar (Ed.) 1958–60, p. 194). These paintings were believed to be moved elsewhere to make room for *Cupid and Psyche*, a 22-painting cycle executed by Jacob Jordaens intended to cover the whole ceiling and walls of the room. Eight completed pictures by Jordaens were installed in the Queen's Cabinet (Millar (Ed.) 1972,

p. 137). All of the panels are lost. Only one drawing by Jordaens for the Queen's House's *Cupid and Psyche* sequence survives.

Queen's House Decorations in Context

In Gian Paolo Lomazzo's (1538–92) *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1584), the theorist set out a guide to contemporary concepts of decorum for the decoration of royal and principle palaces. The tract could also be read as a general record of his observations of how aristocratic residences were decorated by his contemporaries. The Queen's House interacted with Lomazzo's rules to form a new scheme in a gendered space. Lomazzo's tract was not meant in any way to address a female space. The residences discussed by the writer are specified as habitation of kings and the most honorable and worthy princes, famous captains and military councils (Lomazzo 1585, Book 6, p. 343). In the section on pictures to appear in fountains, pleasure places and on musical instruments, Lomazzo insists on the appropriateness of images of love and delightful things such as Diana bathing with nymphs and daughters of Jupiter washing themselves in the stream (Lomazzo 1585, Book 6, p. 344). He justifies these images by referring to ancient porticoes and gardens where only stories of joy and happiness with no shade of melancholy appear (Lomazzo 1585, Book 6, p. 344). Alternative choices include depiction of the seasons, times of year, triumphs and chariots, feasts, games, dances, landscape or animals like birds. Decorations in the Queen's House violated many of these rules or norms set forth in the widely circulated book. On the one hand, to a certain extent, Henrietta's iconographical program adheres to that promoted by Lomazzo. Images of pagan gods were plentiful, with the marble sculptures and the ambitious but unfinished Cupid and Psyche cycle. On the other hand, the paintings placed in the Great Hall are about rape (*Tarquin and Lucretia*), incest (*Lot and his Daughters*), adultery and seduction (*Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*) and a moment of moral decision (*Finding of Moses*). Henrietta attempted but failed to put a rape scene, *Cephalus and Aurora*, into her Bedchamber. The resultant *Daedalus and Icarus* is a morality tale. These images are neither joyful scenes nor non-narrative subject matters like landscapes and birds as suggested by Lomazzo.

The masculine counterpart of Queen's House is Whitehall. The program for the Banqueting Hall combined the English medieval tradition of decorating domestic interiors with portraits of English Kings with the clas-

sical panegyric, which began with praise of the hero's ancestors (Martin 2005, p. 37). In the Queen's House, Bernini's Charles I's bust was the only portraiture. Henrietta planned to have a comparable work sculpted of herself, having admired the likeness of the King's bust. In 1637, she tried to commission the bust through the papal envoy, Gregorio Panzani, but it never arrived (Bold 2000, p. 65). Nevertheless, dynastic celebration was not a dominant theme in the Queen's House's decorations.

Nor was the Queen's House program similar to its most obvious comparison, Marie de' Medici's Rubens cycle in the Luxembourg Palace. The 24 paintings commissioned in 1622 narrated Marie's life, operating as a visual panegyric. Henrietta's iconographic program in Greenwich is unique and innovative, implicitly endorsing the court culture she aspired to.

Fashioning Queenship in Henrietta's Iconographic Program

The nature of these paintings could be explained in view of Henrietta's fashions with a focus on three concepts of the French court culture she espoused—namely, the female *honnête* ideal, Neoplatonic love and the concept of moderation.

The female *honnête* ideal, according to Du Bosc, is not simply equated with beauty. "Woman without wit when shee is handsome, is an object rather of pity then desire; and when shee is ill favorurd, t'is a fearfull Monster that frights all the world: because as beauty without discretion, cannot defend it selfe" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 65). The bad effects of ugliness in women could be lessened with "knowledge of good things," which "sets a gloss and luster on the actions of the one, it serves to execuse and varnish the imperfections of the other, to make her lesse troublesome, and to repaire by the faculties of her wit, the defects of her face" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 65). Du Bosc went on to define the "knowledge of good things" with the negative example of women who "have not judgement enough to discerne vice, have no more to make choice of virtue, or to know how to prefer upon all occasions, reality before apparency" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 66). Du Bosc stressed the importance of the ability of the accomplished woman to make judgments about vice and virtue, right and wrong. Making the right moral choices is a crucial quality in the ideal woman because "they that are never so little versed in morality, are not of this mind, because we find every day by experience, that the light of

reason is as it were natural virtue" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 66). By aligning the ability to make moral, ethical judgments to that of logical reasoning, Du Bosc naturalizes Christian morality. Women had to prove themselves to be ethically sound by being able to discern vice from virtue. In so doing, women are not only seen as moral but also capable of reasoning. Du Bosc then makes a further argument that "women that have knowledge and reading, are more pleasing in conversation, and are better pleased in solitude when they entertaine themselves" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 71). On the contrary, "the ignorant lye open to ill thoughts, because knowing nothing wherewith to busie their wits as their discourse is wearisome," and therefore they are "insupportable, easie to be seduced, virtuous by chance, and vitious by necessity" (Du Bosc 1656, p. 72). The knowledgeable woman, able to entertain herself in solitude, is naturally more virtuous and less susceptible to seduction. Du Bosc's reasoning mitigates men's psychological unease in the face of the promotion of the pursuit of knowledge by women.

In the seventeenth century, there is a generally more reflexive visual culture where viewers of paintings were inclined to find meaning in pictures. Henrietta was no exception. She liked to find significance, especially religious ones, in pictures, as suggested an incident recounted in Panzani's *Memoirs* (Veevers 1989, p. 126). The Queen was displeased that paintings sent by Cardinal Barberini to her in 1635 seemed devoid of religious significance. George Conn managed to pacify the Queen through his persuasive talking to "satisfy her curiosity that way" (Veevers 1989, p. 126). The habit of mind when interpreting the arts by Henrietta and her circle was one that involved untangling of meaning and contemplation of pictures.

Henrietta's decorative choices in the Queen's House reflect a sophisticated viewership of contemplative reading of pictures about moral choices, a key theme in Du Bosc's construction of the ideal *honnête* woman. The Great Hall housed paintings depicting scenes of moral decisions. Henrietta collected these paintings by Orazio Gentileschi in the mid-1630s and deliberately displayed them in one room (Christiansen and Mann 2002, p. 228). The theme of women caught in a situation of moral choice is significant. *Lot and his Daughters* (Genesis 19: 30–38) (Fig. 7.1) represents the struggle between piety and committing the sin of incest, the age-old dilemma of public versus private virtue. Lot's two daughters propagated the human race through a condemnable act of conceit by intoxicating their father and the taboo sexual act of incest. Despite biblical commentary excusing their actions based on fear of extinction, the daughters are some-

times interpreted as examples of carnal desire. Gentileschi's effort to tone down associations with the latter interpretation becomes apparent when the Queen's House version is compared to two other versions the artist executed. In the Getty version, originally carried out for Giovan Antonio Sauli dated 1621–2 and the Ottawa version which was given to Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy in 1622, the phallic spout of the emptied flask of wine points toward the daughter's bottom. In Henrietta's version, the flask is moved further away. The psychological dimension emerging from the huge figures' formal juxtapositions, such as that of the mirroring of the legs (Christiansen and Mann 2002, p. 182), in the two earlier paintings is lacking in the Queen's House *Lot*. The Queen's House version becomes almost didactic, begging the viewer to consider the moral aspect of the story rather than dwelling on the psychological effect it produces.

Finding of Moses (Exod. 2: 2–10) illustrates a biblical story with an all-female cast. The infant Moses was concealed in a basket to avoid being the victim of Pharaoh's edict that all newborn sons of the Hebrews be killed. Pharoah's daughter came to the river with her maids to bathe, found the child inside the basket, and took him back to court. The woman on the left, called by the Pharoah's daughter to take care of the child, is Moses's own mother, fetched by his sister. The Pharoah's daughter, Moses's mother and sister all made critical decisions resulting in the preservation of the life of Moses. Orazio later painted a second version for Philip IV of Spain (Christiansen and Mann 2002, p. 240). The Queen's House version, when juxtaposed with the Prado version, is shown to focus on the gestures of the figures, such as that of the two maids on the right with their arms raised and fingers pointing toward what is interpreted as a view of the river Thames (Weston-Lewsi, June 1997). The Greenwich picture attempts to recount the story via pose and gesture, which was known as *affetti* (Christiansen and Mann 2002, p. 240). Keith Christiansen maintains that in Henrietta's version, Orazio introduces an expressive element based on the rhetorical models of Cicero and Quintilian (Christiansen and Mann 2002, p. 240). Such a feature is appropriate in view of Henrietta's fashions of cultivating the *honnête* woman through consideration of virtuous actions.

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife (Genesis 39: 7–20) (Fig. 7.2) was not about a virtuous woman, but the wife of an Egyptian official who not only seduced Joseph but also falsely accused him after her failure to compromise him. Orazio's painting captures the moment when Potiphar's wife caught Joseph by his garment asking him to go to bed with her, to which

Joseph responded by fleeing the room. The fact that a woman committing a vicious act against a virtuous man is displayed challenges Weston-Lewis's claim that Henrietta intended to create a sort of realm of womanly virtue at the heart of her House of Delight (Gabriele (Ed.) 1999, p. 29). The painting, instead, fit well into Henrietta's ideal of the *honnête* woman who was able to discern vices from virtues. The picture simultaneously narrates the vice of adultery and the virtue of chastity with Potiphar's wife's seductive posture and Joseph's literally turning his back to the adulterer. Such a mise-en-scène provides a perfect image for the *précieux* in Henrietta's court to ponder the ethical dimensions in the biblical story. Notably, Du Bosc frankly pointed out that the virtue of chastity was the "profession of women," and the fact that men seemed to violate this code of marriage without consequence was unfair: "there is much ingratitude, as well as injustice in it, to exact a fidelity which one will not return, when the obligations to it are equal" (Du Bosc, p.46). To display male chastity in the Queen's House adds a further dimension to the issue of gender and virtue by applying the "strange custom" (Du Bosc, p. 45) of chastity to the male sex.

Artemisia's *Tarquin and Lucretia* (now lost) and the *Cephalus and Aurora* (Henrietta's rejected suggestion for her Bedchamber ceiling) were rape scenes. Lucretia, a married woman, was raped by Tarquin. She committed suicide in front of her husband and family as a way to proclaim her innocence and redeem her honor (Bayet (Ed.) 1954, pp. 92–95). In the latter, Aurora abducted and raped Cephalus, Procris's newly wedded husband. Sexual violence is a topic that is inherently related to morality. In selecting such themes, regardless of whether the sexual victim is male or female, these pictures require viewers not to consider so much the issue of gender, celebrating female or male virtue or condemning vices, but to ponder the moral messages conveyed.

Neoplatonic love, one of the major themes in the kind of *préciosité* ascribed by Henrietta, is explicitly manifest in the imagery in the Queen's House. Decorations in the interior contain ideas of physical love, fittingly in the Bedchamber, as signified by the grotesque cove which Lomazzo traced etymologically to the caves (*grottesca*) where the ancients took refuge to experience secret fun and pleasure with a loved one (Lomazzo 1585, Book 6, Chap. 48). The love of the royal couple was extended from the concept of "Love" beyond the personal to a principle of universal peace and harmony approved by "heaven." Such Neoplatonic concept of love made a useful political statement in the 1630s in line with arguments

of peace being advocated by Charles. The King was involved in a deliberate effort of "cultural revisionism" by incorporating his own visions of England under his rule into artistic productions (Patterson 1984, p. 255, qtd. in Veevers 1989, p. 4).

In the Grand Hall, Orazio Gentileschi's nine canvases made up the ceiling with *An Allegory of Peace and the Arts* (1635–8). In the large central scene, a personification of Peace with olive branch and staff presides over a gathering of 12 female figures. Beneath her is Victory who wears a crown and holds a palm and laurel wreath, her foot resting on a cornucopia from which fruit spills denoting Abundance. The armed figure to her left is Reason, who according to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* presides over the realm of human activity (Finaldi 1999, p. 27). She looks toward three women representing the Trivium of the Liberal Arts: Grammar, who waters a plant with her left hand; Rhetoric, who holds a mirror; and Logic, who has a snake and some flowers. To the right of the figure of Victory, opposite the Trivium, are the personifications of the Quadrivium: Astronomy or Astrology dressed in white with an open book of stars, Arithmetic with a tablet, Music holding an instrument and Geometry holding a sphere and dividers in her left hand and a tablet with geometric figures in her right. The remaining three figures may be Meditation with a book, Agriculture with a sheaf and crown of corn and Fortune with her attributes of wings and the globe. Surrounding the central scenes are the nine Muses, and in the corners are *tondi* with personifications of the arts of Painting who holds a painting of Minerva, Sculpture with a carved head, Architecture and Music (or Apollo).

The ceiling in the Grand Hall executed by Orazio Gentileschi revealed a vision representative of the rhetoric of Neoplatonic love as an assertion of the King and Queen's reign, raising personal happiness to a state of social and universal harmony. These images created for Henrietta were not, of course, unique to her. But they are undoubtedly correlative of the Neoplatonic ideal in the Queen's fashions. The Queen's Platonic doctrines were important in supporting the King's assertion of power, not as a mere lover but as a purifying force, transforming love. Such a role played by Henrietta underlines the feminist tendency in her fashion of *préciosité* and *honnêteté* which prioritizes the court lady's responsibility as preserving an atmosphere of pleasure and harmony for the peaceful interaction between the husband and his subjects. Veevers made a convincing case in arguing that Henrietta's religion was, contrary to popular belief, recognized by contemporaries as a moderate form of Catholicism, bearing a

similar relation to militant, Spanish-influenced Catholicism as Charles's Anglicanism bore to the more extreme forms of Calvinism (Veevers 1989, p. 6). The Queen could act as a mediator between Charles and the more moderate Catholics. Her Greenwich villa could be considered as a space that promotes harmonious personal and social relationships, welcoming and entertaining visitors to the court and mediating between opposing factions.

The court masques are instrumental in expressing Henrietta's role as a purifying force. In *Tempe Restored*, performed in 1632, the Queen acted as Divine Beauty to reform the arts and the Muses. In the allegory section, Dryads and Naiades, whose normal occupation is "to gather the most exquisite herbs and flowers of the earth for the service of their mistress," are turned into figures for "the virtues and sciences, by which the desire of man's spirits are prepared and disposed to good" (ll. 332–5). The presentation of the Queen as Divine Beauty achieves a conversion of affection from false to true beauty, and a restoration of the Tempe to become "the happy retreat of the muses and their followers… to whom of right only that place belongs" (ll. 340–4). *Tempe Restored* subscribes value to the arts and asserts the Queen as a force that elevates the soul through her divine beauty. In *The Temple of Love* (1635), ancient poets who once sang of lascivious love are now taught by the Queen's new cult to purify their verse, and the "Magicians," who once led youth astray in their temples of false beauty, are now reformed by the appearance of the Queen's new Temple, whose true beauty encourages love "of souls" (Veevers 1989, p. 179). The Queen's purifying power over the art of poetry by elevating it from carnal love to a Platonic love. Similarly in *Luminalia* (1638), it was not only the King but also "the incomparable pair" who by their "divine minds" rescues the Muses who have been drawn out of Greece and Italy and wandering in the wilderness (Veevers 1989, p. 179). The restoration of the arts to the English Church and the country was dependent on both the King and the Queen.

The depiction of allegorical figures and the nine Muses in paintings decorating royal places in the seventeenth century was not uncommon. However, Orazio's ceiling, situated in a building named after the Queen, gave meanings which perhaps were not relevant in other contexts. Significantly, in Du Bosc's *The Accomplish'd Woman*, translated by Montague, the nine Muses are mentioned as one of the many examples to prove that women are as capable and knowledgeable as men (Du Bosc 1656, p. 69). Du Bosc posed the rhetorical question of "what knowledge

can be thought either so difficult or so divine, in which women have not excell'd, at least, as well as men?" He then lists Alpatia teaching Pericles and Minerva as the "inventor of the best Learning" before pronouncing the Nine Muses, "to which we ascribe the invention of Arts," as his ultimate proof. This is not to say that viewers immediately related the nine Muses on the ceiling of Queen's House to a veneration of women as inventor of the arts. Du Bosc's text is evidence that Henrietta's *précieux* circle was aware of such a connection. A mental association of the Queen as an elevating force of the arts and women as intimately related to the arts played a role in the appreciation of Orazio's ceiling in the 1630s. Henrietta seemed to have a particular liking of the subject, and she made an effort to display it twice in the Queen's House (Tintoretto *The Muses*) was hung in the Withdrawing Room before it was removed to make way for Jordaens's *Cupid and Psyche*, as if reinforcing her identity as the allegorical figure of Divine Beauty restoring the arts by transforming the Muses. Gerrit Van Honthorst's enormous canvas *Mercury Presenting the Liberal Arts to Apollo and Diana* (Royal Collection Trust) best summarizes the Queen's pivotal role. It shows Mercury leading a procession of the Liberal Arts to pay homage to Apollo and Diana, who bear the likenesses of Charles and Henrietta (White 1982, pp. 53–56). Perhaps for the first time, the Queen appears in a more commanding position than the King. As the King leans forward to receive the Liberal Arts, the Queen holds up her right hand in a gesture that articulates authority. The Queen appears as Diana, sister of Apollo, not as a wife (Sykes 1991, p. 334). The relationship of brother and sister connotes equality rather than subordination. Henrietta's role as a transformative agent, as critical as that of the King's, was integral in the visual program of Neoplatonic love to envision England as a peaceful country under Charles's absolutist rule.

The symbolism of the *Cupid and Psyche* series illuminates a change in the role of Henrietta in the appropriation of the concept of Neoplatonic love. Although never completed, Jordaens's paintings installed in the 1630s would have a drastically different meaning from that intended by the monarch in 1625. In the beginning of the royal marriage, the Duke of Buckingham was sent to escort the future queen to London. While in Paris, he acquainted himself with Peter Paul Rubens, who suggested that a commemorative painting be commissioned for the Anglo-French alliance (Martin, December 1966, pp. 613–618, qtd. in Bold 2000, p. 60). Only a sketch survives depicting Mercury (Buckingham) conducting Psyche (Henrietta Maria) to Olympus thus portraying Psyche being

brought to Cupid (Charles), who kneels before James receiving his posthumous approval of the union (Bold 2000, p. 60). Buckingham leads Henrietta to the divine Charles, obliterating the Queen's agency. Psyche represents the human soul while Cupid represents love and desire. The King and Queen's marriage symbolizes the union of the divine with the earthly. For Du Bosc, Psyche, the earthly, embodies the virtue of constancy in her unperturbed search for Cupid despite obstacles posed by Juno, Ceres and Venus (Du Bosc 1656, p. 76). Ten years later, and five years after Buckingham's death, Henrietta emerged as a different kind of queen. In *The Temple of Love*, a masque performed in 1635, Blind Cupid, symbol of illicit sensual love, is replaced by Seeing Cupid, the emblem of a higher spiritual love. This change is brought about by the Queen of Love, Indamora, played by Henrietta. The Queen is no longer Psyche, Cupid's passive earthly lover. She purifies the passions as a divine figure. Jordaens's pictures unfortunately no longer exist. We have lost pictorial clues as to how this new image of the Queen was articulated.

The last observation about Henrietta's decorative choices in the Greenwich villa relates to her concerted effort to showcase Orazio Gentileschi's works in the Great Hall. Gentileschi's relatively classicizing and austere late style corresponds to the concept of moderation, a guiding principle for the *honnête* woman. In *Accomplish'd Woman*, moderation is implied in the headings of his chapters: cheerfulness and melancholy, prudence and discretion, chastity and complacency, curiosity and censure. Du Bosc warns against too much solitude, which leads to dullness and too much society resulting in levity. Balance is the key in cultivating the accomplished woman. Finaldi and Jeremy Wood encourage a gendered reading, suggesting that Gentileschi's style, when contrasted to Rubens's ceiling at the Banqueting House for Charles, may reflect the divergent tastes of the king and queen (Christiansen and Mann 2002). This explanation is entirely plausible. However, it does not sufficiently elucidate why Henrietta selected works such as Tintoretto's *The Muses* or *Cupid and Psyche* which are distinctly different stylistically from Gentileschi's. Henrietta's careful arrangement of Gentileschi's refined and somewhat artificial compositions in the Great Hall, and much more energetic, forceful form of paintings in other parts of the villa suggests the principle of moderation and balance. In the grand reception hall, a more reticent and archaizing style exudes austerity. Finaldi and Wood's study of Gentileschi's paintings argues persuasively for a deliberate change in style the artist adopted for the English court, emphasizing formal decorativeness and

even light source in lieu of his earlier Caravaggesque style (Christiansen and Mann 2002, pp. 223–230). Orazio's ceiling renounces Rubenesque illusionism to create a more austere style for Henrietta, echoing her doctrine of moderation.

Conclusion

Henrietta was not a typically sophisticated *précieux* of the Parisian *salons*. She lacked the formal education and knowledge, having no education befitting a future Queen (Veevers 1989, p. 35). This, however, did not refrain her from understanding the fashions of *préciosité* and *honnêteté*. She was exposed to such a culture in France, and had kept up-to-date on ideas related to the fashionable court culture, particularly through literature such as Jacques Du Bosc's *L'Honneste Femme* and the translator of this work Walter Montague whom she commissioned to compose court masques. The *honnête* ideal requires the ability to discern virtue from vice, since such a quality reflects knowledge. The decorative program in the Queen's House, unique in its moral subjects for a pleasure house in the country, called for a sophisticated audience who subscribed to the kind of reflexive reading advocated by Du Bosc. In addition, the *préciosité* culture's most important doctrine, Neoplatonic love, was fully manifest in the Queen's House's pictures. Henrietta Maria's villa did not only preserve an atmosphere of pleasure and harmony that chimed with Charles's desire for "peace." The Queen's House was a culmination of a Queen who strove to present herself as the ideal queen consort in England through her version of French court culture.

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Royalism and Divinity in Katherine Philips's Poems

Hui-Chu Yu

The popularity of Katherine Philips's poetry is self-evident, as witnessed by the various forms of extant manuscripts (Hageman and Sununu 1993). Prevalent studies on the poetry of Katherine Philips (1632–1664) put much emphasis on her obscure lesbian relationship or friendship mystery (Wahl 1999; Chalmers 2004; Anderson 2012). However, her royalist poems received comparatively little scholarly attention and were bluffed as "a simple affirmation of royalist sentiments" (Wahl, p. 132). Philips, who used to be a Presbyterian in youth, turned out to be a poetess writing to defend the royalist cause. The shift of her religious stance triggers curiosity about the catalyst and the significance of such a transformation. To explore both her political and her theological assumptions, this chapter aims to investigate her ways to represent the royal image with religious allusions. It also seeks to scrutinize her poems against the Fifth Monarchist arguments. The comparisons between the two opposing parties will help demonstrate the poetic representation of the culture war at that time. In this chapter, Katherine Philips's poems will show how her writing strategies make her royalist poetry distinct from those of others. The inquiry expects to reveal Philips's elegant poetic language and the

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subtle integration of classical and biblical allusions with which she rigorously elaborates the royal image.

In *England's Culture War*, Bernard Capp conducts a comprehensive study of the measures that the Commonwealth Government took to control the press and suppress political preachers (2012, pp. 61–62). However, among a long catalog of writers in support of or resistant to the regicide and the Commonwealth, women's voices seem to be submerged to the extent that readers might wonder if women at that time ever tried to express their opinions concerning religion and politics. Similarly, developed around military and political perspectives, the collection of articles *Royalists and Royalism during the English Civil Wars* (McElligott and Smith 2007) does not include any discussion of Katherine Philips. Though John Kerrigan later takes notice of Philips's poetic achievement, he discusses only one of Philips's royalist poems. Studying Philips's poems in the context of her "society of friendship," Carol Barash labels the poetic works as means for "courting political favour" (1996, p. 75). To do the poetess justice, the present chapter investigates how Philips manages to vocalize her political and religious statements in the royalist poems.

In the first place, the shifting of Katherine Philips's religious stance deserves some analysis. According to John Aubrey's sketches of his contemporaries, Philips used to be a staunch Presbyterian in her adolescence (Aubrey 1898, p. 154), but she broke with it. Eventually, she was getting more and more devoted to the "orthodox Anglicanism" and assumed a very active role in defending the royalist cause after she got married and moved to Wales in 1949 (Thomas 1990, p. 5). Since her writings were created in a surrounding that featured her royalism and the "Puritan and Parliamentary connections" in her own family, she is recognized as "a poet of contradictions" (Evans 1999, p. 174). Philips's marriage with James Philips, too, put her in an awkward position between loyalty to the head of her household or the King of England. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate, James Philips used to be a moderate defender of Puritanism and Parliamentarian in South Wales. Thus, Philips's insistence on voicing her support of King Charles I and II did cause impediments to her husband's social connections with the more aggressive Fifth Monarchists. Her close connection with the Welsh and English royalists invited stringent verbal attack of Vavasor Powell and Jenkin Jones on her husband (Kerrigan 2008, p. 196). After the Restoration, James Philips was inevitably out of favor and thus out of power after the Restoration of King Charles II. Katherine Philips's close association with Queen Anne and the

royalists in England was, therefore, scathingly criticized to be a stratagem to secure a political position for her husband.

Her dilemma between pledging allegiance to the English Kings and supporting her husband's religious cause to defend the interests of Wales is best represented in the poem "To Antenor." Addressing her husband in his pseudonym, Philips endeavors to excuse him from the public humiliation brought on by the publication of her royalist poems. Out of her royalty to the English kings, she appeals to the *Genesis* to expound that her support for the royal cause is not like the original sin incurred by Eve's curiosity and disobedience, but a choice out of her conscience. Consequently, her innocent spouse should be exempted from the blame even if her thoughts are intolerable to her Puritan opponents.

> My Love and Life I must confess are thine,
> But not my Errours, they are only mine.
> And if my Faults must be for thine allow'd,
> I will be hard to dissipate the Cloud:
> For Eve's Rebellion did not Adam Blast,
> Until himself forbidden Fruit did taste.
>
> (Philips 2007, ll. 7–12)

Her defense displays the impasse between speaking her own mind as an English lady and safeguarding her husband's best interests as a Welsh's wife (Kerrigan 196). The unavoidable confrontation with the issue of identity alerts her to the danger of slanders so that her royalist poems are not downright flattering panegyrics but poetic compositions with carefully embedded double ententes. In addition, she explicitly declares her religious stance in her own defense against Jenkins Jones in "To the truly Competent Judge of Honour, Lucasia, upon a Scandalous Libel made by J. J." Her disparaging comments on the Catholic rites and idolatry bluff against J.J.'s accusation of her being popish. In this way, she safeguards her position as a staunch Anglican rather than a Catholic.

Philips's portrayal of King Charles I as a devoted prince of mild temperament is by no means a unique case among the royalist writings. According to *The Royal Family Described*, Charles I as Prince of Wales was reputed for his "piety and virtue" (James I, 1716, p. 4). Unlike Milton's *Eikonoklastes* which were contrived to break the mystifying image of King Charles I (Coiro 1999, p. 43), Philips's royalist poems correspond with a sanctified royal image popular in her time; therefore, they are conspicuously charged with religious and political connotations. "Happiness" is a poem devoted

to portraying the tranquil temperament and devotion of King Charles I. When most people pursue felicity through power, wealth and affection, King Charles, metaphorically represented as the Good man, finds the secret to savor life with contentment. Regardless of the turmoil outside, he can always keep his inner equilibrium so that no one could bear ill will against him. He is said to be an "innocent Epicure" since he is a man easy to be satisfied and without much political ambition. On the other hand, King Charles I is addressed as "a prince at home." This epithet seems to be an intricate apology for his lack of political stratagems as a tactless man rather than a prince well-versed in negotiation and diplomacy, as reflected from his domestic and foreign policies (Herman 2011, p. 184). The disputes between King Charles I and the Parliament resulted from several factors, namely, political problems extended from King James I's reign, Charles I's marriage with a French princess, favoritism and diverting opinions on the Liturgy and Episcopacy (Larrey 1716, p. 1–2). To respond to the disapproving comments of aggressive subjects, King Charles took dissolution of the Parliament a political expediency to solve the thorny issues in question. In depicting such a controversial royal figure, Philips oftentimes has to appeal to understatements to tone down the negative perception of Charles I in order to create a more positive portraiture.

Even though Philips's portrayal resembles those in other royalist writings, her depiction is seldom simply panegyric. Instead, she extensively exploits biblical allusions to create a devotional figure to defend the king from the charges of the Protestants. Philips characterizes King Charles as a pious monarch in pursuit of immortality rather than secular enjoyments. When others are pursuing fame and power, King Charles is dedicated to reading Scriptures to nurture his spiritual growth so as to make himself an emblem of obedience. His unworldliness endows him a position as sanctified as "the Manna of the Israelites"—a provision prepared by God during their sojourn in the desert (Philips 2007, "Happiness" l. 43). The comparison of King Charles I to manna is a significant association with his mandate. The edible substance, also named as "the corn of heaven" and "the bread of the mighty" in Psalms 78: 24–25 (Jewish Encyclopedia.com), is Philips's conscious choice to heighten King Charles I's status as the sign of God's covenant with England and his indispensability in Providence. Like the food that helped the Israelites survive the lack of provision while wandering in the desert of Sinai, King Charles I is portrayed to serve as the divine deliverer to liberate the spiritually desolate England from the dogmatic rule of the Presbyterians.

This idealistic portrayal reveals striking similarities to the royal image forged in *Eikon Basilike*, which was one of the most prominent propaganda for the royalist cause ever since the day of Charles's execution down to the reign of James II (Wheeler 1999, p. 136; Knoppers 1999, p. 264). The pamphlet is featured with a special style—a combination of tract and King Charles I's plaintive prayers. In the book, the English King makes an effort to defend himself on various issues such as the execution of Strafford, the calling of the last Parliament, the passing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments and so on. He manifests his reasoning before making some crucial political decisions and tries to persuade readers of his innocence in the critical events. Most importantly, he keeps emphasizing that all those events are deliberated and executed out of his conscience, not envy or malice. After the apology, prayers addressing the same issues are added. The only difference lies in whom he was speaking to—God. The suppliant tone makes him sound like a pious but helpless king deprived of his Divine Right to be the supreme head of the state. As a result, the prayers successfully create him a weaker role in the defensive confronting a Parliament much more aggressive and threatening. From time to time, he shows his compassion for the subjects and even his opponents for the unjust decisions they have made for the Church Government. Since the English King is the Head of the Church of England, "loyalty to the church" serves as "a motive for loyalty to king" (Potter 1989, p. 12). Thus, the King's devotion is not only one strategy to uphold the Divine Right of a monarch but also an example to induce people's obedience to the royal power.

The royal portrait configured in Katherine Philips's poems is meaningful in revealing the innermost desire of King Charles I—the respect of the Parliament to the royal prerogatives. In his reign, King Charles I constantly suffered from the suspicion of the Parliament over his religious stance. Dissolution of the Parliament was King Charles's favorite strategy, or rather the last resort, to suppress the aggressive Protestant members of the two Houses, and yet, this drastic move often instigated apprehension against the King's intention to lead England to Catholic apostasy. As stated in a Proclamation of 1629, King Charles had to reassure the Parliament that he was determined to safeguard the Protestant Church of England against foreign invasions and the Roman Catholic Church (Larrey 1716, p. 169–170). On the other hand, King Charles was obsessively concerned about the overwhelming authority of the Parliament that from time to time sought to curtail the royal prerogatives so as to secure more power for the two Houses then under the lead of Oliver Cromwell,

the Presbyterians and the Independent party (Fea 1679, p. 156). Even in a letter to the Prince of Wales, King Charles urged the prince "to be constant to [his] religion, neither hearkening to Roman superstitions nor the seditious and schismatical doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents" (Charles 1968, p. 175). More accounts from *The Memoirs of the Martyr King* also serve to characterize King Charles as a monarch oppressed by antagonistic Puritan activists. When the King's body was transported out of St. George's Hall after his execution, the unexpected fall of snow that covered the black velvet increased the pathos of King Charles's victimization since it reminded the spectators of the white robe the deceased King wore at his coronation in Westminster Abbey (Fea, pp. 150–151). To the Royalists, this episode bespoke the restoration of the King's innocence at least, if not his monarchical power.

In contrast to the other royalists who tended to express their sympathy by highlighting the pathetic feelings for the execution, Philips endeavors to strengthen the King's dignity through his victimization. "Upon the double Murther of K. CHARLES I. in Answer to a Libellous Copy of Rimes by Vavasor Powell" is an outright defense of King Charles against the slanders of the belligerent Puritan leaders after the demise of the monarch, who deserves more respect and dignity. Philips definitely shows great sympathy since the King suffers undue humiliation as a sovereign persecuted by his Parliamentarian opponents. To accentuate King Charles's martyrdom, Philips simultaneously condenses two images into one: a victimized King and a martyred saint. Portraying King Charles I as a dying lion bullied by asses, Philips reveals the insolence and hostility the late King stomached before, and even after, his execution. Literarily, the King is a deposed sovereign who is accused of violating the Ten Commandments for swearing and marrying an idolatrous Catholic (Kerrigan 2008, p. 196). For Philips, these transgressions are only questionable and unjustified accusations to deprecate the defenseless King and the rebels' means to cover up their treasonous deeds. Philips regards it unfair and a crime that King Charles's birthright to succeed the throne is downtrodden and insinuates that the legitimacy of King Charles I to reign has been denigrated as the original sin from his forefathers.

To differentiate the King from ordinary victims, Philips takes advantage of the Cult of King Charles the Martyr to transform him into a Christ-like figure. Without stopping short at depicting the King as an unworthy underling that cannot even defend himself, Philips subverts so subservient a position by comparing the king's decapitation to the Passion of Christ. Literally, Philips seems to demand for more respect for the king than for

petty thieves. The word "thieves" refers to those who steal, whereas it is here also a forceful metaphor that connotes the two thieves nailed to the crosses beside Christ. Another word "Sanctuaries" implies double meanings as well. One refers to a sacred place where even criminals were entitled to immunity from arrest, so that they could be granted a quiet death and decent burial since all their sins would be absolved at the mercy of God. The other refers to the Holy Temple in ancient Jerusalem, where the Ark of Covenant was housed. Entitled to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, King Charles I was supposed to play a significant role in cleansing the temple off blasphemy, but he suffered the same fate of Jesus Christ, who was doubly victimized by the betrayal of his disciples and the hostility of Jewish high priests. In making King Charles a Christ figure, Philips censures the power-grabbing Presbyterians as the Jewish high priests who unjustly condemned Christ to death.

The delineation of King Charles I as a Christ figure is by no means a coincidence, but a deliberate choice to challenge the arguments of the Fifth Monarchists. To refute the Presbyterians who dissolved the monarchy and exiled the royal family for hailing Christ as the King, Philips identified them as virtually egoistic and treasonous murderers who sacrificed others' blood instead of their own. Philips recognizes Christ's kingdom as legitimate; nonetheless, she does not find it reasonable to appeal to violence in the name of Christ. Philips implies that King Charles I is only the scapegoat sacrificed under the banner of "justice" to satiate the rebels' desire to seize the political power from the King of England. Furthermore, Philips's portrayal of King Charles corresponds with the configuration of King Charles as the Martyr to elevate his position as a passive victim to a dauntless hero embracing death for the just cause. As Andrew Lacey (2003) points out, "suffering kingship" is one of the popular themes in the literature and iconography of 1646–1648; henceforth, there developed a cult of King Charles as the Martyr to deliver "a rejection of the republican authorities" (p. 51). When the Fifth Monarchists threatened to topple the monarchy in the hope that Jesus Christ would reign in the future, regicide was often regarded legitimate; accordingly, to counteract the argument, the royalists had to configure the King's image as a valiant challenger affronting the authority of his judges and asserting "the justice and righteousness" of his cause with full confidence (Lacey 2003, p. 52). To maintain the royal dignity, King Charles I is often portrayed as a tragic hero who braves his predicaments rather than a pathetic victim of an illegitimate brutal force in Philips's poems.

King Charles's self-fashioned image in his speech made upon the scaffold at the Whitehall Gate best manifests the deliberate use of martyrological rhetoric. King Charles could have had the opportunity to escape from death and keep his crown if he had been willing to twist his fate by making concession to the Parliament (Wingfield-Stratford 1950, p. 163). His speech on the scaffold was often deemed a brilliant performance to subvert his image as a tyrannical ruler exacting heavy taxes and abusing royal prerogatives to the extent that he infringed on the liberties of his subjects. First of all, King Charles declared that he was innocent of the guilt he had been accused of. Then, he claimed himself to be a forgiving Christian and chose to pardon those who persecuted and incriminated him in the name of tyranny. Finally, he faced the executioner in a placid mood when he claimed himself to be "the Martyr of the People" (Charles I 1649). He delivered the speech in a dignified manner; hence, the image of a martyr overwhelms that of a pathetic victim so as to make him a pious defender of the people, the Church and the State, rather than a criminal of high treason. To defend himself against the charge of tyranny, the King manifested the fundamental differences between the roles of a subject and a monarch. Moreover, he emphasized that he had forgiven those who persecuted him. The forgiving spirit helped build up his image of a lamb as innocent as Jesus Christ and consummated his sufferings as those Christ endured in the Passion. Though he could not escape death, he successfully transformed his image as an unpardonable tyrant who impeached people's interests for his own into a heroic Christian monarch who had a clear conscience.

Similarly, "Majesty in Misery," a poem collected in *The Royal Martyr* to account his distress when he was captivated at Carisbrooke Castle in 1648, lays bare how King Charles blatantly branded himself as a sacrifice for the religious cause (Charles I 1648, p. 1). The monarch compared himself to Job who suffered from all sort of calamities not out of his own immoral conduct but unjust trails on his fidelity and obedience to God. The comparison identifies the king as a ready prey under constant slanders. Because of his equivocal identities as both a power that tolerated Catholicism and the Supreme Head of a Protestant state, he had never been fully trusted and therefore suffered constant slanderous attacks from both parties (Charles I 1649, p. 295). As the King of England, he was ironically tested by his Protestant subjects on his loyalty to his own land and coerced to pledge his loyalty to the Church of England; as a monarch

who tolerated Catholicism, his opposition to the Parliament was often taken for his attempts to breach with the Church of England (Hollington 1692, p. 35). Both the Protestant and Catholic subjects endeavored to win his support for their cause, which were fundamentally two polarities, and yet, both of them were suspicious of the King's sincerity.

The most problematic aspect of King Charles's self-image, for modern historians, involves his ignorance of his fault of misgovernment. In the view of the Parliamentarians, Charles II should shoulder the blame for encroaching the English people's liberties by expanding royal prerogatives and for procrastinating the revolution in the constitution of Government (Ogg 1934, p. 149). However, the monarch was totally insensitive to these issues and failed to address to them with appropriate political stratagems. After King Charles lost the decisive Battle of Naseby, the Parliamentarians proposed to establish a Church Government dominated by Presbyterians in the place of bishops. Even King Charles's official advisers and Queen Henrietta Maria urged him to be "a king of presbytery" (Charles I and Henrietta Maria 1856, p. vii). The proposition obviously violated his conscience as the Supreme Head of the English Church and was too intolerable a concession. From the early days of Elizabethan reign to 1592, Presbyterianism had existed as an intimidating force to challenge the hierarchical structure of the Church of England by requesting "a model of government based on the equality of ministers and the inclusion of lay elders in the oversight of the Church" until the Queen took action to suppress it (Ha 2011, p. 1). Although the Presbyterians would argue that they never intended to antagonize with royal supremacy, they venerated royal supremacy only when the King pledged to safeguard Protestantism (Ha 2011, p. 20). Charles's tolerance for the Catholic religion and his marriage with a Catholic Queen inevitably bred suspicion among the Protestants. As a result, to the Presbyterians, King Charles was more an impediment to the establishment of the Church Government of Presbyters than the Head to oversee the Church of England. In this sense, the cult of martyr in reality serves to be an ironic representation of an incompetent and tyrannical sovereign. To compromise the differences, Philips conflates the images of the victimized and the sanctified Jesus Christ so that her representation of King Charles I fully corresponds with the cult of martyr.

Philips's sympathy for King Charles II is no less than that for his father. After the execution of King Charles I, his son did not succeed to

the throne though he was proclaimed to be the monarch of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. Since the Parliament was under the control of some radical religious groups, namely the Fifth Monarchists who were convinced of the millenarianism (Berkeley 1647, pp. 163–164), so they were eager to abolish the monarchy to welcome the future reign of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the English Parliament nulled King Charles's proclamation and installed Oliver Cromwell as the Protector of the Commonwealth to lead the revolution. To defend his birthright, Charles II fought with the New Model Army led by Oliver Cromwell, but he unfortunately lost the battle and subsequently the throne. Ever since then, he was exiled until the death of Oliver Cromwell. "On the 3 September, 1651" is a poem to lament over the (de)feat of Charles II at the Battle of Worcester. The fall of Charles II is portrayed with several allusions. First of all, Philips alludes to the tragic downfall of "Pompey" in the Great Roman Civil War that took place during 49–45 BC. Pompey was defeated by Julius Caesar, though the former had the support of the majority of the Senate. Philips alludes to the Battle of Pharsalus since it was a significant war that led to not only the fleeing of Pompey but also the change of Roman constitution from Republic to Empire. Philips perceives the similarities between the fate of Rome and that of the kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland then. To heighten the tragic sense of King Charles II's military failure, Philips depicts him as a dignified warrior who fights and loses his last battle without diminishing his dignity. The blazing battle fire against the dark night depicts his persistent struggling in desperation and yet it also makes him look more dignified when "He with new splendor clothes his dying Rays." Even in his worst predicament, he still shows a haughty look and expects his subjects to adore him even in humiliation (Philips 2007, ll. 1–8). The tragic sense lies in the King's gallant combat against his tragic end so that the portrayal endows him an unusual beaming radiance as if he is a Christian crusader whose bravery daunts his pagan enemies. The depiction romanticizes the King's miserable fiasco. Fighting till the last moment, he does not yield and beg for his life obsequiously, but struggles to muster the last strength to preserve his own dignity as the English Royalty. Although he fails to keep the throne, he crushes those who try to topple him. With the allusions to Pompey and Sampson, Philips envisions King Charles II as a hero victimized by his pride and a woman's guile because of his trust in the fatal temptress, Delilah.

Who would presume upon his Glorious Birth,
Or quarrel for a spacious share of Earth,
That sees such Diadems become so cheap,
And Heroes tumble in a common heap?
Oh give me virtue then, which sums up all,
And firmly stands when Crowns and Scepters fall.

(Philips 2007, ll. 29–34)

Though the defeat of Charles II exposes his incompetence to lead the country and the subsequent loss of his Diadem, Philips still speaks of his virtue, other than scepters and crowns, and accords him with true Regality

For illustrating King Charles's exile, Philips confronts the challenge to portray the expelled king without mentioning the agonizing terror of loss and humiliation. Another poem, "On the numerous access of the English to wait upon the King in Flanders," hails a royal image that bespeaks the grand achievement of the King. To elaborate King Charles's iconic significance to England, Philips in a series of poems consistently compares him to Pompey, a military and political leader of Rome. The allusion is by no means a random selection. Both Pompey and King Charles were engaged in the civil war in their states and exiled after losing the battle. Like Pompey who made Egypt the Rome in Africa, King Charles II was then in exile in the Spanish Netherland after his father's execution. Philips laments that the absence of Charles from England makes it a desolate land:

So that if thou dost stay, thy gasping land
It self will empty on the *Belgick* sand,
Where the affrighted Dutchman doth profess
He thinks it an invasion, not address.
As we unmonarch'd were for want of thee,
So till thou come we shall unpeopled be.

(Philips 2007, ll. 9–14)

The passage comments passingly how unwelcomed the exiled King was since the Belgians regarded his sojourn in their land a sort of incursion. In 1651, the situation was particularly mortifying for Charles II after the passing of the Navigation Act that prohibited other countries from having transaction with the English colonies triggered the First Anglo-Dutch War (Bryant 1968, pp. 53–54). On the other hand, England suffered in the Civil War and then lost its King so that the land was "unmonarch'd," "unpeopled" and "exhausted." The land will not be healed until the

return of the King—"the Sovereign Remedy." The other allusion to the dream interpreter Joseph likewise reverses Charles's status as an expatriate into a precursor whom the English people can depend on for future deliverance. As an interpreter of God's will, Joseph was assigned the mission to deliver his people at the time of famine, so his servitude in Egypt was a predetermined providential scheme. His forced deportation into an alien land was in fact part of the predestination of the Israelites's journey before the excursion to the Promised Land. To associate King Charles II's exile with the significant one in the Bible, Philips likens those who deposed the King to Joseph's jealous brothers to tone down the embarrassment of the exiled King and the pathetic sense of his totally unexpected quandary. This allusion as well insinuates that the Parliamentarians who drove him away from England would have to crave for King Charles's homecoming as Jacob did for seeing his lost son again at his old age.

Some poems were written to show sympathy with Charles II's predicaments overseas, while the others were composed to celebrate the restoration of monarchy. In "Arion on A Dolphin to his Majesty at his passage into England," Philips first alludes to King Charles's humiliation in exile for defending the faith of his predecessors and then his glory to triumph over it by his virtue and divine intervention. To boost the mythological aura around a monarchical figure, Philips employs the myth of Arion's deliverance from pirates with the help of dolphins. Stranded in Belgium, Charles II lived a life more like a hostage than an honored King, so the fleet sent to fetch Charles was like the obliging dolphins. However, if Philips would like to create a favorable image for him, what Charles II fought for could be a tangling issue to deal with. At this juncture, Philips does not specify what his faith is and strategically leaves it ambiguous, lest the issue of the King's religious and political beliefs come into question. After all, apart from James's deep-rooted conviction in the Divine Right of monarchs, the Stuarts's propensity to favor Catholicism over Protestantism was constantly under suspicion. Later in the poem, the much assaulted Charles is likened to Saint Athanasius in showing his perseverance.

> Never was Prince so much besieged,
> At home provok'd, abroad obliged,
> Nor ever Man resisted thus,
> No one great Athanasius,
> No help of Friends could, or Foes spight,
> To fierce Invasion him invite.
>
> (Philips 2007, ll. 14–36)

The allusion to Athanasius refers to Bishop of Alexandria, who defended Christian orthodoxy against Arianism—a doctrine proclaiming that Christ the Son is not in unity with God the Father. It is one of Philips's strategies to validate the orthodoxy of Charles II by antagonizing the Athanasianism with the Arianism. The theological controversy in the fourth century involves several issues such as the concept of Trinity and Christology (Wiles 1996, p. 1). Arius, the Alexandrian presbyter, disputed with Bishop Alexander over the nature of Jesus Christ. Athanasius defended the orthodox view that God, Christ and the Holy Spirit are in unity and inseparable, whereas Arius upheld the unorthodox view that Christ is created by God, not in union with Him. Referring back to the ancient controversy, Philips underscores Charles II's position in challenging the archetypal Christian heresy, which in turn scantly alludes to the seditious Parliamentarians in power. The allusion not only refutes the negative perception of Charles's political and military incompetence to sanction his legitimacy to govern the kingdom but also reveals Philips's poetic language featuring precision and density.

The other issue Philips grapples with is the Divine Right with which Charles II claimed his legitimacy to rule. In addition to the allusion to the mythological figure, Arion, Philips also emphasizes the heavenly intervention in defending him from all kinds of harms and slanders. This phrase "heaven, his secret potent friend" alludes to the Divine Right that bestows on him the title "Defender of the faith" and disqualifies Cromwell's illegitimate reign through reconstituting England into Commonwealth. Despite the betrayal and combats King Charles confronts, he chooses not to take revenge just like the forgiving Christ in face of the usurpers who deprive him of his birthright and crown. This offers a sharp contrast between Charles and Oliver Cromwell, who forcefully led the New Model Army, valiant and aggressive regiments, to destroy the ancient constitution of Monarchy and rip England apart in order to fulfill his ambition. Charles's military failure is versed as his unwillingness to win "Slaughter-trophees" and "Laurels dipt in Subjects blood." The forgiving spirit is deliberately magnified to make Charles the Savior of England. The image of peace-lover is portrayed to represent Charles II's mild temperament and simplicity. Therefore, Charles wins back the monarchy as a true Christian with magnificence, mercy and forgiveness, rather than violence. Philips envisions how the restoration of monarchy could heal the society ruptured by the Civil War by means of Charles II's legitimacy, power and mercy, under which the bloodthirsty rebels would eventually yield to him just

as Queen of Sheba did to King Solomon. The biblical allusion elevates King Charles II to a higher position as a King known for his wisdom and worshipped by his people in order to show how the King's second rule is highly anticipated.

The restoration of Monarchy is represented as predestined fate indicated by remarkable natural phenomena. In "On the Fair Weather just at the Coronation, it having rained immediately before and after," Philips celebrates the royalty of King Charles II by describing a miraculous change of weather at the coronation. Before the coronation, the dismal weather seemed to be an ill omen to the second reign of King Charles II, but for the sudden appearance of the sun when the stately coronation ceremony was being performed. After the coronation, the thunderstorm resumed intensely. The transient fair weather, for Philips, is rather a sign of divine miracle to imply that God ordains King Charles II to deliver English people from predicaments. Philips further strengthens Charles's image as the ordained by alluding to the Crossing of the Red Sea in *Exodus*.

> So Israel past through the divided floud,
> While in obedient heaps the Ocean stood:
> But the same Sea (the Hebrews once on shore)
> Return'd in torrents where it was before.
>
> (Philips 2007, ll. 15–18)

Philips's tactful use of this biblical allusion readily associates King Charles with Moses, God's priest, to hail him as the rightful leader of the chosen people. When Moses went to Mount Sinai to receive God's commandments, many of the wandering Hebrews lapsed into idolatrous worship again. The absence of Charles symbolically makes England a split state which suffers from the loss of their spiritual guidance. The splitting of the Red Sea symbolizes the separation of the two opposing powers: the Royalists and the Roundheads. Only with the help of divine power can Charles eventually bring about reconciliation and unify the domestic opposing forces into conformity.

Some poems dedicated to Queens and princesses also help characterize King Charles II as a Christ figure. In "To the Queen-Mother's Majesty, Jan. 1. 1660–1," when Philips laments over the Queen Mother's misfortune to be beset by traitors and rebels, Philips elaborates on the contribution of the Queen Mother to give birth to the Royal Martyr—King Charles. Although the Queen Mother undergoes a lot of sufferings, she still retains her loyalty to the country and determination in the hope to overcome the political upheavals.

Yet all those billows in your breast did meet
A heart so firm, so loyal, and so sweet,
That over them you greater conquest made
Than your Immortal Father ever had.
(Philips 2007, ll. 15–18)

The emphasis on the Queen Mother's innocence and mercy associates her with Virgin Mary—the mother of Jesus Christ. Again, this poem centers on King Charles as the son of God and the Martyr for a true cause.

One of Philips's poems registers English people's attitude toward Charles I's marriage with a Roman Catholic French princess. "To the Queen's Majesty on her Arrival at Portsmouth, May 14 1662" is such a poem written on the occasion of the royal marriage.

Now you have quitted the triumphant Fleet,
And suffered English ground to kiss your Feet,
Whilst your glad subjects with impatience throng
To see a Blessing they have begg'd so long.
(Philips 2007, ll. 3–6)

In a very subtle way, Philips alludes to the foreign status of the Queen and the marriage as a political expediency. The triumphant fleet is a phrase that refers to both Charles's previous failure to secure a marriage with the Spanish Habsburg princess and his success in bringing back Henrietta Maria of France, whose beauty makes her glorified as a "Divinity." The second stanza continues to elaborate on an ironic comparison between the two marriage negotiations—the previous one to *Infanta* of Spain during 1614–1623 and the one with Henrietta Maria of France.

We cannot reckon what to you we owe,
Who make Him happy who makes us be so.
But Heav'n for us the desp'rate debt hath paid,
Who such a Monarch hath your Trophee made.
(Philips 2007, ll. 21–24)

For those who are familiar with the political reality in the seventeenth century, this event might be interpreted in an ironic way from the Protestants's viewpoint. Due to the Queen's Catholic belief, she was not more favorable an alternative than the Spanish *Infanta* to be the Queen of a state predominantly Protestant. Besides, what was much anticipated particularly by Charles was the bountiful dowry she brought to relieve the huge debts incurred by Charles's financial mismanagement. Besides,

the marriage with Henrietta Maria was more or less a political strategy to revenge on Spain for the aborted marriage negotiation for the Spanish *Infanta*'s hand. And yet, diverting the reader's attention to the Queen's dashing beauty, Philips indicates in a suggestive way that the Queen is actually a "Trophee" since the marriage is rather a political expediency to relieve Charles's desperate need of money and affiliation with a powerful alliance against Spain. Philips only envisions how the union of the virtuous King and the magnanimous Queen will produce progenies that can continue to enjoy supreme royal prerogatives and exercise immense influence on the fate of the Continent as their predecessors did.

The theme of reconciliation is further elaborated in another poem of Philips, "Upon the Princess Royal her Return into England," to celebrate the Restoration of monarchy. Although the daughter of Charles I did not involve in policymaking, she, as a member of the royal family, suffered no less than her father and brother. The return of the princess, treated as "sure Pledge of reconciled Powers," obviously refers to the reconciliation between the Royalists and the Roundheads.

> O wondrous Prodigy! O Race Divine!
> Who owe more to your Actions than your Line.
> Your Lives exalt your Father's deathless Name,
> The blush of England, and the boast of Fame.
>
> (Philips 2007, ll. 17–20)

Charles I was deemed as a martyr who enjoyed immortality. The phrase "the blush of England" implies Charles's I's martyrdom a shameful deed to dethrone a sovereign and is a sure sign of his everlasting fame for his heroic sacrifice. When asking for the princess's forgiveness for the English people, Philips appeals to a unique perspective to examine the exile of the royal family in the following lines: "Our Crimes have banish'd us from you, and we/Were more remov'd by them than by the sea./Nor is it known whether we wrong'd you more/When we rebell'd, or now we do adore" (Philips 2007, ll. 23–26). Since the banishment of the royal family was regarded as unjustified, it was the rebels themselves who were virtually expelled from the royal presence and engulfed from the royalty when the royal family members were forced to live in exile in Europe. Their inconstancy toward monarchy shows that the rebels could not justify the expulsion of the royal family. Henceforth, the return of the princess is a happy indication of forgiveness and appeasement.

The theme of reconciliation is also dealt with in Philips's religious poem, "2 Cor. 5.19. God was in Christ Reconciling the World to himself." The poetess contrasts God's mercy with the mercilessness of the rebels. When God decided to create human beings, He bestowed on them his love, power and wisdom. Furthermore, for their felicity, God also gave them the ability to forgive so that they could survive despite their fallibilities. The poetess beseeches the Roundheads to be merciful to the King. Soliciting for the King and yet finding it futile, she reminds the Parliamentarians of God's mercy. Though the King might have some faults, they are not so grievous as to be unforgiveable because "He hath a Father's, not a Tyrant's, joy;/Shews more his Pow'r to save then to destroy" (Philips 2007, ll. 23–24). If the King is not tyrannical, then there is surely no reason to execute him on the scaffold. Even though God is so powerful that even 10,000 worlds are going to be ruined, out of God's mercy Christ can redeem all human sins. Hence, the King is definitely pardonable. In the very end, Philips compares the execution of King Charles to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, so the Parliamentarians are labeled as those who persecuted the King for unjustifiable causes.

Katherine Philips's strategies to forge the royal image of King Charles I and II are delicate and subtle. To elevate the sovereign to a divinely ordained monarch, the poetess relies heavily on classical and biblical allusions to obliterate people's negative perception of King Charles as a deposed King in exile. Thereby, she converts the besmeared sovereigns into the ordained leaders of the chosen people such as Moses and Joseph so as to correspond with the early Stuart Monarchs's political conviction in the Divine Right of Kings. Philips's royalist poems should not be read as downright panegyrics that intend to please the Kings and the royal family. Rather, those topical poetic productions not only help record the crucial events involving the Stuart Monarchy such as martyrdom of King Charles I, exile of King Charles II and Restoration of the monarchy but also reflect their psychological impact on the royal family and the English society.

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Private and Public: Rulers, Kings, and Tyrants in Plato, Aristotle, John of Salisbury, and Shakespeare and his Contemporaries

Jonathan Hart

The concern with private and public, with rulers, kings and tyrants, is much evident in Plato and Aristotle, figures so influential in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. All these dimensions of the personal and the political are intertwined. Tyranny is something Plato does not associate mainly with kingship as Aristotle does. The philosophers explore forms of government and the relation between the individual and the state, but so do writers like Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Whereas Plato and Aristotle discuss the ideas (the one in dialogue and the other in the monological mode of argument), poets and playwrights during the early modern period represent, through characters and in fictional interaction or dialogism, the contours of kings and tyrants and different relations among individual, family and state in concrete ways. John of Salisbury, writing in the Middle Ages, shares some of the concerns of kingship and tyranny that classical and Renaissance writers do.

William Shakespeare, his predecessors, contemporaries and successors, Thomas Norton, Thomas Sackville, Thomas Preston, Thomas Legge, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson, all give a multidimensional representation of the private and public elements of the lives of rulers, kings

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and tyrants. The chapter will move from a discussion of Plato and Aristotle through one of John of Salisbury to another of Renaissance writers and the representation of tyranny in the context of anti-Semitism and colonialism in Shakespeare. How, for instance, are there affinities between anti-Semitism in *The Merchant of Venice* and in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. This chapter will examine these questions briefly and suggest, rather than exhaust, the shape of this debate.

Tyranny: De Toqueville, Plato and Aristotle

Tyranny can be a function of rulers or leaders, but can also be something that pervades a society more akin to what Alexis De Tocqueville called, in his analysis of democracy of America, the tyranny of the majority. For instance, De Tocqueville reports on a convention in Philadelphia, where delegates debated a tariff and, after ten days of deliberation, included in an address to the American people, the following sentence: "At the present time the liberty of association is become a necessary guarantee against the tyranny of the majority."[1] In Chapter 15, De Tocqueville, as part of his discussion of the unlimited power of the majority and the consequences of that power, examines the tyranny of the majority.

De Tocqueville is examining the tyranny of democracy, which is the lens through which North Americans, and others who have gone down the same road, see the world and read the ancients and Renaissance authors like Shakespeare. Without this concept of the tyranny of the majority, those living in democratic states might forget that tyrants are not just kings or oligarchies. In a monarchy, this courting of favor degrades courtiers from the higher aristocracy, but in a democracy, this degradation spreads to the people, which, under a monarchy, generally keeps its dignity despite its weakness. As in Plato, in De Tocqueville, the character or spirit of the individual relates to that of the form of government. De Tocqueville observes: "In democratic states organized on the principles of the American republics, this is more especially the case, where the authority of the majority is so absolute and so irresistible that a man must give up his rights as a citizen, and almost abjure his quality as a human being, if he intends to stray from the track which it lays down."[2] Tyranny curbs rights and freedom and seems to be in the character as a form of self-censorship in face of the powerful majority. Conformity and indistinguishable character become the characteristics of tyranny in the USA. Although in private, some Americans expressed dissent on democracy in America, "no one is there to hear these things

besides yourself, and you, to whom these secret reflections are confided, are a stranger and a bird of passage. They are very ready to communicate truths which are useless to you, but they continue to hold a different language in public."[3] De Tocqueville says that if people in that country read his views, they will condemn him or acquit him "at the bottom of their conscience."[4] I am using De Tocqueville as a lens through which to view kingship, rulers from classical antiquity into the Renaissance, to remind us of different forms of kingship, government and tyranny. We all know authority and tyranny occur in every time and state. In examining tyranny in a different time or place, perhaps where king and tyrant were not the people, it is easy to forget the tyranny here and now and to see government and tyranny to be abstract, distant and almost fictional constructions, but that would be a mistake. Plato, Aristotle and De Tocqueville, as much as Homer and Shakespeare, have much to say that is germane and powerful about politics.

Before De Tocqueville, Plato analyzed tyranny in a manner that was so influential in the West. In *Republic*, Plato has Socrates discuss the various forms of government—monarchy, aristocracy, democracy—as well as the descent into tyranny. Benjamin Jowett, one of the great translators of Plato, says in his Introduction to *Republic*: "The argument of the Republic is the search after Justice, the nature of which is first hinted at by Cephalus, the just and blameless old man –then discussed on the basis of proverbial morality by Socrates and Polemarchus –then caricatured by Thrasymachus and partially explained by Socrates –reduced to an abstraction by Glaucon and Adeimantus, and having become invisible in the individual reappears at length in the ideal State which is constructed by Socrates."[5] Plato's exploration of tyranny is part of a discussion of the republic or public things or state and, more specifically, of justice. Private and public, rulers and tyrants, are all matters of the best way to conduct a life, private and public, and how to love together in a polity. The individual and state have a symbiotic relation that shifts in emphasis, as Jowett notes, in the movement of Plato's *Republic*.

At the heart of discussion of public and private and of justice and tyranny in *Republic* is education. Jowett highlights this relation: "The first care of the rulers is to be education, of which an outline is drawn after the old Hellenic model, providing only for an improved religion and morality, and more simplicity in music and gymnastic, a manlier strain of poetry, and greater harmony of the individual and the State."[6] Education is a key to a harmonious connection between the personal and the political. Plato does not stop there, as Jowett says: "We are thus led on to the conception of a

higher State, in which 'no man calls anything his own,' and in which there is neither 'marrying nor giving in marriage,' and 'kings are philosophers' and 'philosophers are kings;' and there is another and higher education, intellectual as well as moral and religious, of science as well as of art, and not of youth only but of the whole of life."[7]

Ruling and wisdom, kingship and philosophy are ideal tandems. The utopian view of no property or family ties like the institution of marriage prepares for a higher state. Jowett stresses the rise and fall of this polity: "Such a State is hardly to be realized in this world and would quickly degenerate." He then outlines this degeneration in Plato: "To the perfect ideal succeeds the government of the soldier and the lover of honor, this again declining into democracy, and democracy into tyranny, in an imaginary but regular order having not much resemblance to the actual facts." The tyrant and the tyrannical state are the ultimate decline: "When 'the wheel has come full circle' we do not begin again with a new period of human life; but we have passed from the best to the worst, and there we end."[8] Socrates outlines the movement from oligarchy to democracy to tyranny that Jowett stresses: "and lastly comes tyranny, great and famous, which differs from them all, and is the fourth and worst disorder of a State."[9] Owing to the importance of Plato for subsequent political theory, it is worth examining his design in this regard, "of taking the State first and then proceeding to the individual." He moves through timocracy and oligarchy and says: "and then again we will turn our attention to democracy and the democratical man; and lastly, we will go and view the city of tyranny, and once more take a look into the tyrant's soul, and try to arrive at a satisfactory decision."[10] In setting out the man and the form of government, the private and the public, Plato gives a framework of the mind and soul and its habitation in the polis and political world. He goes from state to individual, public to private, politics to psychology in the Greek sense of psyche. Plato's dialogue connects the liberty of democracy with a license that turns to tyranny: "I was going to observe, that the insatiable desire of this and the neglect of other things introduces the change in democracy, which occasions a demand for tyranny."[11] The greatest good of democracy sows the seeds of its own destruction. Freedom asks for tyranny. The changes in the minds or souls of the freemen of democracy lead to the tyrant as leader.[12]

Plato shifts the conversation to drama and representations of the tyrannical. Philosophy and poetry are concerns of *Republic* and occur here:

"And therefore, I said, the tragic poets being wise men will forgive us and any others who live after our manner if we do not receive them into our State, because they are the eulogists of tyranny."[13]

Socrates picks up the quarrel between philosophy and poetry, and appeals to Euripides and his fellow tragic poets as those who praise tyranny. Euripides becomes, in Socrates's view, and in the framework of Plato's dialogue, a maker of eulogy for the tyrannical. Poets call people to democracy and tyranny, a strike against them.

Just rule includes, for Socrates, an examination of tyranny: "Then comparing our original city, which was under a king, and the city which is under a tyrant, how do they stand as to virtue?"[14] He also examines opposite ends of the spectrum: "I see, as every one must, that a tyranny is the wretchedest form of government, and the rule of a king the happiest."[15] Kingship is the best polity and tyranny, the worst, but, for the Platonic Socrates, analyzing individuals and the city should be welcomed and not cause any panic. The original city under the king is the version of the polis against which all others are measured. Monarchy is the foundational form of politics that is always there in the discussions of other forms, including tyranny. There is, then, a kind of double vision or typology in the examination of the polity. Kings haunt tyrants: the analysis of tyranny includes in its past the exploration of kingship.

The Platonic Socrates speaks about getting through the show of tyranny to its substance. He frames this point in the form of a question and requests something that will pierce through the tyrannical: "He must not be like a child who looks at the outside and is dazzled at the pompous aspect which the tyrannical nature assumes to the beholder, but let him be one who has a clear insight."[16] Insight or recognition is key to this judge. Socrates is interested in a judge who does not succumb to the childish view in which the outward appearance of tyranny impresses but someone whose judgment sees through the tragic dress, the political theater. In the time of "public danger," this judge can tell us about the tyrant, the man, how happy and miserable he might be in comparison with others. Private and public are dimensions of politics.

The Platonic Socrates makes tyranny a personal choice.[17] Plato implies that philosophy is better than tragic poetry and there is an implied critique that places Plato himself and his teacher, Socrates, above Homer. The philosopher reminds us, in the discussion of the tyrant, of the philosopher-king. This figure haunts all forms of government and all types of rulers and individuals.

In *Politics*, Aristotle, Plato's student, also discusses kingship and tyranny. He is interested in analyzing family and state, father and king: "Every family is ruled by the eldest, and therefore in the colonies of the family the kingly form of government prevailed because they were of the same blood."[18] Here, Aristotle says that the family becomes the village and becomes the state with a king. The past of kingship is that kings governed the Hellenes (before they came together) as they do the barbarians, so that, the Greeks were barbarous. We, who come after, might say, thinking about the *polis*, and the related terms of "polity" and "politics," that, in Roman terms, turning from Greek to Latin, the Hellenes were less civilized before they created the *civis*, which of course is self-evident if not tautological, given the origin of the word "civilization," not to mention "civil" and "civility." The eldest rules the family and the family becomes a colony in which the king rules. Just as his father rules over the family, so too does the king rule over the colony. Like Plato, Aristotle says that a king was said to rule over the gods, and he also echoes Homer. The idea of kingship underpinning the state, being in heaven as well as on earth and being related to the role of the father in the family, seems to occur in various forms and to some extent in Homer, Plato and Aristotle. Poetry and philosophy also share some of the same mythology or stories. Origins become keys to mythology, that is, stories, or ideology, that is the interpretation of a story to bolster beliefs or common beliefs. Kingship—the origin of rule—becomes a discussion of politics in the state and also part of the debate over the role of the father in the family. Public and private, state and family are intertwined.

Aristotle continues discussing the relation between king and father by making specific points in the analogy.[19] The ruler royally owes much to the power that love and age give him. Once more, Aristotle calls on Homer, this time to deem Zeus the father of both gods and humans because, for Aristotle, he is their king, who is from the same family and is their elder. Human sentiment and being an elder among kin are the core of the idea of kingship. There is a small twist here as Zeus is a father because he is king, whereas sometimes the argument seems to be the opposite, that kingship grew out of the role of the father.

Aristotle addresses Socrates and Plato directly on the question of rulers and the ruled.[20] He is criticizing Socrates for this omission of not distinguishing ruler and subject and simply seeing them as intertwined. Once more, the discussion connects household and state.[21] Aristotle mixes a discussion of kingship and tyranny and outlines and critiques Socrates's

views. The polity lies between oligarchy and democracy, and Aristotle says some prefer aristocracy or the Lacedaemonian or Spartan form of government, composed of oligarchy (the council of elders), monarchy (king) and democracy (Ephors selected from the people), whereas others call the Ephoralty a tyranny. Perspectives differ on what constitutes a tyranny. Aristotle says that Plato's *Laws* argues that the best constitution is composed of democracy and tyranny, which he doubts and seems to prefer a constitution comprised of more elements. Aristotle maintains that the constitution that Plato proposes in *Laws* possesses no aspect of monarchy, but, rather, of oligarchy and democracy, yet tending to oligarchy.

Rulers, kings and tyrants are all concerns in Homer, Plato and Aristotle. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Plato and Aristotle were important influences in political theory. In the twelfth century, John of Salisbury presents a significant discussion of kingship and tyranny. Homer was also influential in the literary circles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Tyranny and kingship become themes in poetry and drama in Renaissance England, and the next section will discuss these ideas in John of Salisbury and the following section will examine these concerns in the representations in the early modern period.

Tyrants and Kings: John of Salisbury

Shakespeare and his contemporaries owe a great deal to classical and medieval notions of politics, more particularly on rulers and tyrants. Plato and Roman law were two of the classical influences. Before discussing these early modern texts, I shall examine John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, which discusses, among much else, whether it is right to kill a tyrant. In analyzing tyranny, John mixes biblical, theological and classical examples.[22] Like Plato, John is skeptical of the poets, and, as a churchman, he reaches to the Bible and theological scholarship for examples of tyranny, and begins with Nimrod. This figure is a hunter whose violence against animals works against nature and God. The other point of the story is pride and pride will have its fall. Tyranny is proud and contemptuous while being defiant of the divine. John seems to be taking his lead, not so much from the Bible's representation of Nimrod, the great grandson of Noah, but from the scholars he mentions and other extra-biblical sources, such as Josephus, who depicts Nimrod as having contempt for God and being instrumental in the proud act of building the Tower of Babel.[23] For John, Nimrod is the figure of the tyrant.

John of Salisbury also calls upon the Romans in his discussions of the tyrant. He does not seem to be in awe of these classical pagans whose city the Western Christian church has made its seat. In Chapter 1, John says: "But if one considers the whole history of the Romans from the foundation of the city he will find them victims of vainglory and greed beyond all people of the earth, and they have harried the entire world by sedition and afflictions of many kinds. They themselves have so frequently felt the burden of their own tyranny and civil strife that scarcely one of their rulers has died a natural death."[24] Even the story of Romulus and Remus becomes, for John, a story of disrespect, political show and tyranny. According to John, the Romans brought much ill to the world, including the tyranny and strife they made for themselves. Moreover, John does appeal to poets and even pagan ones to drive home his point about tyranny.[25]

The Romans, according to John, were well used to tyranny and other afflictions, which they visited on the world. John calls on Juvenal to show how uneasy and dangerous it is to be a king or tyrant because violence awaits the ruler. John also turns to another satirical poet, Lucan, to cite the woes of Rome.[26] Although John draws on Lucan here, he differs from him because John sees that the Romans had many gods who were not the one God and considers that to be part of the problem. It is not surprising that John turns to the Bible as well as to classical instances of kings and tyrants, kingship and tyranny: "Saul, changing from prince to tyrant, abandoned by God because of his great crimes, leading hostile armies against the Lord's people and harassed by his fallen fortunes, would seek an escape therefrom. He therefore consulted the Lord but Jehovah answered him not, neither by dreams nor by priests nor by prophets."[27] John then provides an interpretation of ruling and tyranny, which includes the following moral or maxim: "Methinks indeed that the same fate awaits all who, raised to eminence, follow their own selfish ends, and under the cloak of power and dominion vent their haughty pride upon their subjects, putting law and license upon an equality as if their own necks were not subjected to the yoke of divine law and as though they were under no obligation to exercise God's justice."[28] For John, pride and turning one's back on divine law and putting oneself above that law are the cause of tyranny. Instead, rulers should try to mete out God's justice on earth. Power and lordship hide these rulers' selfishness to their subjects. This theater of power is like the tyrannical show that the Platonic Socrates discusses when saying that a judge must see through it.

The figure of Saul and his relation to Samuel become an example John wishes to discuss in his examination of kingship and tyranny.[29]

Here is the pride of the ruler being ungodly and even blasphemous because Saul puts himself above a God that is no longer his. For John, Saul seems to recognize his faults as a tyrant, but this is a cloak to regain power. This impiety comes from Saul not recognizing God's choice of David as king. Saul, the first king, becomes tyrannical and yields, in the history of Israel, to the second king, David. In 1 Samuel, Chapter 12, Samuel tells the people of Israel that they are wicked in the sight of God for asking for a king. In 1 Samuel 15: 22–23, Samuel praises obedience and denounces rebellion. Saul's son, Jonathan, and Saul himself die, and David reigns.

Both Saul and David sin, so why is David any better a king than Saul? John does not stress David's sins here.[30] Saul sought to destroy David, the more God favored him, and to oppose God. The king becomes a tyrant who oppresses those about him and attempts to displace the divine. John balances biblical, theological and classical examples concerning kingship and tyranny as they relate to God and the people.

John also discusses the Romans and focuses on Julius Caesar, who becomes an emblem of tyranny in the face of freedom. For John, the Romans "also declared falsely that their rulers had attained the status of divinities, as though the hand of the All Powerful were not sufficient to rule His heaven and His world without calling on human tyrants."[31] John is being satirical because he is calling up short the Roman pagans as if they think God needed a human tyrant to help with his rule. Caesar is a negative example: "If you ever look into the matter, conjure up that period when Julius Caesar, I don't know whether to say stripped off or perfected the role of dictator, and having been made all things, seized all things."[32] John does not have a high regard for people giving up their liberties to dictators, so he is critical of the Romans and of Caesar.

In this extended discussion of rulers and tyrants, John continues to use water imagery and does so in the framework of Christianity.[33] Christ and the cross temper the waters and make the water sweet so the souls can imbibe and also crush tyranny. John sees salvation as the way to curb the tyrannical and he provides that framework as an answer to tyranny in the Old Testament or in classical sources. Like Plato, the soul of the individual and the kind of state and government are intertwined, but, unlike Plato, John sees that relation in terms of Christian salvation. There are other significant representations of kingship and tyranny in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, some of which, in the early modern period, I shall discuss in the next section.

Kingship and Theater: From Norton and Sackville Through Shakespeare and Beyond

In the Renaissance or early modern period, writers as diverse as Jean Bodin and King James VI of Scotland, (later also James I of England), explored monarchy and the divine right of kings. John Ponet opposed the divine right of kings while Juan de Mariana argued for the accountability of kings. Classical drama, from Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, represented the ruler and the death of monarchs. The Corpus Christi plays include allusions to the sacramental nature of kingship. The king's two bodies are based on the human and divine bodies of Christ. Renaissance plays displace some of the religious ideas of rule and tyranny. In light of classical and medieval antecedents, non-dramatic and dramatic, I shall discuss aspects of Norton's and Sackville's *Gorboduc*; Thomas Preston's *Cambises*, Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius*; William Shakespeare's *Richard III*, *Richard II*, *1* and *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*; Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* and *1* and *2 Tamburlaine* and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Cataline*. The Renaissance reimagines the classical and medieval past while interpreting and reinterpreting itself, more particularly by staging its politics, especially concerning the nature of the ruler good and ill, king or queen and tyrant. The private and public person in the ruler will be the focus of much of my chapter.

The themes of kingship, politics, family and state occur in key plays. Drawing on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (*History of Kings of Britain*), a chronicle from the early twelfth century, Thomas Norton's and Thomas Sackville's *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, presented a part of Christmas celebration in the Inner Temple in 1561, played before Queen Elizabeth in January, 1562, and printed in 1565 and reprinted in 1570 as *The Tragedie of Ferrex and Porrex*. A focus of the play is which of Gorboduc's two sons, Ferrex or Porrex, should succeed him as king. *Gorboduc* represents, as *King Lear* does, an old or weak ruler, something that leads to division and strife, the private and the public in the royal family. "The Argument of the Tragedy" makes the point directly: "They fell to Civil war in which both they and many of their Issues were slain, and the Land for a long time almost desolate and miserably wasted."[34] The private strife in the royal family has public or political implications: this conflict leads to desolation. The theme of the division of the kingdom and the relation between the private and public in the royal family occur, as they later do in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Porrex kills his elder brother, Ferrex,

and Videna, the queen, avenges the death of her beloved son, Ferrex, by murdering Porrex. Violence begets violence. The subjects of Gorboduc and Videna murder king and queen. The play ends with Eubulus talking about succession and the triumph of right over wrong.

Thomas Preston's *Cambyses* (1569) caught John Falstaff's attention in Act 2, scene 4 of *1 Henry IV*: "I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses vein."[35] The title in the printed version includes "many wicked deeds and tyrannous murders" and Preston's Prologue talks about rulers, good and ill, citing or alluding to Agathon, Cicero and Seneca, the last of which, figures as follows:

> The ſage and wittie *Seneca* his words thereto did frame:
> The honeſt exerciſe of kings, men wil inſue the ſame.
> But contrarie wiſe if that a king abuſe his kingly feat.
> His ignomie and bitter ſhame in fine ſhalbe more great.[36]

The Prologue tells of Cambises, being well brought up in virtue, but, as king, forgetting and imitating vice and becoming like Icarus and falling. Preston promises, in the Prologue, to make King Cambises's cruelty plain: "His crueltie we wil dilate."[37] And then the players arrive.

More plays concentrate on kings and kingship. Thomas Legge's *Ricardius Tertius*, a Latin play that lay in manuscript and was not printed until the mid-nineteenth century but acted at John's College, Cambridge in 1580, represents Richard III as a flawed monarch, but not the deformed tyrant that Thomas More and Shakespeare make him.[38] Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine humiliates in conquest and stifles his wife Zenocrate and overwhelms with language. His hyperbolic rhetoric embodies his reach for power. The title of the printed text emphasizes the transformation of a shepherd in Scythia who "by his rare and wonderfull Conqueſts, be-*came a moſt puiſſant and mightie* Monarque."[39] The printer uses similar phrasing in his "To the Gentleman Rea-ders and others, that take pleaſure in reading Hiſtories," printing for their sakes, these "two tragical Diſcouſes of the Scythian Shepheard, **Tamburlaine**, that became ſo great a Conqueror, and ſo mightie a Monarque."[40] There is no mention of tyranny here, in the printer's title or address. It is, rather, a story of the rise of a shepherd to a monarch through conquest. The Prologue of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great Part I*, (c.1587), speaks of leading the theater audience to "the ſtately tent of War:/Where you ſhall heare the Scythian *Tamburlaine*:/ Threatning the world with high

a*f*toũding terms/And *f*courging kingdõs with his cõquering *f*word."[41] Tamburlaine becomes the scourge of kings and kingdoms. He asserts his empire while destabilizing or overwhelming kingship through conquest and his imperial reach. His language is a weapon. Marlowe's *Edward II* (c. 1592–93) has the king show private favoritism to Gaveston, and the nobles soon rebel and capture Edward.[42] This rebellion challenges the authority of the king and of kingship generally because as soon as one king is questioned, then the weakness or tyranny of the man can call into question the office. Marlowe's king, like Shakespeare's Richard II, lets his private interests cloud his judgment as king. Civil strife follows as others consider the king a tyrant. Ben Jonson's tragedy, *Sejanus His Fall* (1603), represents imperial Rome and the role of the ruler and government and draws on Tactitus's *Annals.* Jonson returns to the Roman theme in his tragedy, *Cataline*, *His Conspiracy* (1611), in which Cicero speaks against Cataline's conspiracy against the Roman republic.[43] Being king or emperor clashes with the republican government. The tension between the republic and central power is a theme here and in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.

These matters of kingship and tyranny are multifold: Jonson shows the competitive tyranny of Volpone and Mosca; Marlowe represents the thundering and breathless language of Tamburlaine; these playwrights use the Bible, the classical past and the history of England as well as other locales to call up images of tyranny and tyrants. As I have touched upon many of these matters of kingship and tyranny in the histories In *Theater and World* and in *Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*,[44] "I shall shift my focus to tyranny across Shakespeare's drama, particularly in *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest*." The private realm of poetry—of the sonnets and narrative poems, writer to reader—and the public realm of the theater, playwright to audience both involved representations of tyranny.

Shakespeare needed certain factors to have a theater and a printing press to disseminate or perform his works—he did not create himself and could not have achieved what he did without the collective. Nonetheless, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher were more popular than he was about the time of Shakespeare's death and into the Restoration after 1660, but, in time, Shakespeare, who was much admired in his day including the praise that some students at Cambridge ranked him above the ancient Greek poets, grew in stature. William Blake was obscure in life, but in death, he became a canonical poet. To overcome social prejudice against female authors, George Eliot and George Sand took the names of men but became leading female authors, something that strengthened their role in

the canon owing to social change, but, given the quality of their work, their fiction would have received attention long after their deaths.

For some reason, Shakespeare, whose lack of aristocracy if such a thing is a lack, has made some think that he should be Sir Francis Bacon or the Earl of Oxford, that he should be from a more elevated class when class makes no difference to talent once a person has reached a high level of literacy. Over and over, those who were denied education because of class, race or gender have proved that they can speak and write with the best of them. In Shakespeare's canon itself, which might just be very unaristocratic of him, a whole range of characters are eloquent. Unlike Norton and Sackville, Shakespeare was not a courtier or aristocratic author commenting on politics, kingship or tyranny. Still, Shakespeare represents many aspects of the political world and its leaders.

It is no surprise that in *Venus and Adonis*, the goddess Venus can speak eloquently, although she fails to seduce the distant youth, Adonis, who would apparently prefer hunting with the lads than being in the arms of the goddess of love, a comic reversal and ironic gap ripe for comic exploitation where there should be erotic fulfillment. Shakespeare's kings and queens have varying degrees of formality and eloquence. Hal, as a prince, seems to have a more supple and mobile register of private language as he experiences the Boar's Head with Falstaff and company than he does as King Henry V when he is tongue-tied in his wooing of Katherine, the French princess, while displaying the public rhetoric of threats before the besieged city of Harfleur. The king disguised in Act 4, scene 1 of *Henry V* involves a debate with Bates and Williams, soldiers on the English side, on the eve of Agincourt. This verbal contest shows the king, disguised as Welsh gentleman of the company, speaking in a more private way but on public themes, such as—is the war just and can it be justified or is the king responsible for the war or invasion of France should it be unjust? Hal–Henry V, who are and are not the same character, show the rhetoric and poetics of prose and poetry in the public–private realm he–they inhabit(s). Shakespeare affirms and questions the power of the prince and king. He produces a drama of meaning in which the ambiguity, ambivalence and contradiction of the words play on the stage and in print in a space where the tension and semantic range are produced between speaker and audience, author and reader. The composer composes and the actor plays the music of the script. Shakespeare produces his own scores and music in his verbal musicality what Bernard Shaw called his verbal music and what Shaw viewed as the combination of decorative and dramatic music that

Mozart, Shakespeare and Shelley had. For Shaw, language and meaning meld in a music of form and content.[45]

Shakespeare represents tyranny in *Richard III*, *Richard II*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth* and elsewhere. He debates kingship and leadership in the English, British and Roman plays, including *1* and *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, as well as in *Julius Caesar*, the relation between republic and empire, aristocracies and leaders and would-be emperors occurs. Shakespeare, like his contemporaries, tries to present the nature of the private and public, just and tyrannical rule.

Richard II is the king who also haunts Shakespeare's histories in the first and second tetralogies—which Shakespeare wrote backward to begin in the wake of the death of Henry V in 1422 (*1*, *2*, *3 Henry VI*, *Richard III*). Then Shakespeare proceeds to the beginning of the story of Richard II in and about 1399, continues to the rise of Henry Tudor (Richmond then Henry VII) and concludes with the aftermath of Agincourt (*Richard II*, *1* and *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*). In other words, Shakespeare represents the second part of the story first in the four plays and then, in the second tetralogy, goes back to the first part of the history and begins at the beginning of the events surrounding Richard's fall. He is the king of sorrows and someone who *avant la lettre* combines the verbal dexterity of Hamlet with a language that is self-reflexive about being a ruler like Prospero's. Richard II is a creation of Shakespeare's imagism, which Caroline Spurgeon and Wolfgang Clemen documented in the 1930s. Richard stretches the bounds of poetic expression between self-regard and the burdens of politics and the world in a kind of religious and poetic mixture amid tyranny and erotics. Once again, Shakespeare represents the intricate contradictions of the king as person and as office, in a private and public world of individual feeling and political performance.

Kings are and are not alike. Shakespeare's Henry VI is a child and then weak king whereas his Richard III is a clever and scheming monster with a Machiavellian command of language. There is no sense of awe that the king is a divine representative without human characteristics. The king, despite the ideal of the divine right, must be strong in the human realm or die. Usurpation is just around the corner.[46]

Tyrants and other kinds of kings in Shakespeare have the power of language. The officious and murdering Claudius, the irascible and irrational Lear and the tyrannical Macbeth can speak with the best of them (even Claudius has his moments), but they are fallible as tragedy demands. The Greek sense of tragedy may well trump the ideological imperatives of Tudor and Stuart or, more broadly, medieval and Renaissance (early

modern) senses of kingship and the art of ruling. Genre overcomes the politics of the external world that allows for the theater and regulates it at the same time.

Rulers generally, and aristocrats of all kinds, do not do much better in the realm of perfection. Shakespeare has enough irony and satire in him to represent his characters as all too human. Titus Andronicus suffers in a mythical classical world. Brutus and Antony are great orators, the one on the side of the republic and the other on the empire. The noble Brutus is like his ancestor who speaks up against the tyranny of the monarchy and figures in the banishment of the last king of Rome, Tarquin, who raped Lucrece as Shakespeare shows in his narrative poem, *The Rape of Lucrece*, but his political sense is less sure and the empire sweeps him aside. Octavius, who becomes Augustus, leaves Antony to death, the same great orator who has the opposite problem of Adonis, in thrall to his love of, and lust for, Cleopatra, who had also been a lover of Julius Caesar, the leader who could not listen to the omens of his call, and she dies, at least in Shakespeare's version, weighing whether she might influence Octavius and perhaps see what kind of love he might express for her rather than leading her in tribute.

All these rulers or aristocrats can speak, but the power of words does not always lead to the power of politics. Richard II can speak but loses his crown, whereas Henry Bolingbroke (or Bullingbrook, later Henry IV) and Octavius, effective and logical speakers who after all speak in Shakespeare's poetry so they are not doing too badly, triumph. In the comedies, Duke Orsino and Duke Vincentio have their own way with words, the one opening *Twelfth Night* with the conditional connection between music and love because it feeds it and the other disguising himself to discovery the truth about Vienna in ways that can be as ambivalent as Henry V's disguise among his soldiers. In the later comedies, now often called tragicomedies or romances, Cymbeline turns away from Rome but is reconciled to it; Leontes of *The Winter's Tale* gets into a sudden jealous rage and seeks forgiveness for his error in suffering Hermione's "death"; and Prospero in *The Tempest* seeks the regeneration of his powers and the redemption of his lost or usurped rule of Milan. They are all expressions of a subtle and redemptive poetics in which the range of human emotions plays out in their heads and blood, but they all partake in the play of politics or the imperial theme. Poetic and instrumental language vie and share the tropes and schemes of rhetoric. They persuade and do not persuade: they inhabit the space between playwright and audience, author and reader. The plays in which Shakespeare's rulers appear represent the

world but do so in terms of themselves. The plays have a logic as drama or literature despite referring—in the case of the histories and the Roman plays of *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, which draw on Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre families of Lancaster and York*, Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Thomas North's translation of Plurarch's *Lives*—to the worlds they represent themselves. This self-referentiality is more clearly seen in the comedies made up of fictional characters who do not represent historical figures.

Brief Conclusions: Leaders and Trauma

Rulers and tyrants can represent themselves or be represented in texts. The mythos of story can also become a self-justifying mythmaking in the ideological sense. Another use of mythology is to see it as an ideology, which is a form of persuasion or rhetoric, something more like the negative mythological machinery that Josef Goebbels and Adolf Hitler used. In *Mein Kampf,* Hitler used myth to mobilize hatred against internal and external enemies. Shakespeare represents anti-Semitism in *The Merchant of Venice*.[47] Although Shakespeare's play shows Shylock disciplined and humiliated for seeking the revenge of his pound of flesh, it also makes Shylock, through the eloquence of his language, all too human. Shylock's speech suggests that despite the context of his daughter's conversion and his punishment in order for a new Christian world or harmony to be established at the comic ending of the play, the audience witnesses his humanity. They hear his human complaint even if they will not always listen to it: "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes?"[44] The speech comes in the middle of the play: Shylock speaks to Solanio, one of Antonio's friends, and answers Solanio's observation that Shylock would not take a pound of Antonio's flesh. Solanio sees Tubal, a Jewish friend of Shylock, and makes some disparaging remarks about Jews.[48] Hitler, too, has anti-Jewish jibes. Shakespeare represents the drama of Shylock, a human who feels wronged and desires revenge and the avenger whose greed and legalism overwhelm him. The anti-Semitism in Hitler has become more systemic and virulent than in Shakespeare: Hitler is the political agitator turned writer turned ruler and tyrant. He has the power of words, but also the power of the state behind him. The audience watches the scapegoating of Shylock and becomes complicit in it, but the complicity is even more so for the reader of *Mein Kampf*. Hitler may be the tyrant Plato discussed, but with the modern machinery of war and extermination available to him.

Tyranny and trauma are also related. *The Tempest* represents the trauma of master-slave, colonizer-colonized relations.[49] Are imperialism and colonialization or colonialism tyranny? The relations among the characters help to delineate many connections, including questions of authority, politics, rule, magic, art and tyranny. Ariel reminds Prospero of his promise of granting him liberty (I.ii.242–50). Different versions of the past and of origins come into collision. According to Prospero, he found a tyranny on the island, the tyrant being Sycorax (I.ii.284, 291, see 256–93). Prospero asserts his authority and wants to be obeyed, and, after Ariel swears his obedience, Prospero promises to free Ariel in two days. In Prospero's view, Caliban is the son of the tyrannous Sycorax. Moreover, Prospero's magic tyrannizes, Ariel, depending on the point of view. Ariel, Caliban and Prospero interpret the past of the island and interpret justice and tyranny. The dramatic conflict occurs over who gets to rule and whose language has power to tell the story of the island.

Kings and tyrants and forms of government generally concerned Plato, Aristotle, John of Salisbury, De Tocqueville and others. For Plato and Aristotle, government began with kings and they both show the cautions of tyranny. John uses biblical, theological and classical examples, but frames tyranny as a kind of impiety or blasphemy, putting the question in the context of Christian salvation. De Tocqueville sees the shift from monarch and aristocracy to democracy, but analyzes the tyranny of the majority. So I have discussed some key classical and medieval political theorists or philosophers as antecedents to Shakespeare and his contemporaries and De Tocqueville as a lens because he is good at bringing out the importance of politics and tyranny in a democratic age and it is through democracy we look back to Shakespeare and his contemporaries, not to mention Plato, Aristotle and John of Salisbury. I also want to suggest that tyranny can create trauma and that the trauma of tyranny that was with Shakespeare and his contemporaries has not left us whatever place we live in and whatever language we speak. It is a cautionary tale in the human quest for freedom, that fragile and delicate thing so vital and so elusive and subject to abuse. The typology of then and now, here and there, is too much with us, a little like the world.

Notes

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23. See John of Salisbury, 28 for note 40 "The account of Nimrod, the tower of Babel, and Nimrod's tyranny is taken by John from Rufinus's version of Josephus. For the original Greek see Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 115 (L. C. L., IV, 54ff.)."
24. John of Salisbury, *Frivolities*, 93.

25. John is citing Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 112–13 (L. C. L., p. 200); John of Salisbury, *Frivolities*, 93.
26. Lucan, *Phars. i.* 642–45 (L. C. L., pp. 48ff.), quoted in John of Salisbury. 108n53
27. John of Salisbury, 145–46. See The Bible, 1 Kings xv, xxviii.
28. John of Salsbury, 145–47.
29. John of Salisbury, 149. See 1 Kings xv. 27–30.
30. John of Salisbury, 149–50. See Kings xviii.
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45. Bernard Shaw, *Shaw on Shakespeare*, ed. Edwin Wilson (New York: Applause Books, 2002), 14. See Adams xvi, 63–69.
46. This discussion of *The Merchant of Venice* is a considerably shorter version of an analysis that occurs in Jonathan Hart's *The Poetics of Otherness* (New York: Palgrave, 2015).
47. See *The Merchant of Venice*, III.i. 58–73 in *The Riverside Shakespeare*.
48. The Merchant of Venice, III.i. 77–78, *The Riverside Shakespeare*.
49. All citations and quotations from *The Tempest* are from William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Frank Kermode (1954; London: Methuen, 1958). This is a considerably shorter discussion of this play related to that included in *Columbus, Shakespeare and the Interpretation of the New World* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

Tobias Smollett's Literary Redefinition of Kingship for the Eighteenth Century

Simon White

Kings, Queens and Foreign Imports

The Oxford English Dictionary (Simpson and Weiner 1989) defines 'kingship' in four ways: as 'the dominion or territory of a king', 'the office and dignity of being a king', 'the rule of a king; monarchical government' and 'the personality of a king'. The term 'king' originates from the loose family association of Saxon 'kinship'. The terms 'kingship' and 'queenship' therefore comprise two different emphases: the office of the monarch, or rather the monarchy, and the attributes of the individual who inhabits it; and the problem is that these are less natural concomitants than they are conflicting interpretations resulting from historical changes in power distribution. Foucault (2000, p. 31) traced the path in Europe by which individual chieftains or barons expanded their first-among-equals status into something more extensive and less easy to challenge, using primarily an arrogation of the power to judge, hitherto decided by combat or culture, and the author even offered the Assyrian example as a model of embodied authority to which these putative kings might aspire. True power, however, which is immune to the assassin's dagger or disappointed associate's well-placed

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barrel of gunpowder, is diffused too widely through a system for its flow to be staunched at one fixed locus or at the juncture of an act of violence. Such is the quality of 'monarchical government' in which the figurehead is really only what that title suggests, an interchangeable and virtual symbol of power without necessarily being central to its flow, direction or exercise.

Smollett's position and problem are uniquely proximal to the nexus of historical shift. The writer was engaged in the cultural transformation which took place from the early to the late eighteenth century from literary, academic and political standpoints, and the position of the monarchy served as a bellwether for this change. Smollett's period of literary and academic output, from the 1740s to the 1760s, represented an extraordinarily active and unstable period of what Foucault might term 'radical discontinuity' (2002, pp. 4–5). Two systems, and the dynasties that represented them, were grinding against each other. On the one hand was the old, feudal, French-speaking, Tory, rural agricultural, absolutist, Scottish Stuart dynasty; while on the other lay the new, commercially driven, German-speaking, Whig, urban mercantile, constitutionally limited, Hanoverian dynasty. This was no merely abstract dualism for a 'North Briton' in London while swaggering pro-English, anti-Scots mobs roamed the Capital after defeat of the last major Stuart uprising in 1745 (Knapp 1949). Trevelyan (1965, p. 338) lamented that after the Charles II and James II, 'the glory of the court grew dim'. The last Stuart, Anne, Trevelyan characterized as 'the invisible queen' ensconced in St. James's Palace. Her court, like that of the German-speaking royals who succeeded her, was no longer 'the microcosm and throbbing heart of England', and certainly fell far short of its constitution and prominence under the latter Charles, where it was 'not only the scene of much pleasure, liberty and scandal, [but] it was also the center of patronage for politics, fashion, literature, art, learning, invention, company-promoting, and a hundred other activities of the king's eager subjects seeking notoriety or reward'. Charles's court served as the epitome of Stuart rule which had commenced in England with his grandfather James I in England. His court was neither ancillary nor understated, but rather it was central to the political process as he occupied and controlled the political locus of power, so it could never be said of Charles's reign, as it was of Anne's, that her apparent absence made little difference to the great and the good in 'sedan chairs and six-horse coaches in the Mall' because '[i]t was more to the point that in the other direction the Houses of Parliament were but a few minutes' walk away', together, of course, with the abundant flow of ministerial patronage which issued forth.

The terms 'Stuart' and 'success' seem an odd coupling, perhaps, for the family history savors more of tragedy than triumph. Massie (2011, p. 3) chose the Duke of Monmouth, presumptive heir to Charles II to lead his biography of the Stuarts because he represented the apotheosis of their flaws: '[H]e was in many ways characteristic of that remarkable family: he charmed easily, inspired devotion, failed his followers, showed himself to be possessed of lamentable judgment, and ran headlong into misfortune. He was Stuart through and through; Stuart to the bone'. Even one who was not one of their legitimate members could still tap into the force of Stuart magnetism and charisma in some measure, therefore. The diminution of monarchy in style and scale was brought home starkly with the arrival of George I. Something had changed in the culture of monarchy in the eighteenth century such that the exemplary punishments and egocentricity of the previous dynasty seemed to be of a time removed much further than was really the case. Old-fashioned spectacular monarchy, given to the greatest of deeds, the foulest of perfidies and sudden flashes of Foucauldian barbarity as seen in the pages of Smollett's four-volume *History of England*, was out; and new-fangled constitutionally limited monarchy, with its smaller, safer and less remarkable political personages, was in. No monarch could now maintain of kings, as James I had, that 'even by God himself they are called gods' (as cited in Prothero 1906, p. 293). Tobias Smollett witnessed the rise of the next long-lived dynasty and by his time the Stuart past was more than inscribed history, for it had attained the unassailable proportions of myth and was beyond conventional horizons of respectability or responsibility. James I's confident assertion of his divine right was belied by the violent deaths of his parents, but his public face was more seductive than the mundane profiles of his businesslike German successors, whose banal squabbles never culminated in similar spectacle or horror even when their regimes appeared to be in equal peril.

The Stuart myth had wider appeal than just Scots and Catholic loyalists. George III (Langford 2000) and Victoria (Massie 2011) expressed their enchanted admiration in word and deed, so if royals fell under the spell of the majesty of the Stuarts, Smollett could not be condemned for allied partiality. The young George III went so far as to have Johan Zoffany paint him in Stuart garb in the most egregious attempt to snatch some Stuart resplendence (Zoffany 1770). Smollett's lowland Scottish roots, and his upbringing near rural Leven Water, gave him a naturally Tory-leaning, traditional stance, as well as the default position of suspicion of

political change and radicalism in general, according to his seminal literary biographer (Knapp 1949). Yet Smollett's view of the Stuarts cannot be as blithely sympathetic and uncomplicated as Victoria's, for he does not have the luxury of a century's distance from the growing pains of the new Union and existential threats to its establishment. His authorial period was suspended between the dynastic horns of a succession dilemma, one that percolated through all levels of society and divided the political parties between Stuart-leaning Tories and Hanoverian-supporting Whigs. Even this concealed a broader division between alternative cultural British identities, as represented by the two families: one was feudal, French, ancient, romantic and dominated by individuals both outstanding and infamous; the other was commercial, continental German, contemporaneous, prosaic and dominated by the supporting 'system' not the living figure presiding over its center—namely, the monarch. Smollett, like many others, was drawn in opposing directions.

Smollett's *History* confirms that the author's definition of kings and queens was of distinctly Stuart flavor (Smollett 1810). One contemporary critic commented that 'this writer's merit is rather that of an ingenious novelist than of an accurate historian' (cited in Kelly 1987, p. 135). The 'extremely entertaining writing' was one fault of the work, and the other was its 'Toryism'. The key to both attraction and fault is Smollett's concise yet powerfully characterized and dramatized vignettes describing British kings and queens, which, while being balanced appraisals, are also intensely concentrated, evocative and near-visceral standalone pieces that would be the envy of any obituary writer. The power of their appeal lies in Smollett's very close and personal depictions of royals, which no doubt could come across as essentially novelistic treatment, ill-suited to the academic historian. Here, Smollett's monarchs are individuals who define their office rather than being circumscribed by it. This interpretation based on the *History* cannot apply to the literary works, however, for, perhaps due to the competing conditions of culture, identity and economy upon the writer, there exist several permutations of monarchs and monarchy from the Jacobean giant endowed with divine right at the beginning of the 1600s through to his constitutionally shrunken counterparts in the latter 1700s. This chapter takes three works as exemplary of depictions of the monarchy: his first abortive dramatic opus, written some decade before its actual performance in 1750, *The Regicide*; his first enormously successful novel *Roderick Random* (1748); and his last, and critically best-regarded, epistolary novel, *Humphrey Clinker* (1771). In their various depictions,

these works exhibit the modulations of Smollett's view of monarchy from a power-grabbing baronial figure and first-among-equals, who claimed to be an arbitrator with both arbitrating and arbitrary power, to the disquieting flux that resulted when seventeenth-century absolutism jostled with eighteenth-century patronage, finally to a surprisingly novel redefinition and analysis of kingship in the St. James's Palace sections of *Humphrey Clinker*.

The Regicide: Inspired Autocrat or Dangerous Tyrant

Smollett's first dramatic and literary work was his only one to focus almost exclusively on the naked use and abuse of power by a king, and his rivals, who compete for the support of the fickle nobles in Scotland's comparatively decentralized and weak state structure. This work has received almost no critical attention, however, probably for two reasons: first, by his own admission in the preface, the author was only a teenager when he wrote it, 'having finished a Tragedy at the Age of Eighteen', and so, it falls under the uninviting category of juvenilia; and second, it is, in terms of plot, character, development and especially diction, unremittingly terrible. Nevertheless, quality aside, the play affords the opportunity for the king and his chief rival contender, Athol, to have set-piece debates, which though stilted are still of essence in determining the young author's view of kings. The play is fairly loosely based upon the largely anecdotal history of the murder of the first James and third Stuart to occupy the Scottish throne. What was originally a simple assassination and coup which failed to garner the requisite support to sustain momentum is transformed into a discussion of legitimacy and the personal attributes of the person on the throne. Smollett's James, referred to only as 'king', is a metaphorical and physical expression of power in addition to a fountain pouring forth illiberal constitutional invective while abusing his disloyal rebellious subjects. The play opens in the middle of an insurrection with the king in his castle with limited forces available to him and the rebels camped upon the plain beyond preparing to attack. The fighting takes place offstage, the king's forces miraculously prevail, and consequently the royal knights start their Bacchanalian celebrations. During the partying, they neglect the security of the castle and those within, and a rump force of rebels is able to mount a surprise attack killing the king, but ultimately failing to supplant his dynasty, for their leader, Athol, is

captured, and the infant James II will succeed his murdered father, under the protection and stewardship of one of his most trusted advisors for the duration of his minority.

What is more interesting is the language employed by the imperiled yet still strident king. The king echoes the real James VI of Scotland (and James I of England), with his startlingly simple definition of his office as sole source and central locus of power within the state, just as James's before Parliament in 1610. The real king's words seem to be voiced by the dramatic king even to the extent that the fictional James I uses one of the real James I's favorite Scottish terms:

> The Commonweal
> Has been consulted.—Tenderness and Zeal
> Became the Parent. Those have nought avail'd.—
> Now let Correction speak the King incens'd! (Smollett 1749, 2.2)

The king is furious at the temerity and presumption of the rebels and their supporters who dare to impugn his legitimacy and dispute his authority, and in his anger, he resorts to more Jacobean imagery invoking divine right before their first military engagement: 'Let Heaven decide/Between me and my Foes' (Smollett 1749, 2.2). The king will not brook any compromises, and he ignores the queen's pleas for him to stay back from the fight. As both figurehead and military commander rather than hero, he must lead by example and be seen to be at the front. This behavior makes that of the two conspiratorial leaders look even more reprehensible after defeat on the battlefield forces them to find other ways to prevail. Lewis (2003, p. 53) may be right with his 'sub-Shakespearean stinker' quip about the play, for there is whiff of the playwright's Machiavellian tribunes in Athol's and Grime's strategy and tactics:

> *Grime*
> Our plan pursu'd
> A purpose more assur'd:–With Conquest crown'd,
> Our Aim indeed, a fairer Wreath had worn:
> But that deny'd, on Terms of darker Hue
> Our Swords shall force Success!—
> *Athol*
> Th'approaching Scene
> Demands our utmost Art! Not with tame Sighs
> To bend before his Throne, and supplicate
> His Clemency, like Slaves; nor to provoke

With Pride of Speech, his Anger half appeas'd:
But with Submission mingle (as we speak)
A conscious Dignity of Soul, prepar'd
For all Events.— (Smollett 1749, 3.7)

This brief exchange occurs just before the play's big confrontation scene with the king, and it is surprising how what would otherwise seem reasonable thought and mollifying address can be depicted as villainous intent. Smollett is going to kill his king, but there is sympathy with the absolutist as he is enraged by the parity which Athol assumes as he asks to 're-unite our interests' 'On terms that equally become us both' (Smollett 1749, 3.8). The king cannot believe the arrogance of his servant, asking, 'Dar'st thou to my Face,/Impeach my Conduct/ … ungrateful Traitor?'. The king's anger is turning apoplectic with Athol's answer of a refusal to 'crawl' to his monarch or to serve as the king's 'footstool' (Smollett 1749, 3.8). The play still takes the king's side as Athol seems to make a subtle—for the play at least—distinction between office and man when he goes on to contend that 'Not with you, But with your Measures ill advis'd I warr'd', objecting to the 'arbitrary Pow'r' and 'lawless' measures of the overly extensive power of the individual person of the king. This debate could develop into an interesting exchange on the nature of absolute power and even represent an implicit dramatic rejection of James I's claims of royal prerogative. However, the play never follows up on this possibility. The king is goaded into a reply by Athol's charge of his excessive and arbitrary exercise of power and, out of context, it sounds as if the king is arguing that his ends justified his means, and that it was service to the people that was his motivation and his justification for seizing and expanding monarchical power:

I found your miserable state reduc'd
To Ruin and Despair:– Your Cities drench'd
In mutual Slaughter, desolate your Plains:
All Order banished, and all Arts decay'd:–
No industry, save what with Hands impure
Distress'd the Commonwealth:–No Laws in Force
To screen the Poor and check the guilty great;
While squalid Famine join'd her Sister Fiend
Devouring Pestilence, to curse the Scene!—
I came,–I toil'd,– reform'd, –redress'd the whole:
And lo, my Recompense! (Smollett 1749, 3.8)

The king appears to merit his power by his reformist agenda, but it only seems so to an enlightened political audience. In fact, he claims to be the savior of the state, or more precisely that this salvation was only accomplished through his auspices, which are of divine origin. It is less an articulation of reform and more of a kingly power-grab, reminiscent of the English king James I's vow to rule according to the 'common weal' and not the 'common will'. It is interesting that in a subsequent scene, the character, who is once more central to events and unchallenged by his audience, follows the Foucauldian model for extending the monarchy's reach. The king arrogates to himself the power to judge a dispute between two feuding nobles, replacing a trial by combat with an inquisition by a third figure, himself. This never actually comes to pass, since the assassination follows before he has the chance to put his examination into effect. The play nevertheless endorses the version of extensive monarchy to which the king aspires, even up to the point of the exemplary punishments associated with such a system, for where a king is the living body at the center of power, the assassin's blade is deadly not just to him but also to the state he personifies. This explains the kind of extreme and brutal punishments meted out to the guilty where excruciating agony is designed in to be seen and absorbed by spectators and chroniclers, of the kind which still retain the capacity to shock and to impress, like Foucault's choice of the Damiens case (1995, pp. 3–5). The play wastes few words as Angus, the loyalist who apprehends Athol, disabuses the would-be usurper about his hope of being crowned: 'Thou shalt be crown'd–/ An Iron Crown, intensely hot, shall gird/Thy hoary temples', and the only crowd cheering will be pronouncing him 'King of Traitors' (Smollett 1749, 5.8). Athol's fate will be every bit as horrifying as that of Damiens, as the play concludes first with the assurance that the rightful—divinely and earthly—heir will take the real crown, and with the closing couplet endorsing divine right of kings. Angus plaintively outlines the corruption and criminality which motivate and in turn flow out from the crime of regicide, 'Till Heav'n at length … levels all its tow'ring Schemes in Dust' (Smollett 1749, 5.8). The king occupies the center of power and his presence constitutes it; he reigns and he rules, an absolute an unchallenged figure, and in *The Regicide*, it is going to stay that way.

Roderick Random: A Microcosm of the Hanoverian State

Georgian culture may permeate *Roderick Random*, though, in a work of some 400 pages which spans territories on both sides of the Channel and the Atlantic, the king, the center, symbol, and occasionally prime cause of the wars that the hero is travelling to fight, is mentioned only on several occasions. George II receives scant attention during the hero's presence at the battle of Dettingen, even though he was on the field commanding the troops, which was the last time that a British monarch took a direct role in the fighting (Cannon 2002). One might expect that a king wielding his sword on the field, leading his forces, would be too good an opportunity to miss, for the Hanoverian George was displaying just the kind of hands-on authoritative leadership which was implicitly endorsed in *The Regicide*. Where the king's name is invoked—be it by Random's uncle Tom Bowling in a plea for redress against the injustice committed against him by a dictatorial and incompetent captain, or by an angry seaman who blames the Cartagena military debacle on the court's reliance on poor advice from sycophantic ignoramuses, or even by Random in commending the king's good conduct to prisoners after battle—Smollett appears to be playing to the British gallery in its suspicion of the Georgian ascendancy and of its monarchs, who were definitely not above and beyond a position of criticism from their subjects.

Tom Bowling regards the king as a judge and a personal protector. Rather than speaking truth to power, Bowling's version of the king delivers power against untruth; he is the kind of paternalist beneficent model that James I had posited to Parliament just over a century before. Bowling, unfortunately, is going to be disabused of his illusions as a salutary warning to those who hold faith in the feudal ideal of a benign chieftain. Bowling's service in the navy, and his support for his nephew's education, come to an abrupt halt, 'being obliged to sheer off for killing my captain, which I did fairly on the beach … having received his fire, and returned it, which went through his body' (Smollett 1981, p. 22). As Random learns when he joins the very same ship upon which Bowling had served, his uncle, guardian and sponsor had been forced into the duel by the boorish Captain Oakhum, who was spoiling for a fight. The matter may have been decided by means of an honest duel, but the captain's associates did not play fair,

so Bowling had to flee for fear of being charged with mutiny or murder, or both, not knowing that Oakhum survived his wound. Bowling still seems optimistic: he hopes 'to be restored in a little time' because he has sent a direct letter of appeal to 'his majesty who (God bless him) will not suffer an honest tar to be wronged' (Smollett 1981, p. 22). Half the book has passed when Random runs into his uncle in France, but Bowling is still engaged in the task of trying to clear his name, saying little for the king's fatherly intervention or care for his servant and vassal. Even in the original letter, Bowling unknowingly betrays the real reason that there has been no royal pardon when he refers to the 'parliamentary interest' of Captain Oakhum. This—to Bowling innocuous—term was one not employed during Stuart's tenure of the throne, because influence had not yet undergone the commoditization that occurred under the first two Georges, the invention in the popular mind of their first minister, Prime Minister Robert Walpole. The very title conveys the transfer in power from royal prerogative to ministerial patronage, in what became known as the 'Robinocracy' of the early Hanoverian period, where the commercial interests took the reins of power away from the vested interests of landowners who had held sway up to that point. This construct was a bête noir of Tory-leaning country gentry, who hated the new Whig oligarchy and the monarchy it utilized, but used the metaphorical filters of foreignness, urbanization or luxury as code for attacking their political foes (Langford 2000, p. 19). The first two Georges were exponents of the diminution, or Trevelyan's 'dimming', of royal presence from an empowered individual with agency and will, and range to arbitrate disputes and deliver judgments. From Foucault's image of a rapacious and arrogating figure of medieval feudalism, the force which wrenched power from contesting barons to a sufficient density that power gravitated toward the person at the center, Georgian Britain was witness to the move toward 'Robinocrats', who pull influence and authority back from that figure, creating a method of government through which power is once again diffused, but without any modern patina of democratization. Judgment here was no longer a matter of individual right in both senses of the word, but an entity that was subject to the advantages and vagaries of party and political favor. Bowling never gets the decision he seeks not because he is in the right or in the wrong; he has simply applied for assistance from a specie of king who has ceased to exist, for the George II in Random is not what his Stuart forerunner had been, for while both kings reigned, the later incarnation does not 'rule' in any sense his forbear would understand as exercising royal prerogative.

The other two locations in which the king comes in for direct treatment to a greater and lesser degree are the chapters concerning the abortive Cartagena expedition, and the battle of Dettingen. If *The Regicide* is any gauge of the younger Smollett's view of kingship, the degree of military or naval success or the absence of it should represent a clear metaphor for the political health of the government and its figurehead. If this is so, Random paints a bleak picture. Oakhum is adept only at turning minor infractions into major issues. His arrogant and rank incompetence leads him into a maelstrom of self-inflicted disasters, such as when he orders his gunners to target an allied French ship, rather than the Spanish enemy. Several hours and 28 casualties later, he admits sullenly that he had misidentified the other ship's standard. Oakhum's self-defeating actions are bad enough, but they only serve as entrée to the main course of incompetence shown by his commanders, which results in the abject failure of the campaign. Smollett gives the forensic examination of the rout over to Random's fellow officer and experienced seaman Jack Rattlin in Chapter 32. Placing the ships too far out to the sea puts the English fleet in even greater danger, according to Rattlin, for it was open not only to a cannonade from the fortress but also to hostile fire from the Spanish ships and neighboring fortifications as well. When the British force had finally taken one fort, it stopped without any apparent reason. This welcome lull in the hostilities then gave the Spanish valuable time to regroup at the castle in sufficient strength to repulse the British assault when it resumed. The motivation for a later attack upon the Spanish position is compared to 'that which induced Don Quixote to attack the windmill'. Random's judgment is more vernacularly expressed. In the 'vulgar idiom', the nation could be said to 'hang an a[rs]e at Cartagena' (Smollett 1981, p. 187). Through Rattlin's interpolated narrative, Smollett can make his own position and experience clear. Ten days' delay in the initial onslaught surrendered the element of surprise and condemned the campaign to failure. The sting comes when reasons are mulled and responsibility apportioned, and it is to be felt at the top of the military and political establishment:

> Perhaps they [the commanders] were loth to risk their best troops on such desperate service; or, may be the colonels and field officers of the old corps, who, generally speaking, enjoyed their commissions as sinecures or pensions, for some domestick services rendered to the court, refused to embark in such a dangerous and precarious undertaking; for which, no doubt, they are to be much commended. (Smollett 1981, p. 180)

The 'court' had by its prerogative given, or sold, the officers their positions, which led to the 'commendable', or indecisive and incompetent, leadership. One must note that it is not the king who is named, blamed and shamed, but reference to his 'court' makes the target abundantly clear. At various points in his service on the Thunder, Random serves under an octogenarian who promptly dies, an open homosexual who never appears on the bridge, and a psychotic coward who tortures his crew for pleasure, all of whom are beneficiaries of the system of government by patronage, or ministerial largesse. When the king is praised for his good conduct toward prisoners after Dettingen in the other direct reference to royalty, the rich irony here is that Random only knows this because he has been forced onto the other side by the cruel and unusual treatment he received from His Majesty's navy, in the form of its politically and financially appointed officers.

Random is not at war with the Hanoverian on the throne—though his service of king 'Lewis' at this point would technically mean just that—although he, like Athol, is at war with the system that he represents, or presides over. Boucé (1976) noted the abundance of societies in microcosm in the Smollettian novel, including the army, the navy, the school, the aristocracy and the court system. Random is not fighting the king, but he is rebelling, occasionally violently, against his appointed representatives. More than just youthful rebellion, or an overly contrary attitude, these kicks against the system are indicative of the rural gentleman, for that is what Random remains, and his antipathy to the encroachment of the newly defined institutional monarchy upon his world. These locations—school, jail, army, navy and the rest—are precisely those channels which Michel Foucault (1995, pp. 137–9) singled out as inculcating docility in the new eighteenth-century individual, so Random's conflicts in these institutional settings make clear his resistance to the new roles, of subject and master, which they embody and perpetuate. From this perspective, Smollett may well be seen as the inveterate Tory reactionary whom some contemporary detractors vilified in reviews.

Yet this would be too simple for Smollett's novel. Things have developed much further since his royal tragedy, *The Regicide*. The House of Hanover is not given much direct treatment, but other monarchies are, most notably the Bourbons. Random may be serving on the French side before the battle of Dettingen, but that does not mean he has accepted French absolutism, as illustrated by his fractious exchange with the 'Gascon' soldier who tries to commend Random for his support. The proud French soldier

asserts that his sacrifice will 'contribute to the glory of the king', and that his 'wounds' will 'establish his [the king's] glory'. Random's response is abundantly and rudely clear:

> I was amazed at the infatuation that possessed him; and could not help expressing my astonishment at the absurdity of a rational being, who thinks himself highly honoured in being permitted to encounter abject poverty, oppression, famine, disease, mutilation, and evident death, merely to gratify the vicious ambition of a prince, by whom his sufferings were disregarded, and his name utterly unknown. (Smollett 1981, p. 245)

Random goes on to remark that he would try to look for any positives in terms of stoical fortitude of bearings one's lot, or of patriotism and sacrifice to his country, but he cannot accept the bizarre motivation that the Gascon evinces, which for Random is nothing more than 'to sooth the barbarous pride of a fellow creature, his superior in nothing but the power he derived from the submission of such wretches as he' (Smollett 1981, p. 246). Far from feudal serf or abject vassal to his Stuart overlord, Random sounds like a radical, as he counters the Frenchman's devotion to the king with his British freedom, insisting that 'every man has a natural right to liberty', that when kings go too far, their subjects have the right to hold them accountable, and that the 'rebellions' instigated by 'the slaves of arbitrary power' were in fact 'glorious efforts to rescue that independence which was their birthright, from the claws of usurping ambition'. Random would seem to take Athol's line of speaking truth to power here, were it not for the fact that Athol wants only to replace James, not reform his office. Random's abstracted king can no more exist by divine right than can the constitutional German monarch. Perhaps it comes as no surprise, therefore, that the French king occupies a position in the novel that his British counterpart cannot. George II's power is dissipated through a network of offices and the individuals who fill them: Louis the XIV's authority is not. A discussion of the French state is of necessity a discussion of Louis. Louis the absolutist must appropriate everything belonging to his subjects, whether their bravery, wounds, sacrifice or death, just as the Gascon insists, for he is the embodiment of the state, and the people are a part of his body politic, exactly as envisaged by James I in the previous century. That George cannot occupy this position in the novel and that he is conspicuously absent from the narrative implicitly endorse the system of constitutional monarchy that Random appears to asperse in his encounters. That George cannot own

his state and his subjects in the same way is the strongest affirmation of the system of constitutional monarchy which Random so often vilifies when he encounters one of its many manifestations. Kingship has moved on in Smollett's novel to an extent that it can never turn back to Bourbon's or to Stuart's conceptions of what a monarchy should be. Dorothy Marshall (1962, p. 43) leads one chapter of her eighteenth-century history with a satirical mangling of the biblical aphorism stating, 'Sufficient unto the day as yet were the politics thereof'. On the one hand, this reads as mere tautology, but reflecting on the reactionary Random's inability to accept the Frenchman's definition of monarchy which strongly resembles that given by James I a century before, one can see that it means much more than that, possibly even as far as redefinition of the state's role.

Humphrey Clinker: No Longer Royals from Afar

Although Smollett's last epistolary novel uses many narrators, the correspondence is dominated by the curmudgeonly, occasionally irascible, but fair-minded valetudinarian Matthew Bramble and his more reasonable, but crucially more naive, nephew, Jery Melford. Other characters seem to be there for comic effect, especially Bramble's sister, Tabitha, and her maid, Win Jenkins. The maid is at her stylistic best describing the royal family and using her powers of felicitously phonetic spelling very much to that family's cost: 'And I have seen the Park, and the paleass of Saint Gimses, and the king's and queen's magisterial pursing, and the sweet young princes, and the hillyfents, and pye-bald ass, and all the rest of the royal family' (Smollett 1983, p. 102). Including in the royal family a 'pye-bald ass' may be one of Win Jenkins's finer unintentional flourishes, but despite the comedy, she is drawing attention to something new about the palace, namely its status as a tourist venue, with the zoo in St. James's Park, the elephants and the zebras, and occasionally the royal family as well. What Win Jenkins accomplishes with humor, Matt Bramble and Jery Melford demonstrate by their close observation. The fact is they can all get closer to the king and queen, for while the court is still exclusive, it is not now the distant floating island that Jonathan Swift had satirically included in *Gulliver's Travels* (Swift 1987). The Hanoverian royals are by the later eighteenth century at once more proximal and more available to their populace. Bramble displays this in the very architecture of his figurative language. Bramble uses a royal reference without the ceremony or the symbolism that the Stuarts would evoke, and surely without the romanticism, during his meditations upon the new town of Bath. Bramble hates

the spa town for its cult of fashion, its architecture, its rampant commercialism, its 'luxury' and its new social fluidity. Bath, like London, functions as a metaphor for the new Britain governed by Whigs and presided over by the Georges. It is with a barbed undertone, therefore, that, as he laments the jarring mixture of bustle and of restraint, he should choose such a simile: '[H]ere we have nothing but noise, tumult and hurry; with the fatigue and slavery of maintaining a ceremonial more stiff, formal, and oppressive than the etiquette of a German elector' (Smollett 1983, p. 32). Bramble is an unabashed snob, given to long rants about the nouveau riche and its abrasive habits, about social decline into unbridled commercialism and about the acquisitive new mercantile class who use Bath as a place to flash their cash. He dwells on their excruciating lapses in decorum as well as their disgusting and faddish health regimens. He has done all this while, with supreme irony, he confirms that breakdown in hierarchy by his own choice of linguistic figure. The Georges—for no other 'German electors' are possible—are mundane, not exceptional, in that they inhabit not a divine plain of existence, but the same one as everyone else in Bramble's perceived chaos of later eighteenth-century society, and so they can be plucked from their thrones for a comparison as readily as any other figure might be. Bramble's figure is an affective one: he is behaving with the crassitude, linguistically, that the inhabitants of Bath exhibit in their behavior. Bramble is what he condemns.

This proximity of the royal family in general and the monarch in particular differentiates the later novel *Clinker* from *Random* two decades before. Critics have noted that Matt Bramble's character is in some ways Smollett's own (Knapp 1983), though he may be closer to a middle-aged incarnation of Roderick Random, and with this novel the author returns to the first-person narrative form which gave him his first and biggest literary hit too. Despite similarities and some direct connections—Smollett uses Clinker to revisit characters from his past works giving these sections a crepuscular feel—the work is radically different in its perception and use of the Hanoverians, and this becomes most acutely clear in Jery Melford's letter dealing with their visit to the court, the heart of the establishment, in St. James's Park. Their guide on this mini tour of the court is Melford's fellow university alumnus, Barton. As a neophyte member of the political nation, Barton displays wide-eyed naïveté and bestows eager praise on all and sundry who are connected to it, including the king, the queen, the Duke of Cumberland, the Earl of Bute, the Duke of Newcastle and even John Wilkes. Barton's non-judgmental presentation of this political slide show of the great and not necessarily good is robbed of all the

puffery by Bramble's near monosyllabic commentary. Where Barton's scattergun flattery has George III variously as 'most amiable sovereign', a veritable 'Augustus' and a 'Vespasian', Bramble is quick to modify the young intern's depiction and restoring the more homely figure of 'Farmer George' to the monarch. George may not be a giant of monarchy, but Bramble is not damning by faint praise in his perspective on the king: 'A very honest, kind-hearted gentleman … he's too good for the times. A king of England should have a spice of the devil in his composition' (Smollett 1983, p. 91). Perhaps Bramble, too, to some extent has fallen under the Stuart spell in its Carolinian incarnation. More importantly, this backhanded compliment reduces the status of George in two ways. First, he is a 'gentleman', a social level with which no Stuart was familiar, and second, his political acumen is being aspersed, for now the king is a politician working under constraint within the institution of constitutional monarchy, something James I had sententiously rejected in his address to Parliament. The power of the king may have come full circle, with George III once more first among equals, except now it is the 'Robinocracy,' not disputatious barons, with whom he must compromise. It is possible also that the king has shrunk to something less. In Bramble's depiction he appears to be powerless because he is now an office within a system, and a tool for use by those who would wield power. In this situation, the king hardly retains any individuality at all, save for the 'oppressive' one of the 'German elector', of course.

The rub concealed within Bramble's comments comes slightly later, when he is in conversation with the slightly senile Duke of Newcastle, a former prime minister. Newcastle mistakes Bramble for a former political ally, and, as Bramble disabuses him of his error, the reader sees the real reason that Bramble cannot share the ingenuous and dazzled approach of their guide to the Palace and the Park. He explains, allowing for the elderly statesman's infirmity, 'that his name was Bramble and that he had the honour to sit in the last parliament but one of the late king [George II] as representative for the borough of Dykymraig' (Smollett 1983, p. 93). This is the first time that any mention has been made of Bramble's proximity to power. Bramble attests to the fact that he was indeed a Member of Parliament, and therefore has no need or time for the Banter's meretricious vignettes. He is the first of Smollett's heroes to know politics by its practice. Unlike Random, Bramble has viewed the system from the inside looking out, and has seen the 'stiff' Hanoverians in their court with sufficient familiarity to employ them as a ready metaphor. Royalty is different

in *Clinker* precisely because it is not special, nor has it been accorded any unique status as above the fray, or been invested with great significance, as when Bowling invokes the king, or when the playwright dare not even use his name in *The Regicide*. In short, the monarch here lacks the majesty of his forerunners even if he still claims that title.

What has happened to Bramble may be a symptom of the changes wrought in Smollett's own political outlook. Boucé warns of the dangers of 'biocriticism' or of reading an author's life into his work (as cited in Butler 2007, p. 138). Nevertheless, Smollett was employed in the service of the Earl of Bute's ill-fated administration in the 1760s, and this closeness to the center of power must surely have had some influence upon his much changed depiction of the apex of government in the novel he wrote at the end of that decade, *Clinker*. Smollett had been excoriated in the literary and political journalistic world for his involvement with Bute and the unpopular policies he pursued, 'traduced by malice, persecuted by faction, abandoned by false patrons', leaving him with the bitter aftertaste of real politicking (Smollett 1979, p. 15). This party–political experience as a result of his short stint as Tory writer and activist does seem to inform the letters in *Clinker* profoundly. His view of the court is radically changed in the last novel, as is the king who occupies his position rather than defining it. Indeed, Smollett's only direct experience of the political system was of constitutional monarchy where the king can play a part but does not represent the whole, where it is the office not the living body in which now power resides; and, moreover, that diminution is a good and necessary thing. The culture of king 'Lewis' that Roderick Random disparages while in France is not something which can ever resurface in the post-Union Britain. All power's coalescence around one fallible figure without external checks on their decisions, endowed with fierce independence and wide latitude for action produced the vicissitudes of Stuart history, after all.

Smollett passed through divergent incarnations of monarchical figureheads. The first, his ill-fated Scottish dramatic character, could be voicing sentiments of his namesake James I of England. The second, a chimerical figure, shifts between the feudal model of prerogative without boundaries and the constitutional one of a monarch within a largely corrupt system, a form of commoditized royalty. The final figure is that of a person who inhabits their office, an individual who has character, albeit supplied by the mischievous phonetics of a maid, but whose character can never represent the essence of government as it had done before. The moderation

of James's absolutist state was contingent upon the intellectual rationalist who was the king, not upon any mitigation through constitutional checks. James I may have claimed absolute right before parliament, but his more private sentiment should have been a salutary warning to his son and heir that 'the prerogative is a secret which ryves [tears] with the stretching of it' (as cited in Massie 2011, p. 189). Indeed, Massie goes on to claim that as a constitutional monarch, Charles could have been resplendent, attractive and popular. By *Clinker*, it is clear who wields the power and who symbolizes it even in the crude terms of number of paragraphs devoted to each. Smollett's *History* retains this privileging of character over politics in the descriptions of kings and queens, while the novels take a new political path, reflecting that genre's intrinsically progressive bent. The development of the novel not only occurred in the same time frame as the transformation of the body politic but also frequently directly addressed the change 'from a sovereign head, who confers rights according to particular stations, to a legislative body representing citizens by whose consent that body governs and whose rights, newly deemed "natural," it is designed to protect' (Lanser 2005, p. 483). Lanser offered Daniel Defoe, Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin in support, and no doubt Smollett could be added to this list. The monarch, by the last of Smollett's novels, is a consensual figure, and the rights associated with privilege have changed to assumptions about the 'natural' rights of the people. Of course, Smollett is no democratic revolutionary, for the constituency of that political nation is as select as some of its chief exponents, but he is radical not reactionary, looking forward toward a united, stable constitutional future rather than back at the unpredictable, and occasionally brilliant, Renaissance monarchs of the feudal past.

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