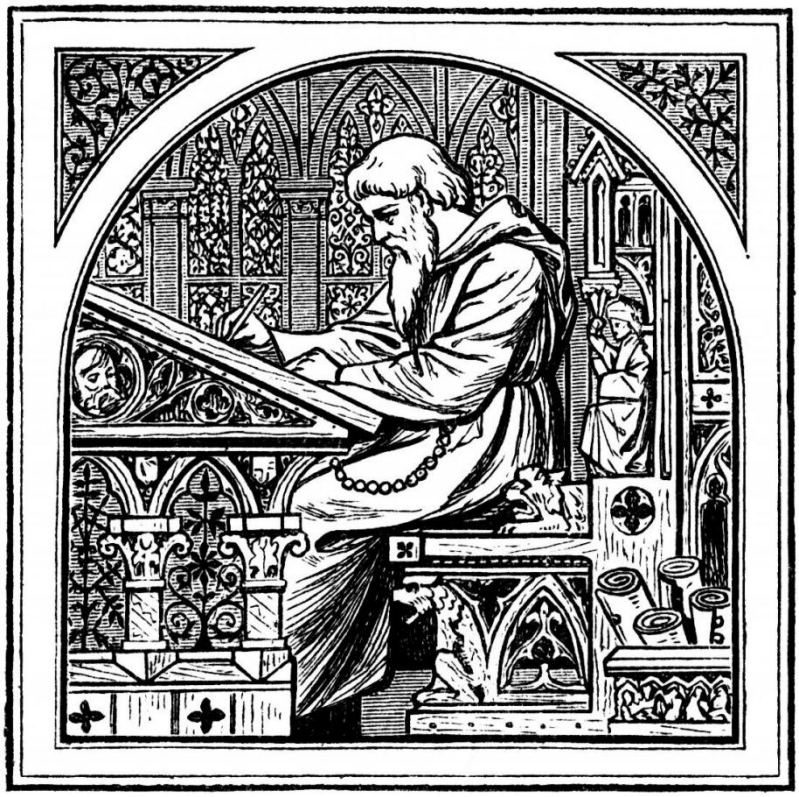
Selected Proceedings of the 20th Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature



Held at Northern State University

Aberdeen, SD

April 13-14, 2012

Acknowledgements

Any conference, even one as humble as this, represents a daunting challenge. I would like to offer my sincere thanks to all those whose kind assistance made my job much easier, and eased my anxiety. Thanks to all those on the NPCEBL Advisory Group, who offered kind suggestions, mailing lists, and moral support. We are all grateful, especially, to Stephen Hamrick at Minnesota State University, Moorhead for hosting and maintaining the NPCEBL web pages. Thanks to Jay Ruud for returning to South Dakota in the early spring from the warmth of Arkansas to deliver our plenary address. As the founder of the NPC, Jay's presence at our annual meetings has been missed, and we are grateful he was able to join us for our 20th anniversary. Thanks, as well, should be offered to the College of Arts and Sciences at NSU, and the generous support – both monetary and moral – of our Dean, Celestino Mendez. Thanks to the NSU English Club and local chapter of Sigma Tau Delta, for running the registration table. Finally, I am deeply grateful to my colleague, Elizabeth K. Haller, without whose careful diligence and organizational skills I could not possibly have managed. As a Brontë scholar, she had a ready-made excuse to avoid a conference on early British literature, but she graciously donated many hours that could have been spent on other projects.

Lysbeth Em Benkert
Northern State University

Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature 2012 Program

Friday, April 13

First Session – 252 Tech Center
8:45-10:15
Drama – Moderator, Ginny Lewis

1. John Kerr – Saint Mary's University of Minnesota
   "The Epistemological Enclosure of Joan la Pucelle (Subjective and Objective Genitive)"
2. Art Marmorstein – Northern State University
   "The Tragedy of the Common Demagogue: Jonson's *Catiline* and Its Sources"
3. Catherine M. Morin – St. Cloud State University
   "The Veils of Shakespeare: An Examination of the Figurative and Physical Masks throughout Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*"

Second Session – 252 Tech Center
10:30-12:00
The Medieval Romance – Moderator, Anthony Wachs

1. Megan Dickinson – St. Cloud State University
   "Werewolves and Queer Theory: A Critical Approach"
2. Kirby Lund – University of North Dakota
   "Manscaping: Constructing the Masculine Garden in *Troilus and Criseyde*"
3. Jason Miller – University of North Dakota
   "Monstrosity, Magic, and Miscegenation in the Middle English *Prose Merlin*"

1:15-2:00 Plenary Speech
Missouri River Room
Jay Ruud
"Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Europe"

Third Session – TC 252
2:15 –4:10
Teaching What We Love – Moderator, Patrick Whiteley

1. Bruce Brandt – University of South Dakota State University
   "Sharing Early Modern Poison with Postmodern Students"
2. Juan Gonzalez – Northern State University
   "No More Lectures! Getting Students to Talk about Literature by Empowering Them to Read and Articulate . . . and Letting Them Speak"
3. David Sprunger – Concordia College
   "Teaching Shakespeare"
4. Jodi Napiorkowski– St Cloud State University
   "Teaching Women Writers of the Late Enlightenment"

Saturday, April 14

First Session – Concurrent
8:45-10:15

Session 1A – in TC 252
The Long Eighteenth Century

1. Tim Dekker – Minnesota State University - Morris
   "William Wycherly's 'To Mad Nath. Lee' and Some Conflicts of Restoration Authorship"

2. Eric Furuseth – Minot State University
   "'Putting an assemblage if ideas together with quickness and variety': Defining Wit in Neoclassical English Literature"
3. Amanda Pillatzki – St. Cloud State University
   "Boxed in: *The Apparitional Lesbian* and Its Implications for Female Sexuality in the Restoration"
4. David Sprunger – Concordia College
   "Old Wine, New Bottles: Chaucer and the Early Eighteenth-Century Intellectual Property Debate"

Session 1B – in MJ 145
The Literature of Faith
1. Carolyn Baker – Mayville State University
   "Not Guilty! The Protestant Bible Hermeneutics of Anne Hutchinson"
2. Glenn Davis – St. Cloud State University
   "From Hermit to Brother: Building a Community in *Guthlac A*"
3. Michelle M. Sauer – University of North Dakota
   "Working for a (Spiritual) Living: Hermits & Roads in Late Medieval England"
4. Nick Reese – Northern State University
   "Dialectic and Thematic Evidence against the *Pearl* Poet's Authorship of *St. Erkenwald"*

Second Session – Concurrent
10:30-12:00

Session 2A – 252 Tech Center
Renaissance Poetry
1. Rachel M De Smith
   "'Awake thou that sleepest': Perilous Sleep in Book 1 of *The Fairie Queene*"
2. Robert J. De Smith
   "Finding Order and Sequence in Donne's *Holy Sonnets*"
3. Stephen Hamrick – Minnesota State University – Morris
   "'Yet remaine[s] my soule neverthelesse hongry and full of appetit': Fashioning the Lady Mary in 1534"
4. Jillian F. Logan – University of South Dakota
   "'Something More than Fantasy': Articulating Corporeality in *Hamlet*"

Session 2B – MJ 145
The Late Renaissance
1. Judith Dorn – St Cloud State University
   "Fitting Genres: the Case of Secret History"
2. Darlene Farabee – University of South Dakota
   "The Plot and Mapping in Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (1611)"
3. Devena Holmes – Northern State University
   "Milton: A Product of His Times"
4. Carl Wobig – Northern State University
   "True Words: A Coalescence of John Locke and *Paradise Lost*"

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Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Europe

Plenary Address
Jay Ruud
University of Central Arkansas

To commemorate Valentine's Day 1381, Geoffrey Chaucer writes a poem in which a parliament of birds, representing the three estates of human society, come together with the goddess Natura presiding, to discuss three noble suitors for the hand of a beautiful female "formel" eagle held on Nature's arm. Since Valentine's Day is the day when every fowl is supposed to choose his mate, the birds are in a hurry to get this suit settled so they can get about their business of being fruitful and multiplying. When the formel eagle delays her decision for a year, Nature dismisses the parliament, and the birds sing a joyous song welcoming the coming of summer before flying off to fulfill the laws of Nature.[1] *The Parliament of Fowls* is significant as Chaucer's first mature poem of considerable length and artistry. In it he invents what would become the iambic pentameter line, the dominant line in the subsequent history of English poetics. He invents the rime royal stanza, influencing the later development of such verse forms as the Spenserian stanza and *ottava rima* in English. And he creates his first Estates Satire, which he was later to develop in a memorably innovative way in *The Canterbury Tales*. In all these ways, Chaucer's *Parliament* is one of the foundational documents of English poetry.

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In the spring of 1431, a teenage girl known to her contemporaries simply as "the Maid" undergoes a vigorous cross-examination in the Norman city of Rouen. The Maid, notorious for rallying the moribund spirit of the troops loyal to the French Dauphin by convincing them that she had been sent by God, had raised the siege of Orleans, fought through occupied France from Orleans to Reims, and seen the Dauphin crowned King Charles VII, essentially turning the tide

of the Hundred Years' War. She had been subsequently captured by John of Luxembourg, who fought with the Burgundians on the English side in the war, and had been sold to the English. Under the auspices of Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, and with the approval of the Inquisition, the Maid was put on trial on charges of witchcraft, heresy, blasphemy, idolatry, and failure to obey the strictures of the Church. Although Joan of Arc abjures her sins and gives herself over to the mercy of the Church, she recants her abjuration after being sentenced to life imprisonment and is condemned to be burned at the stake on May 30, 1431. But the English hegemony in France had been broken, and the French would ultimately win the war, establishing in the process the borders of the modern states of France and England.

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On All Saints' Eve in 1517, an obscure Augustinian monk and doctor of theology at Wittenberg University tacks a Latin notice on the door of the castle church, a common practice at the university to announce academic functions. This particular post is an announcement of an academic disputation, a challenge to a debate between scholars that will consider 95 theses concerning theological subjects like the need for repentance and the wealth of the Church. These theses are ultimately deemed heretical, but Luther continues to assert the truth of his convictions, until the one holy catholic and apostolic Church is fragmented throughout Germany and, eventually, throughout the Western world. The Protestant Reformation, and the Catholic counter-Reformation, for both good and ill, changed the course of European and American history over the next several centuries.

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These three events may seem random or unrelated. The fact is they are connected in one specific way: each of them was in some way affected, directly or indirectly, by the marriage of England's King Richard II to the princess Anne of Bohemia in 1382.

Chaucer, of course, was the most directly influenced by this political yoking of the royal houses of England and Bohemia. The majority of scholars have long recognized that Chaucer's *Parliament* is an occasional poem, and most agree that the occasion is the royal wedding. The three noble eagles vying for the love of the formel have been identified with some certainty as representing the relatively minor German prince Friedrich of Meissen, to whom Anne had been engaged for some six years prior to the English negotiations; the dauphin of France who would later become King Charles VI (Charles the Mad); and (in the case of the noblest of the eagles), King Richard (Thomas 28). After months of negotiations, a marriage contract was agreed to and signed by Richard's representatives on May 2, 1381, with the ratification by Richard himself most likely on May 3. This being the date of the martyrdom of Saint Valentine of Genoa (though his actual feast day was May 2), it seems most likely that Chaucer associated the poem with that date, and created the fiction that all birds come together to choose their mates on that day (Kelly 125). Some scholars, including Alfred Thomas, have suggested a date of 1380 for the poem, since the formel's lack of decision seems to reflect a period before the marriage contract was decided. But it seems unlikely that Chaucer would have written a major poem to commemorate an event that might not actually take place. Others, including Donald Howard, suggest that the poem was written "to celebrate the nuptials" (307), presumably to celebrate the actual royal marriage on January 20, 1382, and written consequently for the 14th of February following. But at the actual wedding, it would seem that the reminder of the three suitors and the lady's

indecision would be in bad taste, and it does seem incongruous to welcome summer in the middle of February. Thus 1381 seems the likely date of Chaucer's poem.

But who exactly was this Anne of Bohemia? Eventually known to the English people as the "Good Queen Anne," she was initially scorned by some as a poor bargain, who was costing them far more than she was worth. Not only did Anne bring no real dowry with her, but according to the marriage contract, King Richard had agreed to "loan" Anne's brother Wenceslaus IV, king of Bohemia and titular king of Rome, the enormous sum of 80,000 florins. The Westminster Chronicler, describing Anne's welcome to England, had this to say:

> To those with an eye for the facts it seemed that she represented a purchase rather than a gift, since the English king had laid out no small sum to secure this tiny scrap of humanity. (25)

Nor was Anne a particularly striking or beautiful woman. A mere fifteen years old, like the king she was marrying, she may indeed have been a "tiny scrap of humanity." As for her beauty, if the likeness of her on her tomb effigy in Westminster Abbey is realistic, as it seems to be, she appears to have been, as Michael Senior describes her, "round-faced in a pleasant, open way, with small features and flowing hair" (Senior 93). But no contemporary ever calls her beautiful, with the exception of the epitaph on her ornate tomb, probably composed by Richard himself, which calls her "Beautiful in body, gentle and fair in expression" (qtd. in Bowers 162).

Another reason for Anne's initial unpopularity seems to have been the presence at court of a large number of her fellow Bohemians, who had accompanied her to England and had stayed as part of her household and as hangers-on at the English court. In his chronicle for 1385, Thomas Walsingham notes that "The Bohemians, the queen's compatriots, were also present" at the king's Christmas celebrations and, Walsingham goes on, "they were enjoying the delights of

England, and forgetful of their own country, they refused to go back home, but with no sense of shame stayed on as guests who gave no pleasure" (220). Part of the English resentment of the Bohemian presence may have sprung from the number of marriages arranged between English nobles and Czech ladies. For the year 1386, the Westminster Chronicler writes that "During this period the king at his own expense married some of the queen's countrywomen to men of rank"—the result, the Chronicler says, of Richard's being so very "open-handed that to make any legitimate request of him was to have it immediately granted" (161-63). However, the Chronicler clearly sees this as a problem, and goes on to say that, "Having thus handed out his own substance to others, [the king] had perforce to come down on the commons, with the result that the poor are loud in their complaints and declare that they cannot go on supporting the burden" (163).

This situation was certainly exacerbated by the greatest court scandal at the time, which involved one of Richard's favorites, Robert de Vere, and another of Anne's countrywomen. De Vere, the Earl of Oxford and recently appointed Duke of Ireland, had for years been Richard's closest companion and confidante, and in 1378 had married the king's first cousin, Philippa de Coucy, granddaughter of Edward III. But in 1387, de Vere repudiated his wife and ran off with Agnes Lancecrona, one of the queen's Bohemian ladies in waiting. De Vere had his marriage annulled by the Roman Curia, and according to both Walsingham and the Westminster Chronicler, married Agnes. William Ormond suggests that "In fact, it is unclear as to whether the nuptials were ever actually solemnized, or indeed whether Agnes consented to the relationship: there is some evidence that de Vere abducted her and that Queen Anne attempted to put a stop to the liaison" (296). Walsingham, calling Agnes "a foul creature of ignoble birth whose father was a saddler," insists that "Robert was supported in all these actions by the king himself, who was

unwilling to cause him any sadness" (251). The Westminster Chronicler, on the other hand, asserts that de Vere had done this all "in face of the queen's unremitting protests" (191). The scandal hurt the king, destroyed de Vere's already sullied reputation, and despite her protests could not have helped Queen Anne's popularity.

As for the royal marriage itself, it was, as such medieval marriages always were, a purely political arrangement. Remember that when Richard's father, the Black Prince, died in 1376, Richard became heir to the throne of the aged King Edward III, and immediately became what Nigel Saul calls "Europe's most eligible bachelor" (83). In 1377, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV proposed a match between his daughter Anne and the 10-year-old Richard, but the English court did not welcome the offer, because of Charles' ties to the French monarchy. The French king Charles V offered his own daughter Marie, while France's enemy, Charles of Navarre, countered with an offer of one of his own daughters. Ultimately none of these prospects excited Richard's political advisers enough to follow through. By May 1378, all negotiations had broken down. Eventually the English court began to look to Italy, where a beneficial alliance with the wealthy Visconti dukes of Milan looked promising. Chaucer was one of the two envoys sent to Milan in 1378 to begin negotiations with Bernabo Visconti for the hand of his daughter Catherine, who seemed receptive to the arrangement, and a second embassy was sent to discuss terms in March of 1379.

But the political situation of Europe in 1379 had changed drastically from 1377, when the emperor Charles had first proposed Anne as Richard's wife. The newly elected pope Urban VI had returned the seat of the papacy to Rome in 1378. However, unsatisfied with this development, a conclave of French cardinals had elected a rival pope, Clement VII, who continued to hold his papal court at Avignon, creating the Great Schism of the Western Church.

As summarized by Anthony Tuck, Charles IV, hoping to gain Urban's approval for the appointment of his son Wenceslas as King of Rome, opted to disavow his historically French sympathies and recognize Urban as the true pope, urging Wenceslas to do the same. It was virtually Charles' last official act before his death on November 29, 1378 (Tuck 207). Subsequently Wenceslas and King Louis I of Hungary and Poland made a joint declaration supporting Urban (Tuck 215).

In spring 1379, Michael de la Pole and John Burley, the English ambassadors sent to Milan to negotiate Richard's marriage to Catherine Visconti, stopped off in Rome and met with Pope Urban. Urban, desperately seeking an Anglo-Imperial alliance to support his papacy against the power of France and her allies, seems to have proposed a match between Richard and Anne to seal the deal. In the meantime, Nigel Saul recounts, representatives of the Roman curia traveled to Prague to discuss the matter with Wenceslas (86), and on May 20, Wenceslas wrote to Richard proposing a pro-Urban alliance, cemented by Richard's marriage to Wenceslas' sister Anne (Tuck 216). De la Pole and Burley were encouraged to proceed to Prague in September to meet with the Emperor's representatives, and by May 1380 they returned to England, having agreed in principle to begin negotiations for a marriage contract.

What Pope Urban got out of this marriage alliance is clear. What Wenceslas wanted most was apparently the 80,000 florins from the English treasury to shore up his own empty coffers. What the English wanted most—a military ally for their French war, never materialized. And to top it off, England had lost the significant dowry that Catherine Visconti had promised to bring with her—perhaps 100,000 ducats, if it matched some of the other Visconti dowries (Tuchman 416). It was no wonder that their king's marriage to this foreign wife—one who certainly could speak no English at all—was unpopular.

Against all odds, however, Richard's marriage to Anne not only succeeded but flourished in a way that few if any royal marriages did in the Middle Ages. The two teenagers, forced together by powers neither one of them had any real control over, formed a mutual bond that made them inseparable companions throughout the 12 years of their marriage. John Bowers points out that, unlike the typical royal consort in late medieval Europe, Anne did not keep her own household separate from Richard, but rather remained his constant companion (155). The chroniclers record that Anne was present with Richard when he traveled around the kingdom, that she regularly spent the Christmas holidays with him, and that she participated in the formal celebration of the feast of Saint Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey. Unusually for a royal couple, there is no record or rumor of any infidelities on either side (Saul 456). When she died in 1394, Barron notes, Richard himself oversaw the creation of the copper-gilt effigies adorning their joint tomb in Westminster Abbey, making her the first English queen to share her husband's tomb, and it was Richard himself who decided that the couple should be depicted holding hands (15).

But beyond her undisputed claim to Richard's heart, just what was there about "this tiny scrap of humanity" that gave her the profound influence I'm claiming she had? To her contemporaries, Anne was most widely known as an "intercessor." That is, like the Virgin Mary upon whom the ideal of medieval Queenship depended, Anne embraced the role of mediatrix, pleading for mercy for those condemned by the law. In one of her first public acts, in 1382, Anne interceded with the king to spare the life of Sir Roger Bacon, who had been involved in the social unrest in Norfolk following the Great Revolt of 1381 (Oman 93-94). In 1384, when John of Northampton, the former mayor of London and devotee of the king's uncle John of Gaunt, was arraigned before the King's court for inciting riots against the current mayor, Nicholas

Brembre, and was convicted through testimony of his own clerk Thomas Usk, Northampton roused the king's ire by questioning Richard's right to sentence him in Gaunt's absence. An enraged Richard responded that he would indeed be Northampton's judge, and ordered him to be drawn and hanged. According to the Westminster Chronicler,

> Northampton would thus have brought his life to an ignominious close, as a result of...his undisciplined behaviour, but for the chance presence of the queen, who in a plea for his life threw herself at the king's feet and humbly begged that Northampton should not die. (93)

Usk himself, later imprisoned for his part in the Northampton affair, wrote his *Testament of Love* purportedly from his prison cell, in which he appeals to an allegorical figure, Margarite, for release from incarceration. The name, a pun on the Old French words for *pearl* (*margerite*) and *daisy* (*margarite*), is associated with Queen Anne in other poems (most notably Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*), and John Bowers has recently resurrected Ramona Bressie's suggestion that "although there is no evidence in any known document that the Queen had anything to do with Usk's affairs, still, if Margarite is a person, that she is the Queen seems the most likely interpretation" (Bressie 28).

If Queen Anne's intercession saved Usk from prison in 1385, it did nothing to prevent his beheading three years later by the Merciless Parliament. That session was called by the great barons known as the "Lords Appellant," who included the king's uncle, Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; the king's cousin Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby and later King Henry IV; and Richard, earl of Arundel. Led by Gloucester, the opposition party resented Richard's reluctance to pursue the French war, objected to the extravagant spending by the royal court and the imposition of new taxes, and blamed the problems on influence of the knights of the king's

chamber, Richard's closest advisers, most of whom were relatively low-born but had been raised to aristocratic status by Richard's generosity. Chief among these was Robert de Vere, whose scandalous marriage to the Queen's countrywoman, coupled with his unprecedented promotion to the status of Duke of Ireland, made him a convenient target for the king's enemies. When the Lords presented an appeal against de Vere and four of Richard's other advisers and appointed Gloucester as Regent, Richard sent de Vere against Gloucester at the head of an army. Defeated at the Battle of Radcot Bridge, de Vere "escaped by leaping into the river on horseback" (Tuchman 445), after which he fled to Flanders. Michael de la Pole, the king's Chamberlain, also fled the country, and both were condemned to death in absentia at the Merciless Parliament. In addition, by order of the Lords Appellant, the king's Chief Justice Robert Tresilion, the mayor of London (and Northampton's rival) Nicholas Brembre, the king's steward John Beauchamp of Holt, the young knights of Richard's chamber John Salisbury and James Berners, and the king's former tutor, Sir Simon Burley, were all executed. The case of Burley most closely affected Queen Anne, for the former tutor had been close to her and husband for many years. When the pleas of Richard, his uncle the Duke of York, and even the Earl of Derby of Gloucester's own party, failed to sway the adamant Gloucester and Arundel and their supporters among the Commons, Queen Anne, in Richard's presence, fell to her knees and pleaded with those two lords—some witnesses say for hours—to spare Burley's life. She was in this case unsuccessful, and Burley was beheaded on May 5, 1388. Of the actions of the Merciless Parliament, May McKissack writes:

> Never before in our history, not even in the dark days of Edward II, had legal sanction been claimed for the destruction on such flimsy pretexts of so many men of gentle birth. It may be readily conceded that the courtiers,

or most of them, were greedy, irresponsible, provocative, and wrong
headed; but none of them were criminal and none was deserving of murder
by act of parliament. (459)

Queen Anne's most successful intercession, on the other hand, was her supplication on behalf of the city of London in 1392. Richard had requested a £5000 loan from the city, but when the Londoners balked at the request, the king canceled the city's customary privileges and moved three government offices to York in retaliation, and the city capitulated. The Westminster Chronicler claims that Anne "more than once, indeed on many occasions, both at Windsor and at Nottingham, prostrated herself at the king's feet in earnest and tireless entreaty for the city and the welfare of its citizens that he would cease to direct his anger against them" (503). Whether this is completely true and whether, if so, the queen's pleas had any effect on Richard, an elaborate reconciliation ceremony was held in the city on August 21, 1392, in which Richard, acting the part of the irate monarch, rode into London and was met by the elite of the city and by representatives of all the London guilds in elaborate dress, and he and the queen received ornate gifts, including costly gold crowns. The pageant is recorded in *Concordia*, a 546-line Latin panegyric by the Carmelite friar Richard Maidstone, who records how

The queen comes in, accompanied by her maids,
And falls, bowed down, prostrate, before the royal feet (ll. 463-64)

And proceeds to ask

And so, my king, my sweetest love, please keep in mind—
I beg you on my knees—what has just happened here.
…
Please deign to spare these people, who have given you

Such gifts, so readily, in service to us both;

And please restore the city to its ancient rights

And give it back at last its former liberties." (ll. 489-92)

It was Anne's finest hour in the public eye, and established her reputation as the "Good Queen Anne" in the popular imagination.[2] Such public demonstrations, however, tell us little about Anne's individual character: certainly in the London pageant she was acting a pre-ordained role, and even in other intercessory acts she was essentially performing what was widely regarded as her Queenly function. Paul Strohm notes that the "queen as intercessor" model fit perfectly into conventional assumptions about male/female roles: "Queenly mediation was, in other words, a 'sponsored' activity, an activity that—for all its tacitly corrective and admonitory content—seems to have been entirely congenial to male monarchs and to the whole system of relations that maintained them on thrones" (103).

Another quality often associated with Anne—that of royal patron of the arts—may also owe a great deal to convention as opposed to individual inclination. Certainly she came from a family that was well-known for its patronage. Guillaume Machaut, the most influential French poet and composer of his day, was secretary to Anne's grandfather, John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, and made John the title character of his *Jugement du roy de Behainge,* ultimately serving the blind king until his heroic but somewhat ill-advised foray into the Battle of Crecy, where he died, to no one's surprise. Anne's imperial father was himself a well-known patron of the arts. Charles founded the first university in Central Europe in 1348, and his building programs made Prague a showcase of late Gothic style of which the Charles Bridge across the Vltava is the chief surviving artifact. He created a sophisticated court culture that Alfred Thomas says "rivaled Paris and Naples in cosmopolitanism" (22). Charles himself wrote a Latin

autobiography as well as a life of his beatified ancestor St. Vaclav, and presented St. Vitus Cathedral with a copy of the mystic Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias* He was fluent in French, German, Latin, and Italian, but supported literary works in his native Czech, including translations of the Bible into that vernacular (Wallace, "Anne" 3). His praises were sung by Petrarch himself, who after visiting the Imperial court at Prague compared Charles and his courtiers to ancient Greeks (Thomas 22), and was so impressed by Charles' third wife, Anne of Schweidnit, he praised her significant intellectual powers in an encomium entitled *De laudibus feminarum* (Thomas 33).

Thus when Anne arrived in England, she came as a representative of what has been called the "international court culture" of the late Middle Ages, a sophisticated conduit of the cosmopolitan crossroads of French, German, and Italian influences on the continent. It may have been expected that she would raise the somewhat provincial court of England to a comparable level of sophistication. Richard himself seems to have had such ambitions. Probably with Anne's encouragement, Richard seems to have deliberately set out to make his court a center for the arts. Like Anne's imperial father, Richard was devoted to a sainted ancestor, in Richard's case Saint Edward the Confessor, and he spent a fortune restoring and rebuilding Westminster Abbey, where his patron lay buried (Saul 312-316). After Anne's death in 1394, Richard contracted to have marble tombs with copper-gilt effigies for himself and his queen erected within Westminster near the tomb of the Confessor. As Bowers notes, "at a cost of £933, they were the most expensive of all fourteenth-century tombs" (124-125).

In painting, Richard seems to have commissioned the famous Wilton Diptych, which portrays him kneeling before the Virgin and Child, while John the Baptist and his patron saint Edward the Confessor stand behind him. He also commissioned his own "coronation portrait"

that hangs in Westminster Abbey, and is thought to show the influence of Bohemian painting because the pose and execution seem to mimic the portraits of Bohemian kings that adorn the Great Hall in Charles IV's castle at Karlstein (Saul 348).

There is certainly some evidence that Richard, like Charles IV before him, encouraged literature in the vernacular language. In the Prologue to the first version of his *Confessio Amantis*, Gower laments that "few men endite / In oure Englissh," so that "I thence make /A book for King Richardes sake" (ll. 22-24), and depicts himself as writing the book in response to a royal command. The famous Troilus frontispiece of the Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61 depicts Chaucer reading his poem aloud to the court, apparently including Richard and Anne. Although Derek Pearsall and others have questioned how much this illustration reflects reality, Pearsall noting that the picture uses conventionalized iconography of preaching (*Troilus* 68-74), the fact that the illuminator could conceive of such a scene at all is evidence that citizens of the time looked upon Richard and Anne's court as a place where such an example of literary patronage might occur. But there is really no direct evidence of such patronage. Although he acknowledges that "It may be that Chaucer found some of his early readers among courtly ladies—perhaps including the queen" (Scattergood 37), John Scattergood asserts that "No reward that Chaucer received can be directly connected with his activity as a poet; he did not owe his career to his literary ability. It looks rather as if the positions he attained—which were comparatively well-paid and relatively unarduous—gave him the leisure to write" (32). The same might be said for Gower.

There is only a single surviving text that we know for a certainty was *commissioned* by Queen Anne: "a Latin treatise on heraldry composed by one Master Johannis de Bado Aureo….As queen of England she would need to know her quarterings" (Taylor 99). But the

Prologue to Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* provides the best case for claiming Anne as a patron of literature. Chaucer presents the god of Love attacking his narrative persona with a tirade over his portrayal of the unfaithful Criseyde, while the god's consort, Alceste, intercedes and pleads for clemency. It is a scene clearly intended to mirror in Alceste the kind of intercessory function that Queen Anne was known for. After being commissioned by the king and queen of Love to produce a work praising women who were true lovers, the narrator is told at the end of the F version of the Prologue to present the completed work to Queen Anne herself, at either her palace at Eltham or at Sheen.

Does Chaucer's dream-encounter in the Prologue to the *Legend* allude to an actual exchange with the king and queen in which Queen Anne commissioned him to write a parody of Saints' Legends in the form of brief lives of Love's martyrs? Our earliest witness, John Lydgate thinks so: in his *Fall of Princes* (1431-38), Lydgate writes that Chaucer "wrot, at request of the queen, / A legend of parfit holynesse off Goode Women" (I.330-332). But whether Lydgate had some private knowledge of such a commission, or whether he simply inferred this from Chaucer's text, we have no way of knowing. Some recent scholars have accepted Lydgate's story and the text's implications at least tentatively: Richard Firth Green notes that when we read of the king and queen's displeasure with the poet over his depiction of the false Criseyde, and the "penance" imposed upon him by the queen, that he now write of women who were true lovers, "we should be prepared to allow that the light-hearted tone may cloak a quite genuine sentiment" (21); and David Wallace notes that, while it is useless to try to make "absolute correspondences" between Chaucer's art and the life of the English court, Chaucer's designation of Alceste as "empirice" in F 185 very likely associates her with Queen Anne, the daughter of the Emperor ("Whan She" 210).

On the other hand, Derek Pearsall flatly declares "that Anne either commissioned or received the work is very doubtful." Yet even Pearsall acknowledges that "The importance of this allusion [to Anne], in relation to the audience Chaucer is appealing to, is … in the confidence that such a statement of expectation will be recognized as proper" (*Life* 191). Similarly Alfred Thomas asserts that "imagined recipience derives from the awareness of actual patronage" (22). Thus whether Anne commissioned the *Legend* or not, it is important that Chaucer depicted her as someone who could and would do such a thing.

Thus we can be confident that Anne, representing for the English court what Thomas calls "a transmitter of the latest European cultural trends" (24) or "a representative of the international court culture" (26), was perceived by English poets and other artists as a likely patroness—one who could inspire or even commission specific artistic efforts. Thus her impending marriage to Richard certainly inspired Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (1381), and Chaucer's brief compliment in *Troilus and Criseyde* that "oure firste letter is now an A" (I.170) presupposes the possibility that the queen may have been in attendance at a reading of the poem. Indeed, Chaucer may have been following the queen's directive in writing *The Legend of Good Women*, or at least hoped to gain favor by presenting her with that text.

I've already mentioned the likely connection between the Margarite and Queen Anne in Usk's *Testament of Love*, which he may have wished to come into the queen's hands since he seems to be begging for her intercession in the text. In addition, Sir John Clanvowe, a knight of the King's Chamber, wrote his *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* or *The Boke of Cupide* in imitation of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* and under the influence of *The Legend of Good Women*. The 290-line courtly poem is set in a field of daisies (playing on the margarite

associated with Anne), and ends with the pronouncement that a parliament of birds will take place

> The morowe of Seynt Valentynes day,
> Under the maple that is feire and grene,
> Before the chambre wyndow of the quene,
> At Wodestok, upon the grene lay. (ll. 282-285)

The reference is certainly to Queen Anne, who as Scattergood has argued "was at Woodstock with Richard II in 1389 and almost certainly other times as well" (Clanvowe 86, n. 284-5). Finally, both Thomas (56) and Bowers (107) have recently suggested that *Pearl* was written as an elegy for Queen Anne, composed shortly after her sudden death in 1394. The margarite (as both daisy and pearl) was associated with Anne, and the description of the *Pearl*-maiden's crown nicely matches the appearance of the crown now on display in the Residenz Museum in Munich, purported to be Anne's.[3]

There is good reason to believe, then, that for Chaucer and Gower, Usk, Clanvowe, and the *Pearl*-poet, Queen Anne and the court over which she presided were perceived as encouraging to works of literary art. Poets persistently seem to have vied for Anne's attention, or that of her husband through compliments to her. As Thomas has argued, however, allusions to the queen in these texts never really individualize her: she is the symbol of the ideal queen, or the ideal courtly lady, or even (in her intercessory role) an earthly figure of the Virgin. "Inevitably, therefore, allusions to her become indistinguishable from the cosmopolitan culture she embodied" (Thomas 26).

Thus the cosmopolitan patron of the arts, like the royal intercessor, was for Anne a public face that really gets us no closer to any intimate knowledge of the real Queen Anne. It may be

that one of the other qualities for which she was recognized in her own time—her remarkable piety—gives us a truer picture of what was really important for Anne herself. In 1382, shortly after her marriage to Richard, Anne petitioned Pope Urban to have the feast day of her patron saint, Anne, the mother of the Virgin, celebrated "more solemnly" in England (Saul 456). The feast was popular on the continent, especially in Bohemia, where a number of churches, including a prominent one in Prague, were named for Saint Anne. The Pope granted her request in honor of Anne's marriage to Richard (Saul 324), but it may be worth asking why Anne would have found it necessary to appeal to the Pope to help popularize the veneration of Saint Anne: the raising of Saint Anne to cult status was connected with the controversial belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary—the belief that Mary was conceived without original sin in the womb of Anne. This belief had been suppressed in England by the Normans and much debated in the high Middle Ages, with Duns Scotus ultimately arguing most convincingly for the doctrine. Though popular in central Europe, the dogma was not really accepted by the papacy until Sixtus IV adopted the Feast of the Immaculate Conception for the Latin Church in 1476, and did not become official Roman Catholic doctrine until 1854.

Interpretations of Saint Anne's significance in medieval iconography were, like attitudes toward the Immaculate Conception, quite varied.[4] Ann Astell explores these conflicting interpretations in Chaucer's work, and notes that in his "Second Nun's Prologue," at least, Chaucer presents Saint Anne "not as a maternal helper to pregnant mothers and Christian couples desirous of having children, but rather as an ascetical model and a patroness for all those whose souls are imprisoned by the body" (413-14). In particular, Astel is considering the Protevangelium of James (the apocryphal second-century text that introduces Saint Anne into Christian tradition), in which an angel announces separately to Joachim and Anne that Anne

shall bear a child who will be the Mother of God—in fact in one version of the text, that Anne "has conceived" the child in Joachim's absence (412).

Thus Queen Anne's devotion to the mother of the Virgin, a patron saint of childbirth but also one who embodied the ideal of chastity within marriage, may help to explain one of the long standing puzzles of Richard II's reign. As I've already stressed, although arranged as a political alliance as most royal marriages were, the marriage of Richard and Anne was an unusually happy and companionable one: And when Anne died in 1394 at the age of 28, Richard, apparently in an excess of emotion, ordered her estate at Sheen to be razed to the ground. Why then, we might ask, were no children born of this mutually loving relationship? Of course it is possible that one or both of the royal couple were infertile. It is even conceivable that, as William Ormond has implied, Richard was more interested sexually in the knights of his Chamber—favorites like de Vere—than in women, so that the "unmentionable seducers of the king" condemned in Henry Knighton's Chronicle were "unmentionable" because they practiced the "'unmentionable vice' of sodomy" (Ormond 297). This had, of course, been the case with Richard's own great-grandfather, Edward II, whose reputation Richard worked hard to restore.

But while such speculation may go far in explaining de Vere's inordinate influence over Richard, it seems inconsistent with Richard's tender devotion to Anne. A more likely explanation may be found in Anne's devotion to her namesake, coupled with Richard's well-known veneration of his own ancestor, Saint Edward the Confessor. Edward, whose childless marriage to his Queen Edith in the 11th century precipitated the Norman Conquest, was canonized in 1161, largely through the efforts of Aelred of Rievaulx, whose life of King Edward emphasized his "chaste marriage" and his devotion to the Virgin (Elliott 122). In fact, John Bowers has argued, "the renunciation of sex formed the Confessor's chief claim to sanctity as the

basis of divine kingship, which Richard sought to model in a variety of ways during the latter part of his reign" (168). For Anne's part, she had a number of royal ancestors, in particular Hedwig of Silesia and Agnes of Bohemia, who reputedly practiced conjugal chastity, and so may, as Alfred Thomas suggests, have served as "role model[s] for her own chaste marriage to Richard II" (Thomas 46). Indeed, the aforementioned "Second Nun's Tale" composed in the early 1380s, extols the virtues of Saint Cecelia's chaste marriage to her husband Valerian, and thus could conceivably have been intended to celebrate the chaste royal marriage, as Thomas, Bowers, and others have suggested.

Another aspect of the veneration of the mother of the Virgin was Saint Anne's association with female literacy. The iconography of Saint Anne in the later Middle Ages typically portrayed her teaching the young Virgin to read. Indeed, Alfred Thomas asserts that when Queen Anne petitioned the pope for the celebration of the saint's cult, "This was more than a pious gesture: it was an acknowledgment that Anne regarded literacy as an integral feature of female devotional practice" (38). Aside from the books that may have been dedicated to her, like Chaucer's *Legend* and Clanvowe's *Boke of Cupide*, Queen Anne is reputed to have read books in Latin, German, and Czech (Bowers 157), and as Andrew Taylor asserts, she "must have owned a number of religious books," though only one text that was indisputably Anne's is now extant, "an illuminated Book of Hours, Oxford, Bodlieian Library, MS Lat. Liturgy. F. 3" (Taylor 98). We have testimony, as well, from Wycliffe himself, that Anne may have had versions of the scriptures in Latin, German, and Czech (cited in Taylor 104), though Wycliffe's subjunctive hardly makes this solid evidence. A Lollard tract from the first decade of the 15th century claims that the Archbishop Arundel praised Anne at her funeral for having read all four gospels in English, with glosses in the vernacular (Taylor 104). While the validity of such claims is in

question, they do underscore the fact that in her time, Queen Anne was known as a reader, a lover of books, particularly religious ones. In this regard, Nigel Saul makes the offhand and unsupported comment that "it is possible [Queen Anne] should be seen as a patron of the *devotio moderna* in England" (456).[5]

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Queen Anne's apparent sympathy for contemporary religious movements extended to the most popular underground movement in England during her lifetime, that of the Lollard followers of John Wycliffe. Even if Anne did have a Lollard bible, as tradition says—a tradition based largely on Arundel's purported remarks at her funeral, and reported in a Lollard tract—she is likely to have consulted the book for the sake of personal devotion and meditation, and perhaps to help her learn the language of her subjects. Ann Hudson has argued that the account of the Lollard Bible was a Wycliffite addition to the story, and is not at all reliable (Hudson 81). For to think of Anne as anything but scrupulously orthodox is, it seems to me, to badly misunderstand her. Her concern with receiving the pope's permission to promote the cult of Saint Anne, her glad acceptance of the role of mediatrix that required her orthodox submissive attitude toward her king (as opposed to taking the more active role associated with Lollards, who allowed women to preach), her patronage of religious houses like the Priory of Eye and the Coventry Charterhouse (see McKisack 294-95), and her completely orthodox dedication to the Virgin Mary, all make it unlikely that she would look sympathetically on what the Church considered heresy.[6] When in 1395 the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards were nailed to the doors of Westminster Hall during the session of Parliament, the king rushed home from Ireland to suppress the heresy, and swore to kill Stury, who was suspected of complicity in the posting of the document, "'by the foulest death that may

be' if he ever broke the oath to recant that was forced upon him" (Tuchman 535). For Anne not to concur in Richard's attitude toward the Lollards is unthinkable.

By the 1390s, however, many of Anne's Bohemian countrymen had been won over by Wycliffe's ideas. Through the Czech students at Wycliffe's own Oxford University, the Englishman's ideas were to spread to the fertile soil of Bohemia and found their most devoted disciples among the Hussites of Prague.

Anne's marriage to Richard had opened up opportunities for study at Oxford, particularly since the University of Paris was situated in a land that adhered to the Antipope, Clement VII. By 1388, there were special scholarships available to pay for Czech students who wanted to study at Oxford. Thus by 1398, at least three of Wycliffe's treatises—*De material et forma*, *De ideis*, and *De Universalibus*—had been brought to Prague and been copied, and glossed, by Jan Hus himself (Betts 141). Between 1399 and 1401, Hus's closest collaborator and lieutenant Jerome of Prague came to Oxford, and when he returned home he brought with him Wycliffe's *Trialogus, De eucharistia*, the *Dialogus*, and *De simonia.* Other Wycliffite tracts, including *De veritate sacre scripture*, *De dominio divino*, and *De ecclesia*, became available in 1407, when two other Hussite disciples returned from England, having met with England's arch-Lollard Sir John Oldcastle, Thomas Latimer, and other Wycliffite sympathizers (Bell 142). In these texts Wycliffe famously declared the scriptures to be the basis for all truth, setting aside Papal Bulls and Church tradition; questioned the papacy and the entire Church hierarchy, saying that Christ only recognized priests; condemned the wealth of the Church and its involvement in secular matters; condemned the practice of indulgences; preached the doctrine of the "elect," thus disputing the power of the Church to save; questioned the efficacy of saints and relics; and finally denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (Spinka 21-35). For the Hussites, whose

reforming impetus stemmed largely from nationalistic zeal in reaction to the abuses of German prelates who had been set over them by Rome, Wycliffe's arguments served largely to shore up their own.

Hus himself was never as radical as Wycliffe. He never denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, or condemned indulgences, prayers for the dead, or the efficacy of prayers to the saints. He did support the practice of serving both the bread and wine during communion, which by custom the Church prohibited to the laity. The practice was instituted in Prague in the church of Saint Martin in the Wall in 1414, while Hus was on trial at the Council of Constance (Spinka 389-90). Hus agreed with Wycliffe in focusing on the scriptures, but never said that "Nothing is to be tolerated in the Church, which is not found in Scripture"; rather only that nothing in the Church should be contrary to scripture (Spinka 386). And Hus never said that sacraments performed by a priest in a state of sin were invalid, only that such priests were not performing such functions "worthily" (Spinka 386). Still, upon his arrest a few weeks after his arrival in Constance in November 1414 (where he had come—under a "safe conduct" guarantee from the Emperor Sigesmund, Queen Anne's younger brother—to defend his beliefs before the Council), Hus was charged with being a thoroughgoing Wycliffite and urged to recant 45 of Wycliffe's purported heresies, most of which Hus had never advocated.

One item upon which Hus did agree with Wycliffe was the latter's definition of the Universal Church as comprising only the predestined. As Matthew Spinka summarizes it, this doctrine held that "No person in whatever place of authority, even the pope, not a member of this true Church, is a veritable pastor of Christ's sheep" (387). This is the belief that ultimately led to Hus's execution. It formed the major charge of Jean Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, who had condemned Hus and his followers as early as May of 1414, asserting that their "most pernicious

error" was "that the foreknown or wicked existing in mortal sin has no dominion, jurisdiction, or power over others among the Christian people"—a doctrine that seemed to him so insidious because "the political rule on earth is not based on predestination or love, because of their uncertainty and insecurity, but is stabilized according to ecclesiastical and civil laws" (qtd. in Spinka 350). Thus for Gerson, it was not Hus's s theological errors that made him dangerous, but rather the political ramifications of his ideas that threatened the established social order. When Gerson arrived in Constance in February 1415, it was with 20 articles of condemnation aimed at Hus.

As history was to show, Gerson's fears were somewhat justified. As Wycliffe had produced a Lollard Bible that enabled the English to read scripture in their own language, so Hus promoted the use of the Czech Bible, and preached sermons in Czech every week at Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. This fed the flames of Czech nationalism, and after Hus was burned at the stake in Constance (with the approval of Sigesmund, who may, with Gerson, have feared the political implications of Hus's beliefs), Bohemia was to see 17 years of Hussite Wars, beginning with the Hussites' rejection of Sigesmund as successor to his brother Wenceslaus IV.

Most orthodox Europeans, and the English in particular, saw the Hussites as simply a Bohemian branch of Wycliffites, and in the years following the posting of the Twelve Conclusions began to institute policies to crack down on Lollards in English territory. Such efforts increased in the first years of Henry IV's reign under the leadership of Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel. These measures included the *Constitutions* of 1408, forbidding any of the unlicensed laity to preach or to translate the scriptures, and more importantly *De Heretico Camburend*, the law passed in January of 1401 that legitimized burning at the stake as the ultimate punishment for those heretics found guilty by ecclesiastical authorities. William Sawtre,

the first of many Lollards executed under this new law in February 1401, had been Margery Kempe's curate at St. Margaret's Church in Lynn. Sawtre was found guilty of heresy two years earlier, but under the new law was subject to burning.[7]

It is in this context that we need to look at the trial of Joan of Arc. We commonly think of Joan's story in isolation, or at least only in the context of the politics of the Hundred Year's War. But a significant factor in her trial and execution was the broader European political situation: by the spring of 1431, the Hussite Wars had been raging for twelve years in Bohemia. Pope Martin V and Emperor Sigesmund had launched five separate crusades against the Hussites, but each had been repelled by the radical Taborites, and their brilliant general Jan Žižka, who routed papal armies using canons mounted on armored wagons. The Church hierarchy and all of orthodox Europe was appalled by the heretics in their midst, and on March 28, 1430 Joan of Arc herself dictated a letter to the Hussite rebels, threatening to "leave the English and set off against you" if they do not give up their heresy. She concluded

> If you do not wish to do so and if you obstinately kick against the spur, remember what injuries and crimes you have perpetrated and await me, who will inflict a similar fate on you with the aid of divine and human forces. ("Jean" 133)

By the time Joan came to trial early in 1431, Hus and Jerome of Prague had been burnt, Sir John Oldcastle and other Lollard leaders in England had been burnt, Wycliffe's corpse had been disinterred and, by order of the Council of Constance, posthumously burnt in 1428, and the Taborites of Bohemia were crushing every army the Pope could mount against them. Joan had been captured by the Burgundian army outside of Compiègne and sold to the English, and was

on trial in Rouen in Normandy, under the English laws established a generation before by Arundel.

Beverly Boyd asserts that "The spread of Wyclif's teachings…not only in England but on the Continent, made for considerable embarrassment, since this was an English heresy" (Boyd 112). Thus, when Joan came into their hands, "[t]he trial was plainly meant…by the English as a convenient disclaimer of the heresy they had accidently exported" (Boyd 116). But why suspect Joan of Hussite sympathies when she had already written them demanding that they give up their heresy or face her own military intervention; or when Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of Paris who had been instrumental in the conviction of Hus at Constance, defended her in a 1429 treatise, saying

> This Pucelle does not appear to have used spells prohibited by the Church, proscribed superstitions, or the deceits of fraudulent people in an open way; she is not seeking her own interest with any guile, since she exposes her own body to the supreme peril, in evidence of her faith….Therefore may the inquitious [sic] talk be put to an end and cease. For, when divine virtue operates, it establishes the means according to its aim; hence, it is not safe to disparage or to find fault, out of rash bravado, with those things which are from God, according to the Apostle. ("De mirabilis" 81-83)

The cynical answer is that the English found it convenient to dispose of a military and political threat under the guise of orthodox piety. But while there may be some truth to this, there are other likely reasons for suspicion. Marina Warner alludes to rumors among the French themselves of Joan's Hussite sympathies (Warner 178). For one thing, like the Hussites, Joan's motives, though sanctioned by her angelic "voices" and so, she believed, by God himself, were

essentially nationalistic: the English did not belong in France any more than the Germans did in Bohemia; thus Joan, like Žižka, was leading a revolt against what the English saw as the political status quo. Further, Hussite women were known to fight alongside their men in the Bohemian wars, so that Joan would appear to be emulating Hussite martial practice. In addition, like their Lollard cousins, Hussite women were allowed to preach, even in Prague itself (see Fudge 37). As one who claimed her authority from divine inspiration, Joan must have seemed a convert to this same heresy.

Thus when her ecclesiastical judges began their interrogation of Joan, they began with questions that might uncover her Hussite leanings. In her second public examination (February 22, 1431), Joan was asked whether she "received this sacrament of the Eucharist at other feasts than Easter," to which she simply told the inquisitor to "move on" ("The Trial of Condemnation" 141). The Hussites' insistence on making the Eucharist—both elements—more readily available to common Christians was one of their defining doctrines, and the very question seems to have been a trap for her to expose herself. It did not work, as she refused to answer.

But Joan was ultimately to falter on the same crux that condemned Hus. Her inquisitors insisted that she submit herself to the authority of the Church Militant. Hus had followed Wycliffe in defining the Universal Church as the fellowship of all the elect, implying that certain members of the hierarchy of the Church Militant may not in fact belong to the Universal Church. He steadfastly refused to submit to the authority of the Council (representing the Church Militant) unless they could prove him in error with arguments based on scripture. Joan refused to recognize the authority of the Church Militant when it told her that her voices were false. During her eighth private examination on March 17,

> She answered that she came to the King of France on behalf of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, all the saints of heaven and the Church victorious on high, and at their command; and she submitted all her good deeds and everything that she had done or would do to that Church. ("The Trial of Condemnation" 198)

This line of questioning, as Boyd has argued, "pointed directly at the Lollard heresy" (116). Joan, illiterate and probably unaware of how dangerous were the theological distinctions she was making, went to the stake on May 30 a relapsed heretic, guilty of wearing men's clothing and of refusing to submit to the authority of the Church Militant. She was 19 years old.

Meanwhile in Bohemia, the Hussites just kept winning their wars. Finally, in 1437, after years of negotiations with the new Church Council at Basel, a treaty, known as the *Compactata*, was negotiated between the Roman church and the moderate Hussite Utraquists. It guaranteed the Utraquists' chief demand—communion with both elements for the laity—and tentatively agreed with the other three Articles of Prague (drawn up by the Hussites in 1420), including the freedom to preach, the elimination of public mortal sins, and the abandonment of temporal possessions by the clergy, though the Council reserved the right to interpret these articles in their own way. The agreement also allowed the Hussites to maintain a separate organization with their own archbishop (Oakley 202-203). Thus the Utraquists returned to the fold of the Roman Church, though the pope subsequently revoked the *Compactata* in 1462. The Taborites were defeated by the moderate Utraquists at the Battle of Lipan in 1434, but survived as a separate church, the Bohemian Brethren, through the 15th century.[8]

When Martin Luther debated John Eck in Leipzig in July 1519, Luther first resisted Eck's charge that he was a Hussite, saying he had never advocated separation from the Church. But he

softened his attitude later in the debate, asserting that "Among the articles of John Hus, I find many which are plainly Christian and evangelical, which the universal Church cannot condemn" (Bainton 115-16). Specifically he endorsed Hus's opinion that "it is not necessary for salvation to believe the Roman Church is superior to all others," saying "I do not care whether this comes from Wyclif or from Hus. I know that innumerable Greeks have been saved though they never heard this article. It is not in the power of the Roman pontiff or of the Inquisition to construct new articles of faith. No believing Christian can be coerced beyond holy writ" (Bainton 117).

Following this debate Eck returned to Rome assured of Luther's heresy. But Luther received a copy of Hus's treatise *De ecclesia*, accompanied by letters from John Paduška and Wenzel Rožďalowski, two leading Hussites of Prague, who wrote "What Hus was once in Bohemia, you, Martin, are in Saxony. Stand firm" (Bainton 119-20). Luther himself finally admitted in February of 1520, "We are all Hussites without knowing it" (Bainton 120).

We've come a long way from Chaucer's anticipation of the nuptials of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in *The Parliament of Fowls*. In hindsight, it must be admitted that the marriage never achieved any of the political or military goals its architects sought. Wenceslaus IV was simply a drain on the English treasury and never cut his ties with France. Indeed, as Saul says, he "would never commit himself to any course that conflicted with his own interests" (93). But the marriage was a great personal success, as Richard found in Anne a soul-mate who seems to have been able to hold in check his more extreme tempers that led, after her death, to the errors that brought down his reign. But beyond that, sometimes through her own conscious choices, sometimes through her simple presence, and sometimes in the unintended consequences of her marriage, Anne shaped England and the rest of Europe in wide-ranging ways. Her patronage, or the possibility of it, helped to encourage the new experiment of literature in English that Chaucer

spearheaded. Her chaste marriage invited the usurping of the throne by Henry of Lancaster and, ultimately, the Wars of the Roses that brought the Tudor monarchy to power. The connections between Oxford and Prague that resulted from her marriage led to the spread of Wycliffism to Bohemia. Would Hus have been the same threat to the Church if he hadn't found Wycliffe? Not likely. Would Joan of Arc have been burned if the Hussite Wars had not been raging at the time of her trial? Possibly not. Would Luther have started a Reformation without the earlier success of the Hussites? Possibly, but there would have been a better chance of reconciliation with Rome had he not embraced Hus at Leipzig. And none of this would have occurred if Richard had not married the Good Queen Anne. A single life, even that of a "little scrap of humanity," can send out ripples that become great waves of change.

Notes

[1] Of course, the poem makes no sense as a commemoration of the 14th of February, but makes perfect sense if Chaucer has in mind the third of May, the feast day of Saint Valentine of Genoa—one of several martyred Valentines in the early Church. For the probability of Chaucer's having this particular Saint Valentine in mind, see Kelly, *passim*.

[2] Nigel Saul points out that "the only surviving manuscript illumination of Anne shows her in this capacity: in a beautifully decorated initial of the Shrewsbury borough charter she kneels before her husband in the act of receiving the charter from his hands" (455).

[3] The crown is gold enameled in a floral design, studded with pearls and encrusted with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires. After Richard's deposition, the crown passed to Henry IV's daughter, Princess Blanche, who brought it with her when she wed the Palatine Elector Ludwig III in 1402. But the magnificence of the crown, reflecting again the appreciation of fine artists in the English court under Richard and Anne, seems also to have made its way into the Pearl-poet's literary imagination.

[4] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn's collection *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, explores some of these various implications: according to the editors,

> Whether or not we wish to engage class, gender, or institutional ideology, images such as those of Saint Anne have no single essential "meaning" and certainly do not bear unproblematic relation to viewers' socioeconomic status or physiological sex. … Saint Anne is a sign with shifting signifiers in late medieval culture. (52)

[5] Saul does not elaborate on this comment. The *devotio moderna* was a pious movement whose origins are attributed to Geert Groote, who had attended the University of Prague sometime around 1370. He returned to the eastern Netherlands in the mid 1370s and began to preach lay piety that involved living in the world but serving God and living a rigorously moral personal life that included reading and meditation on the scriptures. From Groote sprang in the 15th century the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life and similar groups throughout the Low Countries and Germany, and ultimately the kind of tracts extolling personal devotion published by Thomas à Kempis as *The Imitation of Christ*. All of this would have post-dated Queen Anne, but it is conceivable that she had some inkling of the fledgling movement in the Low Countries through contact with her aunt and uncle, the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, with whom she had stayed for a month in 1381 in Brussels while making her way from Prague to England. In any case, her personal piety and apparent devotion to meditative reading, even of the scriptures in the vernacular, resemble some of the aspects of the movement.

[6] Several of Richard's retainers were reputed to have held Wycliffite sympathies—including Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Montagu, Sir Richard Stury, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir William Neville and his longtime companion, Sir John Clanvowe (author of the *Boke of Cupid*), but it does not follow that the king or the queen looked favorably on these sympathies. One of the books known to have been in Richard's library was an anti-Wycliffite treatise by the Dominican Prior Roger Dymmok, an Oxford theologian, who argued, among other things, that Lollards were usurping royal power by advocating pacifism (Eberle 248).

[7] But the Lollards remained a significant minority in England, and at the same time the Council of Constance was interrogating Jan Hus, a Lollard rebellion was brewing in England, led by Sir John Oldcastle, friend of the new king Henry V. Oldcastle was convicted of heresy

September 23, 1413—one of the last to be sentenced by Arundel, who died the following February. Oldcastle escaped from the Tower, took part in a plot to kidnap the king January 9, 1414, and, failing that, went into hiding and remained at the center of other Lollard plots until he was captured and executed, by hanging and burning, on December 14, 1417. By now the English saw Lollardy as not only heresy but treason, and a threat to the social order of the Christian commonwealth.

[8] For the next 80 years, Hussite influence spread gradually into Germany, through the influence of German clergy who had been at the University of Prague, or from Bohemian preachers in Germany, so that native German Waldensian heretics (particularly in Brandenburg) found common cause with the Hussites in Germany and were supported in their faith by the Bohemian Brethren (see Kieckhefer 88-94). These Hussite and quasi-Hussite sects all anticipated Luther's theology in a number of ways, including their insistence on the primacy of scripture, their notion of the priesthood of all believers, their insistence on the Church's abandonment of worldly wealth, and their advocacy of scripture reading and preaching in the language of the people.

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Dialectic and Thematic Evidence Against the *Pearl* Poet's Authorship of *Saint Erkenwald*

Nick Reese
Northern State University

The canon of Medieval literature consists predominantly of singular works by anonymous or obscure authors. This fact makes the case of the *Pearl* poet rather unusual, in that there are at least four extant poems popularly attributed to a single, nameless writer. There are a number of reasons for placing the authorship of the *Cotton Nero* manuscript, that is, the poems *Pearl*, *Patience*, *Cleanness* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, under a singular entity; there is still considerable debate, however, over whether or not the same poet also wrote *Saint Erkenwald*, from the Harley library collection. It must be remembered that all knowledge of the *Pearl* poet is informed and synthesized from the manuscripts themselves. What can and cannot be proved from this form of inference is extensively disputed. There will be no attempt here to make an argument for or against any specific theory regarding an actual historical figure as the *Pearl* poet; instead, only details which illuminate the unique mind and style of the poet will be considered. A return to the dialect, language, narrative structures and themes of the primary manuscripts will suggest that all of the evidence leading to common authorship theories between MS Cotton Nero A.x and folios 72V-75V of British Library MS Harley 2250 is based largely on outdated and inconclusive research. Scrutinizing the parallel constructions of the poems from the Cotton library and then comparing the manuscript of *Saint Erkenwald* to an overall picture of the internal composition of those four poems and the style of their author, who is definitely the *Pearl* poet, will prove that there is little evidence on which to base this theory of common authorship.

To begin looking at the *Cotton Nero* poems, a reassessment of the rationale for the attribution of the four poems from the Cotton library to a single hand will be useful. The

manuscript itself, according to Tolkien, measures 170 x 125 mm. and each page consists of thirty-six lines, with the exception of the beginning page of *Sir Gawain*, which only has twenty-five lines (xi). Several scholars also note that while the text may be one of the best instances of alliterative poetry during the fourteenth century, the actual manuscript itself is not overly impressive. The titles to each work are not formally present above the poems themselves; instead, they have been assigned to each poem by modern editors. The script is described by several scholars in the same way: it is a small, sharp style of handwriting. There are twelve illustrations included, but Tolkien calls them "crude" (xiii) and Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron note that they are "presumably the work of an artist of limited talent" and that these illustrations "tend not only to miss opportunities for an imaginative response to dramatic or unusual situations, but also reflect little awareness of the iconographic traditions of Christian art" (4). Andrew and Waldron ultimately conclude, with much other supporting evidence, that the artist probably had little or no familiarity with the works themselves, and was probably working from instructions (4). This theory is supported by the fact that the illustrations all occupy one whole page, with the exception of a half-page illustration in *Patience*, and that they all precede or follow the poems, instead of appearing on the same page with the work. It is also possible that the drawings could have been added as late as the fifteenth century (Andrews and Waldron 3).

Paleographers, after studying the text, have come to the conclusion that it is not possible the manuscript was composed later than 1400 (Tolkien xxv). One important physical indication of the age of the manuscript itself is that the motto of the Order of the Garter appears on the bottom of the last page of *Sir Gawain* (f.124v). This mark could signify the earliest date for the manuscript as 1348, when the order was founded, though it is possible that it may have been added later (Andrews and Waldron 2-3). Another concrete way in which scholars have so far

precisely dated these works is by comparing them to the works which they reference or which include an obvious reference to them. Finch indicates that *Patience* precedes "at least part of the 1377 B-text of Langland's...Piers Plowman;" *Pearl* follows Boccaccio's work *Olympia* from 1360; *Cleanness* is most likely a response to a version of Mandeville's *Travels* published in 1356 (3).

A second place where scholars have located concrete evidence about the poet himself, along with a more specific point in time for his works, is the dialect of his writings. By studying certain linguistic idiosyncrasies, such as deviant regional vocabulary, of the *Cotton Nero* manuscript, scholars have established the area of the north-west midlands as its place of origin, and more specifically somewhere near South East Cheshire, North East Staffordshire (Andrews and Waldron 2; Finch 3; Borroff xiii), South Lancashire, or Northwest of Derby (Mossé 380; Tolkien xiii). Scribes have been known to change words slightly in accordance with their own habits and preferences, so all that can be definitely ascertained from this information is that the scribe who originally wrote this manuscript copied it in the dialect of this area of England. More recent studies of the rhyming and alliterative words of the poems, where the scribe would have had little capacity to change the words without significantly affecting the work, have shown that the person who actually composed the poem may have been from a place slightly more southerly than the scribe (Andrews and Waldron 2); researchers also note that this evidence may only prove where the poet was raised. Additionally, there is a distinct possibility that he simply moved to another location before he wrote the poem (7). More recently, the belief that it may have been written by a poet from the west midlands who later inhabited London has become more prevalent (Andrews and Waldron 8). The problem inherent in all of these theories is that the basic study on which they are based leaves out a significant amount of vital information

(Putter and Stokes 470). Writing and spelling during this period did follow many conventions but, in general, the spelling of many words was still in flux and certain phonemes had no distinct spelling; these problems were largely left to the habits and tastes of the scribes who were copying the work. Many case-endings in these poems seem to have little regard, in spelling, for their colloquial partners. The problem with basing any sort of serious examination of an author on his or her specific dialect is that it ignores the conceivable occurrence of "a commixture of languages which may be dialectally distinct" (Putter and Stokes 470), such as the dialect of the scribe, the poet or any intermediary scribe or overseer to the copying of the manuscript. Another possibility is that the author may have simply borrowed words from extraneous dialectic areas in order to sustain the complex rhyming and alliterative form of the poems (Putter and Stokes 470). A considerable amount of other evidence points to the fact that this manuscript could have been written sometime near the end of the fourteenth century. Most of this material is centered upon internal evidence, namely the descriptions of castles, costumes, furnishings and armor.

Another aspect of the language of the poems which is important to consider is the shared expressions and word usages throughout the four poems; "the total number of different words in *Gawain*, excluding the fifty-five proper names, is approximately 2,650" (Tolkien 138). Early in the last century, there was believed to be significant proof that there are words which are present only in the manuscripts of the *Pearl* poet's works; to many scholars, even contemporary ones, these words and expressions seem to prove that these works were obviously the work of a single poet. Tolkien notes these common usages "make it especially hard to know whether 'parallel passages' imply common authorship, imitation, or simply the use of familiar conventions and set pieces" (xxiii). Recently, researching on Middle English poems has greatly affected these grounds in the eyes of many critics. Marie Borroff now points to only a single word which has,

so far, not been found outside of the poet's works: a verb meaning “to offer” or “to utter” (265). This deterioration of evidence leaves the once definite proof of shared phrases and vocabulary now completely groundless and, therefore, unconvincing. The reason that this form of validation is accepted in the case of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience* and *Sir Gawain* strongly correlates with the fact that the poems were all found in the same manuscript, and since they “do not coincide with the beginning of gatherings, it can be deduced that the scribe copied them as a collection rather than as separate works” (Andrews and Waldron 2). This mutual history is the form of criterion needed in order for internal evidence to be justifiably used in establishing common authorship; because of the shared origins of the *Cotton Nero* poems, it is one of the few instances in which stylistic verification is almost universally accepted as worthwhile corroboration to the theory.

Casey Finch introduces some important technical details of the poet's style of writing which could suggest a large number of distinct features of the *Pearl* poet. The writer of the *Cotton Nero* poems specifically refers to God paraphrastically instead of directly (4); has a certain fascination with food and the formalities of banqueting (4); holds a distinct preference for the Old Testament over the New (6); has “an obsession with enclosed spaces and the getting free of them” (7); creates a comedic—almost playful—feeling in referencing hardship (9) and has a meticulous sense of the visual medium of writing. Borroff also perceives a magnificence in his “power of placing us within scenes where we witness events that matter as much to us as they do to the fictional characters involved” (xiii-xvi). This stunning visual element is even noticed by Tolkien; he says that while it is characteristic for the Medieval romances to be told in a plain and sparse style, *Sir Gawain* is written in an “enriching atmosphere with material expanded far beyond the demands of the tale . . .” and that the poet expounds upon his scenes “for enjoyment, rather beyond the bounds of reasonable elaboration” (xxi). Finch notices this characteristic of the

Pearl poet as well, in that he "seldom hesitates to suspend the stories forward progress in order to linger on elaborate descriptions … to generate apostrophes … to underscore ironies … to advise the audience … to declare oaths and make exclamations … to mention his source" (12). This is a singular characteristic that any reader of Middle English literature cannot help but notice of the *Pearl* poet: his use of detail gives his works the quality of cinema.

The last notably important facet of the *Cotton Nero* poems is the structure of their respective narratives. *Cleanness*, *Patience* and *Sir Gawain* are all alliterative verse poems, while Tolkien calls *Pearl's* verse "almost uniquely intricate" (xxiii). *Cleanness* and *Patience* are homilies, while *Sir Gawain* is an Arthurian Romance, and *Pearl* is an elegy in the form of a dream-vision. The popular consensus is that one mark of the *Pearl* poet is his "rigorous and intricate" forms (Mossé 386). Even with these notably complex narrative structures, Tolkien notes that none of the poems contain a perfectly complete design, though he does concede that "it approaches it more nearly than any other of its kind in Middle English" (xxi). Though *Patience*, *Cleanness* and *Sir Gawain* are all alliterative, *Sir Gawain* is divided into stanzas while the others are not, though they, without exception, fall into groups of four (Tolkien xxii). Each of the poems, with the exception of *Cleanness*, ends with lines that echo its beginning. To further complicate the poems, *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain* both contain several different forms of number symbolism throughout the body of the poem; in *Sir Gawain* the number five is extremely important, while in *Pearl* it is the number twelve.

All of these reasons form a convincing argument for the common authorship of the *Cotton Nero* poems, but the most widely accepted piece of evidence in the entirety of this argument is, as Dorothy Everett points out (and Andrew and Waldron agree with), that

> because all four, in various manners and degrees, display not merely a liking for symmetrical arrangement, but a marked sense of form, it seems easier to assume a common author than to suppose that two or more men writing in the same locality and the same period, and certainly closely associated with one another, possessed this rare, and one would think, inimitable quality. (Everett 68)

Thus, even with all of the other information regarding the composition of the four poems, the most convincing argument still remains the fact that all of the poems were found in the same manuscript and were written by the same scribe, at the same time, in the same dialect. Even though the subjects of the poem may be very different, Mossé notes that "the moral preoccupations of the author remains noticeably the same" (238).

All of this data about the *Pearl* poet constructs a picture of the author himself. Because it has been established that all four of the *Cotton Nero* poems are indeed the work of the *Pearl* poet, it is apparent that the author has an incredible flexibility in the topics he could write about, and his considerable elegance shows his skill in structuring the narrative of a story. The poet was distinctive in his dialect, word choice and paraphrases, expansive detail, cinematographic style, and narrative structuring. If the manuscript from the *Harley* library is considered in these terms, it should be obvious whether or not these poems share enough internal and external characteristics to base a common authorship theory upon.

While the rest of the *Pearl* poet's works survived in a single manuscript and were found bound together in the Cotton library, the manuscript of *Saint Erkenwald* is part of a larger collection from the Harley library. Andrew and Waldron point out that there are only two pieces of evidence which still continue to support the arguments of those who advance the theory that *Saint Erkenwald* was written by the *Pearl* poet: its date, and its dialect. Many scholars still cite

internal evidence, such as themes and motifs shared throughout all five poems, in order to continue to support common authorship. The internal evidence present in these poems that supports a singular author is so overwhelming that Larry Benson notes "the one scholar who has attempted to disprove the attribution had to argue for close imitation as the only alternative to common authorship" (394). The manuscript itself is dated 1477 by the scribe, though there are many authorities who cite dialectical evidence that could point to a much earlier date of composition around the year 1386 (Peterson 53). This date would place the poem concurrent with a date in which the *Pearl* poet would have lived. Almost all scholars concede that it could be possible that this was a work of the Pearl poet because of this earlier date. This concession is always followed, however, by remarking that the poem was, in Gollancz's words, "the work of a hand that was losing its cunning" (qtd. Benson 395); even Tolkien says that it is "a duller work altogether" (xxiv). It should also be seriously recognized that the existence of similar dates of these two manuscripts does not necessarily give any credit whatsoever to any common authorship theory.

Along with the controversy over the date of the work, the dialect of *Saint Erkenwald* seems to be a point upon which some scholars tend to disagree. When talking about the authorship of the poem, Borroff notes that the dialect is "thought to belong to the same dialect area" (265) of the *Cotton Nero* poems. The poem is, however, much more connected with London than the rest of the *Pearl* poet's poems; it was even originally written to celebrate the patron saint of London. Andrews and Waldron call it an "unequivocally metropolitan poem" in stark contrast to the other four poems, but they do also agree that it is written, as a poem from London, in a west midlands dialect. There are many scholars who disagree with the notion that *Saint Erkenwald* was written in the same dialect as that of the *Cotton Nero* manuscripts; Larry

Benson simply says in one of his articles that the poem is "written in a different dialect" (393) and seems to believe that the dialect of the poem has never been seriously or comprehensively studied outside of the shadow of the *Pearl* poet. Tolkien also notes that the opening account of London, which seems to echo the opening lines of *Sir Gawain*, does not seem to be from the same hand (xxiv). Ad Putter and Myra Stokes argue that, regardless of the dialect, *Saint Erkenwald* was from a place at least fifteen miles further north-west of the *Cotton Nero* poems, in Cheshire, "for internal evidence shows that the poem was composed in Cheshire and external evidence that it was also copied there: manuscript marginalia and the companion pieces (mostly local produce) firmly connect the codex (Harley 2250) with Cheshire in general and Dunham Massey in particular" (472). The disparity in academic opinion on the dialectical features of *Saint Erkenwald* comes from a more general disagreement about the author himself; many who argue against the *Pearl* poet as the author of the work have serious doubts about many of the studies which have scrutinized them.

Early scholars pointed to the high number of unique words prevalent only in the works of the *Cotton Nero* poems, and a large number of these words they thought were uniquely shared with *Saint Erkenwald*. This fact seemed, for a long time, to give ample support to common authorship in conjunction with all of the other evidence that researchers had gathered. These scholars were researching previous to the publishing of the *Middle English Dictionary*, however, and even Benson wrote that the number of these shared words was steadily declining. The *Middle English Dictionary*, published in 1954, has significantly increased the awareness of shared vocabulary between many poems of the period. Benson points to Trautmann's works of the late nineteenth century, in which the number of completely original words was said to be thirteen, but indicates that by his time the number had decreased to three. Most recently, Marie

Borroff's publishing of *The Gawain Poet: Complete Works*, in 2011, notes only a single distinctive word that is shared among all five poems. Other recent discoveries have also led to the debasement of this argument. While some scholars have continued to point to the shared vocabulary of the *Cotton Nero* Manuscript and *Saint Erkenwald* as proof of common authorship, other scholars dismiss these declarations unconditionally because of the shared metrical formulas and phrasing conventions of the Alliterative Revival during the last half of the fourteenth century (Andrew and Waldron 5). Recent research on the Alliterative Revival has also shown that the same meter (the long alliterative line), grammatical structuring, words, topics and themes seem to be recurrent among a much larger body of poems than was previously thought. Benson shows that *Saint Erkenwald* shares more phrasing formulas with *The Wars of Alexander*, with which it shares seventeen, than it does with any of the *Cotton Nero* poems. The largest number of phrases that the poem shares with the works of the *Pearl* poet is its fourteen formulas shared with *Purity*.

Saint Erkenwald does contain many periphrases for referencing God, like the *Cotton Nero* poems, but Benson notes that "the Gawain-poet … was not the only poet to invent and use frequently constructions like this" (400); he points out that even Chaucer made use of this construction of a noun or a pronoun plus a relative clause rather frequently. It was widely used in Middle English literature, even outside of alliterative poetry (Benson 400). Benson also argues that the author of *Saint Erkenwald* used periphrases in ways that were "relatively usual" in Middle English literature and with one singular exception, which is a phrase borrowed from a long chain of source material, they refer to "God's role as Judge of man" (403). This is not comparable to the usage of the *Pearl* poet's periphrases, which contain a large variety of head words in place of God and which are used much more frequently than any other poet of the period (Benson 404). Another obvious characteristic of the *Cotton Nero* manuscripts, and not of

Saint Erkenwald, is the expansion of details that the poet himself finds interesting. The poem being rather short, there is a much smaller amount of the elaborations, rich details, visual mediums, and superfluities which are so famously common in the works of the *Pearl* poet.

The poem of the Harley manuscript is composed of neither an intricate narrative structure nor any form of number symbolism. Though some critics believe they have found some form of anagram or acrostic in *Saint Erkenwald* and connect it with a supposedly similar anagram and acrostic in *Pearl*, Andrews and Waldron observe that "these theories have gained little support" (9). These theories mostly argue in the support of a certain author with the last name "Massey" and are all based on scant evidence. The narrative structure of *Saint Erkenwald* consists quite simply of alliterative lines and it is organized mostly in the form of quatrains. Tolkien notes that if any parallels should be noted, it is that the poem "shares the theological interests of *Pearl* and the external form of *Purity*," but he also says that "the similarities are by no means so close as those among the four poems of the Nero manuscript" (xxiv). Other scholars have a tendency to disagree on what the narrative structuring of *Saint Erkenwald* means in relation to the *Pearl* poet's style. Benson notes that "Trautmann found that the versification of Erkenwald indicated the Gawain poet's authorship; J.T.T. Brown used the same type of evidence to prove that the Gawain-poet could not have been the author" (398).

The discrediting of these technical arguments over the last half century leaves little evidence for any form of common authorship theory. What little evidence left to construct this theory with are completely internal to the poems themselves, and Benson holds that "no other theory of common authorship based solely on such evidence survived the scrutiny of scholars" (393). What is left of decades of slowly declining evidence as proof for common authorship now has such scant grounds to prove a case that there seems to be little left for proponents of the

theory to cling to. The problem, as Benson also notes, is that "while *Saint Erkenwald* has increasingly been connected with the *Pearl* poet, the evidence for this association has slowly been decreasing" (395). It has been consistently shown that the date of authorship, internal evidence, and external evidence are all either too widely disputed or too unreliable to prove the *Pearl* poet's authorship of the poem. Any substantiating claim of common authorship is going to require much more concrete and definitive evidence on the part of scholars who advance this theory.

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"Awake thou that sleepest": Perilous Sleep in Book One of *The Faerie Queene*

Rachel M. De Smith
Baylor University

"*Awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead,*
and Christ shall give thee light."
~Ephesians 5:14[1]

In Book One, Canto One of *The Faerie Queene*, the guests in Archimago's house are "all drownd in deadly sleepe" (1.1.36.6)[2] when Archimago reveals himself to be an enchanter with a malicious agenda. Sleep in the house of Archimago is not safe —and indeed throughout Book One of *The Faerie Queene* sleep and rest prove perilous for Spenser's characters. Jon A. Quitslund, one of the few scholars to mention this phenomenon, writes, "Even where rest is innocent and well earned, it may have unhappy consequences" (175). Quitslund's brief remarks acknowledge the problematic character of *Faerie Queene* sleep, but neither he nor his fellow scholars explore this negative sleep comprehensively. Sleep in Spenser's epic is not, of course, exclusively negative, but it is persistently so, and Spenser's characters constantly contend with the dangers of sleep. In this paper I argue that Spenser consistently represents sleep as a danger to the life of holiness. He describes sleep in negative language that relates it to death, and he gives several examples of the spiritual and physical dangers of sleep. Ultimately, Spenser's characters can only combat these dangers by a vigilance that refuses to succumb to sleep. This vigilance, gradually acquired by the Red Crosse Knight and his companions, resembles the vigilant, urgent, and at times militant picture of Christian life drawn by the New Testament, where believers are challenged to "Awake" (Eph. 5:14) and be wary of sin. Readers of *The*

Faerie Queene who pay attention to Spenser's negative picture of sleep encounter a challenge to recognize and participate in the wakeful life of holiness.

From the very beginning of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser describes sleep in negative terms that highlight its deadly potential. Early in Book One, Redcrosse and Una meet "An aged squire…Simple in shew" (1.1.29.2, 7) whose offer of hospitality they accept. However, when night comes to the old man's "little lowly Hermitage" (1.1.34.1), it does so in a sinister fashion:

> The drouping Night thus creepeth on them fast,
> And the sad humor loading their eye liddes,
> As messenger of *Morpheus* on them cast
> Sweet slombring deaw, the which to sleep them biddes:
> Vnto their lodgings then his guestes he riddes:
> Where when all drownd in deadly sleepe he findes,
> He to his studie goes, and there ammiddes
> His magick bookes and artes of sundrie kindes,
> He seekes out mighty charmes, to trouble sleepy minds. (1.1.36)

This stanza describes the first sleep in Spenser's epic, and it does so in profoundly negative language. From the deadly character of sleep to the frightening figures that embody it, these images of sleep are genuinely disturbing.

In this important stanza, two sinister allegorical figures related to sleep make their first appearance: Night, the bringer of sleep, who "creepeth" (1) upon the travelers with "sad humor" (2), and Morpheus, the god of sleep, who appears in line 3. Morpheus, who provides the false dream with which Archimago beguiles Redcrosse, appears later in the canto and is himself prey to sleep. The "griesly *Night*, with visage deadly sad" (1.5.20.1) is probably the more sinister of

these two figures, from her "foule black pitchy mantle" (1.5.20.3) to her "coleblacke steeds yborne of hellish brood" (1.5.20.8). She is also the more powerful of the two, since "she in hell and heauen had power equally" (1.5.34.9). As Andrew Weiner notes, the language of light and darkness "predominates in Book 1" (49); Night participates in this duality as one of the dangerous figures of darkness. The night that comes to the house of Archimago is not yet personified, but in this early Book One passage, the coming of night provides the context for deadly sleep.

The central phrase, "drownd in deadly sleepe" (1.1.36.6), is probably the most important description of sleep in this passage, if not the whole book. Here sleep does not provide new strength or peace of mind; it is "deadly," causing as well as imitating death. Spenser's explicitly deadly description of sleep parallels some important New Testament concepts. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, arguably the most valuable Biblical book for the Book of Holiness,[3] Paul delivers this important injunction: "Awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Eph. 5:14). The Geneva Bible gloss for this phrase remarks, "He speaketh of the death of sinne." This connection between death and sin is not unusual, of course; earlier in Ephesians Paul writes, "And you *hath he quickened*, who were dead in trespasses and sinnes" (Eph. 2:1, original emphasis). But by equating death with sin and sleep with death, this Pauline passage indicates that sleep too is dangerous, that it may be as effective a separation from Christ as the death it imitates. By describing sleep as "deadly," Spenser similarly suggests that sleep may be sinful—or, to borrow a phrase from Jessica Wolfe, sleep may be "spiritually deadening" (1240). In this episode, sleep deadens the Red Crosse Knight's moral sense, so that upon waking he is ready to believe the worst of the slandered Una. Redcrosse thus spends much of his quest separated from truth after just one night of "deadly sleepe."

Death and sin are not the only unpleasant concepts linked with sleep here. Sleepers, in this passage and others in Spenser, are frequently "drownd" in sleep. Quitslund writes, "[J]ust as the sea and night are linked symbolically, the oblivion of sleep is often associated with water" (174). Although Quitslund's discussion focuses on nature in *The Faerie Queene*, he here acknowledges that the potential for (still) water to drown unwary persons is paralleled in the poem by sleep. By describing sleep like deep water, Spenser emphasizes sleep's deadly nature. The god of sleep, Morpheus, is likewise "drowned deepe / In drowsie fit" later in the canto (1.1.40.8-9). Morpheus participates in a sleep that resembles drowning; this sleep also numbs his senses. After sending off Archimago's messenger,[4] Morpheus "downe did lay / His heauie head, deuoide of careful carke, / Whose sences all were straight benumbed and starke" (1.1.44.3-5). Sleep (like the false dream Morpheus gives, that will "delude the sleepers sent," 1.1.43.9) produces a numbness of the physical senses that is again akin to death and suggests a dullness of the moral sense of sleepers. Furthermore, in this Book One episode, sleep is clearly linked to the evil enchanter Archimago, since only after his guests are asleep does he go "to his studie" and reveal his true nature by his "magick bookes" and "mighty charmes" (8, 9). Archimago's evil plan features sleep, since his charms "trouble sleepy minds" (9). Sleep may thus drown, numb, and enchant Spenserian sleepers, and with such terms Spenser makes sleep both deadly and dangerous.

In this first presentation of sleep in the entire *Faerie Queene*, sleep is a dangerous proposition. It serves the purposes of Archimago, whose true nature is revealed in the night and who uses his magic to wreak havoc with the "sleepy minds" of his guests. By presenting sleep in this early passage as "deadly" Spenser sets a certain tone for sleep that is never truly absent from the Book of Holiness. He suggests that sleep and death are linked, and that to have a "sleepy

mind" is to be vulnerable to the trouble that someone like Archimago can cause.[5] This trouble makes itself clear in the remainder of the episode, as Archimago calls up demons "out of deepe darkness dredd" (1.1.38.1) and obtains false dreams from Morpheus that trouble Redcrosse and separate him from Una. This first episode featuring sleep features it in a distinctly negative way, using language that marks sleep as perilous.

But the house of Archimago is not the only place in Book One where Spenser paints sleep in deadly language. For example, as Una seeks rest in the house of Abessa and Corcera in Canto Three, the coming of night brings a series of negative terms. First, "The day is spent, and commeth drowsie night, / When every creature shrowded is in sleepe" (1.3.15.1-2). And later, "[A]ll in deadly sleepe did drowned lye" (1.3.16.3). Sleep is again "deadly," and those who rest are "drowned" and "shrowded" with it. Death may, in the allegory of the Christian life which Spenser presents, be followed by resurrection, indicating that one may wake from death as from sleep. However, this parallel works in the other direction too: sleep, imitating death and described in death's language, becomes more deadly. This passage uses deadly language for sleep; it also links the night to the morally dubious character of Kirkrapine, who achieves his stolen goods by "nightly stealths" (1.3.16.8). Like Archimago, Kirkrapine works when others are asleep, and the immoral character of his actions coupled with the deadly language for sleep in this passage augments the deadly descriptions of sleep in Book One.

Another deadly description of sleep, similarly linked to a character of dubious morality, occurs in Canto Four, in the House of Pride. Here Redcrosse witnesses a ghastly parade of the deadly sins, led prominently by "sluggish *Idlenesse* the nourse of sin" (1.4.18.6). Idleness, like the other sleepers in this book, is "Still drownd in sleepe, and most of his daies dedd" (1.4.19.4). Idleness is permanently drowned, since he is always ("Still") asleep. By placing him at the head

of the procession, Spenser suggests that Idleness leads the way to other sins. In fact, by calling him "the nourse of sin," Spenser suggests that Idleness nurtures the other deadly sins. Idleness is similarly portrayed in the Bible, particularly in the book of Proverbs, which often condemns the sluggard—whose main characteristic is sleepiness: "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep. Therefore thy poverty cometh as one that travaileth by the way, and thy necessity like an armed man" (Prov. 6:9-11). In the Bible and in *The Faerie Queene*, those who sleep to excess and thereby take their minds from labor are easily led into other kinds of sin—as indeed Redcrosse's sleep in Archimago's house led to lust (another deadly sin) and perhaps also to wrath and pride. Sleep, here centered on the figure of Idleness, produces a moral deadness that counteracts the life of holiness.

Idleness is not the only Book One figure to use sleep as an avenue for other sin; Despair makes similarly sinister use of sleep, and of the deadly language that accompanies it. In Despair's elegant and persuasive arguments in Canto Nine, he links sleep with death in an effort to make them both appear positive to the despairing Red Crosse Knight: "Sleep after toyle, port after stormie seas, / Ease after warre, death after life does greatly please" (1.9.40.8-9).[6] In the house of Despair, rest—figured as the sleep that is death—appeals to Redcrosse, despite the deadly consequences and nature of sleep prominent in earlier adventures. Despair, that eloquent[7] figure, turns sleep to his purposes by comparing it to death and presenting both sleep and its deadly counterpart as desirable alternatives to the misery of a sinful and painful life. Although Despair does not use sleep as the culmination of his argument, he certainly does use it, and this use of sleep again places the concept in a problematic light. Linked with death, and used as part

of an argument meant to drive Redcrosse to a despairing suicide, sleep once again appears deadly, an enemy of the quest for holiness.

Thus we see that many of Redcrosse's adventures in Book One feature sleep in negative ways. In order to succeed in his quest, Redcrosse must (in reliance on God's grace) find a way to counteract this deadly sleep. He does so by relying on Una, who displays watchfulness during the battle with the dragon in Canto 11. The Red Crosse Knight must rest during the two nights of his battle, guided by the well and tree of life. These unusually positive rests are actually figured as positive deaths; Redcrosse arises as a "new-borne knight" (1.11.34.9), one who has followed Christ's injunction to be "borne again" (John 3:7). The two nights during which Redcrosse rests from battle are deaths from which he is resurrected, and "deadly" sleep can here be positive because Redcrosse is not alone. His unwary sleep is counteracted by Una's vigilance, for during both of the nights when Redcrosse rests and heals, Una herself does not sleep. Rather, she watches and prays: "All night she watcht, ne once adowne would lay / Her dainty limbs in her sad dreriment, / But praying still did wake" (1.11.32.7-9). And during the second night, "[F]or his safetie gan deuoutly pray; / And watch the noyous night, and wait for ioyous day" (1.11.50.8-9).[8] In Biblical language, Una fulfills Christ's exhortation to his disciples on the Mount of Olives: "Watch, and pray, that ye enter not into tentation" (Matt. 26:41). The disciples continually fall asleep and cannot remain awake to pray, but Una manages to watch and pray for two long nights, compensating for Redcrosse's moments of vulnerability as he heals from the day's wounds. Una's vigilance at night and Redcrosse's labor by day are both part of this long battle to defeat the dragon, during which deadly sleep plays no part, because both Redcrosse and Una have learned to shun the dangers of unwary sleep as well as to accept the heavenly grace that keeps them from sin and guides them into holiness.

Further proof that Redcrosse has learned his lesson about rest and sleep appears in the final canto of Book One, where Una's father, having given his blessing to the betrothal between Redcrosse and Una, says, "Deare Sonne…Let vs deuize of ease and euerlasting rest" (1.12.17.2, 9). These thoughts of ease are akin to thoughts of heaven, the eternal Sabbath rest, and after such wearying adventures they must sound appealing to the travelers. The Red Crosse Knight, however, cannot accept this delightful promise: "Ah dearest Lord, said then that doughty knight, / Of ease or rest I may not yet deuize" (1.12.18.1-2). Redcrosse still has a quest to complete, since he is bound to serve the Faerie Queene. Despite the difficulty of leaving Una, Redcrosse does not now hesitate to reject rest. Through his former trials, the Red Crosse Knight has learned to shun deadly sleep and the idleness of ease in favor of the vigilance and determination necessary for a holy quest. Una, too, possesses this vigilance, as her part in the battle with the dragon proves, and she thus understands her beloved's resolve, although she certainly mourns his leaving (1.12.41.9).

The world in which the Knight of Holiness must contend, then, is one in which sleep may be deadly—it dulls the senses both physical and spiritual, it makes one vulnerable to the attacks of all kinds of sin, and it detracts from the path of holiness, which is one of constant learning, journeying, and vigilance. Paul's Ephesian cry to the sinner, "Awake," is particularly apt for Redcrosse, who often needs to awake from his sleep in order to counteract the dangers it produces. By the end of Book One, Redcrosse has learned (with Una's help) to cultivate vigilance against the deaths of sleep and sin, so that as he leaves on the next stage of his quest he is well equipped to face the dangers that betray unwary knights. Deadly sleep is a consistent spiritual (and physical) danger throughout Book One, and only in finding ways to counteract this

danger does the Red Crosse Knight “Awake” from sin through grace and complete his quest as the Knight of Holiness.

Notes

1. All Scriptural quotations are from the 1602 Geneva Bible (ed. Sheppard). I have regularized the long "s" but preserved all other spellings.

2. All references are taken from *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (2nd edition).

3. For this conception of Ephesians, and for the connection of the Red Crosse Knight's adventures with Paul's exhortation to "Awake, thou that sleepest"—the seed from which this paper grew—I am indebted to a paper entitled "'Specified by Saint Paul v. Eph': Spenser's Use of *Ephesians* in Book One of *The Faerie Queene*" by Robert J. De Smith, presented at the Northern Plains Conference of Early British Literature, 1 May 2009.

4. On this episode, see Cook, who examines various sources, mostly classical, for Spenser's vision of the House of Sleep.

5. The reverse of this proposition is also true; Spenser occasionally speaks of physical death in terms of sleep. In Book Four, for example, Diamond (the middle of the three brothers whose souls pass into one another) is killed, but the language is that of sleep: "Till feeling life to fayle, it fell, and deadly slept" (4.3.20.9). Sleep and death remain linked—sleeping is still a deadly prospect.

6. William A. Oram writes of this moment, "The Spenserian desire for rest, an end to the misery of worldly instability, is ubiquitous in *The Faerie Queene*" (54).

7. Or, as Kuin and Prescott say, "enticingly repellent" (83).

8. Andrew Weiner's superb article on *The Faerie Queene* discusses the predominance of the light/darkness (day/night) contrast in Book One; this seems an appropriate time to mention it.

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Sharing Early Modern Poison with Postmodern Students

Bruce. E. Brandt
South Dakota State University

Many of the most spectacular, exotic, titillating, and grotesque deaths on the Early Modern stage involve poison, and when I teach plays such as *Hamlet* and *The Duchess of Malfi* in which poison plays a significant role as an instrument of death, I enjoy seizing the opportunity to regale the class with descriptions of some of the more over-the-top poisonings of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Of course, not everyone approves the excesses of this drama. For example, Marguerite A. Tassi's recent book *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* dismissively concludes that "In London's theaters, dramatists such as John Webster and Cyril Tourneur flamboyantly exploited visual effects—for them, theater was the opportune place for seeing sex, violence, and the macabre on display.… For the most part, the subtlety of the Elizabethan theatre was lost" (201). My own response, I must confess, is virtually the opposite: "sex, violence, and the macabre"—what more could one want! Flamboyant display, though lacking subtlety, can be its own reward, and our time, and our students, are well positioned to enjoy the comic book violence and special effects of this drama, even when experiencing only bits and pieces of it in anecdotal excerpts. Our own time, after all, has known some spectacular incidents of poisoning, such as the notorious release of sarin gas in the subways of Tokyo by members of the notorious *Aum Shinrikyo*; the assassination of Georgi Markov, the Bulgarian dissident killed by a ricin-filled pellet fired from the tip of an umbrella; and 2006 assassination of Alexander Litvinenko with polonium-210. Certainly, whether or not they know these specific cases, our students are aware in general of powerful poisons and the possibility of delivering them in exotic ways.

Most frequently my students encounter the use of poison in Shakespeare, who makes copious use of the trope of poison in his drama. However, actual death by poison is limited to four plays: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *King Lear*, and *Hamlet*. The fact that Romeo and Cleopatra use poison to commit suicide places their deaths in a different category than most poisonings, as poison is usually a means of murder and revenge. Still, they remain exotic deaths. From a poverty-stricken apothecary in Mantua, Romeo obtains

> A dram of poison, such soon speeding gear
> As will disperse itself through all the veins
> That the life-weary trunk may be discharged of breath
> As violently as hasty powder fired
> Doth hurry from the fatal cannon's womb. (5.1.60-65)

The dram works as quickly, and as painlessly, as Romeo hopes, killing him within moments of his ingesting it. Today's students never question the idea that a poison could be so fast-acting and efficacious, but in fact Shakespeare's England knew nothing like it. Fredson Bowers notes that chemical poisons such as arsenic had supplanted mediaeval botanical poisons, but that these are a far cry from the explosively quick and gently fatal poison of Shakespeare's play. Still, as he has shown, the Elizabethans believed in the reality of such poisons, which they strongly associated with Italy (Bowers 495).

Cleopatra's Egypt is also exotic, a sultry land of erotic and languorous decadence, and like Romeo's, her poison is chosen to be both quick and painless. No student is surprised by her mode of death, for the asp that suckles her to sleep, as she describes its bite to Charmian, is part of our cultural lore (5.2.309-10). Shakespeare's knowledge of the asp, like so many details in the play, derives from Plutarch, who reports that Cleopatra's knowledge of poisons came from

experiments on condemned prisoners (Bullough 5: 305). Shakespeare alludes to this only indirectly via Caesar's comment that "She hath pursued conclusions infinite / Of easy ways to die" (5.2.355-6). Her imperial cruelty is elided, putting the emphasis solely on the easiness of death provided by her chosen poison. There is, of course, one final irony in her death by asp. She had perceived herself as dying nobly, as a Roman would:

> Let's do't after the high Roman fashion
>
> And make death proud to take us. (4.15.92-93)

Caesar's "easy" makes clear that her death is not a Roman death—as noble as it may be, it is feminine and Egyptian. Though he made rather a botch of it, Antony fell on his sword, and that is the high Roman fashion: neither painless nor, in his case, quick. Having compared Romeo's and Cleopatra's choice of poison, one is tempted to ask if Juliet's death is therefore comparable to Antony's. Perhaps not, for it appears that she would have chosen poison had not Romeo churlishly "drunk all, and left no friendly drop / To help [her] after" (5.3.163-4).

Despite the bleak violence of *King Lear*, Goneril's murder of her sister Regan is among the most prosaic of poisonings. It is clearly effective, not only proving fatal in relatively short time, but so subtle that Regan does not even realize that she has been poisoned. She believes merely that she is ill—too ill even to argue: "Lady, I am not well, else I would answer / From a full-flowing stomach" (5.3.75-6). She complains twice more in this, her final scene, before exiting and dying offstage: "Sick, oh, sick," and "My sickness grows upon me" (5.3.98,108). The play does not provide details about the method of poisoning, to which Goneril confesses before stabbing herself, but her reference to it as "medicine" suggests a substance that would have been placed in her food or drink (5.3.99). That would, in fact, be the usual mode of poisoning in England, a crime that Bowers shows was most frequently perpetrated among commoners and by

wives against husbands (Bowers 494). Such cases were in fact rare. Indeed, the rarity of poisoning in England was explicitly acknowledged in the preamble to a law passed in 1530 in response to a notorious episode in sixteenth-century legal history in which one Richard Rose or Rouse poisoned the porridge served to the Bishop of Rochester's household, killing seventeen members of the Bishop's family as well as a large number of alms seekers (Kocher 155). This statute classified poisoning as treason and mandated the penalty of being boiled to death.

Hamlet is surely among the most serious and subtle of plays. Nonetheless, filled as it is with violence, insanity, spectral apparitions, and dramatic poisonings, it is as flamboyantly extravagant as any of the Jacobean plays that come after it. Unless the play's three poisonings were inspired by the lost *Hamle*t play often attributed to Thomas Kyd, they originated with Shakespeare. In the original story found in Saxo Grammaticus's *Historiae Danicae*, the king is waylaid and murdered by his brother, who then justifies the fratricide to the other Danes, and Amlethus, the Hamlet figure, does not die during his pursuit of revenge (Bullough 7: 7-8). The first of Shakespeare's poisonings is Claudius's secret killing of King Hamlet by pouring poison in his ears, an action described by the ghost and then reenacted by the players when the perform "The Murder of Gonzago." King Hamlet tells his son that while he was napping, Claudius approached

> With Juice of cursèd hebona in a vial,
>
> And in the porches of my ears did pour
>
> The leprous distilment" (1.5.63-5)

Precisely what hebona is has been debated, but as Shakespeare imagines it, it is fast-acting:

> . . . swift as quicksilver it courses through
>
> The natural gates and alleys of the body,

And with a sudden vigor it doth posset

And curd, like eager droppings into milk,

The thin and wholesome blood. (1.5.67-71.)

Within an instant, he says, his body was covered by leprous scabs, a "vile and loathsome crust" (1.5.73), an outcome that the Danes accepted as consistent with a serpent's sting.

The idea of applying poison through the ear was not entirely unprecedented in the Renaissance. Bartolommeo Eustachio had identified the Eustachian tube in 1564 and described the possibility of applying medications through it, and modern physicians Avrim Eden and Jeff Opland have suggested this medical knowledge as the source of Claudius's murder plot. However, As Bullough indicates, the "Mousetrap" clearly shows Shakespeare's familiarity with the 1538 murder of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbana, whose barber-surgeon poisoned him with a lotion in in his ears at the instigation of Luigi Ganzago. A similar allegation was made against a physician, Ambrose Paré, who in 1564 was accused of killing François II by blowing a poisonous powder into his ear. This may well be Marlowe's source in *Edward II* for Lightborn's boast of killing in this and other exotic, Italianate ways (Bullough 7: 30-32):

I learned in Naples how to poison flowers,

To strangle with a lawn thrust through the throat,

To pierce the windpipe with a needle's point,

Or, whilst one is asleep, to take a quill

And blow a little powder in his ears. (5.4.30-4)

Shakespeare, as is well-known, took many hints from his fellow playwright, and this may include the use of an auricular poison (Gross and Gross 199-200).

To make sure of Hamlet's death in the duel, Laertes anoints his sword with an unction "So mortal that, but dip a knife in it" and no medication "can save the thing from death / That is but scratched withal" (4.7.143, 146-7). Claudius provides a backup plan in a poisoned chalice for Hamlet to drink from during the duel. Both poisons prove to be fast-acting. Shortly after both have been stabbed with the poisoned sword, Laertes informs Hamlet that "In thee there is not half an hour's life" (5.2.318), and Gertrude, having toasted Hamlet with the drink that Claudius prepared, dies even more quickly. She does recognize that the chalice was poisoned, though, so its effects do not masquerade as illness or prove undetectable. The pearl that Claudius tosses into the chalice that he prepares for Hamlet is intriguing. As Robert White noted in 1972, all editors since George Steevens in 1773 have accepted that this was how Claudius introduced the poison into the cup. Presumably the pearl was hollow, and Shakespeare's audience believed that the pearl itself would dissolve in wine, though it in fact would not (White 160). Ironically, White shows that pearls were traditionally believed to be an antidote for poison (161).

The Duchess of Malfi is another play with a superb poisoning scene. Here the Cardinal's poisoning of his mistress Julia takes the audience by surprise, for his plan is not revealed in advance. When Julia begs to know the reason for his melancholy, the Cardinal warns her to consider the danger of knowing a prince's secrets, suggesting that his secret "(like a lingring poison), may chance lie / Spread in thy vaines, and kill thee seaven yeare hence" (5.2.257-8). The Cardinal's poison metaphor is an ominous foreshadowing of her impending death. He shares his secret (the murder of his sister and his nephews) and then asks for her oath upon a book, which she kisses most religiously, only to be told that it was poisoned. Once again the poison is marvelously effective, and Julia dies within moments of her lips touching the book. Bowers observes that "there is little reason to credit the efficacy of" Renaissance contact poisons that

killed by touch, but notes that the belief was thoroughly accepted in Renaissance England (Bowers 493-4).

The book upon which one swears an oath is clearly the bible, although it was not named on stage. Discussing this poisoning, or describing it in the course of discussing of one of Shakespeare's poisonings, allows one to reference another religiously shocking poisoning in Arden of Faversham, a marvelous play in which Alice Arden and her lover Mosby try over and over to kill her husband, Thomas Arden. Early on they try the rather mundane method of poisoning his broth, but its bad taste causes the plot to fail. They then enlist the aid of a cunning painter who

> … can temper poison with his oil
> That whoso looks upon the work he draws
> Shall, with the beam that issue from his sight,
> Suck venom to his breast and slay himself. (1.230)

As Marguerite Tassi explains, this reflects the theory of vision known as extramission. The rays of vision, or "species," issuing from the victim's eyes would strike the painting, and the poison would be conveyed back along these beams (Tassi 139). Mosby suggests having the painter draw a picture of Alice for Arden, so that he will perish while gazing upon it. Alice demurs, fearful that Arden would come to show her the picture and kill her as well. They then turn to a different method of employing this ocularly delivered poison. The painter will poison a crucifix, so

> That whoso look upon it should wax blind
> And with the scent be stifled, that ere long
> He should die poisoned that did view it well. (1.613-5)

That part of its efficacy lay in the crucifix's scent may make some sense, for poisons can be inhaled. However, this crucifix is designed to slay those who merely look upon it. Crucifixes, like other religious icons, were not endorsed by reform theology, but producing a poisoned crucifix upon the stage must have been shocking to many in the audience.

Clarke, the painter, can apply his ocularly effective poison by wearing tight-fitting spectacles and plugging his nose with rhubarb. A similar device appears in *The White Devil*, where Bracciano uses a poisoned picture to kill his wife. In a dumb show we see his hired assassins wearing spectacles that cover their eyes and nose. They burn perfumes before a portrait of Bracciano and anoint his pictured lips with poison. When his wife, in her husband's absence, kisses this picture before going to bed, she faints and dies (stage direction 2.2.38 ff). Fittingly, Bracciano in turn dies of poison, for while preparing to fight at barriers, he dons a poisoned beaver (sd 5.2.75), which kills him swiftly and painfully.

The man who poisoned the beaver had earlier mentioned a slew of objects that might have been used to kill him: his prayer book, a set of beads, the pommel of his saddle, his looking glass, or the handle of his tennis racket (5.169-71). Many other poisoned objects appear in Renaissance drama. In Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* Navarre's mother is killed by accepting as a gift a pair of poisoned gloves: "Methinks the gloves have a very strong perfume," she says, dying within moments (Scene 3, line 4). Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* also features poisonings. To eliminate his daughter who he fears may betray him, he poisons the entire convent where she has taken refuge by sending them a pot of poisoned rice porridge. Usually one or more of my students take the nuns' deaths seriously, but likely the portrayal in the 1964 RSC revival was correct: the audience laughed heartily at the grotesque yet comic deaths of the nuns (Smith 15). To cover up this crime, Barabas next must eliminate his servant Ithamore

and the courtesan with whom he has fallen in love. He does so with a bouquet of poisoned flowers, which kills them, but not quickly enough to prevent them from betraying him. He apparently has skimped on the powder he applied to the bouquet. Cleopatra's asps reappear in Barnabe Barnes' *The Devil's Charter*, where Pope Alexander uses asps to murder a boy he has been in love with. He also eliminates his daughter by sending her poisoned makeup, which she applies to her face and cannot wash off. He rewards a man who has prepared several bottles of poisoned wine for him by having him assassinated, knowing that the killer in turn will drink some of the wine. The other bottles are intended to kill two cardinals, but the devil himself, collecting on a *Faustus*-like contract, switches the bottles so that Pope Alexander and Caesar Borgia die instead.

My students often seem particularly fond of the idea of a poisoned kiss. Juliet had hoped that enough poison lingered upon Romeo's lips that she might die by kissing them. This wish is more nearly realized in Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, an extravaganza of adultery, betrayal, and revenge, which culminates in a masque in which virtually the play's entire cast dies, with poison playing a major role. The Duke, for whose marriage the masque is performed, dies after mistakenly being given a poisoned drink intended for his brother. The woman playing the part of Juno inhales poisoned smoke from the incense that is being offered to the goddess, and another character is shot by cupid whose arrows have been poisoned. Bianca, who the Duke has raped, kept as a mistress, and finally married, kisses her dead husband, asking to "wrap two spirits in one poisoned vapour" (5.2.235). However, though she then says that she feels death's power within her, she hastens her end by drinking the remaining poison from the Duke's cup.

A different sort of poisoned kiss works effectively in *Soliman and Perseda*, an anonymous play attributed to Thomas Kyd. Seeking revenge for her husband Erastus, who has

been killed because of Soliman's love for her, Perseda tricks Solomon into slaying her. When he realizes that she is dying, Soliman requests a final kiss, which Perseda grants. Her reason for doing so is made clear in a posthumous note:

> Tyrant, my lips were sew'st with deadly poison,
>
> To plague thy heart that is so full of poison." (5.4.17-8)

Solimon immediately feels the effects of the poison, which "is dispersed through every vein, "And boils, like Aetna, in my frying guts" (5.4.145-6).

Of course, after you are dead, you cannot paint your own lips. Indeed, you might not even have lips. In *The Revenger's Tragedy* a poisoned woman is, in a sense, the agent of her own revenge, when her fiancée, who has been carrying her skull with him for several years, finally smears it with poison and tricks the Duke into kissing it. The kiss proves fatal. Another fatal kiss concludes Massinger's *The Duke of Milan*. The Duke, who has killed his wife in a fit of jealousy, believes that she is still alive but unconscious. He kisses her, only to discover that her body has been poisoned by an avenger disguised as a physician. His death follows quickly. As gross as a poisoned body seems, her husband did think her to be alive. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, or as it has been rechristened by Julia Briggs, *The Lady's Tragedy*, features a more grotesque death by poisoned body. Here the villainous Duke has stolen the body of the woman he lusts after from her tomb and makes love to it. When it begins to decay, he hires a makeup artist to freshen up the corpse. The painter, actually her beloved in disguise, poisons the corpse, which leads to the Duke's death. The Duke's necrophilia makes this one of the most over-the-top poisonings of the period's drama, and usually evokes amazed laughter from the class. Of course, since the class needs to remain focused on the assigned reading, these references to other dramatic poisonings must be short and quick. What one hopes, though, is that through them one can invite further

explorations of the drama, and that students are left with the feeling that this dramatic literature is fun to explore, and not merely a set of musty classics.

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Reading the Order of Donne's *Holy Sonnets*

Bob De Smith
Dordt College

There are at least two ways to tell this story. The first is a story of progress that leads from the recovery of Donne's poetry by the New Critics through the discovery of manuscript copies of the poems to the culminating work of the *Variorum* edition of the sonnets which prints Donne's *Holy Sonnets* in three distinct orders—four if you count an appendix. In this story, we gradually get to know the poems better and better until we finally understand their order and arrangement.[1] But three (or four) different arrangements sounds less like progress than it does confusion—or at least post-modern multiplicity. So the other way to tell this story is a cumulative one: we carry along readings of the sonnets even as information and opinions on the significance of their order changes.[2]

My goal is to negotiate a bit between these stories. My further, and perhaps more fundamental, goal is to review with you what we know about the order of the sonnets, and to explore how we can use that knowledge to read and teach the poems effectively. I have found that letting students in on the issues of how the sonnets are ordered helps them get behind the anthologized texts they have in hand, inviting them to consider the editorial decisions underlying those texts. More comprehensively, it invites them to consider the meaning of individual sonnets in context: what would this sonnet mean if this other one occurred immediately before it? Finally, it makes an excursion to *Digital Donne: The Online Variorum*, always worth the trip, a meaningful exercise.

Anyone who takes on these 19 poems is faced with an array of interpretive decisions. The first is whether the sonnets are personal or impersonal: are they essentially biographical or

essentially artful structures? (not that they cannot be both). In brief, Helen Gardner says Donne creates "the illusion of a present experience" (xxxi); Strier counters that "we need not relentlessly sever poetic speakers from historical authors" and that he will "take the psychological states portrayed on the 'Holy Sonnets' as biographically anchored and informative" (358). A related problem is whether the sonnets are fundamentally informed by the structure of exercises in meditation, which could be seen either as distancing them from the personal—they are exercises, after all—or making them more intensely personal. If they are informed by spiritual exercises, perhaps they are corporate, reflecting not so much one person's devotional exercise but one that others may participate in, as in a ritual. Gardner and Martz are the proponents of Donne as meditative, and Lewalski seeks to ground their meditative connections in the Protestant tradition. Thus we come to a third interpretive challenge, one nested within the others. This problem is one of theology: are the poems Catholic in sensibility; Anglican (Peterson); essentially Protestant (Lewalski); despairingly Calvinist (Stachniewski) or even Arminian (Veith)?[3]

A final problem, related to the others, will be the only one I work explicitly to understand, though exploring it may help to clarify the other problems as well. This is whether the sonnets are ordered or discrete: do they present us with a sequence or are they, to use Grierson's term which makes my students wince and smile at the same time "separate ejaculations" (qtd. in Gardner xli)? While I will suggest in a moment that the order and sequence of the sonnets is significant, let's be clear first that the sonnets can be read profitably as discrete, individual poems. We would agree that reading a number of poems by an author, especially if they are similar in form, subject, and style, for instance, can only enhance our understanding and enjoyment of any particular poem. More is almost always better, in this case. Nonetheless, each

of Donne's *Holy Sonnets* is complete and coherent on its own, "a little world made cunningly" (HS #15, line 1),[4] if I may stretch Donne's meaning a bit. We know this practically through teaching (or reading) selected poems. In addition, Donne's sonnet form leans the poems toward a compact completeness: each poem presents a complete thought, or experience, fitting the form, and format, of the sonnet. Thus, for instance, "This is my play's last scene" progresses through successively contracting images of time and space culminating in "my minute's last point" (4) to the speaker's imagined moment of death and his attendant fear as he imagines coming to that spot. This is the direction of the octave. "Then," begins line 9, and the speaker reflects on the projected experience of the octave: if he is to die, he says, let it be with his sins as with his body in death: may they both fall away. The final couplet: "Impute me righteous, thus purg'd of evil, / For thus I leave the world, the flesh, and devil" (13-14), offers a conclusion and a resolution. We may worry over the heavily theological "Impute" or argue whether the conclusion reached is satisfying for the speaker or for the reader, but we have reached, at least formally, a conclusion. And of course, if we do find that poem in the context of other poems, its conclusion is muted by the beginning of the poem which follows it ("I am a little world" or "At round earth's imagined corners," depending on the set—but I am getting ahead of myself).

Another way to say this is to notice that these sonnets are not linked in the way that the poems in Donne's "La Corona" are. In that set of seven poems on Christ's work of salvation, the last line of each sonnet becomes the first line of the next, and the last line of the sequence, "Deign at my hands this crown of prayer and praise" is also the very first line, creating by means of the interlocked form an endless circle, rather crown, of praise—ironically invoking Christ's crown of thorns as both the cause and object of that praise. Donne's *Holy Sonnets* are not tightly ordered in this way (and, I imply, Donne knew this fact).

On the other hand, consider this observation by the editors of the *Variorum* edition:

> A signal feature of the manuscript transmission of the Holy Sonnets is that none of the poems has a history of individual circulation. However ordered, these sonnets invariably traveled in groups, a fact suggesting that the concept of sequence was integral to Donne's understanding of the genre from the very beginning. (lx-lxi)

The argument here is persuasive. It begins with the assumption, surely the right one, that we should consider Donne a manuscript poet. This perspective is the burden of Marotti's book, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*; more than that, it is a valid inference based on the great number of poems transcribed into manuscripts (Dickson says 5000 poems in 240 manuscripts, xii) as well as the fact that almost none of Donne's poetry—including the *Holy Sonnets*—was published in his lifetime. In addition, Donne's poem "To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets" (would that we knew which six![5]) witnesses to the fact that Donne circulated his poems as gifts. We might add that "travel[ing] in groups" is an apt description of much poetry in the period: from miscellanies in manuscript and print to the vague but persistent narrative in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, readers expected to find meaning in groups of poems. But they also collected them in miscellanies for their own purposes, and these collections were not always arranged in intentional sequences.

The Variorum's assertion that "the concept of sequence was integral to Donne's understanding of the genre from the very beginning" is a good starting point from which to consider the sonnets. The 19 sonnets occur in various orders in both the manuscript and print record. We may begin with the three outliers: three sonnets (17-19 on my chart) were not printed in any 17th-century edition. Instead, they were recovered in the 1890's by Edmund

Gosse from a manuscript—the Westmorland manuscript [NY3]—which had not been known before. These sonnets are convincingly poems by Donne, though they are unique artifacts. We may use them as a small test case for whether to find meaning in a group of sonnets. The first two, "Since she whom I loved" and "Show me dear Christ" (#17-18) are much more biographical and topical than the other sonnets. Further, both are laments: the first reflects on the death of Donne's wife; the second laments the difficulty of finding the true church in post-Reformation Europe. Typically, these sonnets give us imagined (though nonetheless real) circumstances, as in "What if this present were the world's last night" (9.1). Thus these two poems are different in concept and tone from the rest of the sonnets, probably because they were written later.[6]

More vexing (pardon the term) is "Oh to vex me" (#19). It is tempting to use the previous two poems as precedent, imputing on this one the topicality of those prior poems. But, if I may put it this way, the poem resists it. It is only topical to the extent that its speaker compares his devotion to his earlier "profane love"—but sonnet 9 does that, too—and that it expresses the speaker's ongoing struggle with spiritual stability. In this poem, the speaker—again borrowing from "profane love"—expresses his spiritual vacillations as "contraries," a term unique in these sonnets. His riddling final line, "Those are my best days, when I shake with fear," offers an interesting comment on the fears expressed in other sonnets: it could be argued that this line suggests a reaction like that sonnet #10: "That I may rise and stand, o'erthrow me" (3).[7] So the poem pulls us two ways: its position as the last of 19 poems (this is its location in NY3) suggests it is a summary poem; but its grouping with two other poems, probably written later and without a clear context, suggests we should see it as unconnected to whatever sequencing we find in the other poems. For me, the word *contraries* is key: while other (but not all—see #6) sonnets express contrasting emotions, they do not add up to our seeing the speaker

as "riddlingly distempered, cold and hot" (19.7).[8] Of course, I am arguing from theme here, and we must continue to consider whether what holds these sonnets together is some sense of sequence and order or theme.

What of the rest? Here's an overview, based on the *Donne Variorum*, O'Connell's essay, and some poking around at *Digital Donne*: the manuscript record[9] points to two different sets of 12 poems. The apparently earlier sequence of poems is listed in the left column of the chart (found at the end of this essay, here): it begins with "Thou hast made me, and shall thy work decay?" (13.1) and ends with the sonnet which begins, "Wilt thou love God, as he, thee?" and goes on to invite the reader to "digest" the salvation story. In these manuscripts, the poems are numbered and titled "Divine Meditations." In some manuscripts, these 12 sonnets occur in order but are followed by four poems—"Spit in my face," Why are we," "What if this present," and "Batter my heart"—under the new heading, "Other Meditations," and evidently copied later (Stringer, *Variorum* lxiii). It seems that at some time Donne wrote, and someone collected, a new set of poems. Now here is where it gets interesting. Whenever these four poems occur, in manuscript or in print, they occur together and in the same order. O'Connell suggests that these manuscripts were "prepared shortly after Donne's death for a projected edition" and so "borrowed these additional sonnets" from other manuscripts (325).[10] These manuscripts formed the basis of the second, 1635, edition.[11]

Later manuscripts contain some significant changes. Four poems are omitted (see again the included figure – read from right to left across the blank spaces to see which ones), apparently to make room for the four poems already mentioned, which the Variorum, aptly enough, calls "replacement sonnets" (lxvi and fig. 5 lxvii). These are inserted after "Death be not proud" and before "Wilt thou love God," which is followed by "Father, part of His," the last

poem in this set. It is this set of poems, in this order, which finds its way to the first edition, in 1633. Both O'Connell (329) and the *Variorum* are careful to point out that these changes are authorial, the latter doing so based on evidence of authorial textual changes in the manuscripts (lxvi). A couple of quick observations should be made here. First, readers of the first edition of Donne's poems would not have had access to "Thou hast made me" or "I am a little world" — these poems were not printed. Second, the number 12 seems to have been significant for Donne. Perhaps it was simply a nice round number, though O'Connell speculates that the Christian significance of the number has to do with fullness or completeness—as in the 12 tribes of Israel and 12 apostles. O'Connell quotes Donne from a sermon, where he says the number "signifies the fullness of salvation" (338)—which brings us back to a nice round number.

Next, let's consider how reading the sonnets in a modern edition may obscure these intricacies. Readers (I'm thinking now especially of students) who take up Dickson's Norton Critical edition will be presented with all 19 poems. The first twelve are in the order of the 1633 edition (the "final" sequence). But what follows are the leftovers: sonnets 13-16 are those removed from the sequence to make room for the four "replacement sonnets." These are followed, without comment, by the 3 presumably later sonnets, #17-19. Thus this edition does not help students as much as it could to experience, or interrogate, the orderings of the sonnets. As mentioned earlier, the *Variorum* solves this problem by printing, successively, three separate orderings (4 if you include an appendix): first they present a 12-poem set, labeled "Original Sequence" (this is represented by the first 12 poems in the left column of the chart); then the 19 poems in the order they occur in the Westmoreland manuscript. Next comes what they label a "Revised Sequence"—the 12 poems as they occur in some manuscripts and the 1633 edition (these are the poems in the right column). An appendix reproduces the 16 poems as they occur

in the 2nd, 1635, edition. Their multiple versions, which also allow us to compare states of various poems across sequences, go a long way toward acquainting us with the different orderings.

Which sequences are to be preferred? Which are worth exploring for their potential meanings? You may be ahead of me here if you observe that the most intriguing, and authorial, sequences of poems are the two 12-poems sets outlined on my chart. Within them, the four poems which are added to the second set form an interesting sub-group. What about the other sequences? While the full 19-poem set of poems found in the Westmoreland manuscript would seem to call our attention because it is the fullest group and was collected by a friend of Donne's, O'Connell (331) and the *Variorum* (lxix-lxx) point out that the poems in this artifact were not all copied out at the same time—they came in pieces: first, a 12-poem sequences that reproduces the earlier sequence; then the 4 "replacement sonnets"; then the 3 unique, and probably later, sonnets. The manuscript is important in verifying the first 12-poem sequence, as well as the persistent grouping of the 4 others, but its ordering of the sonnets has no authority. As for 1635, it has the virtue of including 16 poems, and it uses the order of the earlier sequence. But it inverts the order of some poems, representing, it seems, an editorial conflation.[12]

Let us take a closer look then at the two 12-poem sequences which Donne seems to have arranged (the *Variorum* editors say "confected"). The first question to be asked is this: what should we be looking for? Now, this question could occupy the rest of the day, for it comprehends the history of interpreting the poems, individually or together. But we can narrow our focus, a bit. I would suggest that we should first of all NOT look for narrative biography—or even narrative fiction—in the sequences. To suggest that the poems tell the story of Donne's—or his speaker's—progress toward or through the process of salvation is to lose the

power of the poems' recursiveness. It either writes onto the poems a story of progress or finds Donne stuck in neutral. On the other hand, this is not to say we cannot find a beginning, middle, and end. The poems' order—and the presumption that Donne was concerned about their order—pull us to find meaning in the way the poems move from one to another.

Taken together, the poems are religious, devotional, and meditative: they take their cue from the Psalms, where the speaker addresses God in plea, lament, wonder, and praise. They are each a kind of drama—or thought structured by the sonnet form—that explores the Christian paradox of human effort and longing over against God's grace. Another way to say this is to suggest that the sonnets are about sanctification—about the ongoing path of the believer to attain holiness—and not about achieving salvation.

These assumptions are borne out, I would suggest, by Donne's double introduction—poems 1 and 13. Both poems are about God's claims on humankind—these are the "titles" of the first poem and the declaration "Thou hast made me" which begins the other. In each poem, the speaker is concerned to have these claims personally applied to himself (this theme finds its grandest expression in "Batter my heart"), a concern with becomes a plea for God's actions. "Except thou rise," says the speaker of sonnet #1; "Repair me now," says the speaker of sonnet #13. The poems are topically and verbally similar: both mention *decay, despair, rise,* the Devil; instead of "Thou has made me," sonnet #1 has "I was made / By thee" (1-2); both begin with a declaration of God's claims; sonnet #1 extends those through the octave, while sonnet #13 moves hastily to the speaker's condition, which sonnet #1 picks up in its sestet.[13] Both sonnets end with a plea for God's action—his "grace" as sonnet #13 calls it.

What we're seeing, then, is that these poems cover very much the same ground, a fact which may explain why Donne omitted "Thou has made me" when he revised his sequence.

Apparently, the two poems filled the same introductory function for Donne, so he only needed one. If this is the case, then the two poems have a reinforcing function for us: together they emphasize that, at the beginning of the sequence, the speaker's pleas for God's direct application of the benefits of salvation in his life is a central theme of what follows—or at least it's a good place to begin. Each poem sets the direction a little bit differently: sonnet #1's "usurp" and "ravish" anticipate "Batter my heart," while 13's linking of despair, death, and terror are extended in poems like "O my black soul." And each, impelled by its own metaphors, follows its own line of development through the sonnet. But they remain complementary poems.

Let's turn for a moment to the four sonnets (#7-10 in the chart), which show up together in some manuscripts and thereafter never part ways. Can we conclude that these poems are a meaningful set—better, that Donne saw them as such? Not if we expect a kind of (linear) process or progress on the part of the speaker, an observation which may the point of reading the order of these poems. While the startling strength and powerful urgency of "Batter my heart" may make us want to see it as climactic (as Gardner does), there is not much in the group to suggest this movement. Indeed, it is like poems #6 and #15 (maybe #11 and #12, too[14]) in presenting a general, though still personal, issue—the speaker's desire for God to finish His work in the speaker. This distinguishes "Batter" from the other three poems which precede it the group. Each of those (like others among the 19 sonnets) sets the scene or poses a topic in the way that Louis Martz has alerted us to. "Spit in my face" places the speaker in Christ's place on the cross; "Why are we" compares our position in creation to that of other living things (it's the complement to "If poisonous minerals"); "What if this present" imagines apocalypse (like #2, #3, and especially #4). Each is a reflection, a meditation, based on its subject. Noting how each of these poems covers ground we can find in other poems, and if we are right that these poems

were written later, I wonder if for Donne these poems had the benefit of his earlier efforts—if they were not further attempts or second tries at themes he found important or compelling. In this way, they register his attention on certain themes.

Each of the first three poems in this little group mentions "Christ crucified" (9.3) and in each case pits that sacrifice against the speaker's sin. If there is progress here, "Spit in my face" regards the crucifixion most directly and imagistically, and it borrows St. Paul's "I / Crucify him daily" so that the contrast between those who physically crucified Jesus and the speaker's sins lead him to admire the Savior's sacrificial love. The next poem uses the comparison between animals' subjection and human beings' rebellion to return to the admiration of the one who "For us, his creatures and his foes, hath died" (14). "What if this present" uses the urgency of impending apocalypse to force the question of the speaker's disposition toward "Christ crucified" (3), seeking the assurance of the last line. "Batter my heart," the last poem in this set, builds on that desire for assurance, turning it into a sustained plea that God complete the work, made possibly by the sacrifice of the previous three poems, in the speaker.

But maybe I'm making this up. Rather, maybe the sonnets invite us to see connection, development, and order but in a fluid, reprogrammable way.[15] Take any set of these sonnets, and we make meaning out of their shared topics, connections, and implied narratives. And, based on how Donne arranged his sonnets, Donne wanted us to see them in a process—or rather in a number of processes. I wonder if I can push this idea a bit to suggest that the poems, and their author, give us enough hints of order (and re-order) so that we are invited to create our own sets, our own order out of the poems.

For example, what if in sonnet #9, Donne introduces a theme—the idolatry of his speaker's profane love ("but as in mine idolatry / I said to all my profane mistresses"). The

thread is picked up in sonnet #14, where the speaker refers to his "idolatry" (5) and compares his Petrarchan "sighs and tears" (1) to his acts of repentance. The theme is modified a bit in sonnet #15—and here it is important to note that in no manuscripts or early edition did sonnet #15 follow #14[16]--where the "sighs and tears" of repentance become the "lust and envy" of the speaker. Both dyads need to be revised—a typical process for Donne in the sonnets. As his secular "sighs and tears" need to be turned into a "holy discontent"—true repentance—so the fire of his "lust and envy" must be changed into the burning zeal of Psalm 69. Sonnet #16 (once again, the poem does not follow #15 in any authorial ordering) imagines "glorified" (1) souls observing human actions as signs: "They see idolatrous lovers weep and mourn" (9). In this poem, the distinction between those who "feign devotion" (12) and the soul's "true grief" (14) reflects the distinctions made in earlier poems. Finally, the poems that were discovered later may gain a layer of meaning from this theme: as to sonnet #17, was the spouse Donne celebrates a representation of true love, or was she an idol? And "profane love" (6) makes its return in the final sonnet, where the image of the "riddlingly distempered" state of the feverish lover is transformed into a trembling penitent. In daring fashion, this final poem collapses the distinction between secular and sacred—the one becomes the other so that "Those are my best days, when I shake with fear" (14).

John Wall writes that "The subject of Donne's *Holy Sonnets* is . . . not a movement of the speaker toward resolution of his relationship with God, but instead an exploration of the paradoxes of the Christian life on earth" (191). This statement gets it right, I think. And it invites us to see ebbs and flows, order and disorder, meanings completed and suspended, in groups of poems as well as in the entire set. Donne's orderings are meaningful, especially as a call for us to read, and perhaps create, sets of poems.

You have perhaps come across exercises which create out of a 14-line sonnet a set of one-line strips of paper: these are mixed in a bag and students need to use their sense of memory, meaning, and rhyme to reconstruct the sonnet. You could do this exercise with Donne, but you could do the same with his sonnets as wholes: put them in a grab bag and discover the meaning that emerges from the order of the sonnets as they come out of the bag. Even more, paying attention to the various orders we find in Donne's manuscripts and early editions may help us to read the poems imaginatively and creatively.

Figure: Order of Donne's *Holy Sonnets*

Group III MSS/Earlier sequence: titled "Divine Meditations"	*1633 (1st Edition)—and Gr. I MSS Final sequence: titled Holy Sonnets*
"Thou hast made me" (13)*	
"As due by many titles" (1)	"As due by many titles" (1)
"O might those sighs" (14)*	
"Father, part of His" (12) [later in 1633-5]	
"Oh my black soul" (2)	"Oh my black soul" (2)
"This is my play's last scene" (3) [reversed with next poem in 1635]	"This is my play's last scene" (3)
"I am a little world" (15)*	
"At round earth's imagined" (4)	"At round earth's imagined" (4)
"If poisonous minerals" (5) [reversed with next poem in 1635]	"If poisonous minerals" (5)
"If faithful souls" (16)*	
"Death be not proud" (6)	"Death be not proud" (6)
"Wilt thou love God" (11)	
in some mss, the following four poems are added under a new title—"Other meditations"	
"Spit in my face" (7)	"Spit in my face" (7)
"Why are we" (8)	"Why are we" (8)
"What if this present" (9)	"What if this present" (9)
"Batter my heart" (10)	"Batter my heart" (10)
*these four poems are not in 1633	"Wilt thou love God" (11) [final poem in earlier sequence; it's penultimate here]
In Westm. Mss, these 3 poems, not found elsewhere, follow the 16 poems listed above in that order:	"Father, part of His" (12) [moved to end]
"Since she whom I loved" (17)	In 1635, there are 16 poems, in an order closer to the earlier sequence, except for changes noted above
"Show me, dear Christ" (18)	So 1635 (2nd ed) order is: 13, 1, 14, 2, **15, 3**, 4, **16, 5**, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
"Oh, to vex me" (19)	

A Brief Summary of the Critical Statements:

Gary Stringer says there are three different sequences in the manuscripts (a fact which suggests that someone, probably Donne, arranged the poems in different ways at different times or for different occasions). He calls the arrangement on the left column above "the first twelve-sonnet sequence that Donne circulated" (Dickson 309). Stringer also argues that the right column above represents "Donne's last, revised sequence" (309), an order carried over into the first edition.

The *Variorum* Edition of the *Holy Sonnets* (Vol. 7.1; gen ed. Gary Stringer) declares:

> A signal feature of the manuscript transmission of the Holy Sonnets is that none of the poems has a history of individual circulation. However ordered, these sonnets invariably traveled in groups, a fact suggesting that the concept of sequence was integral to Donne's understanding of the genre from the very beginning (lx-lxi).

Helen Gardner (*Divine Poems* 1952; 1978) suggests that in 1633 the first six "are quite clearly a short sequence one of the most familiar themes for meditation: death and judgement, or the Last Things" (xl). She says the last six are a looser set "on two aspects of a single theme, love" (xli). She has perhaps too emphatically stated, "There is no trace of any period of religious or moral crisis in Donne's works" (xx).

Herbert Grierson, who prepared the first modern edition of the poems in 1899, called them "separate ejaculations," by which he meant each one is a self-contained, discrete outcry.

Barbara Lewalski (*Protestant Poetics,* 1979) says, that the "unifying principle" of the sonnets is "the Protestant paradigm of salvation in its stark dramatic, Pauline terms" (265). On order, she adds,

> whoever arranged the 1635 sonnets perceived the essential thematic concern of the twelve to be the analysis of states of soul attendant upon Christian regeneration, and inserted the four additional sonnets precisely where they would be thematically most suitable. Obviously, the sonnets may not have been intended as a sequence: Donne may have wished simply to examine various discrete moments in the speaker's spiritual drama. And in some sense, from the Protestant perspective the question of sequence is irrelevant. As the Protestant emblem books and lyric collections make plain, except for the beginning with effectual calling, and an ending with the longing for final glorification, the various states are not so much sequential as concomitant: we may recall Calvin's insistence that God's graces come not singly but together. As topics to be considered in the Protestant meditative exercise of self-examination such spiritual states as elections, calling, conviction of sin, repentance, faith, justification, adoption, may and should be newly experienced and relived at any time, to provide matter for meditative exercise. (265)

Patrick O'Connell (in "The Successive Arrangement of Donne's "Holy Sonnets," *PQ* 60 [1981]), who examines the manuscript and print record, argues

> Donne first grouped twelve sonnets together in the order found in Group III and W 1-12. . . . Some time later Donne wrote four more sonnets which he substituted for four of the

> original set: he inserted the four new sonnets before the original last sonnet, removed the first, third, seventh and tenth original sonnets altogether, and moved the original fourth sonnet to the twelfth position, giving us the arrangement of Groups I-II and *1633*. (329)

He later adds that these changes leave us with "two successive authentic arrangements" of the sonnets (330).

O'Connell suggests that the "original" order has some coherence since

> all four of the sonnets unique to this arrangement fit in quite well with their context. "Thou has made me" (1) / is a fine introductory poem; "O Might those sighes and teares" (3) has a self-pitying tone similar to "As due by many titles" (2) which precedes it; "I am a little world" (7) is, like "At the round earths imagin'd corners" (8) which follows, a poem about the end of the world, but on a microcosmic rather than a macrocosmic level; "If faithfull soules" (10) looks to heaven for the first time in the sequence. "Father, part of his double interest" (4), the last poem in Groups I-II, echoes the legal imagery of "As due by many titles" (2). (329-30).To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets

Notes

1. And we move from preferring the print record to the manuscript one.

2. There is one more way to tell the story—it is my own developing engagement with these matters, which moved from the authority of Gardner's edition through O'Connell's account to the Variorum's presentation of the poems. Successive versions of a class handout charting the order of the sonnets mark developments in my own understanding of how the order of the poems matters.

3. Strier's position is the most complex. He argues that the *Holy Sonnets* are "awry, asquint" (he borrows the metaphor from a letter by Donne; the reference is to re-stamping a coin) because they "show Donne's difficulties with and occasional successes at imprinting Calvinism on a soul that had 'first to blot out, certain impressions of the Roman religion'" (367). He explains, "the pain and confusion in many of the 'Holy Sonnets' is not that of the convinced Calvinist but rather that of a person who would like to be a convinced Calvinist but who is both unable to be so and unable to admit that he is unable to be so" (361).

4. I quote Donne's poetry from Dickson's edition; for convenience, I use his numbering.

5. Gardner believed these were the first six poems in 1633 (xlviii-xlix).

6. The dating of these poems is also relevant. Donne's wife died in 1617: sonnet #17 seems to have been written about that event, and the others, since they are found together, may well date from this time at well. The rest of the sonnets are thought to have been written in 1609-10 (Gardner [xliii-1]; O'Connell [323]; Strier []; Variorum[lxxxvii-c].

7. Donne's "Hymn to God" expresses a similar thought in its last line: "Therefore that he may raise, the Lord throws down" (30).

8. For another view, see Stachniewski and, in milder form, Strier.

9. Dickson writes that "One of the hallmarks of the modern editing of Donne has been the recovery of the manuscript sources" (xii). The authority of Donne's texts has shifted from the early printed editions, 1633 and 1635, to a number of important manuscript sources.

10. He adds that because these poems were culled from other manuscripts, this resulting arrangement of 16 "has no basis of support" as a meaningful or authoritative set (325).

11. In this edition, poems 3 and 15 are reversed, as were poems 5 and 16; in addition, "Father, part of His" is moved to the end of the sequence.

12. Stringer in the *Variorum* writes that the editor "

> had access to a Group-III manuscript—H6, as the evidence shows—and from it added [to the 1633 edition]the four sonnets that Donne has abandoned in confecting the revised, Group-I/II sequence. Rather than merely appending them to the end of the set carried over from the previous edition, moreover, [this edition's] editor attempted (with only partial success) to slot these new poems into the positions they had originally occupied in Group-II. (lxxiii)

13. The condition is that God's general claims have not been manifested personally; further, the speaker must rely on God to apply them]

14. Perhaps the generalizing quality of these three poems #10-12) accounts for their being the final three poems in the revised order (represented in 1633).

15. Wall suggests that the sonnets create, and frustrate, a sense of progress: "Frequently in these poems the speaker reaches a point of union, or reconciliation, with God, only to retreat from it in the next / line" (189-90). Later, he adds,

> While dramatic movement is a central feature of the Holy Sonnets, progress is not. The speaker constantly changes his strategy of approach to God; he

> alternately laments and aspires, but never rests long in any one stance. Ultimately, his movement is circular, not linear: his despair is never without a move toward hope; his hope, never without a move toward despair. (191)

16. It's intriguing, but maybe misleading, to note that #14-#16 are poems Donne seems to have culled from his revised collection: did he aim to excise from at least one set of sonnets this theme of idolatrous, secular love.

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The Tragedy of the Common Demagogue: Jonson's *Catiline* and its Sources

Art Marmorstein
Northern State University

In many ways, Ben Jonson is a scholar's playwright, a writer who deliberately attempts to put literary theory into practice. This is particularly evident in his Roman plays, *Sejanus: His Fall* and *Catiline: His Conspiracy*, both of which are attempts to write theoretically-correct tragedy.

Recent critics haven't been kind to either play, viewing *Catiline* particularly as a failure. John Henderson writes of Jonson's "too Roman" plays, while Gary Wills compares them unfavorably to Shakespeare, dismissing both plays as "homework."

Jonson's contemporaries weren't lavish in their praise either—much to Jonson's chagrin. His dedicatory message to the Earle of Pembroke compliments the earl for daring "to countenance a legitimate Poem" in these "Jig-given times," complaining that he has to defend the merits of the play against the "crude and ayrie reports" of popular opinion.

Jonson adds to his prefatory material a rather peevish note "To the Reader In Ordinairie," telling such readers that he isn't going to be affected either by their praise or their censure, that they will like best the worst parts of the play, and that, if they don't like the play as a whole, the fault isn't his but their own lack of understanding.

And perhaps that is partially true. North's wonderful translation of Plutarch meant that an Elizabethan or Jacobean with "small Latin and less Greek" could easily have the background needed to understand *Julius Caesar* or *Antony and Cleopatra*. But there was as yet no equivalent translation of Sallust's *Catilinae Coniurato Conspiracy of Catiline* (the most important of Jonson's sources), and, as Jonson notes in his preface, a schoolboy's familiarity with Cicero's orations against Catiline doesn't provide enough historical context to appreciate what is going on in the play.

Tragedy seems to work best when the audience knows the story already, and, in both *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, Jonson ends up working with stories that most of his audience doesn't know.

But even had there been a North version of Sallust, Jonson's task would not have been easy. Sallust's story doesn't lend itself to tragic treatment nearly as easily as many of Plutarch's *Lives*. Plutarch focuses on men who (often) meet well Aristotle's expectations for tragic heroes: great men brought low through tragic flaws. The Catiline story is something different: the downfall of a man who (Cicero argued) was an utter villain—the kind of story Aristotle said might be satisfying, but that couldn't inspire the pity and terror of true tragedy (*Poetics* XIII). What's impressive about Jonson's *Catiline* is how well he makes the Aristotelian tragic formula work without the kind of protagonist Aristotle insisted was essential to tragedy.

Lucius Sergius Catilina was a typical product of the Roman Revolution, the hundred year period of intermittent civil war between the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BC and Augustus' defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. It was the best of times and the worst of times: Rome had turned the Mediterranean into a Roman lake, dominating the largest empire the world had yet seen. But Rome was torn apart by internal squabbles, and the ability of Rome to maintain its republican form of government seemed less and less likely. Particularly a problem was the dominance of a new kind of political leader: wealthy, energetic, clever but totally unscrupulous men who played the political game without any real sense of patriotism but solely for their own increased power and prestige.

Catiline himself played the game well. He had the advantage of noble birth, coming from an old, distinguished Roman family, but it was the conflict between Sulla and the Marians that gave him his big chance. During Sulla's relatively brief dictatorship, Catiline used the opportunity to increase his wealth and get rid of some of his personal enemies.

In addition to his apparently eager participation in the ruthless butchery of Sulla's proscriptions, Catiline committed every crime imaginable. He's supposed to have killed his brother and tortured and beheaded his brother-in-law. He's supposed to have deflowered his daughter, seduced a vestal virgin, killed one wife to be free to marry another, and to have killed a son by his previous marriage because his new wife didn't like the boy. His public life was no better. He was elected praetor and served as propraetor in Africa—where he got into trouble for embezzlement. Yet despite all this, in 64 BC he was one of the leading candidates for election to one of the two 63 BC consulships.

One of the candidates opposing him was Cicero, a man who, though of far more humble origins, had become popular in Rome for his attack on government corruption and his desire to promote the *Concordia ordinum*, the concord of orders, an agreement to put aside partisan differences and come together for the welfare of Rome. Cicero was a fine writer, so much so that, when thinking of literature, historians refer to the era as the "Age of Cicero." He was also a distinguished jurist, the finest orator of the time, and something of a philosopher.

It soon became clear that one of the consulships would go to Gaius Antonius with the other going to either Cicero or Catiline. And with the choice between these two men, the Roman people chose—well, they chose Cicero: but it was close.

How had a man like Catiline come so close to the consulship? Partly, it was because the man knew how to campaign. Financed in part by Crassus, the richest man in Rome, Catiline was able to throw lavish campaign parties with wonderful things to eat and drink. And for desert? Beautiful girls or handsome boys whichever happened to be to your taste.

Partly Catiline's success was due to the Roman preference for tradition. Catiline's family had been prominent clear back to the time of Romulus while Cicero was a "new man," a man from the equestrian order without the kind of pedigree the Romans preferred for high officials.

But, above all, Catiline drew enthusiastic support because of his main campaign promise: a cancellation of all debt. This was a promise of wide appeal at the time. Young men from wealthy families often borrowed heavily against their promised inheritance in order to live the lavish lifestyles they preferred. Many others found themselves mortgaged to the hilt and unable to pay off their loans.

Naturally enough, Catiline's supporters were bitterly disappointed at his defeat—and prepared to work all the harder for Catiline at the next election. But in 63 BC too, Catiline came up short, and, in desperation, he and his supporters came up with a plan to seize power. They'd raise an army outside of Rome, assassinate Cicero, and take over the city before the newly-elected consuls could be installed.

Unfortunately for the conspirators, Cicero was tipped off. Cicero denounced Catiline before the assembled senate. Catiline tried to face down the charges and an unconvinced senate wouldn't act as decisively as Cicero would have liked, so Cicero had to be content with admonishing Catiline to get out of the city and join his band of traitors.

But soon there was new and conclusive evidence that the conspiracy was real. After dramatic speeches to the assembly and to the senators, Cicero was authorized to act. He arrested and executed the conspirators remaining in Rome and sent out troops to destroy Catiline's rebel army. In Cicero's own eyes, the defeat of Catiline and his conspirators was not only the greatest achievement of his own consulship, but one of the greatest achievements in the history of Rome.

Jonson does nothing to minimize Cicero's claims about the monstrous nature of Catiline: quite the reverse. The play opens with Sulla's ghost hovering over Catiline and calling for dark deeds. "All that was mine, and bad, thy brest inherit," says Sulla (*Catiline* 1.17), calling on Catiline to add treason to his many other crimes. "Conscience, and care die in thee; and be free…Let night grow blacker with the plots" (1.22).

Catiline's opening monologue likewise foreshadows dark deeds, with Catiline affirming he will stop at nothing to secure his control of Rome. "The ills that I have done, cannot be safe, but by attempting greater" (1.78-79).

Scene by scene, Jonson shows us the great demagogue at work. We get a combination of lust, violence, and ambition reminiscent of Macbeth as Catiline courts anew his wife Avrelia with promises of queen-ship and reminders of how he had murdered his wife and son for her sake. We'll get the debtors on our side, he tells her, and all who fear that the law may be catching up to them. Others can be won with gifts, "dogs, horses, or perhaps a whore" (1.67-68). You line up the women: I've already got the boys. Revelry tonight—and hang the cost.

We next see Catiline winning over P. Cornelius Lentulus with a rather different approach. Catiline reminds Lentulus of the Sibylline prophecy of a "third Cornelius" rising to power in Rome, and promises him that recent auguries point to Lentulus himself as the fulfiller of the prophecy (1.255-284).

At the heart of Catiline's quest for power, Jonson shows us an intimate circle bound by promises of power and privilege. Catiline promises each a share of the political spoils, and every pleasure they could want. "Is there a beautie here in Rome, you love? An enemie you would kill? What head's not yours? Whose wife, which boy, whose daughter, of what race, That the'husband, or glad parents shall not bring you, and boasting of the office?" (1. 474-478). And to make sure we

all trust each other: an oath of blood. As the first act closes, Catiline had his associates confirm their solemn promises to each other by drinking wine mixed with the blood of a slaughtered slave (1.484-505). Note again the lust coupled with violence motif that Jonson returns to frequently.

And when it's not lust and violence, it's lust and avarice—and the desire of a privileged class to keep its privileges. According to Sallust, Catiline's supporters included many nobly-born women who had maintained lavish lifestyles through what amounted to prostitution and who, as they aged, found it difficult to maintain their standard of living (*Catilinae Coniuratio* II.24-25). Jonson dramatizes a scene where one of these women, Sempronia (mother of Decimus Brutus, by the way) campaigns for Catiline by maligning the upstart Cicero, "And, we must glorifie, a mushroom? One of yesterday? A fine speaker? 'Cause he has suck'd at Athens? And advance him, to our own loss?" (*Catiline* 2.135-138).

Throughout the play, Jonson follows closely Sallust's basic narrative. Like Sallust, he telescopes events, jumping quickly from Catiline's first electoral defeat to his second defeat and his conspiracy.

Jonson also follows Sallust closely in showing the weak links in the Catilinarian plan. Fulvia, one of the many ladies of questionable virtue supporting Catiline but not quite in the inner circle, has a disappointed suitor, Curius, a man who is no longer wealthy enough to give her the kinds of gifts that merit her attention. Jonson shows the disappointed-in-love Curius hinting at his soon-to-be restored fortunes. You'll be sorry you rejected me, he says, when you see the senators and their wives sold for slaves and all their goods just there for the taking but when you have no share of the spoils (2.312-316). Ultimately, Curius secures some of the affection he wanted by revealing details of Catiline's plans that were meant to be kept secret (2.356-362).

Fulvia transforms herself from whore to saint in Cicero's eyes by tipping him off (3.295-298). Confronted by Cicero with the evidence against him, Curius also agrees to keep Cicero informed, promising to make up for his error by his zeal in exposing the conspirators. He'll faithfully follow Cicero's admonition to "find their winding out, and subtle turnings, watch their snaky ways, through brakes, and hedges, into woods of darkness, where they are faine to creep upon their brests in paths ne're trod by men" (3.416-420).

Cicero is delighted and effusive in his praises. It remains for Catiline a few scenes later to make the wry observation (applicable to Cicero as much as to himself), "What ministers men must, for practice, use! The rash, th'ambitious, needy, desperate, foolish, and wretched, ev'n the dregs of mankind, to whores, and women" (3.714-717).

But Cicero's work is far from done. There remains the task of convincing the senate that the plot is real. Jonson takes us into the senate itself with Cicero hurling charges at Catiline, and the latter trying to brazen in out. And it this point where Jonson does something curious. While up to this point he has followed closely Sallust's narrative, he inserts here an only-slightly edited rendition of Cicero's First Oration against Catiline.

Catiline defends himself with an appeal to class, "If an oration or high language, Fathers, could make me guiltie, here is one, hath done it: H'has strove to emulate this morning's thunder, with his prodigious rhetoric, but I hope, this senate is more grave, then to give credite rashly to all he vomits, 'against a man of your owne order a Patrician" (4.462-463).

And Catiline certainly shows how to make an exit. He leaves Cato and Cicero sputtering in fury as he sneers at Cicero's fears, "In vaine conceive, ambitious orator, Hope of so brave a death, as by this hand" (4.494-495).

From here, the play rushes to its exciting climax. Catiline and his conspirators, their plot revealed prematurely, cast fate to winds and prepare an open assault on Rome. They hope that those of their secret allies remaining in the city will find opportunity to aid their cause and that they can get aggrieved subject peoples like the Allobroges to join in. But Catiline's supporters are unsurprisingly faithless. Despite their grievances against Rome, the Allobroges decide the advantage lies in aligning themselves with Cicero. The Allobroges in turn apprehend a band of the conspirators, planning to turn them over to Cicero. Volturtius, one of the conspirators stands bravely—for a few seconds. "Die friends, and be not taken," he challenges the others. But when his friends yield, Volturtius too seeks an out. "I'm not so guilty as many other, I can name; and will" (4.828-840).

But Catiline himself rises to the occasion, with a rousing battle speech despite his claim that such speeches didn't amount to much. "I never yet knew, Souldiers, that, in fight Words added virtue unto valiant men; or that generals oration made an armie fall, or stand" (5.367-370). And if words could stir men to greater valor, certainly Catiline's would. "Draw then, you swords: And if our destinie envie our virtue the honor of the day, yet let us care to sell selves, at such a price, as may undoe the world, to buy us" (5.414-418).

To the excitement of the battle call, add the excitement of senate debate. Cicero calls eloquently for the immediate execution of the plotters who had already been caught, but Caesar's artful recommendation of clemency forces Cicero to moderation –until Cato's cut-through-the-nonsense diatribe forces Caesar himself to back down and allow the executions.

And then a return to the field of battle as, in the closing scene Petreius, the general who had just defeated Catiline, describes to the assembled senators Catiline's last stand, "Catiline came on, not with the face of any man, but of a publique ruine: Hist coun'nance was a civill warre it selfe.

And all his host had standing in their looks, the palenesse of the death, that was to come" (5.642-646).

Sex, violence, rousing speeches, courtroom drama, intrigue, fascinating characters, betrayal, and plenty of quotable lines. So what's not to like?

Well if you're a fan of Caesar, you won't be happy with the play. While Caesar comes off well in Sallust's version of the story as a disinterested champion of moderation and justice, Jonson (following hints in Suetonius) shows Caesar and Crassus directly encouraging the conspirators. "Be resolute," Caesar tells Catiline (3. 491): "There was never any great thing, yet, aspired, but by violence, of fraud: and he that sticks (for folly of a conscience) to reach it . . ." "Is a good religious foole," says Catiline. "A superstitious slave, and will die beast," says Caesar (3. 515-519).

Later, Caesar chides Crassus for showing Cicero a letter implicating some of the conspirators. Crassus explains that he suspected a trap: that the letter might have been written at Cicero's behest, and, to be sure of avoiding the trap, showing Cicero the letter was the only thing to do. Caesar admits that he too had diverted suspicion from himself by giving Cicero evidence about the conspirators–but excuses himself by saying that he only told Cicero things that he knew already (5.5770-595).

Neither Cicero nor Cato comes off particularly well in this play either, and, if you're a fan of either man, you'll likely find Jonson's treatment disturbing.

Not that Jonson doesn't give Cicero a chance. He turns Cicero's *First Oration Against Catiline* into beautifully worded iambic pentameter monologue of more than 200 lines. If ever a character got a chance to speak for himself, this is it.

In fact, Jonson's prefatory remarks call specific attention to this speech, and it would seem likely that one of his primary purposes is to put Cicero's diatribe in historic context. But why? At

first, the added context might seem to work in Cicero's favor. After seeing how truly horrible Catiline is, perhaps we're supposed to be somewhat readier to accept as justified Cicero's over-the-top rhetoric.

But it really doesn't work this way. Fine rhetoric or no, a 200 line monologue is too much, and, by the end, well, we are getting very tired of Cicero. Not that Catiline isn't a monster: but he boasts way too much about his own virtue. And is he really such a paragon as he pretends?

Though he knows full well that Caesar and Crassus are up to their necks in the conspiracy, Cicero chooses prudence over zeal for justice, pretending to believe them innocent, "Not an unprofitable, dangerous act, to stirre too many serpents up at once. Caesar, and Crassus, if they be ill men, are mightie ones: and, we must so provide, that, while we take one head, from this foule Hydra, there spring up not twentie more" (4.528-532).

Later, Caesar and Crassus cover up their own complicity in the conspiracy by praising Cicero to the skies for stopping Catiline. "Let there be publike prayer, to all the gods, made in that name, for him," says Caesar (5.314-315). "And in these words, For that he hath by his vigilance, preserv'd Rome from the flame, the Senate from the sword, and all her citizens from massacre," adds Crassus (5.315-318).

With Cicero, flattery will get you everywhere. A man named Tarquinius, when apprehended as he headed for the Catiline camp, claims he had been sent by Crassus. "Some lying varlet," says Cicero, "Take him away, to prison…I know my selfe, by all the tracts, and course of this business, Crassus is noble, just, and loves his country" (5.340-341, 348-349).

Cicero shields Caesar, too. When Curius and Fulvia—the couple who first alerted Cicero to Catiline's plot—bring accusations against Caesar, Cicero ignores them. But he goes farther: Caesar claims to be offended by the accusations—and insists that, if Curius and Fulvia are rewarded for

their earlier disclosures, it's an affront to him. Cicero assures Caesar: they'll get none of their promised rewards (5.359-365). When further evidence implicating Caesar turns up, Cicero blocks Cato from pursuing the matter (V.572-581).

But while Cassius and Caesar get the kid-glove treatment, Cicero has no mercy at all for the relative small fry. A series of commands from Cicero are ruthless, "Take this man unto your justice: strangle him" (5.586-587). "Take him to the due death that he hath deserv'd" (5. 592-593). "Take 'hem in your cold hands, and let 'hem feele death from you" (5. 605-606).

At the end of the play, we have Cicero basking in self-congratulation. But what else would we expect from a man who writes poems in his own praise *O fortunatam natam me consule Romam*—"O happy date, for the Roman state, my consulate" a line Juvenal regarded as particularly bad poetry, and a line Jonson plays with constantly, "So Marcus Tullius, thou maist now stand up, and call it happy Rome, thou being Consul," says Cato (5.608-609).

Well it wasn't a happy date, and we're left with what seems a most unsatisfactory ending for a tragedy: a villain who at least manages a noble death (a "brave, bad death," Cato calls it), a hero who isn't heroic, and far worse times dead ahead: Cicero hasn't saved Rome at all.

And that's Jonson's point. The Aristotelian protagonist here, the great figure whose fortunes we see reversed, is Rome itself.[1] Jonson highlights the message in four choral interludes drawn (in large part) from the mournful reflections on the sorry state of Roman affairs Sallust uses to introduce his account of the Catiline conspiracy (Catilinae Coniurato I.10-13):

> "Oh wretchedness of greatest states,
>
> To be obnoxious to these fates:
>
> That cannot keepe, what they doe gaine
>
> And what they raise so ill sustain!

Rome, now is Mistris of the whole

World, sea, and land, to either pole;

And even that fortune will destroy

The power that made it: shee doth joy

So much in plenty, wealth, and ease,

As, now, the'excess is her disease (I.541-544).

It's Cicero's famous lament--*O tempora, o mores*—but driven home by the picture of Cicero himself as a hypocritical product of that same corrupted set of manners he abhors. As was Sallust. As was Jonson. As are we all.

Note

1. Joseph Allen Bryan, Jr. likewise argues that Jonson uses the Roman state as a whole as the protagonist of Catiline ("Catiline and the Nature of Jonson's Tragic Fable" in Ben Jonson: A Collection of Critical Essays, Jonas Barish, ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963).

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Not Guilty!
The Protestant Puritan Bible Hermeneutics of Anne Hutchinson

Carolyn D. Baker
Mayville State University

In a 1937 article entitled "The Case against Anne Hutchinson," Edmund S. Morgan claimed that Anne Hutchinson, "the godly wife of a pious and successful merchant… broached doctrine that was absolutely inconsistent with the principles upon which the colony had been founded." In Morgan's view, Hutchinson "began to affirm a new basis for absolute truth: immediate personal communion with the Holy Ghost" ("Case Against" 637).

Morgan believed that Bay Colony Puritans saw this as "a troublesome development." This group might have accepted her immediate revelations had they been for the purposes of "illuminating the meaning of Holy Scripture" (637). But for Morgan, these Puritans did not see it so. Instead, the Bay Colony believed that Hutchinson was claiming revelations apart from Scripture. "To accept her doctrine would mean abandonment of the fundamental belief for which the Puritans had crossed the water—the belief that truth for man was to be found in the Bible. It would mean a complete change in their daily lives, in their church, in their state (637).

And for this, what he called a "pretext" of a reason, Morgan believed Hutchinson was tried before the General Court in November 1637, formally excommunicated from the Colony, then forcedly required to winter under house arrest at Joseph Weld Thomas' Roxbury home. Because of this heresy, she was brought to trial in March 1638 by the Boston Church, and then formally banished from the Colony soon thereafter. Her house, family--once located in modern Long Island, New York—was finally ransacked and burned by attackers in the land of her banishment.

But did the punishment match the crime? And what if there were no crime?

What if Hutchinson's exegetical methods were the same as other orthodox Puritan preachers of her day—especially those who tried her? And what if her immediate revelations *were* for the purpose of illuminating the meaning of Scripture? By exploring Hutchinson's hermeneutics contained in the proceedings of the trial which led to her excommunication, I would like to propose that her Protestant, Puritan hermeneutical techniques applied to the Bible and as seen in the transcript of her trial, *The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown*, were like those generally received and customary methods of many Puritans. In fact, many specific places in the transcript of the trial evidence show how these methods were precisely like those of her accusers and her revered pastor, John Cotton. (Incidentally, Cotton's testimony at Hutchinson's trial never condemned or exonerated the very hermeneutical practices she probably learned from him!)

By evidence that is indeed cumulative, I will also counter Morgan's related claim that "immediate personal communion with the Holy Ghost" was an anomalous experience for many Puritan readers of Scripture; and that for Hutchinson this was also a normal way to read the Sacred Text.

To begin, Hutchinson's responses at her trial serve as specific, insightful examples of how she, as well as the Massachusetts Bay Colony Puritans, approached the Christian Scriptures. Her answers to her examiners— especially Governor John Winthrop (Deputy Governor), Mr. Hugh Peter (Minister at Salem 1636-1641), Sir Henry Vane (1635 Arrival), and Rev. John Cotton (Hutchinson's former Pastor from England) — steep themselves totally in the orthodox hermeneutical practices of their Colony.

So then how did these Bay Colony Puritans read Scripture?

Of course, there is ample evidence in the transcript to support that both Hutchinson and her accusers interpreted Biblical Text literally. The Bay Colony ministers and officials might have challenged Hutchinson on several issues, but they never questioned her literal approach to Scripture. With no objections, they listened as she read Scripture literally. And on at least one occasion, Governor Winthrop reminded her of the importance of a literal read. He insisted upon her obligation to take literally her role in both church and society: "…Elder women must instruct the younger about their business, and to love their husbands and not to make them to clash!" (Examination 316).

Furthermore, there were at least thirteen occasions where Anne Hutchinson directly or indirectly quoted a Biblical Text which she understood literally. Either, she directly quoted Biblical Texts which include two references to Exodus 20; Proverbs 29:25; 29:15; Jeremiah 46:27,28; Daniel 6:4; 7; Titus 2:3,4,5; Ephesians 4:30; II Corinthians 3:6; I John 2:18; Hebrews 9:16; 5. Or, she indirectly alluded to Scripture with phrases such as "put the Lord Jesus from you", "power over body and soul", and "the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it".

Even when she invested double meaning in some of these texts, she understood them as a literalist reader would. For example, she literally interpreted the Fifth Commandment, "Honor Father and Mother", and read it with a double sense by applying the father and mother role to the patriarchy of the Bay Rulers (Examination 313-314). On the first day of her trial she read Titus 2:3, 4, 5 and after quoting the verse, "The elder women should instruct the younger", she endorsed its literalness: "The rule in Titus is a rule to me" (Examination 316).

When confronted later that same day by Sir Henry Vane and Mr. Hugh Peter concerning her public statements about John Cotton's preaching of grace and their own teaching of works,

she responded to their mounting evidence against her with a trust inspired by her literal reading of Proverbs 29:25: “The fear of man is a snare. Why should I be afraid?”

There is yet one more occasion when both Hutchinson and Cotton read the same New Testament passage literally while emphasizing its double sense. During the trial, Mr. John Peters asked Cotton about Hutchinson’s belief regarding the “seal of the Holy Spirit” (Ephesians 4:30). Peters, then a new arrival from England (1635), claimed that Hutchinson taught a “double seal of the Spirit...which never was” (Examination 335). To this Cotton replied affirmatively that he believed she had indeed taught the double sense of the seal of the Sprit: “I know very well that she took the seal of the spirit in that sense for the full assurance of God’s favour by the Holy Ghost.” Cotton then affirmed that he believed the same saying, “now that place in the Ephesians doth hold out that seal” (Examination 335). His testimony for Hutchinson seemingly implied his use of the double sense.

Later, during her trial when answering the charges about her public criticisms of some legalistic Colony Clergy, she depended upon this principle of double sense to establish the differences between law and grace. She, siding with clergy like grace advocate John Cotton, justified her view before the court by allegorically distinguishing between the “voice of my beloved” and the “voice of Moses,” the “voice of John Baptist” and the “voice of antichrist” (Examination 336-7).

And there was also another Puritan hermeneutical principle that Hutchinson used. It was what Cotton called “synchrony” (Davidson 122). Hutchinson’s Puritan contemporaries and accusers, especially Cotton and Winthrop, read Sacred Text contextually by looking for it. For instance, Cotton specifically approached Scripture as other post-reformational Calvinists. His exegesis, according to Edward H. Davidson in his article “John Cotton’s Biblical Exegesis:

Method and Purpose," was "securely fixed" within the Calvinistic tradition (122). His "whole scripture" interpretation made him a "contextualist" who believed that because Scripture was an integral whole, one text could not be read apart from "understanding how it "yields" and "leads" to an infinite number of other texts." This was because "God had in mind every word and book even before the first word was revealed to Moses." Every passage and word linked with others to form a synchronous whole (Davidson 122). This, according to Janice Knight in her work *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, meant that for a public interpretive event—the sermon,

> The order of the Biblical passage rather than the logic of a pre-determined doctrinal message shap[ed] the sermon. The appeal [was] to God's reason rather than to mechanical human, logic. The Preacher [made] himself a passive vessel through which the Spirit flowed from Bible to saint—he [was] a 'conduit to convey.'" (150)

This synchrony allowed Cotton or other Puritans to read the Text in a threefold way, using the methods of examination, collation, and adaptation, since Puritans tenaciously held to the reformation principle, *Scripturae scriptura interpretum* – scripture was what Davidson cited as *autopistos*, sufficient in itself to interpret itself (Cotton's Biblical Exegesis 121). Because of this conviction, Cotton like, many Puritans, read the Text in ways that exalted God's primary role in the interpretive process. For instance, Lisa Gordis in her introduction to *Opening the Text* has claimed how that by "privileging God as author and interpreter, Puritan interpretive strategies minimized the role of the human interpreter, relying on methods that in theory allowed the text to interpret itself" (Introduction 3). According to Gordis, even seemingly contradictory texts could be made to agree (Gordis, "Reading, Preaching, and Rhetoric" 40).

For this to occur during a reading, the Colony's preaching manuals required Bible interpreters to examine each Sacred Text "to reveal God's intentions", and then to "collate" or "collect comparable passages that could be compared and contrasted with the passage in question." This was followed immediately by the requirement for the exegete to "adapt" them, to bring different passages together in order to illuminate the chosen Text. This "collation" allowed preachers to adapt their texts to address a range of concerns, even as they were ostensibly 'opening' the meanings of the texts themselves." In Gordis' view, this process of collation "fostered rich intertextual artistry, both in sermons and in other texts by Puritan writers" (Introduction 3).

This threefold method of interpretation --examination, collation, and adaptation—also encouraged a syllogistic reading. Interpreters were encouraged to locate the major and minor premises of the Divine mind contained within the Texts. Davidson, in this respect, demonstrated how Cotton's Ramistic method was "basically syllogistic throughout most of his commentaries and sermons." Referring to John Cotton's sermon *The Way of Life*, Davidson demonstrated how

> Christ gave us our life, and he preserves it, wee cannot better explaine it than thus; . . . A Wind-mill moves not onely by the wind, but in the wind; so a water whell hath its motion, not onely from the water, but in the water; (conclusion) so a Christian lives, as having his life from Christ, and in Christ. (127).

This practice of synchrony which sought for the Divine Mind in the text was practiced by the Bay Colony Puritan Accusers at Hutchinson's trial. On at least on one occasion, Governor John Winthrop attempted to harmonize various texts when he interrogated Hutchinson about her instruction of men at her home meetings. When she responded to Winthrop that teaching men in her home was not against the "rule" in scripture, he upheld the principle of synchrony and

responded with these words: "…there is no rule that crosses another, but this rule [Titus 2.3,4,5] crosses another in the Corinthians[I Corinthians 14:34, 35]" (Examination 316). Here for Winthrop, one text had to harmonize with another. I Corinthians 14:34, 35 could not disagree with Titus 2.3,4,5.

And just like Cotton and Winthrop, Hutchinson interpreted synchronically. On at least one occasion, she told her Puritan accusers at her trial that she publicly distinguished ministers of grace from ministers of law. She testified that she had been "much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the Church of England, and how at one point she might have "like[d] to have turned separatist" (Examination 336). Identifying with other Puritans who had probably felt the same—maybe even those present at the trial?-- she then interpreted Biblical Texts synchronically by using a Puritan three-fold method of interpretation.

Testifying about her own spiritual crisis experienced in the Church of England, she explained how she dealt with it. She offered an *explanation* indicating how she "kept a day of solemn humiliation," an indirect allusion to a Leviticus or Joel passage. Then, after offering the reason for her "day of humiliation," i.e. the unbelief of the Church of England, she connected her chosen text with another, a *collation:* "This Scripture was brought unto me- he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is antichrist (I John 2:18). She expressed her consternation over the identity of the true "antichrist" —Was it the "papists"? Or, perhaps, "the Turk"?—she then concluded with an *adaptation*, i.e. she read her Text with an envisioned, personal practice in view. Refusing to compromise her convictions, she cited Hebrews 9:16, "He that denies the testament denies the testator," and offered her personal, practical application for the Court's consideration:

> In this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me and ever since. *I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong* [italics mine]. (Examination 337)

Yet this was not the only time during the trial Hutchinson used this three-fold method. Immediately after this, she did it again. When asked by Increase Nowell, an official of the Colony, and Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley how she really knew that the Holy Spirit had spoken to her about the error of Colony ministers who believed in works vs. grace, Hutchinson responded with an *examination* of a Text. She described God as having shown her the truth through "the voice of his own spirit to my soul" (Examination 337), linking this experience with a quotation of Jeremiah 46.27,28 – a passage demonstrating how God would eventually reward faithful servants like herself. Then her *collation* of texts began. Quoting Daniel 7, she offered evidence of God's eventual rule over her accusers [?], those of "high and low [standing] before the Lord," and "how [their?] thrones and kingdoms" would be "cast down before Him" (Examination 337). To this collation she added yet another. She connected Daniel 7 with two more Old Testament texts linking the Daniel 7 passage to Isaiah 30: "Though the Lord give thee bread of adversity and water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into corners anymore, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers." Using this passage to illustrate her adversity, she then coupled the formerly mentioned Texts with yet another one, Daniel 6:4, 5. She built her Biblical defense, and with confidence declared that she like Daniel would be "delivered out of the Lion's Den" (Examination 338).

Then came her final adaptation for all her listeners:

> Therefore I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day and therefore I desire you that as you tender the Lord and church and commonwealth to consider to look to what you do. You have power over my body and soul and assure yourselves this much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. (Examination 338)

Her adaptation here took on a restorationist tone. She used a Puritan principle which said that a restored Scripture meant a new Law, and a new Israel, and a new prophet. And in this climatic moment of the trial, Hutchinson spoke prophetically. Scripture had not only been fulfilled in the lives of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. It had now been fulfilled the second time in her very day, in her very self, and in their very eyes. "The mouth of the Lord has spoken it" (Examination 338).

She, like her accusers, read Scripture as restorationists. For instance, Cotton like many fellow Bay Colony Puritans, believed that the history of the first church during the times of the Apostles was being re-enacted in his own time. In his work entitled *God's Mercie Mixed*, he spoke of a "succession from primitive times" (Cotton 98). According to Davidson,

> Just as the Apostles had rejected the legalism and the practices of the Jews, so the Puritans had abolished the teachings of more than a thousand years, and the truths of the New Testament were now being revealed as clearly as Christ's teachings had been to his followers. ("Cotton's Biblical Exegesis" 122)

This, of course, meant that a Puritan interpreter looked for what a Text originally meant to the Apostles, while also seeking what it meant for modern times (Davidson 122). This restorative

reading of the text required an interpreter like Cotton to search for evidence of the "enlarging plan of God" within it. For instance, in his *Practical Commentary …Upon the First Epistle General of John,* Cotton spoke of how "Moses spake by types which obscured the truth; but what the Holy Ghost speaks is evident truth without veil or covering" (363). Cotton believed in a special, required work of the Sprit, and that the 1630's were actually the OT prophesied days of the Spirit. "These are the days in which God hath said he will poure out his spirit upon Courtiers, upon buise Trades-men &c"(Way of Life,). This meant that while the Spirit spoke to ancient Israelites, He would also speak directly to modern readers—the Puritans of the Bay Colony. In the climactic moment of the trial, Hutchinson also read as a restorationist, and this interpretive move combined with her reading as a conduit actually led to her excommunication and banishment from the Colony.

Colony Bay Puritans prized the conduit moment of the Preacher. They believed that Scripture served a "communication" purpose. And, as will be momentarily seen, Hutchinson followed suit. During her trial she too became a communicator, a conduit, a mouthpiece of God.

This was not anomalous in any way. In fact, Cotton himself practiced it. According to Davidson, Cotton followed the interpretive principle *praedicto verbi Deo est verbum Dei*, i. e. 'the teaching of the Word is the Word.' This principle necessarily affirmed the prophetic ability of the public reader, and allowed that person to operate in the spirit of the "prophet" mentioned in I Corinthians 14. This was very much like Aaron who before Pharaoh spoke with God's words. "It was the language of the heart made manifest" (Verse 25). This allowed for a reader to speak "as one truly enlivened by God to speak the Word in directness of an immediate revelation" ("John Cotton's Biblical Exegesis" 117).

Puritans, then, used this term "communication" to "define the way Scriptures should be read and interpreted." This was not rhetorical, i.e. how a statement could be stated, tested and proven true or false. Rather, when reading the Bible, "communication" meant "God's way." Through a "communication," the reader heard "the voice of the Spirit" speaking through history: first in the Old Testament before the coming of Christ, then in the New Testament, and, finally in the True Church of the New World. This communication "did not take place in any haphazard or indeterminate way." Instead, it was "an expression that was direct and clearly set forth and therefore suitable to the receptive minds of certain inspired, and even ordinary, men and women" (Davidson 117).

It is in this register which Hutchinson's climactic moment at her trial is best understood. According to David H. Hall, in his prefatory remarks in "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court of Newbury," Anne Hutchinson was brought before the General Court at Newtown in 1637 and accused of "countenancing" those who had directly participated in the Antinomian Controversy, although she herself never did. The Court found fault with the weekly meetings she held in her home, as well as her criticizing the ministers whom she believed preached a doctrine of "works" (311). But as Edmund Morgan has shown, it was her accusers' claim that she had received Divine revelations which led to her ousting from the Bay Colony ("Case Against" 637).

But their allegation that Hutchinson spoke extra-biblically by divine revelation was certainly an unsubstantiated one. As mentioned earlier, she read the Biblical Text according to accepted Puritan practice. She, like her accusers, acted as a conduit, seeking a communication, and at no time during her trial did she claim an extra biblical revelation. Rather, she connected

her communication—"the voice of His Spirit to my soul"—to her personal reading of Scripture. The transcript of this climactic moment during her trial reads as follows:

> Now if you condemn me for speaking what is in my conscience, I know to be truth I must commit myself to the Lord
>
> Mr. Nowell. How do you know that that was the spirit?
>
> Mrs. Hutchinson: How did Abraham know that is was God that bid him suffer his son, being a breach to the sixth commandment?
>
> Dep. Gov.: By an immediate voice
>
> Mrs. H. So to me by an immediate revelation
>
> Dep. Gov. How! An immediate revelation.
>
> Mrs. H.; By the voice of his own spirit to my soul I will give you another scripture, Jer. 46.27,28 outt of which Lord shewed me what He would do for me and the rest of His servants. But after he was pleased to reveal himself to me I did presently like Abraham run to Hagar. And after that he did let me see the atheism of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thu she did shew me this a twelve month after which I told you of before. Ever since I have been confident of what he hath revealed to me

While Morgan's claim that Hutchinson was banished from the Colony because of a "pretext" of heresy is probably true, nevertheless it is certainly obvious that the charge of heresy was not. Hutchinson's Bible hermeneutics were no different from those used by her accusers. And while some may proffer that her dismissal happened because she was a woman, I think the evidence rejects that as a too simplistic view. Hutchinson was not condemned simply because she was a woman. She was not expelled for being a heretic. Rather, Hutchinson as a

hermeneutician got ousted because, for her accusers at least, estrogen forbade her excellence in exegesis. Hutchinson was excommunicated because she was good at what she did. In fact, she was very, very good…

Not guilty.

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Milton: A Product of His Times

Devena Homes
Northern State University

I recently took a linguistics class, and when it first started John Milton and I were, at best, mere acquaintances. Nevertheless, after actually sitting down and reading *Paradise Lost* in its entirety, I found that this act was perhaps one of the best things I have ever done. Never before had I experienced a Christian-based story of such magnitude, depth, and detail, and what made the story so grand was the language and style which Milton used.

What was it, though, that made Milton's writing so spectacular, or at the very least, notary? I've come to the conclusion that Milton was, aside from being naturally astute, a product of his times. He was taught to love the written and spoken word, given the opportunity to collect an extensive knowledge of places and people, and he would then be forced to learn how to use language in the most appealing ways in order to persuade the public to his political and religious viewpoints. Linguistically, these factors made him a master of word usage, and it is for the way that he uses language and chooses to portray religion and religious figures in *Paradise Lost* that there continues to be controversy over his work as well as sustained interest.

It is important to take Milton's history into account, since it is beneficial in understanding the method behind the madness. He was educated in Saint Paul's school, where he would excel in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and he was also tutored at home in French and Italian. Simply put, he was a nerd who lived for his studies, and his grasp of these languages would later help to further his knowledge of religious texts.

Milton's parents expected him to enter the priesthood of the Anglican Church, but as he began to see the conservatism, worldliness, and authoritarianism of the Church, he opted not to

go into seminary, choosing instead to follow the life of a scholar. He then proceeded to spend his father's money frivolously by going on an extended tour of Europe where he had the opportunity to learn from some of the greatest minds of the age. In Florence he made acquaintances with Galileo, whom he mentions frequently when discussing the cosmos. More importantly, he also had the fortune to meet Giovanni Manso, who had been the patron of Torquato Tasso. As Tesky points out in his introduction to the *Norton Critical Addition: Paradise Lost,* Tasso demonstrated two very important ideas in his works that Milton would later find critical to his writing:

> An epic poem in the tradition of Homer and Virgil could be written in the modern age…and the specific conventions of the epic poem – set battles and single combats, noble speeches and debates, elaborate descriptions and similes, supernatural interventions and omens, and, not the least of these, invocations of the muse – could be adapted to a Christian subject. (xviii)

Milton would later incorporate almost all of these conventions in his *Paradise Lost*, though it would be a great deal of time before his plans for an epic poem could ever come to fruition, since he was called back to his home country to take sides in a religious civil war.

It is his education, though, that accounts for much of Milton's linguistic prowess. Seth Lerer, in his book, *Inventing English,* attributes much of Milton's knowledge to Alexander Gil, who was his headmaster at St. Paul's School. In fact, Lerer goes so far as to say that, "the young Milton would have learned from one of the most linguistically aware and self-conscious pedagogues of early-modern England" (147). Milton may not have agreed with all of Gil's ideas, but there are still some major similarities between the language of Gil and that of Milton. One such similarity is "horrors of the illegitimate" (Lerer 149). Lerer goes on to explain this phrase by comparing Gil's view of English as a bastard tongue living in the home of the legitimate to

Milton's monstrous figures, and how Satan discovers that Death is "his own awful progeny" (149). In this way, it is apparent that Milton is Gil's pupil in the language he uses throughout *Paradise Lost,* especially when it comes to Satan.

As far as religion goes, Milton was a Puritan with a capital "P." Being such, he had some unique religious views that his writing reflects which Thomas Kranidas spells out in his preface in *Milton and the Rhetoric of Zeal:*

> John Milton was heir to a rhetorical tradition of zeal, of inspired truth-telling that could make displays of outrage and intolerance, unreasonable passion, and coarseness. But under that crudeness lay the heart of Puritan zeal and in a real sense the power of Puritanism, the energy of a focused belief system that liberated and empowered the individual. (x-xi)

In other words, Milton had controversial religious views that he expounded upon with great fervor, just like a good Puritan should have done. Then, when one adds the passion which Alexander Gil displayed in his views of the English language, it is no wonder that Milton used powerful language that was able to move the multitudes either artistically, religiously, or politically, and it is also reflective of the controversy that Milton's works receive even today.

The issue that is most controversial today is the way that religion is portrayed in *Paradise Lost,* illustrated by the way Milton chooses to depict Satan and God. As a reader, I found that as the poem progressed I started liking Satan's character more and God's character less. Jesus himself was a good guy, but he is a minor character in comparison. Also, the language Milton used when talking about Satan was much more interesting than when he spoke of God. In fact, Milton paints a quite unflattering portrait of God when Satan first begins the angel rebellion, and God in his omniscience perceives and speaks to His Son:

Son, Thou in whom My glory I behold
In full resplendence, heir of all My might,
Nearly now it concerns us to be sure
Of our omnipotence and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we claim…
Let us advise and to this hazard draw
With speed what force is left and all employ
In our defense, lest unawares we lose
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill. (5.719-32)

This section of text presents a cumbersome contradiction of God as He is supposed to be theologically versus how he is presented as a character, and the word "concern" is what presents this difficulty. Either God is really "concerned" over losing his "hill," which would mean that he is not truly omnipotent, or he is not really worried but is being sarcastic. When the Son replies, "Mighty Father, thou thy foes/ Justly has in derision and, secure,/ Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain" (5.735-37), he implies that God is indeed laughing at the weakness of his foes. Of all the ideas I have about what God is supposed to be, a God of mockery and scorn is not among them, so no matter which perspective one takes, either an untrue or unflattering picture of God has been painted.

On the other hand, Satan acts as the perfect foil against the ungainly apparition of God which Milton depicts, because he is the kind of character who will rock a person's socks off! In Satan, Milton creates one of the most seductive antagonists in literature, as is proven when he (Satan) states his intentions after he was cast down to Hell:

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,

Said then the lost archangel, this the seat
That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celestial light? Be it so, since He
Who now is Sov'reign can dispose and bid
What shall be right. Farthest from him is best
Whom reason hath equaled, force hath made supreme
Above His equals. Farewell happy fields
Where joy forever dwells! Hail horrors, hail
Infernal world! And thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time!
The mind is its own place and it itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven. (1.247-55)

Note how Milton refers to Satan as "the lost archangel." This isn't the wormy, snake-like, disgusting being we're supposed to think of as Satan. He is an ex-*archangel* who rouses the reader's sympathies, especially when he accepts fate and chooses to make the best of his new fiery home.

It is also interesting to consider the amount of exclamation points used in Satan's narrative, since Milton does not ever ascribe them to God's dialogue. Never is He driven to the level of passion that would merit an exclamation point, even in his love of His Son or anger with His enemy. Satan, however, is ruled by passions, though they are usually misguided or malicious. Furthermore, when he says "whom reason hath equaled, force hath made supreme," he is saying that God is better only through brute strength, never through better reason. The idea

that “The mind is its own place and in itself/ Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven,” is a seductive one.

Later on, Milton exposes yet another side of Satan that we do not conceptualize, and that is his capacity to feel sympathy and sorrow on the account of others. When Satan gathers his faithful troops around him, seeing how they suffer now all because of him, he begins to speak, and “Thrice he assayed and thrice, in spite of scorn,/ Tears such as angels weep burst forth” (Milton 1.619-20). God never shows such sorrow at the loss of a third of his angels, and Satan’s ability to weep makes the reader like him more.

Why Milton would choose to depict Satan this way has been the cause of dispute for many years, but I believe C.S. Lewis makes some excellent points in his article *Satan.* First, he points out that Satan makes a progressive degradation. He goes from hero to general, general to politician, politician to spy, and from there he turns to a toad, and finally he ends up a snake, which is the Satan that we all know and despise. By portraying evil in this way, Lewis believes that it was Milton’s intention to be fair to evil and give it a run for its money before he showed its flaws. To do this he first showed it at its height and then traced what actually becomes of this self-intoxication when it encounters reality (Lewis 404). Secondly, Lewis states that Milton was writing to a people who would have naturally thought in two ways that would have protected them from the misunderstandings of modern readers, the first being that men of Milton’s day believed that Satan existed, and the second that they all believe without a doubt that Satan is a liar. In Lewis’s words, “The poet didn’t foresee that his work would one day meet the disarming simplicity of critics who take for gospel things said by the father of falsehood in public speeches to his troops” (404). This idea is backed up by Balachandra Rajan in her article *The Problem of Satan* when she states:

> Our response to Satan is, I imagine, one of cautious interest…But with Milton's contemporaries the response was predominantly one of fear…this vision served to remind them that it was only by God's grace that they could hope to overcome the enormous forces against which they were contending…So the heroic qualities which Satan brings to his mission, the fortitude, the steadfast hate, the implacable resolution which is founded on despair are qualities not to be imitated or admired. They are defiled by the evil to which they are consecrated. (408)

In this quote, Rajan, like Lewis, highlights the fact that we must read *Paradise Lost* in context, and base our conclusions upon that context, since the language he uses would have served only to cement into the minds of his contemporaries how wary they needed to be of Satan.

Finally, one other important issue which C.S. Lewis brings out in his article is how fully Milton developed the character of Satan. The reason, Lewis states, is not hard to find. Of all the characters that Milton incorporated into his poem, Satan is the one that is easiest to draw, because people have only to release in their imaginations some of the dark passions that they are constantly fighting to keep under control. In the same way, it is nigh impossible for any human to depict a character much better than themselves, because we cannot understand an inner landscape that we have never seen (405). How much more difficult it would have been, therefore, for Milton to depict God, who is perfect in every way that humans are not. This suggests, then, that Milton did not necessarily mean to make Satan a better character than God, but he lacked the knowledge that all men lack in understanding true deity. This fact does not, however, diminish the grandeur provided to *Paradise Lost* through the language of the man who continues to inspire interest and controversy even in our modern world.

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True Words:
A Coalescence of John Locke and Paradise Lost

Carl Wobig
Northern State University

What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support,
That to the heighth of this great argument
I may assert Eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men. (I. 22-6)

A debate has long existed amongst those who deal in words about the nature of language—not merely a language, such as English or French, but language as a whole. This debate is something that has created a great deal of mistrust for language as a system of creating and conveying meaning. In particular, there is a question of whether language is something inherent and natural, or arbitrary and cultural. This separation has been linked, metaphorically or literally, to Biblical stories of the Fall of Man and the building of the tower of Babel. For seventeenth century philosopher John Locke and writer John Milton, this issue is quite important. So important, in fact, that both *Paradise Lost* and Locke's theories about language can inform the reading of the other.

In book three of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke explores human language usage. He mentions the belief that God created language, but most of the essay discusses ways in which the natural language that was instilled in Adam at the time of creation has degraded into something culturally signified, and therefore untrustworthy. Words are nothing but signs of human ideas of reality, and because all humans perceive and understand reality differently, a sign can mean something different to each person who hears it (Locke 146). This causes endless confusion among individuals, often ending in conflict.

In the epic poem *Paradise Lost,* differences in language use are more subtly delineated through characterization. For Milton, and according to Christian doctrine, God's speech is inherently true—synonymous with reality—and is an integral part of the existence of God: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1). When he is created, Adam is also imbued with a semblance of this natural language, finding himself able to label each plant and creature with the exact name to suit its nature. Language is inseparable from reality, which is inseparable from Adam's perception of reality. In contrast, Satan separates language from reality in a way that bends or even breaks the truth, making reality extremely difficult to perceive by interfering with perception itself. His, and in fact any fall from grace, reflects a fall of language.

Locke's theory of language hinges on a few important concepts. First, no two humans understand anything similarly enough for an inherent, natural language to arise between them: "Words are voluntary signs, and can't be voluntary signs imposed by someone on something that he doesn't know, for that would be to make them signs of nothing, sounds without signification" (Locke 148). It is hardly possible for one person to convey the exact personal connotations, implications, feelings, experiences and ideas associated with something as simple as *rock* to another. A dictionary definition may be possible, but a wide range of personal experiences means that the simple word *rock* may signify anything from a pebble to a boulder, from Elvis to KISS, or even granny in her rocking chair. This problem is magnified with more complex concepts like *love,* that have no concrete equivalent in objective reality.

Second, there are so many words, so many languages, and so many objects to be signified that a natural language is impossible. Locke writes, "it is easy to see why men have never tried to give a name to each sheep in their flock, or every crow that flies over their heads; much less to

call every grass-blade or grain of sand that comes their way by its own proper name" (148). Locke takes some time to explain why this is unnecessary, and even counterproductive. He makes the point that there is generally no need to call a particular sheep or blade of grass by its own distinct name. We name people distinctly, and we differentiate between different species of plants and animals, but we rarely go farther than that (Locke). As language users, we continually validate Locke's argument because any label we use is necessarily a generic label for a specific concept, which makes those labels imprecise. Even the most specific of labels is unable to fully signify the entirety of a concept or entity because mankind's deepest understanding of a thing is still superficial.

Last, there is a problem when a speaker misuses language intentionally (as with Milton's Satan) where men twist word and intention to manipulate the understanding of others. Locke notes that this misuse has

> invaded the important affairs of human life and society, obscured and tangled the significant truths of law and divinity, brought confusion, disorder, and uncertainty into the affairs of mankind, and harmed the two great guides, religion and justice—if not destroying them then at least making them mainly useless. (184)

Locke disapproves of those who intentionally confuse or conceal meaning with language. Language is complicated enough without people trying to twist meanings to suit their own purposes.

Though Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* first appeared in 1690, twenty-three years after publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667, many of his concerns about language's nature and use are evident in Milton's epic. *Paradise Lost* could very well be an allegory for the fall of language from a natural to a cultural state. As critic Arnold Williams says,

"In the beginning man was given a perfect language to go with the perfect nature in which he was created. Then, as a result of sin, this perfect language was, like human nature, corrupted" (qtd. in Ricks 109). Each character's speech in *Paradise Lost* reflects a stage in this corruption, from God to Adam to Satan.

Natural language use comes directly from God: "God *said*, 'Let there be light,' and there was light" (Gen. 1:3, emphasis mine). To speak the name of a thing is to invoke the very nature of that thing. So when God called light into existence, light was. Whether it was the utterance of the name of light that brought it into existence, or God merely using the name to focus His creation, the fact remains that God spoke the universe into being. In Milton's narrative, Jesus creates the universe as a manifestation of God's power, so God says to Jesus, "Speak Thou and be it done!" (VII.164). However that power is exhibited, it is carried out through speech, because in Heaven's natural language, a word is as good as a deed.

This is Locke's ideal language. If one person could speak to another with such perfect clarity and mutual comprehension, there would be no conflict stemming from misunderstanding. Speakers would be able to connect effortlessly with their audiences, with no need for misleading and possibly duplicitous rhetorical strategies. However, Locke asserts that no such innate understanding exists in humans. Any conventional understanding comes from personal experience, and collective understandings are almost impossible. For Locke, there are no shared experiences, making our use of language far from perfect, which is why logic is so important (3).

Milton takes the concept still further when he first describes Heaven and God's voice in Book III:

> Thus while God spake ambrosial fragrance filled
> All Heav'n and in the blessed spirits elect

Sense of new joy ineffable diffused (135-7).

The mere sound of God's speech sends all of Heaven into a rapturous frenzy of glory. There is more here than simple glorification of God, however. The speech this passage describes deals with God's decision to confer grace upon mankind following the Fall. The words convey a sense of undeserved mercy, along with power restrained in favor of grace. The words that God speaks are kind and beautiful, and creation is compelled to reflect those qualities both in sensory and psychological ways. The "glorias" and "hosannas," which angel choirs sing at the sound of God's voice, are not meant for the content of what He says, however deserving; rather, the words themselves draw forth the adulation.

Though God is the embodiment of natural language, it is Adam who best illustrates the concept, because he is only a man. He is charged with naming all of the newly created animals and plants that exist with him in the Garden, and he does this with the aid of a divine understanding:

I [Adam] named them, as they passed, and understood
Their nature, with such knowledge God endued
My sudden apprehension (VIII.353-4).

Milton draws a direct connection between understanding and naming. An animal's name comes from a complete, divine understanding of the animal. So the name is equal to the understanding of a thing, which is equal to the thing itself. Language, or specifically names, reflects the utmost being of each creature, and so confers a verbal identity on each thing named. This identity also creates a greater understanding of the referent, for both Adam and the referent. Locke makes a similar claim about the creation of new words in relation to ideas:

What words are the marks of, then, are the ideas of the speaker. And nobody can

> apply a word, *as a mark,* immediately to anything else. Applying the word *as a mark* of a thing involves applying it *intending it to stand for* that thing, which means applying it with an accompanying thought about the word's significance (146 emphasis in the original).

Man is objective reality, formed by the word of God, and then woken with a name: "Adam," putting him one step away from that direct correlation between the man of objective reality and the word God used to create him. "Adam" is the mark that stands for man, but is really only the idea of the man called Adam. For Adam, waking with divine understanding of his surroundings, along with a language supplied by God, marking plants and animals with names is fairly simple, and results in a series of marks that closely match the reality they represent.

However, Adam does not bestow a name on all individual members of a species, but rather contents himself with identifying each type of creature he encounters. As Locke would later note, giving each created being its own name would create too much confusion (148), so in the day-to-day conversation between Adam and Eve, language would become overly complicated. More importantly, it seems that Adam's divine understanding does not extend to individual nature. Locke writes that it is impossible for one man to know the mind of another (147); this apparently extends to animal minds. Of course, Adam has no need to try to give each individual animal its own unique name. At the time of creation, there were only two of each animal, each in accordance with the other: "lion and lioness." There are not yet the flocks of sheep or crows that so concerned Locke. But even Adam does not name perfectly every time. Though divine, his understanding is not perfect. "[Adam] matches [the animals] experimentally, by sound as well as sense, to assert the fitness or unfitness of the creatures' possible unions" (Leonard, *Naming* 29). Even at this early stage in human existence, man struggles to describe the

surrounding world.

Adam's struggle gives rise to a new issue for language users. Adam needs an equal in order to grow: "The animals provide Adam with abundant opportunities to talk about Creation, but this talking *about,* even in natural language, is not enough. Adam wants someone to talk *to*" (Leonard, *Naming* 27, emphasis in the original). Ironically, Adam complains to God about his need for an equal exchange with an equal partner, not understanding that he is utterly privileged to freely converse with his creator. Adam eventually realizes this when he says,

> To attain
> The heighth and depth of Thy eternal ways
> All human thoughts come short, Supreme of Things.
> Thou in Thyself art perfect and in Thee
> Is no deficience found. Not so is Man
> But in degree, the cause of his desire
> By conversation with his like to help
> Or solace his defects (VIII. 412-19).

Adam cannot but help to recognize the vast gulf between himself and God, not only in matters of understanding and language, but in all ways. For this reason, perhaps more than any other, God decides that it is "not good for man to be alone" (VIII. 445).

The result is Eve, who shares Eden with Adam; however, as humans, they do not share divine understanding of each other. Eve's distance from natural language in *Paradise Lost* foreshadows Locke's thoughts on the problem of language. Eve is equally removed from the language of reality, created by God with a word, and named by Adam with another. As such, she embodies the problems of cultural, conventional language, where two people cannot come to the

same understanding because of the differences in experience and personal thought. Even though Eve is meant to submit to Adam, much of the conversation they have consists of Adam trying to reason with her. This is not to say that Eve is difficult to get along with or unreasonable, but rather that she and Adam do not share all of the same experiences, and they process their experiences in different ways. Adam must be logical in his discussions with Eve because they do not share the same emotional understanding. Moreover, though she is meant to be submissive, she is not meant to be subordinate. Adam cannot rule over her as he does the rest of Eden. The logical appeal, as Locke will later argue, is the best that humans can hope to attain in persuasive discussion. Because Adam and Eve view and experience things differently, Adam must attempt to use pure reason to persuade her. For humans without, as Leonard says, "the perfect wisdom that was his [Adam's] birthright in Paradise" ("Language" 133), logic-based reason is the closest thing to a natural language. Despite this recourse to reason, Adam and Eve still understand each other since they live in the Garden in a state of grace.

However, when language becomes separated from reality**,** uncertainty and doubt creep into the narrative. In *Paradise Lost*, Satan first makes use of a language not divine, and therefore not directly representative of reality. He carefully and deliberately separates that which *is* and that which *seems*. For a reader of *Paradise Lost* the words *seem* or *appear* always signify an untruth. Milton says of Satan:

> His form had not yet lost
> All her original brightness nor *appeared*
> Less than archangel ruined and th' excess
> Of glory obscured (I.591-4, emphasis mine).

He also says that Satan "seemed/ Alone th'Antagonist of Heav'n" (II.508-9). Demonic language does not equate with reality, as do the words of God, nor does it reflect reality, as does Adam's naming. Rather, they only *seem* to reflect reality. Of Belial, Milton says,

> He *seemed*
> For dignity composed and high exploit,
> But all was false and hollow though his tongue
> Dropped manna and could make the worse *appear*
> The better reason to perplex and dash
> Maturest councils. (II.110-5 emphasis mine)

Apparently Belial looks to be grand, noble, and wise. Ostensibly he gives good counsel when it is needed. The reality is much different: Belial is a liar, and a good one. What is more, he enjoys it. Belial's words create a distorted picture of reality: "ignoble ease and peaceful sloth" (II.227).

In the same way, *style* is an important word for Milton, and one that implies an active distortion of language. *Seem* and *appear* are usually used as passive or even unintentional lies, where the perpetrator need say nothing to confuse the truth. It is unlikely that Satan was trying to look like an unfallen angel, but he had no need to say anything to give that impression to the narrator. On the other hand, one must actively style an event or reputation so that others view it in the "correct" way. These instances illustrate that "*style* always signifies a violation of natural language" regardless of the speaker or context (Leonard, *Naming* 52). "The strife which thou call'st evil but we style/ the strife of glory," "He, 'Almighty' styled," "'A mighty hunter' thence shall he [Nimrod] be styled/ 'Before the Lord'" (VI. 288-90, IX. 137, XII.33-4). Despite the fact that the entire cosmos knows that Satan and his followers rebelled against God, they still prefer to label it as "glorious." Even though God has proved Himself to be "Almighty" time and again,

the demons say that He makes a false claim. Nimrod was a tyrant, and so filled with pride that he attempted to build a tower to take his place in Heaven, but he claimed obedience to the Lord. *Style* indicates a deliberate disconnect between signified and signifier.

The language described by Milton illustrates the misuse that destroys any hope Locke would have had for trustworthy language. Satan twists reality in every word he speaks, whether to his fellow demons, Chaos, the angels, or Eve. In consolidating his position before the Infernal host, Satan makes a speech delineating the reasons for his ascension:

> Me through just right and the fixed laws of Heav'n
> Did first create your leader, next free choice
> With what besides in counsel or in fight
> Hath been achieved of merit… But who here
> Will envy whom the highest place exposes
> Foremost to stand against the Thund'rer's aim,
> Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
> Of endless pain? (II. 18-30)

Satan speaks of justice and the laws of Heaven, neither of which have any bearing on his claim to the rule of Hell. In the next breath he speaks to the demons' self-interest, as though he has some concern for their well-being. He finishes his speech by saying that anyone who claims precedence in Hell is a fool (Milton). In reality, Satan wants not only control of his own domain, but the opportunity to break free from Hell for a while to explore the new world God has created.

After Satan escapes from Hell, he crosses the realm of Chaos, which separates Hell from the rest of Creation. In order to gain passage for himself and those who will follow, Satan points out the benefits that Lord Chaos would accrue from a road running from Hell to Earth: rather

than order, there would be anarchy; instead of God's light, Old Night would reign again. There is no logical appeal here; rather there is a direct appeal to the entities' sense of self-gain, enrichment, and greed. Chaos readily agrees to the terms, almost before Satan can finish his persuasion. Satan really has no one's interests at heart but his own, and the gain he promises to Chaos has nothing to do with his true goal (Milton). Here, as is the case throughout *Paradise Lost,* Satan's stated goals are not his true goals. When this fact is forgotten, Locke's fears about the untrustworthiness of language are absolutely vindicated.

After passing through chaos, Satan finds the rest of God's creation, but in order to reach Eden, he needs directions. He stops before Uriel, who keeps an eye on the Earth. In order to get the information he needs, Satan disguises himself and speaks flatteringly and innocently, which is something unusual. For one whose greatest sin is pride, such abasement must be quite galling. Nevertheless, this episode illustrates that Satan is a master manipulator, the first and best. He says, "Brightest Seraph, tell,/ In which of all these shining orbs hath Man/ His fixed seat" (III. 667-70). Satan is all too willing to hide his true motives with flowery words of praise and adoration. He claims to wish only to look upon newly created man to admire him, but such innocence is now far behind him. This is made obvious when Satan makes a jab at his Creator:

> The Universal Maker we may praise
> Who justly hath driv'n out His rebel foes
> To deepest Hell and to repair that loss
> Created this new happy race of men
> To serve Him better: wise are all His ways (III. 676-80).

Uriel, at this point, thinks nothing odd about such a request, and certainly nothing odd about this praise of God, because as far as he knows, all sin and evil is locked away behind Hell's gates. He points out the Garden, and Satan wings away.

However, though Satan's conversation convinced Uriel at the time, his later actions (namely jumping over the hedge that encircles Eden rather than using the door) raise Uriel's suspicions enough that he descends to the Garden to warn Gabriel that some demon from the deep has escaped. When Satan is caught, the discussion between himself and Gabriel reveals Satan's true gifts as a speaker, but also shows how far he has fallen. Satan speaks scornfully and sarcastically, calling the angel who caught him a fool for not recognizing him immediately. Here the reader sees the truth behind the misleading nature of *seems* and *appears*. Earlier, the narrator tells the reader that Satan has not "*appeared/* Less than archangel ruined" (I. 592-3, emphasis mine). However, this angel—Zephon—tells Satan,

> Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same
> Or undiminished brightness to be known
> As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure!
> That glory that held when thou no more wast good
> Departed from thee and thou resembles now
> Thy sin and place of gloom obscure and foul (IV. 835-40).

The reader learns in Book I that Satan is not as beautiful as he once was, "His face/ Deep scars of thunder had entrenched, and care/ Sat on his faded cheek" (I. 600-2). Much like his appearance, Satan's speech, or perhaps his rhetorical ability, has suffered following the fall. When he and Gabriel begin to speak, they appear to be equally matched, coolly exchanging insults and accusations. As the exchange progresses, though, Gabriel succeeds in making Satan lose control:

"Satan to no threats/ gave heed but waxing more in rage" (IV. 969-70). Satan may be a brilliant rhetorician, but Gabriel possesses something that renders all false rhetoric impotent: absolute truth. Being unfallen and near to God, Gabriel has no need to convince anyone of anything. He remembers Satan before he fell; he knows what happened during the war in Heaven.

Satan is triumphant in one respect, however: Gabriel allows him to escape, thinking him too weak to do any harm. But men are not angels. When Satan approaches Eve, he flatters, he twists and breaks the truth, and he creates faulty logical arguments based on false premises: "The subtle Fiend his lore/ Soon learned, now milder, and thus answered smooth" (II. 815-6) This is a prime example of linguistic abuse, which makes it easy to see why Locke thought the stylistic manipulation of rhetoric a dangerous practice. Eve seems more susceptible to Satan's rhetoric, perhaps because she does not share in the same divine understanding *or experience* of creation that Adam has. Leonard says "In *Paradise Lost*, the serpent's most persuasive argument is his ability to argue. In a world where names correspond to natures, language *is* knowledge" (*Naming* 199, emphasis in the original). It is Adam who had interacted with and named all of the animals before Eve was even considered, so Eve has no idea whether the speaking serpent is a natural, created phenomenon, or a product of eating from the Tree of Life.

Whatever the reason, Eve is unable to stand before the serpent's sly rhetoric. Satan successfully refutes each of her arguments and protestations against eating the fruit:

> Queen of this universe, do not believe
> Those rigid threats of death! Ye shall not die.
> How should ye? By the fruit? It gives you life
> To knowledge. By the Threat'ner? Look on me!
> Me who have touched and tasted yet both live (IX.684-8).

Satan uses every one of the rhetorical tricks later proscribed by Locke. Eve cannot know the mind of another, so when Satan says, "ye shall not die," she assumes that he means immediate destruction. Really, it is spiritual death, through sin, that she endures, along with the eventual natural death she is now subject to. Satan flatters her, calling her "Queen of this universe," when only God is master of Creation, and Satan emphasizes half-truths: "it gives you life/ to knowledge." Not until later in the passage does Satan bring up the fact that evil is also associated with the tree, which he glosses over as being something positive: "Of evil (if what is evil/ Be real) why not known since easier shunned?" (IX.698-9). However, Satan's entire "logical" argument is based on a lie, particularly when he claims that he has eaten the fruit himself. It is no wonder Locke preferred using pure logic for structuring arguments, but here is proof that even logic can fall victim to misleading rhetoric.

One of the reasons Locke insists on caution to communicate important ideas through language is because of the far-reaching and long-lasting consequences of its misuse (181). The primary consequence of Satan's use of misleading and duplicitous rhetoric in *Paradise Lost* is Original Sin, and Original Sin begets a host of further consequences. Adam and Eve, along with all mankind, face expulsion from Eden, suffering, and death with the possibility of eternal separation from God. Added to the curse on mankind is corruption of the perfect, natural language, the loss of which Locke mourns in his own writing 23 years after Milton published his epic. And whatever is left of this language is to be lost completely when God confuses language on the plain of Babel (Gen. 11).

> In derision sets
> Upon their tongues a various spirit to raze
> Quite out their native language and instead

To sow a jangling noise of words unknown (XII.52-5).

This confusion parallels the Infernal Host's own earlier loss of individual identities and names. When they fell, "their names in Heav'nly records now/ Be no memorial, blotted out and razed/ By their rebellion from the books of life" (I.361-3). As when Adam and Eve fell and lost their human understanding of the divine, the fallen angels lose their connection to God. The names Michael (*Who is like God?*), Gabriel (*God is my strength*), Uriel (*God is my light*), and Raphael (*God heals*) all indicate a direct connection between the name of God and the names of the angels (Davidson). Certainly the rebel angels also once had names which reflected their relationship to the supreme Name; however, these angels never refer to one another by any personal name. Even the names by which they are listed in Book II of *Paradise Lost* are unknown to them. Milton must use those names because these beings need signification, but it will be many long years before the "sons of Eve" mark them with new names (Leonard *Naming* 69). Satan alone carries a name with him from Heaven to Hell: "Satan (so call him now: his former name/ Is heard no more in Heav'n)" (V.658-9), though the demons never call him by that name. Satan (*Adversary*) is not their enemy; he is the foe of Heaven and mankind.

Though the fall from grace and loss of innocence is the main point of Satan's plan for humanity, with its success he dooms himself and the demons to be "punished in the shape he sinned/ according to his doom" (X.516-7). The demons are transformed into serpents, and can make no noise except hisses. They are utterly corrupt, with no access at all to the pure language of Heaven or the God-inspired language of man. All their fine powers of speech and persuasion, which once seemed like logic, have been reduced to a rush of air. There is a parallel here between the hissing of the demons and the Lockean view of what is known contemporarily as "empty rhetoric."

It is Abdiel who expresses most accurately the outrage Locke must have felt at the corruption and misuse of language, along with that "empty rhetoric." Abdiel is an unfallen, faithful angel who is caught up in the rebel angels' flight from Heaven, who alone among the rebel host separates the emotional magnetism of Satan's oration from the skewed logic about the rightness of rebellion. Satan says,

> If not equal all, yet free,
> Equally free, for orders and degrees
> Jar not with liberty but well consist.
> Who can in reason then or right assume
> Monarchy over such as live by right
> His equals if, in power and splendor less,
> In freedom equal? (V. 791-7)

Satan lays carefully the groundwork for a regime in which he is the solitary absolute ruler. He crafts his speech to make the rebels think that equality is not necessary for freedom while simultaneously arguing that Jesus cannot justly set Himself over those who are his equals. Satan's argument brings to mind George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, where the corrupt pigs claim, "all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (88). Abdiel picks up on this equivocation,

> Unjust thou say'st,
> Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free
> And equals over equals to let reign
> Over all with unsucceeded pow'r (V.818-21).

Since he has not fallen to sin and corruption, Abdiel is able to see through the misleading rhetoric. He is quick to point out that they owe allegiance to their creator because they would not exist without Him. Satan rebuts with similar logic, claiming that there is no proof of creation, since there was no angel present to witness the act. It is impossible to prove that either is correct, but Abdiel's claim is stronger, and Satan isn't known for his strict adherence to truth.

Though published years before he penned his theories, *Paradise Lost* illustrates perfectly Locke's reservations about the trustworthiness of language. Much of the conflict in the poem stems from the differences in natural and conventional language and how each character uses language. Eve is deceived because she cannot comprehend the warnings of danger from Raphael and Adam with enough clarity to see sin when she encounters it. Satan is able to deceive her because he has no compunctions about using language in a way that warps reality. Lies, manipulation, and malignant persuasion are his tools, and even when speaking to those who fell with him he twists the truth. Rarely does he admit truth even to himself. Only in his soliloquy at the beginning of Book IV does he come close to speaking full truth:

> But say I could repent and could obtain
> By act of grace my former state. How soon
> Would heighth recall high thoughts? How soon unsay
> What feigned submission swore? Ease would recant
> Vows made in pain as violent and void…
> Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
> And heavier fall (IV. 93-101).

He knows that he can never repent and return, because there would always be the temptation to rebel again. Even this near brush with truth only serves to push Satan farther away from God:

"All good to me is lost./ Evil, be thou my good" (IV. 109-10). Lingual manipulation is so deeply embedded within his character that he successfully talks even himself out of repentance.

For Locke though, and for the angels in a prelapsarian Eden, logic is king. Pure reason alone is the proper medium for conveying important, philosophical ideas, while rhetoric is something used by charlatans and tricksters. Since human language has fallen so far from the natural, divine ideal of word directly reflecting reality, Locke greatly mistrusts any use of language that is not quantifiable. The corrupt, conventional language of everyday speech makes it impossible for two people to reconcile their own understandings of an object or concept, and the myriad misuses of language cause confusion even when one is trying to convey truth as accurately as possible. Even Milton, who must ask for divine inspiration in the conception and execution of his epic work, is not wholly to be trusted, because although his subject is lofty, he is but a man and must use the language of men. And like all mankind, he can never return to that prelapsarian state: "Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive/ Thy mortal sight to fail: objects divine/ Must needs impair and weary human sense" (XII. 8-10).

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No more lectures!

Juan M. González
Northern State University

I arrived at academia a little late. I worked in advertising for 18 years and, after being down sized in 1995, went back to school to complete a BA, MA and finally a PhD in Spanish. The majority of my undergraduate and graduate student experiences included prolonged lectures that left me nearly asleep. As you may know, undergraduate and graduate seminars are often conducted once or possibly twice-weekly. They are usually seventy five to ninety minutes, or longer; true ordeals of physical and mental endurance. Countless times I sat struggling to stay awake, wishing I had the opportunity to share what I had found in the text. Somewhere along the way I decided I would never, ever, teach like that, and I don't. I started seeking alternate modes of information delivery.

What I propose today is likely found in many classrooms. Some of you in this room may no longer lecture or may lecture in small doses, perhaps mini-lectures mixed with other activities. At the end of this presentation I hope to have some time to hear your experiences and successes. Some of you may be already bristling at what I am proposing. Whenever I have shared what I will present here today, either in public or in private, invariably someone gets a little defensive about what they do in the classroom. Teaching is a highly specialized, very personal process. As educators we hopefully spend a lifetime finding and fine tuning our teaching voice. Anxiously, we continue molding our teaching style throughout our careers. Therefore, may I say to some who may already be taking umbrage at the very mention of this topic: relax! If you are content with you classroom dynamic, your student evaluations/observations, your assessment program results, and are happy with your chosen

means of employment, do what you do, the way you do it, and ignore the next twenty five minutes. However, if you are a little discontented with any of the aforementioned elements, if you dread a little bit the beginning of the semester, if you watch the minute hand inexorably creep by during each instructional session, waiting in agony for those 50 minutes to come to an end…….go find a different job! I jest. If you are in search, as I was, of an alternate informational delivery system, something I share today may help. What I propose may not be the exact solution for you, but perhaps what we discuss will take you into some thought patterns that will move you toward a consideration and appraisal of your classroom dynamic. Regular, genuine self assessment is not easy. Coming to the realization that you, we, may have areas in need of improvement, whether teaching or in any other endeavor is hard. Yet, assessing yourself will help you improve, make you more effective as an educator and will hopefully result in a more vibrant classroom engagement. By the way, what I am doing here, speaking for twenty five minutes, from here to there, is in direct opposition to what I am proposing. If I had my way, we would sit around a large table, throw out some ideas and kick them around collectively and interactively rather than sitting, you there and me here. This very dynamic is not conducive to teaching, but it does establish a one way flow of information and control. One-way communication is just that.

After graduating from the University of Wisconsin – Madison, in 2005, I pursued employment opportunities at smaller academic institutions because I prefer engaging directly with students in more intimate venues. I presently teach everything from introductory Spanish through advanced literary analysis and writing, and I speak from my experience in that milieu. What I am proposing works for a class size of ten to twelve but can also find application in larger groups.

The presentation today will, first, offer a pedagogical foundation upon which to anchor this approach to teaching literature. The method is founded upon what has been termed student centered learning. I will briefly discuss issues of attention span. Then, I will move to the specifics of teaching without a lecture. I will suggest a daily participation course component to encourage student participation. I will then recommend a preparatory phase to help accommodate students and instructors who have not previously attempted such a technique. Then, I will describe the specific dynamics of this methodology which includes assigning text blocks and having students prepare and submit summaries of texts they wish to comment on before class. I will also indicate how these pre session summaries provide a discussion framework upon which the instructor guides each class session. I will advocate the use of rubrics for every step of the process as a method for evaluating performance and tracking student progress. Finally, I will show how this same practice may be used as entry to teaching historical, cultural and contextual fabric needed for students to understand literature in context of the time its author lived and in which it was produced.

Pedagogical Foundation

The pedagogical foundation for what I do is founded upon what has been termed "student centered learning." This theoretical approach can be found in any number of educational texts. The student centered approach requires,

> a great deal of student participation and interaction between teacher and student and among students. Although the teacher facilitates and structures learning, students have a lot of responsibility and are delegated a portion of the authority during learning activities. Student-centered approaches are also known as indirect

> methods because the teacher is involved less directly – teachers shift from their traditional roles as information providers into a more facilitative, supportive role (Wiseman, Knight, Crooner, 247).

According to Donna L. Wiseman, Stephanie L. Knight and Donna D. Coon in their book, *Becoming a Teacher in a Field-Based Setting*,

> Student centered approaches appear to improve student attitudes toward learning, create motivation, develop social skills and perhaps encourage higher lever thinking skills. Critics of student centered approaches maintain that basic skills learning is less emphasized in total student centered approach (249).

In 1962, Gruber and Weitman conducted experiments in educational psychology and general psychology and concluded that "students taught in student led discussions were superior in curiosity," that "the amount of student participation was almost twice as great as when the discussion was led by the instructor" and that students reported "being more comfortable disagreeing with others when it was students who were leading the discussion" (52). In addition, the experience of disagreeing seems to cause the most self reflection by a learner. In turn, self reflection possibly causes better learning, the student having felt freer to disagree, leading to better learning from a discussion (52).

The opposite of the student centered approach, the teacher centered approach, according to Klaus Brandl, who in turn quotes several other pedagogical studies, "implies a direct instructional and authoritative role by the teacher. It places the teacher into the role of an atlas, which suggests that the teacher is the sole transmitter of information and is solely responsible for student learning. This practice assigns a passive role to the learners, who consequently are often less engaged (111).

Most pedagogical texts explore teacher centered vs. student centered teaching methods. I encourage you to pursue this topic further if you find it appropriate. May I reaffirm: in spite of my passion for what I do, there is no right or wrong here. It is a question of personal preference

As I just revealed, my approach to the non-lecture method is a reaction to my own frustrations as an undergraduate and graduate student. You may recall this scenario: after reading assigned pages of classic literary works, in my case, Spanish and Latin American literature, a group of ten or twelve students would sit around a large table, 75 minutes twice a week, fighting to stay awake while 'the authority' droned on about what we should be gleaning from the text. On occasion, a brave soul would attempted to interrupt the flow but would be, either gently or brusquely, acknowledged and/or silenced, so that the group could return to the controlled emanation of knowledge as if flowed from 'the fountain of all truth.' As sat there pinching, myself and/or emptying a bag of Jolly Rancher candies or jelly beans to try and stay awake, I knew that there must be better way to explore the text.

Issues of Attention Span

In a 1996 article entitled, "The Change-Up in Lectures," Middendorf and Kalish elaborate on the inefficacy of the lecture. I quote:

> Instructors and students often have the same mental image of how a college class works. The professor talks (lectures); the student usually listens and occasionally writes something in their notes. . .as teaching consultants we found that the real picture looks somewhat different. Listen to a colleague reporting on a recent visit: I sat at the back of the classroom observing and taking careful notes as usual. The class had started at one o'clock. The student in front of me took copious notes

> until 1:20. Then he just nodded off. The student sat motionless, with eyes shut for about a minute and a half, pen still poised. Then he awoke and continued his rapid note taking as if he hadn't missed a beat. Not infrequently we observe students having lapses of attention. And we've found that it's not enough for us to tell faculty about the problem. They are often aware of it already (1).

The scenario I just cited is sixteen years old. I would submit that second millennial variations on what I have just described now find instructors battling the very present cell phone; that ever present post adolescent pacifier, constantly touched, caressed, fondled and monitored, just in case that, at any second, they might miss that all important text message. As much as I would like to address **that** issue directly, it is not the focus of my presentation today. However, what I am sharing in my classrooms, from entry level Spanish through advanced literary analysis, keeps cell phone use to minimum, if activated at all. Students in my classrooms have no time to look at the cell phone, because they are not sure in the next second or minute they are going to be called on to participate. They have no time because they are 99.99 percent engaged. Lest you think I exaggerate, I can call upon an instructor (the present chair of the department) who has observed my classroom on more than one occasion, who will corroborate what I have just asserted. I digress. However, I am not here to toot my own horn, simply to share an approach that I find invigorating for both student and instructor.

Before I elaborate let me cite once more from the Middendorf- Kalish article. They assert,

> Studies on attention span … shed light on why students have difficulty with the traditional lecture format. Adult learners can keep tuned to a lecture for no more than 15 to 20 minutes at a time and this at the beginning of the class. In 1976 A.H.

> Johnstone and F. Percival observed students in over 90 lectures with twelve different lecturers, recording breaks in student attention. They identified a general pattern. After three to five minutes of 'settling down' at the start of the class, one study found that the next lapse of attention usually occurred some 10 to 18 minutes later, and as the lecture proceeded the attention span became short and often fell to three or four minutes towards the end of a standard lecture. Other studies appear to confirm these findings (1 – 2).

I cite the former data simply to confirm what many of us hopefully already know. Think about your own listening habits. How long can you really a stay focused with one way communication before you find yourself drifting off to your happy place, be it that day on the beach last summer, your best day on the golf course or the day you landed that record breaker up in the Rockies? I would dare say the former numbers, 15 to 20 minutes before attention falls off, may, in this day and age, be quite exaggerated.

Be aware, however, that there are corners debating the whole idea of attention span deficit. An article by Virginia Heffernan in the *New York Times*, November 19, 2010 is a good point of departure if you care to further pursue that particular polemic.

Daily Participation Course Component

Here then, is an approach to teaching literature that works for me.

First, make daily participation part of the course syllabus. I had a colleague ask me recently, 'How can I get them to take notes? I am giving them important stuff and they just look at me!!!' I responded, 'have you made them accountable for what you are giving them?' Accountability strikes at the heart of student involvement in the course dynamic. I make daily

participation worth ten percent of the final grade. At every level of my course instruction students are informed that they are the show and not me. A simple ten point scale rubric makes it clear. It doesn't have to elaborate. A minimal rubric lets students know they are accountable for being prepared and for actively participating every day.

A Flexible Seating Arrangement

If at all possible, find a classroom with movable chairs that you can rearrange as needed in order to help students know that everyone has a voice and an equal opportunity to share. The physical set up, avoiding the rigidity of rows, facilitates communication. Besides, it is no fun to share your ideas to the back of someone else's head.

A Preparatory Phase

Explain clearly, in advance, your approach to the text. For students who have never experienced this kind of course, the prospect is daunting if not frightening. Yes, you explain, you are going to give me your comments before I tell you what I think! Incredible! You may want to provide a guide to literary terms and the dynamic of analysis that's helps them understand how to analyze literature. There are several good guides to literary analysis or you may prepare one of your own. You may want to take one or two class sessions to help them see how it's done; giving them a trial run so to speak. May I repeat, if it is the first time, this process may be daunting for both student and instructor.

Daily Text Block Summaries Submitted in Advance

Assign daily texts to read in advance and be sure the reading(s) to be covered is/are clear regarding the pages in question. Even though you have gone through the process, I have a written explanation detailing what we are going to do each and every day of the course. Here is a sample. They must tie their comment to a specific block of the text. I have a rubric for this, too. This avoids general rambling which often takes place due to fear of sharing their own thoughts. Repetition, reaffirmation and reassurance are important when venturing into new instructional territory. Tell them, show them and then model the behavior you are seeking to cultivate. Many instructors want students to share their thoughts but right away return to old behaviors of being the show, dictating thoughts and proper analysis of text. As the saying goes, old loves die hard.

I have students send me the essence of their comments including the page and line number of their text block at least an hour before class. I prefer to have them log these reports by 8:00am the day of the session. These paperless preps are easiy to file away in an email folder in your archive and are great corroboration of daily preparation. The preparation in advance allows you to be sure they are in fact preparing and not just improvising when they walk in the door or riding on the back of someone else's preparation. This advance notice of block commentary submitted beforehand by students also allows you to prepare your 'fill in' segments. Yes, you add to the discussion by covering the critical elements of style or content they may have overlooked, **after** they have shared their ideas and insights. This is only possible by organizing the blocks submitted beforehand. In order reduce the tension of who will share first, I have heard that some instructors, who use this or a similar approach, put the student names into a hat or similar receptacle and choose the names at random so that no feels they are always getting picked first. Yes, some students may choose the same block. Yes, they may always choose a

block near the beginning of the text and not read the rest. However, they cannot escape having a global understanding of the text when it comes to either the exam or the composition. You can run, but you can't hide.

The hardest detail of this approach at first is letting them take the lead. Once you have given students the charge to comment at will, you must let them, no matter what. They are testing you to see if you are actually going to do this or lapse back into the old school lecture. Hold back with all your might. Refuse to take the lead until they have expressed themselves.

Approaching the Contextual Framework of Literature

An addendum to this approach is letting students fill in the historical framework of literature as well. Refuse to be the source of all truth. Here is a sample intro to a chapter on the Golden Age. Normally this introductory material to the authors and the period would be a lecture. First thing, here it is in print. No need to go over it again. Many instructors give their students a reading and then. . . go over it again in class. May I say, as delicately as possible. . . this is boring!!!! I like to use the example of old school teaching with students. The instructor says, 'Ok, here is your reading for tomorrow: pages ten to twenty.' Then you come to class and the instructor stands and begins re-feeding you pages ten to twenty. What? Why the heck did we read it then?'

Here is what I do with every introductory section. Yes, assign it as reading. Make them accountable by explaining that what is in there will be on the exam in some form or another. Then, have them take any element they choose from the intro material, go visit a website(s) of their choosing, and bring their own report/summary on anything from the section. Again, they must forward the links they visit along with a brief comment about what they will discuss to you before class the day of the session. This activity also becomes part of their daily participation

grade. Accountability and a rubric for this element will help them follow through as needed. Yes, there is some duplication of reporting. More than one student may want report on Marlowe or Spenser. That's OK. When you receive their report summaries the morning of class you group them together as the lesson rolls out. You might say, 'And now, we'll have Bobby, Sally and Susie report on Marlowe.' You organize the reports, let them speak, and then fill in the important contextual gaps they have perchance overlooked. You still get to impart important knowledge to round out the session, but only after they have freely spoken.

Parting Observations

In my experience, this style is readily embraced by most students. Most enjoy the total engagement and the chance to share their ideas once they are sure you are truly going to let them talk. Occasionally, however, this approach is rejected by some students who prefer the old school passive lecture, because they can just cruise through each session unnoticed and text away under their sweater or in their coat pocket. Some are truly shy. Sorry, I tell gently inform my classes at the beginning of each new semester. Passive learning is not this course. I have had an occasional student leave mid-session on the first day. I often find them in the hallway afterward busily fiddling with their phones. I had another student stand up, mid-session, in the middle of the second week of class, and storm out of the classroom shouting, 'this is like Spanish on crack!' I love that observation and I use it every semester now to underline the dynamic of what I do. When I quote that blessed student at the beginning of the semester, everybody knows they are in for a different ride; no texters, no slackers, no sleepers.

Many instructors prefer the lecture because it gives them complete control. The instructional approach I am proposing is like flying down a ski slope or skimming across a lake

on water skis. It is invigorating, stimulating and breathtaking. It is absolute engagement and, at any moment, anything can happen.

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