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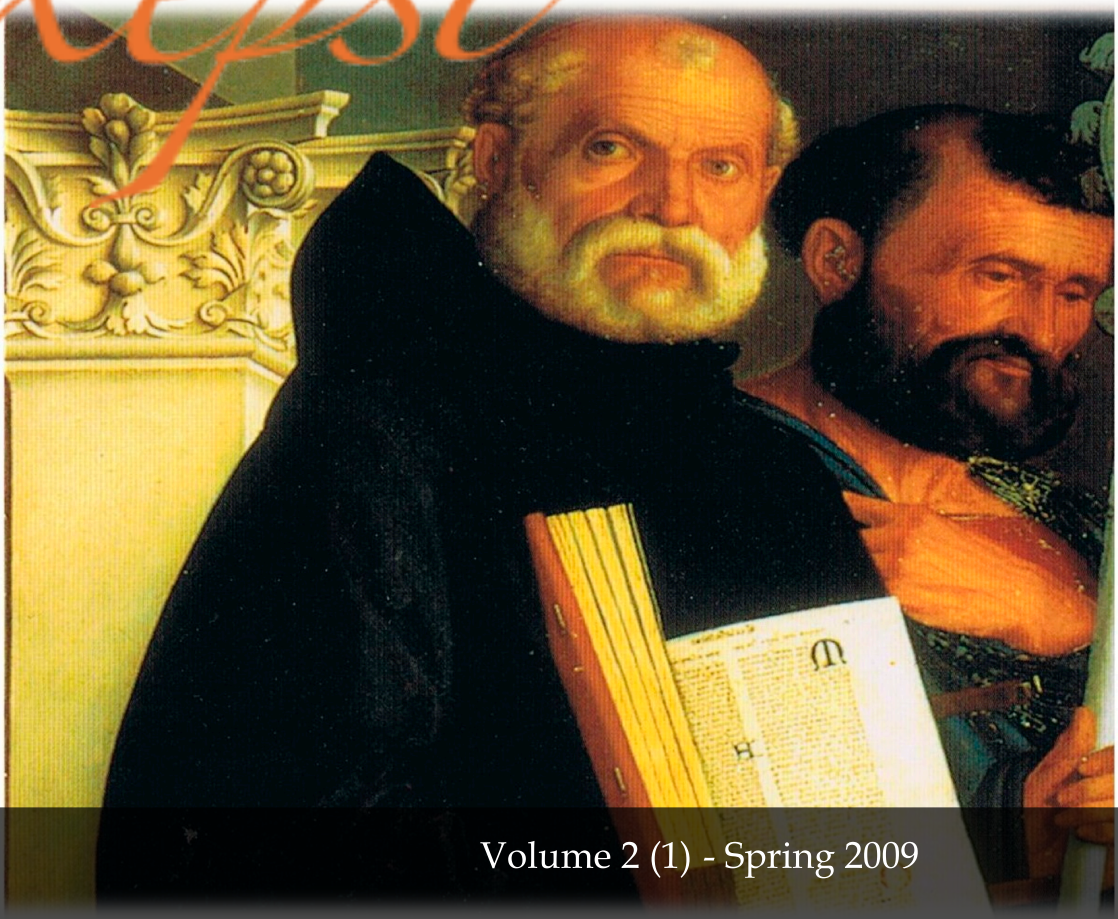

Volume 2 (1) - Spring 2009

Considerations of Audience in Medieval & Early Modern Studies

Audience and Amendment of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 in the first half of the twelfth century
Thomas Gobbit **(**Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds)

Text and context: author and audience in John Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*
Rebecca Pinner (University of East Anglia)

Audience and Quattrocento Pastoral: the Case of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*
Matteo Soranzo (McGill University)

"*Some will judge too trivial, some too grave*": Audience and Interpretation in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*
Scott Stephen (University of Aberdeen)

University of Kent

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Skepsi editorial board's aim is to honour the spirit of the School of European Culture and Languages, working hard to take advantage of its unique position as a crossroads in academic studies in Europe. Our hope is to develop collective thinking processes in the context of academic research, and to become a forum for European postgraduate researchers and postdoctoral scholars.

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Note from the Editors

Skepsi editorial board is delighted to present its second issue, consisting of a selection of papers from the Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Humanities Colloquium 'Considerations of Audience in Medieval and Early Modern Studies' – which was held at the University of Kent in December 2008 – together with an external contribution.

This issue is the result of a productive collaboration between *Skepsi* and postgraduate students from the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (MEMS) at the University of Kent. For this reason, this volume does not just reflect our wish to create a forum for researchers, enabling them to share their ideas and to demonstrate their academic skills, in a context of enthusiastic exchanges; but also reflects one of *Skepsi's* main aims, which is enhancing academic research in a dynamic and collective spirit.

Foreword

Audience forms a vital consideration for all postgraduate students of the Medieval and Early Modern Period. The evidence and sources around which enquiries are centred, regardless of discipline, topic or approach, be those sources, textual, visual or physical are created with an intended audience in mind. This primary audience forms a significant component that is inseparable from considerations of form and function. There is also a second audience – that is the actual audience. Yet inevitably both the intended audience, who often are only a projection in the mind of the creator, and the actual audience rarely leave us the information that we seek. Thus although an appreciation of audience is encompassed in all relationships between producer and recipient(s) this appreciation and anticipated appreciation mostly has to be constructed afresh. Therefore, although identifying the Medieval and Early Modern Audience secures the foundation of our understanding of the period's culture paradoxically this knowledge and awareness of the audience is frequently assumed with the result that neither the intended or actual audience is explored, clearly identified, or even alluded to.

The Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Humanities Colloquium, under the title, 'Considerations of Audience in Medieval and Early Modern Studies' set out to explore and foster a greater understanding of the concepts of 'Audience'. One of its main aims was to look at the strategies that can be employed to construct audience in relation to the period's studies. The papers embraced a wide spectrum of topics and it was clear from the positive responses of those attending the colloquium that ultimately audience is a topic that unites rather than divides us and one that should continue to be held at the forefront of our analysis and investigation into the period.

As the organisers of the colloquium we were delighted when the Editorial Board of *Skepsi* offered to use a selection of the papers from the colloquium to form their second issue.

Gaynor Bowman
Julia Cruse

Volume 2 (1), 2009
Considerations of Audience in Early and Modern Medieval Studies

Audience and Amendment of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 in the first half of the twelfth century

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1. Introduction

1.1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 (henceforth CCCC 383),[1] is predominantly a collection of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related tracts copied by one hand ca. 1100.[2] The manuscript was possibly produced at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, or was moved there early in the twelfth century.[3] The manuscript has been described by Patrick Wormald as one of a number of 'legal encyclopaedias', which he primarily defines as containing '*nothing* but law' [original emphasis],[4] although this article will argue that this term may be misleading.

Of the original quires of CCCC 383, seven are extant, as labelled in Figure 1 below with numerals. At least two quires, possibly more, are now missing. The former existence of the missing quires can be inferred from texts which are now truncated and have been discussed in some detail by Wormald.[5] To summarise, quire 1 ends part way through the law-code known as II Athelstan while quires 2 and 3 begin part way in to Ælfred's *Domboc* and the laws of Cnut, respectively. In addition to this, the position of the law-code known as *Be Blasarium* shows that quire 1, which contains the final 3 lines of the tract, is displaced and should follow quire 3 as it ends with the initial seven lines of the tract.[6] A further two quires (as well as flyleaves) were supplied in the sixteenth century, as labelled in Figure 1 below with capitals.

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[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 (?London: ?St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1100). The manuscript has been catalogued variously as Felix Liebermann's **B**, Neil Ker's **65**, Helmut Gneuss' **102** and Timothy Graham's **55**.

[2] The date of production should be understood as within ten years of c. 1100 as it is based on palaeographical grounds given by Neil Ker as s. xi/xii, meaning the end of the eleventh of start of the twelfth century; Neil Ripley Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957, rev edn 1990), p. xx.

[3] *Die Gesetze Der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903-1916), I, xix; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), II, 230-31; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Timothy Graham, '55. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383' in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, XI, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. by Timothy Graham and others (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp. 74-80. Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), p. 37.

[4] Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: From King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 165, 224.

	A^{10} lacks 10	1^6	2^8 lacks 6	3^8	B^{10} lacks 8-10	4^8	5^8	6^8 3 & 6 are half-sheets	7^8 3 & 6 are half-sheets	
	fols 1-9	fols 10-15	fols 16-22	fols 23-30	fols 31-37	fols 38-45	fols 46-53	fols 54-61	fols 62-69	
ii flyleaves	ix	21			7	32				ii flyleaves

FIGURE 1: QUIRAGE AND FOLIATION OF CCCC 383 IN ITS CURRENT FORM.

The main focus of this discussion will be on the extant quires of ca 1100, their emendation throughout the first half of the twelfth century and an analysis of these elements using the tract known as *Gerefa* as a case study. From this, arguments will be posited for the manner in which the manuscript was used in the first half of the twelfth century, some of the specific interests of its users and audience and in particular the relationship of CCCC 383 with the position, duties and values of the reeve.

1.2 Contexts of production and use of CCCC 383

The evidence for the connection between CCCC 383 and St. Paul's Cathedral is, at best, tenuous. A hand dating to the first half of the twelfth century, Hand 2, which may also have amended the other law-codes against the exemplar, added two further tracts on the final folio of quire 7.[7] The first of these, known as the *[S]cipmen* list (fol. 69^r, L. 15 to fol. 69^v, L. 2), details the number of people owing service from a number of estates, the majority of which can be demonstrated as belonging to St. Paul's.[8] As the initial composition of the text has been dated to c. 1000,[9] and the version in CCCC 383 is simply the only extant copy, there is no definitive reason that the copy should actually have been made at St. Paul's. On the other hand, there is no reason why the manuscript should not have been copied there and, as no other convincing location presents itself, the argument that the manuscript was at least moved to, if not necessarily produced at, St. Paul's Cathedral may be tentatively accepted.

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[5] Ibid., pp. 230-31.
[6] Ibid., pp. 230-31.

On the assumption that CCCC 383 was at St. Paul's in the first half of the twelfth century, something of the historical context surrounding its production can be posited. Firstly, the date of ca. 1100 places the production of the manuscript in either the reign of King William Rufus, (crowned 1087, died 1100) or in the reign of King Henry I, (crowned 1100, died 1135). The latter was crowned by Bishop Maurice; formerly both royal chaplain and chancellor to King William I and consecrated as Bishop of London in 1085.[10] As Wormald argues, somebody 'like Maurice should, to say no more, have been interested in a book like this'.[11]

The production, or at least acquisition, of CCCC 383 by St. Paul's may, however, reflect more than the legal interests (whether official or personal) of an ex-chancellor and bishop. The Anglo-Saxon cathedral of St. Paul's was razed in the 1087 fire of London and it was under Maurice that the construction of Old St. Paul's, the Anglo-Norman cathedral, was begun. The building of the cathedral was continued by Maurice's successor Richard de Beaumis, who was given the see in 1108 as a reward for his services to King Henry I. Richard had gained Henry's trust and respect in the Welsh Marches, governing Shropshire after the Montgomeries were expelled in 1102, and he was noted for his knowledge of law and his administrative skills.[12] Richard, as a former reeve of a royal estate, is also a compelling contender for at least the acquisition, and possibly even the initial production, of CCCC 383. This is not to suggest that the production of the manuscript was undertaken directly by either of these bishops, or even that the production was overseen by them. Instead, it is simply to emphasise that each bishop provides a potential context for the manuscript's production and use. If Maurice would have been interested in its contents, then so also would Richard.

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[7] Ibid., p. 230.
[8] *Gesetze ,* ed. by Liebermann, I, xix; Felix Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung aus Landgütern der Kirche London, um 1000', *Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, 104 (1900), pp. 17-24; *Charters of St Paul's, London* ed. by S.E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 10 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), X, 192-201.
[9] Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung', p. 17; *Charters of St Paul's, London* ed. by S. E. Kelly, X, 192-94.
[10] Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 64, 76; Stephanie Mooers Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xxii (1999), 49-69, (p. 56).
[11] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, 236.

In the period immediately following, if not parallel with, the production of CCCC 383, the manuscript was used in a variety of ways by an unknown number of people. Whilst some of its audience have left no trace of their interaction with the manuscript, others have left evidence of their presence. In some cases, this evidence is simply the physical abrasion or staining of the parchment and ink, whilst in others it includes various amendments to the law-codes, limning and rubrics. There are also numerous additional texts and comments made in blank spaces in the text-block, between the lines and in the margins.

2. The quires of CCCC 383

2.1 Overview of evidence for date of first binding of CCCC 383

In its current form, the surviving quires of CCCC 383 are bound as a codex. The dimensions of each folio are approximately 185 x 115 mm,[13] although there is variation throughout the manuscript, particularly as quire 7 has not been trimmed. The manuscript is therefore quite portable in size and, although this does not prove that it actually was carried, evokes the image of a pocket-sized legal reference book, to say the least. The current form of CCCC 383 is that imposed on it in the sixteenth century, which includes the displacement of quire 1 and the addition of quires A and B, as well as the flyleaves as shown previously in Figure 1. From the pagination added by Archbishop Parker it can be seen that the displacement of quire 1 from its position after quire 3 to before quire 2 happened at some point before this binding.[14] Evidence for binding prior to the sixteenth century is sparse, and I would argue that the codicological information implies that the manuscript actually existed as a series of unbound quires rather than as a discrete codex. This argument is based on four main points:

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[12] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 81.
[13] Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

Firstly, there is some variation in the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 in both the structuring of items in the text-block and, less distinctly, the pattern of pricking and ruling. However, the former of these could simply have been copied from the exemplar of each text, and the latter may only represent subtle variations in execution when each quire was produced.

Secondly, the outer leaves of each quire are noticeably more damaged than those within. This implies that at some point the quires were separate and exposed, arguably to hands or pockets when the individual parts were carried and used. If the quires had been bound into one codex then their outer leaves would have been better protected and the degree of abrasion they suffered would have been much more similar to that suffered by the internal folios. Unfortunately, it can not be ascertained from this whether the damage to the outer leaves represents a later phase when the quires became unbound (and misaligned into their current order) or if the damage preceded their first binding.

Thirdly, with the exception of quire 7, the majority of the leaves of CCCC 383 appear to have been trimmed. This trimming would usually occur as part of the binding process to create a codex of uniform size and appearance. Throughout quires 1 to 5 of CCCC 383 there are at least ten items added in the margins that have definitely been trimmed, and a further five that may have been trimmed. Although three of the items are currently undated, the remaining items range from the first half of the twelfth century at the earliest, through to a single marginal addition of the sixteenth century made by Talbot on fol. 55^{r}.[15]

While it is possible that the pages could have been trimmed on multiple occasions, there is no direct evidence to confirm or deny this. It is more probable that the folios have only been trimmed once, as after the first trimming they would have been uniform in their size and shape. Unless the quires were rebound into new positions which were misaligned from each other, the quires would not need to have been re-trimmed. Additional corroborative evidence that the quires were not re-trimmed can be found in evidence from the prick marks on the folios. A large number of the prick marks can still be seen on many of the folios whether trimmed or otherwise. Where the folios appear not to have been trimmed, as in quire 7, the prick marks are very close to the edge of the leaf. As each subsequent trimming would remove more of parchment edges, and consequently the prick marks, it seems likely that the manuscript was trimmed fewer times rather than more. While it cannot be proved with certainty that the manuscript was not re-trimmed, on balance it seems most likely that the first trimming was after Talbot's annotation in the sixteenth century.

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[14] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230.

[15] Ibid., p. 230.

Finally, there is a discernible pattern of transferral of the orange-red ink used for the limning and rubrication which implies that the quires were separate. As the evidence for this is quite involved, it will be discussed in detail below.

2.2 The transferral of orange-red ink(s) in CCCC 383

On numerous occasions throughout CCCC 383, the red ink used for the rubrics and limning has transferred onto the facing page, resulting in a mirror-image impression of the rubric or initial. While this transfer does not occur with every rubric or red initial, it occurs with a notable majority of them. The physical requirements for the ink to be able to transfer are straightforward. The ink needs to be at least slightly wet and the surface it is on needs to be pressed against the surface that the wet ink transfers on to. There are two possible ways for the ink to be wet, either because it has not yet dried after the item was added or, if the ink is water soluble, because the item subsequently became wet.

Unfortunately, testing whether the orange-red ink is water soluble would problematic, since it cannot be carried out without damaging to the manuscript. However, it can be inferred from the effects of water damage which have already occurred on CCCC 383 that the inks used for limning and rubrication are not water soluble. A clear example of this can be shown with the large initial < I > introducing the laws of Ine in the left margin of fol. 23^{r}, adjacent to lines 3 – 8. A tide-line of water damage runs across the support and over the text-block and the red initial. Whilst the black ink of the main text-block has faded noticeably in the affected area and the edges of the graphs have blurred, the red ink and edges of the < I > have remained unaffected by the water. Without concrete evidence to the contrary, it must be inferred from this that the red ink is not water soluble and, therefore, that subsequent wetting of the ink was not responsible for the transferral of pigment onto opposing pages. Consequently, it must be concluded that the transferral of red ink happened shortly after the initial production, whilst the ink was still wet from application.

From the pattern of the ink transferral two things can be inferred. Firstly, because the smudges of ink are directly aligned with their sources, the initials on the facing folios, the position of the folios must have been fixed in relation to each other before the limning and rubrication. This means that the bifolios must already have been at least folded and stacked into quire form and probably, although not necessarily, sewn when the limning and rubrication were performed. Secondly, the transferral of ink only ever occurs within the quires. There is never transfer of ink between the outer leaves of adjoining quires. Therefore, the limning and rubrication must have occurred before the quires were bound into codex form.

In comparison to the writing of the text-block, the limning and rubrication are subsequent layers of the manuscript's production. The rubricator has been identified with one of the slightly later amenders of the text-block of the first half of the twelfth century.[16] Although the ca. 1100 date when the manuscript was produced and the date of rubrication may overlap (depending on how old the respective scribes were, when they were trained and when they were active) it is more probable that the rubrication, which the main scribe did not anticipate, occurred later. Assuming this to be correct, the quires must have remained unbound for an extended period following the initial production of the manuscript.

While none of the points enumerated above is absolutely conclusive in its own right, taken together they have some corroborative weight. The implication is that the manuscript remained unbound at least into the first half of the twelfth century, and probably until the sixteenth century. Whilst relatively uncommon, this treatment of a manuscript is often overlooked, although not unheard of. In an informative discussion of the subject, G. D. Hobson observed 'that unbound manuscripts often reposed for years on the shelves of medieval libraries; and that, in consequence, a medieval binding may be ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred years or more later than the manuscript'.[17] The manuscript Durham, Cathedral A. IV. 34 is an anonymous gloss on the *Canticorum Cantica*, copied in the first half of the twelfth century. The manuscript consists of 68 folios divided between eight quires of eight leaves and one quire, the fourth, of only four leaves. None of the quires has ever been bound together into book form.[18]

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[16] Ibid., p. 234, footnote 285.

Although it is rare for a manuscript to have survived unbound into the modern day, medieval catalogues often refer to manuscripts stored 'in quaterno', which is to say unbound and wrapped in parchment.[19] Indeed, Robinson's often misused codicological unit, the so-called booklet, is founded on the concept of an independently produced text, or texts, copied in one or more quires being subsequently bound together into another manuscript.[20] In a discussion of this process, J. P. Gumbert identifies a composite manuscript, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 191 B, which contains four separate sections ranging in date from the eleventh through to the thirteenth century but not actually bound until early in the fifteenth century.[21] He posits, convincingly, that the 'scribe produces, in the course of the years, a number of small units, which are meant to be bound up eventually, but which remain, unbound, in a cupboard until the scribe is satisfied with their number'.[22] Leaving aside the issue of whether the scribe intended to bind the quires and where they were actually stored, both of which can only be assumption in the lack of direct evidence, it would appear that something similar to this may have occurred with CCCC 383.

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[17] G.D. Hobson, *English Binding Before 1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 56.

[18] R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Dean and Chapter of Oxford Cathedral, Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 57; P.R. Robinson, 'The Booklet: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts' in *Codicologica*, 3 ed. by J.P. Gumbert (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 46-69, p. 52.

[19] Hobson, *English Binding*, p. 56; Robinson, 'The Booklet', p. 52.

[20] Robinson, 'The Booklet', p. 47; Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', Anglo-Saxon England, 7 (1978), 231-38, p. 233, repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings* ed. by Mary P. Richards (London: Routledge, 1994), 25-35, p. 27.

[21] J.P. Gumbert, 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogenous Codex', *Segno e Testo*, 2 (2004), 17-42, p. 26.

[22] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

If anything, the form of CCCC 383 as a collection of separate quires increases the portability of the manuscript; the user would have been able to take as few or many quires as he required and each, being only six to eight leaves, would be far more transportable than a solidly bound book, no matter how small. If the quires existed as a series of related but unattached entities, then their storage in consecutive order would have been useful, especially as many of the law-codes cross quire boundaries, but far from essential.

3. Amendment of CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century

3.1 Mise-en-page of the text-block of CCCC 383

Before the amendments to the *mise-en-page* can be discussed, a brief summary of the layout implemented by the main scribe is required. The text-block on each page measures ca. 145 mm x ca. 75 mm in height, and consists of 26 long lines with single, vertical bounding lines on each side.[23] The manuscript has been ruled in hard-point, and, as the first, third, twenty-fourth and final lines usually run across the centre fold of each bifolio, it can be seen that the laying out was done before the quire was assembled. The text-block was written by one hand, in a brown-black ink with the text laid out as a series of continuous items. Occasionally, these items are separated by one or more blank lines. Each item begins on a new line of the text-block and can be anything from a single line to multiple pages in length. Sometimes these items are an entire law-code or similar text, while at other times a law-code may be broken into multiple text-block items. Elsewhere a single text-block item may contain the end of one law-code and the beginning of another. This can be seen with the law-codes known as *Be Blasarium*, *Forfang* and *Hundred* on fol. 10^r.

Changes in the use and interpretation of the manuscript by its audience can be identified through the amendment of the text-block of CCCC 383 and the addition of marginal and interlinear comments. The manner in which the rubrication and the limning have been used to re-structure the *mise-en-page* of the text-block of CCCC 383 are discussed in the following sections.

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[23] Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

3.2 Rubrication of CCCC 383

Contrary to Wormald's opinion, it would appear from the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 that the vast majority of the rubrics were not anticipated by the main scribe.[24] The main exception to this is found in examples such as the blank line left at the beginning of the Treaty of Ælfred and Guðrum on fol. 12^{v}, where the entire preceding line (L. 1) was left blank and subsequently rubricated. More usually throughout CCCC 383, where rubrics were supplied, they are either in blank space in the text-block introducing the items, marginal additions or some combination thereof. Although many of the items begin with some space left blank on the first or preceding line, this does not seem specifically intended for rubrication and many of the text-block items which have blank space available have not been rubricated. A number of text-block items, particularly in quires 2 and 3, have a different pattern; the beginning of the item is on the left of the line, blank space is left in the middle of the line and the final words of the preceding item are written over on the right. Throughout CCCC 383 the rubrics largely appear squeezed into the available space at the beginning of an item, placed in the adjacent margins, or a combination of the two.

In light of the many examples where the rubrication seems forced into whatever space was available, the relatively few instances where the rubrics do fit the text-block neatly seem to be by chance rather than design. The rubrication therefore does not appear to have been anticipated by the main scribe, or else the ultimate form of the rubrication differed from that which was originally intended. This corroborates the previous argument, although it is still by no means conclusive, that the rubrication occurred later in the first half of the twelfth century. Rather than being an anticipated part of the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383, the rubrication appears to have been a later amendment to facilitate navigation of the various tracts for the user.

3.3 Limning of CCCC 383

As well as beginning the item on a new line, the first two lines are usually indented to the width of one or two graphs. In addition, the main scribe omitted the first graph of the item so that it could be supplied by the limner. This was done either by leaving space before the new sub-clause which the limner marked with red or by the main scribe omitting the initial letter of the tract and leaving space for the limner to supply the appropriate graph in red ink. From this it can be seen that the main scribe anticipated the limning and the structure that it would take. Whether the variations in *mise-en-page* were deliberate choices on the part of the main scribe, another individual with supervisorial control of the production or were copied directly from the exemplar is uncertain.

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[24] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 235.

However, it can also be seen that the limner, or another amender working in collaboration with the limner between the production of the text-block and the limning, deliberately restructured the *mise-en-page*. There are a number of examples where a graph from the original text-block written by the main scribe, particularly in quire 4, has been erased and replaced by a large, red initial by the limner. In some cases, two or more graphs were erased and replaced with a single graph, allowing more space for the limning and thereby further increasing its prominence. Notable examples of this can be found on fol. 38^{v}, L. 26 and on fol. 45^{r}, L. 16 where < *ond* > and < *And* > respectively have been erased and replaced with limned tironian notae < 7 >. In other examples, such as on fol. 38^{v}, L. 4 the original tironian nota has been erased along with the following graph, < ƿ > from the words < *7 ƿe ƿyllað.* > and replaced with only the limned < ƿ >.

Although this erasure and limning always occurs partway through a text-block item, there are a number of examples where the erased and replaced graph occurs at the beginning of the line. Under these circumstances, such as on fols 39^{r}, L. 21, 39^{v}, L. 15 and 41^{r}, L. 24, the text-block has been further restructured and the margin utilised to give the new break a similar *mise-en-page* to the main text-block items discussed above. This process becomes particularly prominent at the beginning of the law-code I Æðelred on fol. 11^{r}, L. 10 and the beginning of the laws of Ine on fol. 23^{r}, L. 6. Although more pronounced on the former of these, in both cases the *mise-en-page* of the text-block has been re-worked through erasure and re-writing to accommodate the limning and clearly define the beginning of the items and law-codes.

In addition to the amendments made by the limner to sub-divide or produce new text-block items, there is one instance where it would appear that the limner removed an item from the text-block. There is a charm for the recovery of stolen cattle on fol. 59^r, L. 6-20,[25] the inclusion of which is seemingly at odds in a manuscript predominantly containing law-codes.[26] Stephanie Hollis justified the inclusion of the charm amidst a collection of Anglo-Saxon law-codes by arguing that the ritual performance of the charm became equated with the legal declaration that the theft had been committed.[27] However, in CCCC 383 the situation is further complicated. The entire text has been crossed out in red ink, clearly indicating that a subsequent amender of the manuscript deemed its presence inappropriate in a manuscript of law. Wormald observes that the red ink used is not the distinctive red crayon of Archbishop Parker and suggests that it was probably the work of the rubricator but unfortunately gives no evidence to support this claim.[28] As a tentative and circumstantial argument, it can be observed that the red ink used to score out the charm is very similar in hue to that used by the limner. On its own this argument is far from convincing. However, the main scribe of the text-block left blank space, as discussed above, for the limner to add in the initials: two in blank spaces mid-line on fol. 59^r lines 6 and 8 and a third indented into the beginning of a new item on fol. 59^r, L. 13-14. The limner added none of these initials. This is the only instance in the extant quires of CCCC 383 where the limner did not add the initials as anticipated by the main scribe. It therefore seems most probable that it was the limner, either of his own volition or under the instructions of another, who deemed the charm inappropriate to the manuscript and consequently removed it.

4. The contexts of the *Gerefa* tract

The following section will consider the inclusion of the *Gerefa* tract in relation to the law-codes included in CCCC 383 and as a case-study of the amendment process discussed in the previous section. The vernacular copy in CCCC 383 is the only extant version of the tract known as *Gerefa*.[29] In the manuscript, *Gerefa* is the final text copied by hand 1 in quire 7 and runs from fol. 66^{v}, L. 24 for 121 lines to its conclusion on fol. 69^{r}, L. 14. *Gerefa* follows on from the so-called *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* (henceforth *RSP*), a tract describing the rights and duties of various individuals on an estate with the notable exception of the reeve,[30] and the relationship between the two tracts is subject to much, unresolved, speculation in the scholarship.[31] *Gerefa* has alternately been treated as a companion piece to *RSP* related in content,[32] the final section of the *RSP* tract,[33] a separate tract that has been reworked to unite it with *RSP*,[34] or an entirely distinct piece only related to *RSP* by circumstance.[35] From the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 it is impossible to conclude whether the main scribe, limner or rubricator viewed it as a separate tract or as a section of *RSP*.

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[25] G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Nijmegan: Nijhoff, 1948), pp. 202-05.

[26] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

[27] Stephanie Hollis, ‘Old English “Cattle-Theft Charms”: Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses’, *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 115, (1997), 139-64, (pp. 163-64).

[28] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232, footnote 274.

[29] R.I. Page, ‘*Gerefa*: Some Problems of Meaning’ in *Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron* ed. by Alfred Bammesberger (Regensberg: Pustet, 1985), 211-28, (p.

As with the cattle charm, the inclusion of the *Gerefa* tract in CCCC 383 requires some discussion. The prevalent attitude in modern scholarship is that *Gerefa* is 'barely a legal document' and that it has 'little legal content',[36] which is at odds with its inclusion in a so-called 'legal encyclopaedia'. Rather than containing law directly, the opening lines of *Gerefa* emphasise that the competent reeve should know the lord's '*land riht*' and the '*folces ge rihtu*' which '*of ealddagū pitan gerœddan*'.[37] The remainder of the *Gerefa* tract is a description of 'the qualifications and duties of the reeve in charge of a landed estate, including an account of the work to be done in the course of the year and lists of the tools and other equipment that had to be provided'.[38] Earlier scholarly discussion viewed the agricultural and economic details

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212); R. G. Poole, 'The Textile Inventory in the Old English Gerefa', *The Review of English Studies* new series, 40 (1989), 469-78 (p. 469).

[30] Felix Liebermann, 'Gerefa', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 9 (1886), pp. 251-66; *Gesetze* ed. by Liebermann, III, 244-47; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 387-89.

[31] R.I. Page, '"The Proper Toil of Artless Industry": Toronto's Plan for an Old English Dictionary', *Notes and Queries*, 220 (1975), 146-55, (pp. 148-49); P.D.A. Harvey, 'Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa' in *The English Historical Review*, 426 (1993), pp. 1-22; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 387-89.

[32] Liebermann, 'Gerefa', pp. 251-66; H.R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 1962), p. 193.

[33] *Gesetze,* ed. by Liebermann, III, 246; F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943, 3rd edn 1971), p. 475; Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* 3rd edn, With a New Introduction by Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956, 3rd edn 2003), p. 264.

[34] Harvey, 'Rectitudines', p. 3-4.

[35] Page, 'Gerefa', p. 214.

[36] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 387-89.

[37] 'Gerefa', CCCC 383, fol. 66^{v}, L. 24-26.

[38] Harvey, 'Rectitudines', p. 3.

contained in the tract as being quite complete.[39] However it has been subsequently argued that, 'there are too many omissions and inconsistencies' in the tract and that the duties mentioned 'are neither systematic nor comprehensive'. Therefore, *Gerefa* cannot be 'a practical guide to running an estate, whether to instruct the overseer [...] or for the landlord to check on his local manager's activities'.[40] Furthermore, the overall structure of the tract is that of a colloquy and the lists of tools and so forth are organised on an alliterative basis.[41] Therefore, the tract is usually interpreted as 'a work in the genre of "estates literature" rather than estate management',[42] and modern scholarship does not portray it as law or legislation or consider its relation to law beyond the apparent dichotomy of its inclusion in CCCC 383.

As well as defining the manuscript as a 'legal encyclopaedia', Wormald repeatedly disparages the competency of the main scribe, bluntly disparaging their competence in Old English, abilities as a copyist and questioning the degree to which they even understood the texts they were copying.[43] All of these arguments seem to stem from a desire to explain away the inclusion of *Gerefa* in CCCC 383 as little more than the error of an incompetent scribe. The initial *mise-en-page* and that of the subsequent amendment of CCCC 383, however, present a different interpretation. It has already been discussed above that the limner, or somebody employing authorial control over their work, had a competent understanding of the texts they were limning. On the one hand they sub-divided law-codes at appropriate points to turn them from continuous prose into accessible pieces, clearly labelled to allow a user to rapidly find an appropriate section of a text. On the other hand, the limner was also able to remove a tract whose inclusion was deemed inappropriate. Although there is no evidence of the rubricator actively excising texts, they also accepted the presence of the two tracts: *RSP* has rubrics added to all but the final of its sixteen text-block items, and the beginning of the *Gerefa* tract is also rubricated. The fact that both tracts were limned and rubricated rather than ignored or even crossed-through by amenders whose actions prove them to be competent and literate in Old English, must mean that both tracts were deliberately included and continued to be accepted as a part of CCCC 383 throughout the early twelfth century.

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[39] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 193; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 475.

[40] Harvey, 'Rectitudines', p. 8.

[41] Liebermann, 'Gerefa', p. 255; Harvey, 'Rectitudines', pp. 8-12; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 389; Herbert Dean Meritt, 'Conceivable Clues to Twelve Old English Words', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 193-205, p. 193.

[42] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 389.

[43] Ibid., pp. 232-34.

Therefore, it is significant that *Gerefa*, unlike *RSP*, was not translated and copied into the early twelfth-century Latin collection of Anglo-Saxon law known as the *Quadripartitus*.[44] This may simply reflect, as Liebermann suggested, that translating the complex vocabulary of the tool list into Latin was simply too much of a challenge.[45] Alternatively, this exclusion may represent a change in context; either in the early twelfth-century audiences' understanding of what constituted law, or between the intended use of the *Quadripartitus* manuscripts in comparison with that of CCCC 383.

5. Conclusions

In summary, this discussion has presented a number of views on CCCC 383, both as a material artefact within a changing context, and as a collection of texts. It can be seen that, as an artefact, CCCC 383 was highly portable. Its probable form as a series of unbound quires would mean that a user could select only the sections they required while another user could, hypothetically, have used other parts of the manuscript at the same time. In addition, the apparent disorder that the quires are now bound into, with quire 1 displaced and at least two, if not more, of the original quires of now missing, seems less significant. After all, if the quires were produced and used in an unbound state, then there was no reason beyond neatness and ease of reference to store them in the logical order dictated by their contents.

The amendments made by the limner and rubricator discussed here, as well as the additions and corrections added to the various law-codes and tracts, reflect that CCCC 383 was engaged in and adapted for a changing audience and context. Furthermore, the form of CCCC 383 as multiple parts emphasises the multiplicity of interpretations and uses to which the manuscript was, and could have been, put. From the large collection of law-codes included in CCCC 383, it is apparent that the compiler, users and audience had an interest in Anglo-Saxon law. It is uncertain whether the use of the manuscript was for strictly legal reasons or simply for personal interest on behalf of Bishop Maurice, the ex-chancellor, or Bishop Richard, the former royal reeve, either of whom arguably could have had it produced or subsequently came to own it. What can be clearly seen is that CCCC 383 was not a 'legal encyclopaedia' in the sense of a manuscript intended, in theory if not in practice, to contain law exclusively. If CCCC 383 is considered from the perspective of *Gerefa*, rather than treating the tract as an obscure appendix on the final pages, a different interpretation can be made. The argument written in the text of *Gerefa* that a wise reeve should know law and the rights of individuals as set down in days of old, makes it a fitting conclusion to the law-codes assembled in CCCC 383. It is possible, therefore, that the law-codes preceding *Gerefa* are there primarily to supply this information. Many of the other law-codes included in CCCC 383 are also directed at reeves. The most notable of these, for example, being the code known as I Edward, fol. 52^{v}, L. 9 to fol. 53^{v}, L. 2, in which Edmund directly addresses his reeves and commands them to follow the laws as set down in Ælfred's *Domboc* – also included in the manuscript.[46] It can therefore be argued that the texts in CCCC 383 are not just a collection of law-codes and related texts but contain much of the knowledge that a wise and well-trained reeve would require. Furthermore, from the quantity of amendments and the restructuring made to the *mise-en-page* throughout the period, in particular the way that the texts were subdivided by the limner and made visually accessible, it can be seen that CCCC 383 was in the presence of an audience who actively engaged with the manuscript's contents and focused extensively on the position, duties and values of the reeve.

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[44] *Gesetze* , ed. by Liebermann, III, p. 246.
[45] Liebermann, 'Gerefa', pp. 258.

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[46] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 379.

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Skepsi

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Considerations of Audience in Early and Modern Medieval Studies

Text and context: author and audience in John Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*

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1. Introduction

On Christmas Eve 1433, the twelve year-old King Henry VI arrived at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds. He was greeted by five-hundred townspeople, his confessor William Alnwick, Bishop of Norwich, and William Curteys, the Abbot of Bury. Henry remained the guest of the Abbey until Easter the following year, dividing his time between the Abbey itself and the Abbot's palace at Elmswell.[1] The Abbey of Bury St Edmunds was one of the largest and wealthiest religious houses in fifteenth-century England and therefore a suitable choice for such an extended stay.[2] Renowned as a shrewd clerical politician, it is unsurprising that Abbot Curteys chose to mark the occasion of the royal visit by commissioning John Lydgate, a monk of the abbey and prolific author, to produce a translation of the legend of St Edmund, the abbey's patron and erstwhile king of the region, 'out of Latin', with the intention, as Lydgate recounts, 'to yeue it to the kyng' as a 'remembraunce' of his stay.[3] Lydgate already enjoyed an established relationship with the Lancastrian monarchy to the extent that he is often described as the unofficial propagandist for the regime.[4] It is likely that

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[1] Curteys's Register, British Library Add. MS 14848, fol. 128r-v; this passage is reprinted in Craven Ord, 'Account of the Entertainment of King Henry the Sixth at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *Archaeologia*, 15 (1806), 65-71.

[2] See Walter F. Schirmer, John Lydgate, *A Study in the Culture of the Fifteenth Century*, tr. Ann Keep (London: Methuen, 1961) pp. 8-23 for a concise account of the Abbey. More detailed discussions of the Abbey's history, architecture, culture and artistic role and finances can be found in *Bury St Edmunds: medieval art, architecture, archaeology and economy*, ed. Antonia Grandsden, British Archaeological Association conference transactions, 20 (Great Britain: BAA, 1998).

[3] For an account of Curteys's career see Thomas Arnold, ed., *Memorials of Bury St Edmunds Abbey*, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 189-96), III, xxix-xxxiii. John Lydgate's 'Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund' is printed in *Altenglische Legenden. Neue Folge*, ed. Carl Horstmann (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1881), pp. 376-445, I.192. All other references will be in accordance with this edition and will be given in parantheses in the text.

[4] Recent discussions of Lydgate's laureate activities include Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2005) and Scott Morgan-Straker, 'Propaganda, Intentionality and the Lancastrain Lydgate', in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 98-128.

Curteys sought to capitalise on this connection in order to promote Bury's status, privileges and prestige.[5]

Lydgate's poem is divided into three Books: the first describes Edmund's parentage and upbringing and the circumstances in which he came to succeed to the throne of East Anglia; the second tells of his reign, the events which precipitate his martyrdom and his death at the hands of invading Vikings; the third is initially concerned with Edmund's cousin Fremund, the story of whose martyrdom is followed by details of miracles associated with St Edmund and concludes with the building of a new abbey church and shrine under the abbacy of Baldwin (1065-97). The poem was a popular success; twelve manuscripts of the complete text plus a number of selections or fragments survive.[6]

2. The *Life* as a devotional text

John Lydgate was the most prolific English poet of his day, producing nearly one hundred and forty five thousand lines of verse and around two hundred prose texts. He wrote several *vitae* in addition to the *Life*, including his most popular work, the *Life of Our Lady*, which survives in fifty manuscripts, as well as those of Sts. Alban and Amphibal, Austin, George, Giles, Margaret and Petronilla.[7] He was well-versed in the traditions of late-medieval hagiography, and therefore ideally placed to undertake Abbot Curteys's commission. A saint's *Life* was an appropriate gift with which to present the young king, as at the age of twelve Henry was already demonstrating the profound religious piety that was to be one of the most characteristic features of his reign.[8] During his stay at Bury Henry displayed particular devotion to the abbey's patron, praying regularly before his tomb, and Lydgate records that before the king departed he was 'meuyd in him-silf of his benignyte,/ of ther chapitle a brother forto be' (I.154-5), prostrating himself before Edmund's shrine as he was admitted to the confraternity of the abbey.[9]

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[5] Other cultural artefacts produced at Bury during the period of Curetys' abbacy evince similar promotional aims. These are discussed by Nicholas J. Heale, 'Religious and Intellectual Interests at Bury St Edmunds Abbey at Bury and the Nature of English Benedictinism: MS Bodely 240 in Context'. D.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1994.

[6] The manuscripts are detailed in *The Life of St Edmund, King and Martyr, A Facsimile of British Library MS Harley 2278, with an introduction by A.S.G. Edwards* (London: British Library, 2004) p. 16, and it is no. 3440 in Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005).

[7] *A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's* Life of Our Lady, ed. Joseph A. Lauritis, Ralph A. Klinefekter and Vernon F. Gallagher (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1961); *The Life of St Alban and Saint Amphibal*, ed. J.E. van der Westhuizen (Leider: Brill, 1974); 'St Austin', pp. 193-206; 'St George', pp. 145-54; 'St Gyle', pp. 161-73; 'St Margaret', pp. 173-92; 'St Petronilla', pp. 154-9, specify that each of these texts is included in the following volume *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Part 1, ed. Henry Noble McCracken, Early English Texts Society, es 107 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911). Reference can be simplified: EETS e.s. 107, (1911)

The *Life* is ostensibly a characteristic, if lengthy, example of late-medieval hagiography: a branch of devotional literature intended simultaneously to glorify the saint whose tale it told and provide a didactic exemplum for the reader.[10] It is firmly located within the St Edmund devotional tradition, which by the fifteenth century had grown lengthy and complex.[11] The first devotional text concerning Edmund was written sometime between 986-988 by Abbo, a monk of Fleury, who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a hagiographer in England.[12] Abbo's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* proved popular and influential; it was subsequently translated into Old English by Ælfric, and, by the time Archdeacon Hermann was writing at Bury a century later, the story of the martyrdom seemed well enough known for him to feel no need to repeat it, referring his readers instead to Abbo's text.[13] Lydgate, like numerous authors before him, sought to produce a text which glorified its sainted subject and sought to 'putte in remembraunce' 'the noble story' of Edmund's life and martyrdom (I.81).

Lydgate's poem is the culmination of the medieval legendary tradition concerning St Edmund. At 3,693 lines it is one of the longest versions produced, and, written largely in rhyme royal stanzas, is the first rendering of the legend into English verse. The copy presented to Henry VI, preserved in British Library MS Harley 2278, is lavishly illustrated with one hundred and twenty high quality miniatures which provide a unique visual parallel to the text. It is therefore interesting in its own right for the insight it offers into the development of the textual cult of one of the most popular devotional figures of the Middle Ages, and the *Life* has traditionally been discussed in relation to Lydgate's sizeable canon of devotional works.[14] However, its creation for the young King Henry simultaneously locates it within a political sphere and in this article I will argue that re-reading the *Life* alongside its oft-neglected illustrative scheme in relation to its intended audience reveals its concerns with contemporary politics and affairs of state to an extent which has hitherto largely been overlooked.

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[8] For a description of Henry VI's religious proclivities see Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981) especially pp. 3-21.

[9] Curteys's Register, in Craven Ord, 'Account of the Entertainment of King Henry the Sixth at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', 65-71.

[10] See, for example, a *Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. Sarah Salih (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), especially Sarah Salih, 'Introduction: Saints, Cults and Lives in Late Medieval England', pp. 1-25.

[11] For a concise account of the legend see Grant Loomis, 'The Growth of the St Edmund Legend', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology, Language and Literature*, 14 (1932), 83-113 and Dorothy Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St Edmund', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 31 (1969), 217-33 and Antonia Gransden, 'Legends and Traditions concerning the Origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', in her/ Gransden *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London & Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1992), pp.81-106.

[12] The most recent version of Abbo is in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Toronto Medieval Latin Tests, 1972), pp. 67-87.

[13] Ælfric's translation is printed in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. with a translation into modern English by W.W. Skeat (Early English Text Society, os, lxxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv, 1881-1900, 2 vols. In 4 parts), ii.314-35. Hermann's *De Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi* is reproduced in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, vol. I, ed. Thomas Arnold, pp. 26-92.

3. The *Life* as a work of secular instruction

Lydgate was clearly writing within a well-established hagiographic tradition, but closer reading reveals that the *Life* is far more than a simple 'translacion' (I.135) and is, in fact. extremely complex in its intertextual indebtedness. Lydgate's *vita* is sophisticated and elaborate and includes details not found in previous written sources. Arguably, the most striking departure from the established tradition may be found in Lydgate's description of the events precipitating the martyrdom. Abbo of Fleury, and the subsequent *vitae* and *passio* based upon his seminal text, depict Edmund as peaceable to the extent that, in the wake of the terrible destruction wrought by the invading Danes, he willingly surrenders himself and his kingdom of his 'own free will' in order to prevent bloodshed.[15] Abbo presents this choice as integral to Edmund's sanctity: willingness to die in defence of your faith was fundamental to the identity of a Christian martyr, and an almost certain route to saintliness. In contrast to the established model, Lydgate's Edmund goes into battle against the Danes, attacking the invading army camped outside Thetford (II.365-395). In his description of the ensuing battle, which rages 'from the morwe' until 'it drouh to nyht', Lydgate is unequivocal in the part played by Edmund: he proves himself a ‘ful manly knyht’, from whom the enemy fly ‘lik sheepe’, and who sheds ‘ful gret plente’ ‘of paynym blood’. Lydgate describes the battle in lurid detail:

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[14] See, for example, Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) pp. 255-293 and more recently Fiona Somerset, '"Hard is with seyntis for to make affray": Lydgate the "Poet-Propagandist" as Hagiographer', in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon and James Simpson, pp. 258-278.

[15] Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmund, ed. Michael Winterbottom,* esp. pp. 74-8.

> The soil of slauhtre I-steynyd was with blood,
> The sharp swerd of Edmond turnyd red:
> For there was noon that his strook withstood
> Nor durste abide afforn him for his hed;
> And many a paynym in the feeld lay ded,
> And many cristen in that mortal striff
> Our feith defendyng that day lost his liff.
>
> (II.386-392)

A detailed miniature accompanies the text, depicting Edmund in full armour in the midst of the fray, wielding a mighty sword to great effect, the Danish dead heaped around him (folio 50). Despite his resounding defeat of the Danes, as Edmund surveys the carnage of the battle field, he is so appalled by the loss of life that he resolves ‘for Cristis sake shedyng of blood teschew’, vowing to give his own life to prevent further bloodshed (II.427). It is at this point, when Edmund chooses the path of martyrdom in favour of further conflict, that the narrative of the *Life* rejoins that of the other *vitae*. Edmund is still described in martial terms but now, rather than fighting a physical battle, he bears a ‘myhti sheeld’ of ‘Cristes feith’ and a ‘gostly swerd whettid with constance’ (II.710-11). He renounces the way of war and submits meekly and patiently to his fate.

These differences may be accounted for by Lydgate’s desire as an author to leave his mark upon the Edmund tradition, but it also seems likely that the circumstances in which the *Life* was produced, specifically the audience for which it was written and illustrated, influenced his presentation of the material. Lydgate frequently evokes Henry as the imagined audience of the *Life* and offers Edmund as an ‘exaumplaire’ (I.419) whose devotional practices the young king should seek to emulate. However, the emphasis upon Edmund’s martial exploits and his active defence of his realm attests to an alternative version of his identity which accords with the behaviour expected of a successful temporal king. Lydgate’s assertion that Edmund will be ‘a merour cler’ (I.419) into which Henry may gaze in order to see an image of regal perfection is a verbal echo of the ‘mirror for princes’ genre, didactic texts outlining the character and behaviour of the ideal ruler.[16] Katherine Lewis has argued convincingly that this emphasis upon Edmund's exemplary kingship is due to Lydgate's intention that the *Life* should function as a mirror for princes, comparing it with the most popular example of the genre in later medieval England, the *Secreta Secretorum*, and demonstrating the ways in which Lydgate's depiction of Edmund accords with the ideal king described by this and other literary mirrors.[17]

A mirror for princes was a particularly appropriate gift for the young king. Henry VI succeeded to the throne at the age of just nine months after the death of his celebrated father Henry V and as such was denied the opportunity of emulating a successful reigning monarch.[18] Frequently characterised as the semi-official propagandist for the Lancastrian regime, Lydgate was writing for the son of one of his most significant former patrons, and in the absence of Henry senior, offers Edmund as a surrogate model of exemplary kingly behaviour. On several occasions Lydgate makes it clear that Edmund is a role model whom Henry should seek to imitate; within the opening lines of the poem Lydgate advises that 'Edmund shal be his [Henry's] guide' (Prologue, 45), equating the saint with the nine worthies as a figure deserving of emulation.

The manner in which Lydgate offers Edmund as an exemplar is particularly apparent in a number of seemingly anachronistic passages which describe Edmund engaging with fifteenth rather than ninth-century enemies. Thus Lydgate's account of Edmund's suppression of the Lollard heresy, where he claims that 'to holichirche he was so strong a wal' and that he 'hated fals doctryn in especial' (I.1015-16), should not be read as an historical anachronism or an authorial error, but rather an allusion to the contemporary monarch and the difficulties he could expect to encounter during his reign. Less than two years before Lydgate was commissioned to write the *Life*, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, suppressed a Lollard uprising on the king's behalf whilst Henry VI was in France for his coronation.[19] Derek Pearsall describes the anxiety experienced by the clerical establishment upon the succession of Henry VI, as it was feared that he would not prove to be so dedicated an upholder of the Church and persecutor of heterodoxy as his father.[20] On this occasion Lydgate was commissioned to write *A Defense of Holy Church* as a means of reassuring the establishment, and in the ballad composed for Henry VI's coronation in 1429 he urged that he would 'heretykes and Lollards for to oppresse'.[21] The reference to Lollards in the *Life* is therefore another means of suggesting to King Henry the approach he should adopt towards the defence of the Church, by means of the exemplum of the saint-king Edmund.

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[16] For the uses of mirrors for princes in royal education see Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London & New York: Methuen, 1984), pp. 88-103 and John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, pp. 16-38 for the norms of kingship established by mirrors for princes.

[17] Katherine J. Lewis, 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and Ideals of Kingly Masculinity', *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P.H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 158-73.

[18] On Henry's youth and upbringing see Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 51-7.

Lydgate is also keen to emphasise the similarities between the two rulers. On several occasions he makes reference to Edmund's youth, claiming that he was fifteen at the time of his coronation (I.857). Yet Edmund's youth is not seen as problematic, but serves to emphasise his exemplary nature, as Lydgate writes that despite his youth he was a wise ruler: 'Yong of yeeris, old of discresciuon/ Flourying in age, fructuous of sanesse' (I.396-7). The natural imagery suggests that the young Edmund was vital and imbued with life and potential. Henry was himself a young king, and Edmund would therefore have been a particularly appropriate role model, with such positive references to Edmund's youth at the time of his succession emphasising that good kingship was possible at any age.

In order to corroborate his portrayal of Edmund as a regal role model, Lydgate refers his readers to 'cronycle' sources (Prologue, 51) where they may find further evidence of Edmund's 'Royal dignyte' (Prologue, 52). Lydgate's recourse to chronicles is in keeping with the education prescribed for young princes.[22] When Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was appointed in 1428 as Henry VI's guardian during the king's minority he was instructed to 'use examples culled from history books to teach the young king to 'love, worship and drede God'.[23] This imperative goes some way to accounting for Lydgate's deviation from the established devotional tradition, as although Lydgate's account of Edmund's battle with the Danes is unique amongst the *vitae*, the first 'secular' account of his death in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* presents an account of a similarly militaristic hero:

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[19] For details of this incident see, for example, Richard Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI,* pp. 139-141.

[20] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371-1449): A Bio-bibliography,* p. 18.

[21] 'Ballad to King Henry VI on His Coronation', *Minor Poems*, II, ed. H.N. MacCracken (Early English Text Society, os, cxcii (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) 31: lines 9-10.

[22] See Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, pp. 88-103.

[23] John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, p.54.

> In this year the [Danish] army rode over Mercia into East Anglia, and took winter-quarters at Thetford; and in that winter King Eadmund fought against them, and the Danes gained the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all that land and destroyed all the monasteries which they came to.[24]

Although brief, the status of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as the source for numerous subsequent historical works meant that its description of Edmund's demise was repeated virtually unchanged throughout the Middle Ages.[25] Lydgate's recourse to this alternate version of Edmund's identity undermines his claim that his *vita* is a 'translation'; his intertextuality is clearly far more subtle and complex. He unites both strands of a bifurcated tradition in order to present St Edmund as a role model which would appeal both to Henry VI's religious proclivities whilst also fulfilling the requirement for him to be taught the principles of successful Christian kingship, demonstrating the fundamental role of an audience in determining the content of a text.

4. Codicological context

This is reiterated when we consider the *Life* in its codicological context. It has been a common phenomenon in hagiographic scholarship to consider literary sources in isolation from their manuscript contexts. Cynthia Hahn suggests that 'it is often assumed that pictures merely illustrate their texts' and are entirely dependent on the words they illustrate, rendering them secondary and subordinate to the verbal narrative.[26] However, such logocentrism robs a text of its original performative context. In her discussion of manuscripts containing late-medieval English hagiographic texts, Mary Beth Long maintains that 'to ignore the physical context in which hagiographical texts are found – pictures, page material and thickness, and ink colour, as well as the content of accompanying texts and marginalia – is to miss a vital piece of the interpretative experience medieval readers would have of the individual *vitae*.'[27] Considering a work in its original context is particularly important in the case of a poet such as Lydgate. He truly was a multimedia poet: his poems were frequently accompanied by images, not only in manuscripts but also stitched into wall-hangings and alongside paintings, perhaps most famously accompanying a large painting of the Dance of Death on the wall of the cloisters of Old St Paul's Cathedral or accompanying a series of decorative allegorical pastries presented at Henry VI's coronation banquet. A number of his other works were written to be performed, either acted or sung.[28]

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[24] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a revised translation ed. Dorothy Whitelock with D.C Douglas and S.I Tucker (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961) p. 46.

[25] Loomis, 'The Growth of the St Edmund Legend', 83-113.

[26] Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictoria Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Centuries* (Berkely and London: University of California Press, 2001) p.45.

Three copies of the *Life* are extensively illustrated.[29] Of these, the first to be produced was the presentation copy made for Henry VI contained in British Library MS Harley 2278. MS Harley 2278 contains a single verse text of the *Life* accompanied by 120 miniatures. The manuscript consists of 119 parchment leaves, with each leaf measuring approximately 250 x 170mm. The text is contained in a ruled frame 140 x 110mm. The manuscript is largely in quires of eight leaves.[30] It was copied by a single scribe in a semi-cursive hand who wrote in a Suffolk dialect.[31] In this manuscript the ratio of illustrations to text is extremely high: they average more than one for each leaf and are more or less equally distributed throughout the text. Apart from the two full-page illustrations at the front of the manuscript, the rest are usually carefully positioned in relation to the verbal narrative. A.S.G. Edwards claims that the overall effect is to create 'an unusually powerful synthesis in which the verbal and visual elements of the manuscript complement one another in a carefully integrated way', noting that it is hard to point to precedents for this degree of integration of text and image in the preparation of fifteenth-century Middle English verse manuscripts.[32] Except for a few scenes which may derive from older iconographies it is likely that most of the pictures were created for Lydgate's newly composed poem.[33] It is also probable that Lydgate was involved in the selection of scenes. The inclusion of a miniature draws attention to the aspect of the narrative which it illustrates, and the range of miniatures throughout the *Life* certainly supports the role of a text as a mirror for princes.

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[27] Mary Beth Long, 'Corpora and Manuscripts, Authors and Audiences', in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. Sarah Salih (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006) pp. 47-69, p. 49.

[28] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371-1449): A Bio-bibliography,* esp. pp. 25-32.

[29] These are British Library MS Harley 2278, British Library MS Yates Thompson 27 and the Arundel Castle Manuscript.

[30] For further description of the manuscript see A.S.G. Edwards's 'Introduction' to *The Life of St Edmund, King and Martyr*, pp. 13-15.

[31] The scribal characteristics of the manuscript are described by C.E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 18; on the dialect see A. McIntosh et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Later Middle English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), III, pp. 489-90.

[32] A.S.G. Edwards's 'Introduction' to *The Life of St Edmund, King and Martyr*, p. 11.

In a 'chaptile' describing 'the Roial gouernance of seynt Edmond aftir he was crownyd kyng of Estyngland' (I.858-1088) Lydgate describes in detail Edmund's rule of good government, his provision of justice and his concern with matters of state. He ensures that the Church, the law and trade are honourably run by honest men (I.892-934), and defends the Church vigorously against heresy (I.1015-16). Edmund is charitable: 'geyn poore folk shet was not his gate,/His warderope open, alle needy to releue' (I.1084-5). He governs in accordance with the four cardinal virtues and his rule is one of temperance and 'noon excesse' (I.869). Lydgate uses the conventional image of the body politic to illustrate Edmund's maintenance of 'dew ordre' and the balance between the various social estates (I.941). He encourages his nobles to follow his example by ensuring they attend church and by joining them in suitable past-times such as hunting and hawking and other knightly activities at which he excels (I.1047-53). These lengthy descriptions of Edmund's kingship are accompanied by several miniatures. First, we see Edmund's coronation, depicted in a larger miniature, underlining its importance (folio 31). The next folio contains an image of Edmund holding court (folio 32), followed by illustrations of Edmund on his throne (folio 34), Edmund hearing pleas (folio 36) and Edmund engaging in kingly sports (folio 37). By way of contrast, we next see the Danish king Lothbroc and his sons worshipping idols (folio 39): Edmund's just Christian kingship is directly contrasted with the pagan Danes. In this instance the illustrations of Harley 2278 are clearly reinforcing the *Life's* didactic 'mirror for princes' message by placing considerable emphasis upon Edmund engaged in appropriate kingly behaviour. So in Harley 2278 the pictures form a coherent visual parallel to the text of the poem and both the verbal and visual narratives reinforce the understanding of the *Life* as a mirror for princes.

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[33] Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, II, p. 228.

The role of the audience in determining the presentation of a narrative is emphasised by comparison of the presentation copy with subsequent copies of the *Life*. Two other versions of the *Life*, in British Library MS Yates Thompson 47 and the Arundel Castle Manuscript, are extensively illustrated[34]. The manuscripts are similar in size, with MS Yates Thompson 47 being slightly smaller than the Arundel Castle MS: 245 x 170mm and 267 x 184mm respectively. Both are written on parchment. Yates Thompson 47 contains fifty three miniatures, half-page or smaller, in colour and gold. The page by page arrangement of the Arundel Castle MS is identical, although a number of leaves are missing with the result that it contains four fewer miniatures than is Yates Thompson counterpart.[35] The manuscripts were written by the same scribe in a gothic cursive script, although their miniatures were executed by different artists. Both can be dated to after 1461 by the substitution of Edward IV's name for Henry VI's in the appeals to the monarch found throughout the poem. Kathleen Scott describes these two manuscripts as 'virtual twins'.[36] There are few differences in illustration and only minor variations in iconography and composition: the miniatures always have the same subject, always occur in the same position on the page, are always made to the same height of one or two stanzas and are usually identical in composition and frequently in their repetition of colours for the same objects, and henceforth will be referred to as a group. There are more than twice as many illustrations in Harley 2278 so there is no question of a page by page similarity between the three manuscripts. However, the extent to which there are thematic similarities, in the sense of similar episodes being depicted in similar ways, enables the emphasis of the presentation manuscript to be further considered.

Harley 2278 seems to have exerted some influence over the format of the pictures in the descendent manuscripts as they are similarly embedded within the text. Its influence on their iconography, however, appears limited: only five miniatures from the presentation manuscript appear to have been used as models in the later copies. All the major episodes of the legend are illustrated in Yates Thompson 47 and Arundel Castle; the martyrdom sequence, for example, is illustrated in ten miniatures in Harley 2278 and seven in the descendent manuscripts, a remarkably similar number given the relative total number of miniatures. Other important episodes, such as the murder of Lothbroc which precipitates the Danish invasion, are illustrated in similar detail. There are, however, some notable disparities. In particular, sequences of miniatures in Harley 2278 which endorse the *Life* as a mirror for princes are absent from the later copies. For example, all three manuscripts show Edmund being crowned and in each the illustrations are of the larger size. However, in Yates Thompson 47 and the Arundel Castle manuscript the next illustration occurs at the beginning of Book 2 where we see Lothbroc hunting with his hounds. The sequence of miniatures illustrating Edmund's kingly conduct is similarly lacking.

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[34] For Yates Thompson 47 see Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, II, pp. 307-10 and for the Arundel Castle MS see Kathleen Scott, 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund: A newly located manuscript in Arundel Castle', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 335-66.

[35] For comparative descriptions of the manuscripts see Kathleen Scott, 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund: A newly located manuscript in Arundel Castle', 340-7.

[36] Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, II, p. 308.

These differences between the illustrative schemes may be variously accounted for.[37] I would suggest that whilst it was appropriate in the presentation copy to emphasise the role of the *Life* as a mirror for princes, when the poem was reproduced for a different audience this was no longer fitting or desirable and the illustrative scheme was adjusted to accommodate these new conditions. Far from merely illustrating the text they accompany, the miniatures are possessed of their own agency and are able to influence reception and understanding. Cynthia Hahn suggests that the relationship between text and image is shaped by the principle of selection, as 'depending upon which parts of a written story they choose to represent, artists can shape pictorial narrative in ways radically different from texts'[38]. This is certainly the case with the three manuscripts discussed above and demonstrates the fundamental importance of the presence of Henry VI as imagined audience of the *Life* in determining both its visual and verbal character.

5. Conclusion

Whether the young king read the poem which Lydgate wrote for him or admired the lavish illustrations is unknown. Yet how the *Life* was received in actuality does not diminish the significance of its ability to function simultaneously as both a devotional manuscript and a work of secular instruction. As a devotional object the *Life* seeks to offer Edmund as a model of kingly piety whom Henry VI should seek to emulate. It is likely that Abbot Curteys was taking advantage of the king's visit to promote the rights and liberties of the abbey and ensure a place for it in his benefactions. Lydgate hopes that the king will be 'diffence and protectour' (I.166) of the Abbey, and suggests that in return Saint Edmund 'shal to the kyng be ful proteccioun / Ageyn alle enemies' (I.160-1). This concept of mutual assistance and dependence attests to the special relationship perceived to exist between kings and saints, mediated here through the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds. It establishes from the outset of the poem the notion that, whilst the king's benefaction may be of value to the Abbey and its saintly patron, St Edmund's support would be of equal worth to any upon whom he chose to bestow it. However, by writing his audience into the text Lydgate transforms the *Life* from simply a devotional object into one which is simultaneously sacred and secular. In order to present the saint as a suitable kingly role model Lydgate was able to capitalize on his position as both a monk of Bury and apologist for the Lancastrian regime to recast the legend in order to fit his own purposes. It seems likely that he played on the young King Henry's religious sensibilities to exhort the virtues of kingly conduct (a model of kingship which might accord with Henry's own proclivities and ideals) in order to demonstrate that it was possible to be both kingly and holy. Ultimately it was the unique combination of circumstances and individuals which led to the creation of Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*, demonstrating the fluidity of hagiographic tradition and the subtle interplay between author and audience.

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[37] Kathleen Scott, 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund: A newly located manuscript in Arundel Castle', 357-66.

[38] Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, p. 46.

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Considerations of Audience in Early and Modern Medieval Studies

"Some will judge too trivial, some too grave": Audience and Interpretation in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*

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This paper examines how Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, first performed in 1603/4, interacts with its audience. I initially analyse the drama's structure - noting how Heywood reminds the audience of their interpretive responsibility through liminal stage orations (the collective term for epilogues and prologues), and *via* direct address throughout the work. The epilogue and the prologue bookend a play which pointedly grants its audiences the opportunity to become judges of the drama - an active status conferred by the interactive model of performance envisaged in this work. As a result of this interactive imagining of interpretation, I place the play within a theoretical framework which argues that early modern drama uses the ambiguity which attends representations of judgement as an invigorating element of performance.

The public theatre was part of a nascent entertainment industry in the period, and the need to appeal to diverse audiences was mirrored by the number of contradictory sympathies many early modern plays display. In *A Woman Killed*, the specific judgements the play represents to the audience are indicative of a larger debate in early modern England surrounding the female. The patriarchal understanding that the female was a subordinate controlled by a male guardian is invoked in the play, and, accordingly, it is possible to see the drama as endorsing a socially conservative view. Yet to privilege this socially conservative reading solely is to ignore evidence that this play is doing something far more complex than either vindicating or criticising power structures. *A Woman Killed* instead argues more broadly for the necessity of interrogating judgements, and engages its audience in the process of challenging the conventions according to which patriarchal society functions.

The centrality of judgement in *A Woman Killed* means it is a striking exemplar of the early modern body of texts which have been called 'equitable drama'. This critical concept, which systematically attempts to explain the relationship between certain dramas and forensic legal processes, accounts for the way the work implicates its audience in a process of judgement and for the way Heywood focuses on representations of the female. My appropriation of the term 'equitable drama', which draws chiefly on the criticism of Ina Habermann[1] and the examinations of equity offered by Andrew Majeske and Randall Martin, synthesises two distinct strands of thought. Firstly, it invokes the interventionist notion of ancient Greek and early modern equity. In this specific sense, equity is a concept deriving from Aristotelian *epieikeia* and it describes the practice of intervening in judgements made under laws which are too inflexible to take into account the almost infinite number of variables in each legal case. In early modern England particularly, equity courts (such as the chancery court) provided a form of legal redress to the often inflexible judgements made in the centralised and patriarchally-focused common law courts, which were in the main demonstrably inimical to the female.[2]

The interventionist power of equity to interrogate judgement, in light of the potential inadequacies and gender biases of conventional common law legal processes, is augmented in my conception of equitable drama by the power of early modern theatre to engender interpretive debate amongst a diverse audience. Equitable drama specifically dwells on the generation of debate and contention via its on-stage representations, and therefore it performatively extends the tenets of equity. According to Habermann,

> [equitable drama] neither prejudicates nor preaches, but it presents its interrogative gestures, its "actions of the case", with great energy and insistence. It offers "images

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[1] For a fuller explanation of the notion of 'equitable drama', see Ina Habermann, *Staging Slander and Gender in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), and also Ina Habermann, '"She has that in her belly will dry up your ink": Femininity as Challenge in the "Equitable Drama" of John Webster', in *Literature, Politics and Law in Renaissance England* ed. by Erica Sheen and Lorna Hutson (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp.100-120.

[2] For recent examinations of equity as a force of legal and philosophical re-judgement in the ancient and early modern world, see Andrew J. Majeske, *Equity in English Renaissance Literature: Thomas More and Edmund Spenser* (London: Routledge, 2006) and Randall Martin, *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2008).

> to think with", presenting and inviting the polyphony of argument, and therefore no appropriation will be final'.[3]

Equitable drama has been particularly studied in regards to the female because women in general were actively involved in the early modern equity and ecclesiastical courts which offered an alternative revision of common law. As Martin notes, '[t]he popularity of the numerous early modern courts of equity, especially among female litigants, illustrated a widely dispersed desire for fair and practical remedies to common-law restrictions and silences'.[4] Equitable drama can thus be seen as a representation of a fledging culture of female agency both on and off stage. In showing the female as more than a mere victim or a lustful creature, *A Woman Killed* presents a complex equitable take on gender attuned to the potential inadequacies of patriarchy. More specifically, it is an equitable drama which uses a self-conscious interrogatory method to produce the representations of judgement which kindle debate amongst its audience.

A Woman Killed engages with contentious judgement throughout. The main plot (which I focus on here) details an adulterous affair between Anne Frankford and her lover Wendoll, who is a friend of Anne's husband John Frankford. This affair is uncovered and ends in death for Anne. Anne, who is banished as a result of what her husband calls his 'kindness', commits suicide by self-starvation as a result of the trauma of the banishment. A second plot concerns Sir Charles Mountford and Sir Francis Acton – aristocrats whose feuding results in Sir Charles slaying two of Sir Francis's servants. This causes the near-ruination of Sir Charles who is imprisoned, and he is only saved when Sir Francis falls in love with Susan Mountford (Charles's sister) and frees Sir Charles to woo her. In freeing Sir Charles, Sir Francis creates a debt of honour which can only be paid back in full if Sir Charles gifts his unwilling sister Susan to Sir Francis as repayment. Heywood's representation of the harsh treatment Susan endures is as debatable as Anne's punishment, and although it is not the chief focus of this paper the sub-plot also questions the wisdom of patriarchy and of judgements made by powerful male characters.

The play begins its examination of the notion of judgement from the outset, in a prologue which initially adopts the guise of apologising for the play's lack of the poetic ornamentation which was a hallmark of Renaissance tragedy. Generally, the prologue was seen in the period (as Bruster and Weimann demonstrate) as an authority figure who would offer an authoritative explication of the action whilst attempting to gain the goodwill of the audience.[5] The prologue of *A Woman Killed* adopts this guiding tone, stating:

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[3] Habermann, *Staging Slander*, p.11.
[4] Martin, *Women, Murder, and Equity*, p.6.

> I come but like a harbinger, being sent
> To tell you what these preparations mean:
> Look for no glorious state, our muse is bent
> Upon a barren subject, a bare scene. [6]

This prologue has been seen as demanding that the audience take the play's apparent inadequacy into account. Bowers, for example, believes that the prologue is 'conventionally self-deprecating … [and] clearly pleads for appreciation on a decidedly smaller scale'.[7] As shall be demonstrated, the 'bare scene' and the 'barren subject' are key ideas in the play, but ultimately I argue they are figured as zones of interpretive potentiality rather than as a straightforward reflection of a deficient starkness.

Contained within its apology for deficiency, the prologue to *A Woman Killed* is making a larger point about the potential interpretive energy within the work. The prologue invites the audience to treat the representation of situations within the play as cases for interpretive opportunity. The play's representation of contestable judgement is figured as operating in complicity with the imaginative engagement of the audience so that the work becomes greater than a drama about an average household. The prologue continues:

> We could afford this twig a timber-tree,
> Whose strength might boldly on your favours build;
> Our russet, tissue; drone, a honey bee;
> Our barren plot, a large and spacious field;
> Our coarse fare, banquets; our thin water, wine;
> Our brook, a sea; our bat's eyes, eagle's sight;
> Our poet's dull and earthy muse, divine;
> Our ravens, doves; our crow's black feathers, white.
> But gentle thoughts, when they may give the foil,

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[5] Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann, *Prologues to Shakespeare's Theatre: Performance and Liminality in Early Modern Drama* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), p.12.

[6] Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, ed. by Brian Scobie (London: A&C Black, 2003), Prologue. 1-4. All further references to the play are taken from this edition, and are given after quotations in the main body of the text.

[7] Rick Bowers, '*A Woman Killed with Kindness:* Plausibility on a Smaller Scale', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 24.2 (1984), 292-306 (p.294).

> Save them that yield, and spare where they may spoil.
> (Prologue. 5-14.)

As the first two lines of the excerpt show, audience imagination is here the metaphorical root of the 'timber-tree' the play grows into only after interacting with audience interpretation. The subsequent use of contrasting pairings here presents associations whereby the apparent smallness of the play's action actually contains fuller meditations. The prologue requests audience co-operation in altering a barren plot into a large and spacious field, and uses the word 'ours' to suggest joint ownership of the dramatic representations on stage. The prologue here argues, at a crucial inaugural point, that dramatic fullness is created by the interaction between audience imagination and that which the playwright has created.

The prologue thus encourages interpretive co-operation from the spectator, and the audience must interpret a range of situations which are represented throughout the play as a whole. These include: the judging of male friendship as potentially damaging; the examination of the causes of adultery (considering that this infidelity may have mitigating circumstances); an interrogation of the 'kindness' of banishment, and the questioning of the relative lack of consequence for male immorality. Throughout the play, the audience witnesses and must judge the sacrifice of females to ensure maintenance of a morally-ambiguous patriarchal status-quo. Heywood's dramatic representation of Susan Mountford, as has been touched upon already, is a case in point. Having fulfilled her role as an instrument of reconciliation between two morally dubious gentlemen whose feud has threatened to undermine the smooth working of patriarchy, she becomes silent. Susan's objectification is complete: she is forfeited to ensure that, in a world dominated by gentlemanly power networks, Sir Charles can remain noble despite having sold his sister. The play's representation of Susan's innocence, and the way the work dwells on the manipulation she endures, are overwhelming hurdles to reading this conclusion as entirely satisfactory.

The Frankford plot, and Heywood's representation of the treatment of Anne Frankford, is even more consciously constructed to provoke debate amongst the audience. Initially we witness the marriage of John and Anne Frankford, which coincides with the arrival of the mysterious Wendoll. The rapidly established friendship which blossoms between Frankford and Wendoll appears close to obsession on Frankford's part, whilst Wendoll is exploiting Frankford's wealth to relieve financial hardship as he is 'somewhat pressed by want'.(4. 33) Together, these two gentlemen form an almost symbiotic bond, to the extent that Frankford seemingly neglects his wife. Initially, Frankford claims of Wendoll 'I have preferred him to a second place/In my opinion, and my best regard'. (4. 34-35) Yet soon afterwards, Wendoll notes in awe that Frankford has become incredibly close to him in a short time:

> He hath placed me in the height of all his thoughts,
> Made me companion with the best and chiefest
> In Yorkshire. He cannot eat without me,
> Nor laugh without me; I am to his body
> As necessary as his digestion,
> And equally do make him whole or sick.
> (6. 38-43)

This comment suggests that Frankford has placed Wendoll above all others, including Anne, and has raised Wendoll to prominence. Wendoll even notes that this relationship is so close that Frankford needs him in order to function correctly. Crucially this homosocial relationship excludes Anne. The principle of exclusivity which is central to the marriage vow, whereby Anne is supposedly the individual honoured above all others by Frankford, is challenged by Frankford's friendship with Wendoll. McQuade notes:

> Frankford invests the relationship [with Wendoll} with the intimacy and affection that Protestant theologians claimed should be devoted to one's spouse […] By applying this image to friendship, Heywood suggests that, at least for Frankford, this homosocial relationship takes the place of the marriage bond.[8]

The marriage bond is thus seen to be threatened in this play not just by Anne's adultery with Wendoll, but also by Frankford when he places Wendoll in the height of his thoughts. Whereas the adultery between Wendoll and Anne is explicit and is clearly presented to the audience over the entire course of scene 6, the intense relationship fostered between Frankford and Wendoll takes place behind closed doors, fuelling the impression that it may be more than platonic. There are no scenes which deal with the development of the friendship, and instead the work jumps from a scenario whereby Wendoll and Frankford barely know each other to one whereby Frankford in particular is so enamoured of Wendoll that he tells Anne that Wendoll is now to be treated as the master of the house. Anne relates to Wendoll that Frankford has given him leave:

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[8] Paula McQuade, '"A Labyrinth of Sin": Marriage and Moral Capacity in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*', *Modern Philology*, 98.2 (2000), 231-250 (p.242).

> To make bold in his absence and command
> Even as he himself were present in the house,
> For you must keep his table, use his servants,
> And be a present Frankford in his absence.
> (6. 75-78)

Furthermore, this friendship is perhaps one cause of adultery. De Vroom argues that because she has been marginalised, Anne 'has some cause to be jealous and this in itself is motivation for adultery'.[9] Anne's adultery is therefore partially a reaction to an exclusive male relationship and this adds a layer of complexity to the play's representation of her transgression.

The anxieties surrounding this potentially damaging male friendship centre on Wendoll, and in this regard the common interpretive position shared between the audience and Frankford's servants (who are both spectators to the adultery) is made explicit. Frankford's chief servant Nicholas instinctively foreshadows Wendoll as threatening and acts as a device to place the friendship under scrutiny. Whilst alone, suspended in soliloquy before the audience, Nicholas notes: 'Zounds, I could fight with him, yet know not why./The Devil and he are all one in my eye'. (4. 87-88) At this point another servant (Jenkins) appears to remind Nicholas he has been designated as Wendoll's manservant. The point of this seemingly groundless outburst is that, although Wendoll has not yet committed any heinous acts, he has been singled out for suspicion by someone who is at a remove from the centre of the play. Preceding audience knowledge of Wendoll's transgression, this ultimately well-grounded suspicion is a form of dramatic irony which possesses Nicholas with the power of pre-judgement, and his otherwise purely instinctual dislike for Wendoll is refigured as a reaction of a servant against someone who is a genuine threat to his master's household. As Nicholas leaves the stage, his fellow servant Jenkins remains — and the audience is again spurred on to interaction. Jenkins addresses the audience directly, breaking the illusion of performance:

> [*To audience*] You may see, my masters, though it be
> afternoon with you, 'tis but early days with us, for we

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[9] Theresia De Vroom, 'Female Heroism in Heywood's Tragic Farce of Adultery *A Woman Killed With Kindness*', in *The Female Tragic Hero in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Naomi Conn Liebler (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), pp.119-140 (p.131).

> have not dined yet. Stay but a little, I'll but go in and help
> to bear up the first course and come to you again
> presently.
> (4. 105-109)

This example of audience address comes at a crucial judgement point when Wendoll is first suspected, and reminds the audience, by reference to the physical and temporal conditions of their spectatorship, of their responsibilities as interpreters of the equitable drama. This rupturing of the immediate fiction of the play also gives the audience a symbolic interlude and affords them the opportunity to reflect on the drama so far. Early modern theatre, in the words of Altman, provided its audience with a space of 'leisured otium' wherein issues could be considered at a remove from the pressures and influences of everyday life.[10] Such space for reflection is a vital element of equitable drama. Jenkins's measured bearing-up of food mirrors the play's presentation of dramatic material which the audience must digest, and in their suspicion towards Wendoll, the servants provide a further link between the play-world and the audience-world which highlights the processes of deliberation and interpretation.

When the suspicion surrounding Wendoll is later confirmed, and the adultery is uncovered, Anne is immediately tackled by an enraged Frankford. His fury fades quickly though and he decides to draw out the deliberation period, declaring:

> Stand up, stand up. I will do nothing rashly.
> I will retire awhile into my study,
> And thou shalt hear thy sentence presently.
> (13. 130-132)

Retiring to the occulted male-only zone of the study, to a space of judgement, Frankford banishes Anne with his 'kindness': kindness, apparently, because his judgement is not overtly violent. Upon his return, Frankford declares:

> My words are registered in heaven already;
> With patience hear me. I'll not martyr thee,
> Nor mark thee for a strumpet, but with usage
> Of more humility torment thy soul,
> And kill thee, even with kindness.
> (13. 153-157)

This statement represents Frankford's key moment of judgement in the play, and the judgement is declared to both Anne and the audience. The audience has already seen that Frankford's judgement is lacking as he allowed Wendoll into his home and remained oblivious to adultery. The sentence of banishment he passes on Anne is therefore represented in light of his own flaws, as he is implicated in the representations of immorality and human frailty which abound in this text.

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[10] Joel B. Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind* (London: University of California Press, 1978), p.6.

The eventual consequences of Frankford's judgement, and the way in which it ignores the wider range of culpability which lies behind the adultery, highlight the potential inadequacies of the pronouncement. Despite Frankford's insistence that his actions are kind, the banishment causes massive psychological trauma to his wife and ends in Anne's death when she decides to starve herself. Through Frankford's judgement, which shifts culpability for the downfall of his household entirely onto his wife, Anne is made an example of in front of the characters in the play-world and the audience. Crucially, however, Anne is afforded the opportunity to address the audience directly regarding her situation:

> O, women, women, you that have yet kept
> Your holy matrimonial vow unstained,
> Make me your instance: when you tread awry,
> Your sins like mine will on your conscience lie.
> (13. 142-145)

Anne's speech here highlights the manner in which the breaking of the marriage bond has lead to misery. Yet in foregrounding the fracturing of the matrimonial vow, Anne also highlights that men are capable of doing this too, and that the female will always be at the mercy of more powerful males in patriarchal societies. Thus, the context of Anne's words is hugely important despite the fact that in their somewhat conventional form they seem only to act as a warning for females who are sinful. The play represents a situation whereby Anne is effectively removed from Frankford's life before the adultery, because she cannot possibly be a part of the intense homosocial bond Frankford and Wendoll share. She transgresses the marriage vow, and as such she must accept some responsibility, but Frankford himself has reneged on his promise to honour Anne excluding all others. After Frankford meets Wendoll, Anne is relegated to the position of a servant who must wait on Wendoll as if he is the master of the house. In a world which only figures the female in relation to her husband, Anne has lost her identity as a wife because Frankford subsumes himself in a relationship with Wendoll at the expense of the marriage bond. Anne is in this sense damned no matter what, and is equally an instance of how the female is always already marginalised in a patriarchal society. Her adultery is ignoble, but, even before this act of transgression, she was dead in the sense that she was ignored in this patriarchal society.

The contrasting treatment of Wendoll following the adultery highlights a striking gender imbalance. This is again revealed to the audience in soliloquy: as Anne is exiled, Wendoll plots:

> And I must now go wander like a Cain
> In foreign countries and remoted climes,
> Where the report of my ingratitude
> Cannot be heard. I'll over, first to France,
> And so to Germany, and Italy,
> Where, when I have recovered, and by travel
> Gotten those perfect tongues, and that these rumours
> May in their height abate, I will return.
> And I divine, however now dejected,
> My worth and parts being by some great man praised,
> At my return I may in court be raised.
> (16. 127-137)

Wendoll is aware of his 'ingratitude' but this will fade, unlike Anne's transgression. As opposed to Anne, Wendoll is not silenced: his voice will be his salvation - his mastery of languages granting him a new identity abroad before returning to England.[11] Here, he can exploit the courtly culture of male gentlemanly advancement by attracting the favour of a powerful courtier and using this to his advantage – and again it is left up to audience imagination which of his 'parts' Wendoll hopes other men will find praiseworthy. Wendoll carries his threat to stability outwards into the post-scriptural future beyond the boundaries of the play text. Wendoll's resonating intimidation highlights the moral concerns Heywood was engaging with, and this menace resurfaces at the terminal point at which homiletic drama should overcome temporary chaos with resolution.

Following the representation of Wendoll's escape, which is in stark contrast to the ordeal endured by Anne, Frankford's final lines also highlight the ambiguous treatment of his wife. Frankford says of the epitaph he shall grant her:

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[11] Nancy A. Gutierrez, *'Shall She Famish Then?': Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.48. The author here notes the courtliness and foreignness of Wendoll's destination adds to his complex association with the diabolical, stating: 'Wendoll leaves the pastoral countryside of England for the courts of Europe, exchanging rural innocence for courtly decadence and corruption, and reinforcing his association with the devil.' It is not just important that Wendoll is escaping punishment: the manner in which he escapes it, and his post-scriptural plans, are also highly significant.

> […] on her grave
> I will bestow this funeral epitaph,
> Which on her marble tomb shall be engraved.
> In golden letters shall these words be filled:
> Here lies she whom her husband's kindness killed.
> (17. 136-140)

Even in death, Anne is defined by her relationship to her husband and not by name. The written word seemingly ensures lasting authorial control by Frankford over Anne's identity, but the epitaph also highlights Frankford's complicity to the audience – Anne is not just killed with kindness, but by the kindness of her husband.[12] Frankford's epitaph ensures his cruelty is memorialised – the epitaph also records him as a murderer. The play's motif of contestable judgement is thus terminally reinforced with this examination of the supposed kindness of Frankford's actions. The doubts about the fairness of Frankford's punishment are re-invoked for audience judgement. As Panek argues:

> Whether or not the action [of the play] […] upholds these humane and "gentle" standards is left for each viewer, each reader to decide […] Heywood fully expected a multiplicity of responses.[13]

Panek's assertion that Heywood expected a multiplicity of responses is compelling. Frankford hopes that his epitaph will bring an end to the episode of adultery and dishonour, but this is not the case. Instead of the closure a headstone conventionally denotes, this is an epitaph which (fittingly for the play it inhabits) reignites the question of interpretation.

The play's engagement with audience interpretation continues even beyond this, marking it as a truly equitable work which revels in its deconstruction of the mechanics of audience judgement. The complexities of interpretation are further amplified in the epilogue. Voiced by an epilogue figure it tells an allegorical tale, whereby: 'An honest crew, disposed to be merry,/Came to a tavern by and called for wine'. (Epilogue. 1-2) Then a single wine is tasted by the five men who comprise this honest crew, resulting in diverse reactions. Some enjoy the wine, whereas others find fault, leading the epilogue voice to comment: 'Thus, gentlemen, you see how in one hour/The wine was new, old, flat, sharp, sweet, and sour'.(Epilogue. 11-12) The epilogue's five rowdy gentlemen, who are licentiously and noisily guzzling wine, contrast with the self-starvation and silence of the emaciated Anne. This is the final representation of how male control of the food supply is a fundamental part of gentlemanly power over the female.[14] More specifically, the placement of the epilogue in a tavern is important — just as the play shows the female ignored, so too is the epilogue a male-only zone.[15] With the epilogue, the harrowing events just witnessed are followed by drunken gallants within a male-only space of privileged judgement where interpretation is trivialised to an argument about wine. This reflects, as the play does, how the damage suffered by the female in the relentless perpetuation of patriarchy can be ignored by male-only groups. Furthermore, this episode of judgement also reminds the audience, by contrast, of the responsibility which attends their position as alert and engaged judges of the play's performative representations.

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[12] David Cook, '*A Woman Killed with Kindness*: An Unshakespearian Tragedy', *English Studies*, 45 (1964), 353-372 (p.363). Cook here also charges Frankford with 'knowing the significance of having killed the thing he loves'.

[13] Jennifer Panek, 'Punishing Adultery in a Woman Killed with Kindness', *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900 Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, 34.2 (1994), 357-378 (p.375).

The epilogue then concludes by explaining further why the wine-tasting episode is relevant to the drama:

> Unto this wine we do allude our play,
> Which some will judge too trivial, some too grave.
> You, as our guests, we entertain this day
> And bid you welcome to the best we have.
> Excuse us, then; good wine may be disgraced
> When every several mouth hath sundry taste.
> (Epilogue. 13-18)

This reflection on how one product can be interpreted in a hugely diverse manner concludes the play. What is highlighted is not fear that the play can be damaged by multiple interpretations, but rather that this is not something to be feared. The audience is welcomed and compelled to draw their own equitable conclusions from a range of conflicting representations of patriarchy. The epilogue, the play's epitaph, functions to foreground ambiguity just like Anne's epitaph and its stressing of the inescapability of multiple interpretations empowers multiple readings.

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[14] Christopher Frey and Leanore Lieblein, '"My breasts sear'd": The Self-Starved Female Body and *A Woman Killed with Kindness'*, *Early Theatre*, 7.1 (2004), 45-66 (p.47). The authors of this piece here argue that Anne's actions are a response to 'a patriarchal society in which food and eating are forms of control'.

[15] A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p.61. Martin here notes that '[d]rinking establishments were predominantly male space and centers for male sociability'.

In the epilogue this so-called 'barren' drama makes a comment on the inevitable interpretive plurality which drama provokes in its audience, and demonstrates how this can provide an insight into the experience of marginalised figures. Accordingly, the epilogue reinforces the argument that this play is an equitable drama which offers its audience the chance to deliberate on judgements which centre on the treatment of the female in a patriarchal society. In extending dramatic judgement out into the audience, the epilogue and the play in general argue that drama can interrogate and spark debate more successfully than it can preach and reinforce norms. From prologue to epilogue therefore, and at key points of direct audience engagement in between, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* foregrounds the complex interpretive relationship between audience and performance in the powerfully interrogative equitable drama of early modern England.

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Considerations of Audience in Early and Modern Medieval Studies

Audience and Quattrocento Pastoral: the Case of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

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1. Introduction

On the marginal annotation of a manuscript that used to belong to Angelo Colocci, a book collector living in sixteenth century Rome, an erudite named Girolamo Borgia recalled how in 1501 he had witnessed the public performance of a poem entitled *Urania*. [1] The marginalia inform us that the author and performer of this five-book-long poem in Latin hexameters was Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503), once the leading political and intellectual figure of Quattrocento Naples, an old man retired from public life at the time of the event. [2] The manuscript, along with most of the documents of Neapolitan civilization, arrived in Rome after the extinction of the Aragonese dynasty and the consequent diaspora of its courtly intellectuals. Among them was Giovanni Pontano's selected group of disciples, which included the teacher's favourite pupil Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530).[3]

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[1] Giovanni Pontano, *Carmina*, ed. by Benedetto Soldati, 2 vols (Florence: Barbera, 1902), I, p. xxxiv: '*Cal. Februarii 1501 Pontanus legere coepit suam Uraniam in sua achademia, cui lectioni fere semper quindecim generosi et eruditissimi viri affuere; nec vero ipse ego Hieronymus ullum unquam praeterii diem, quin adessem, et quae potui in margine anotanda curaverim, quae quidem sunt ab eiusdem auctoris oraculo exprompta*. [On February 1st 1501, Pontano began to read *Urania* in his academy. Fifteen generous and most erudite men were present at this lecture, and not one day went by without me, Hieromymus, being there. The things that I recorded on the margins are indeed extracted from the oracle of the author himself (my translation)].

[2] Carol Kidwell, *Pontano: Poet and Prime Minister* (London: Duckworth, 1991).

[3] Carol Kidwell, *Jacopo Sannazaro and Arcadia*, (London: Duckworth, 1993). Although still very useful, Kidwell's profile does not pay enough attention to Sannazaro's relationship with the Augustinian friar Giles of Viterbo and his conversion to religious poetry. It is therefore necessary to supplement Kidwell's biography with Marc Deramaix, '*Christias*, 1513. La *forma antiquior* du *De partu Virginis* de Sannazar et l'Académie romaine sous Léon X dans un manuscrit inédit de Séville', *Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme*, 1 (2000), 151-172.

Apparently an erudite curiosity, this anecdote gives evidence of the crucial role played by the audience in fifteenth-century Italian culture. The performance and discussion of texts in front of a group of fellow writers and scholars, as well as the constant revision of a work in light of other people's advice, are constant features of this period. For example, Marsilio Ficino's commentary to Plato's *Symposium* illustrates how the habit of reading in a circle and the "culture of disputation" were becoming increasingly widespread among scholars of the time.[4] Moreover, Pontano's poetic performance documented by Girolamo Borgia's marginal annotations corresponds to similar events that Pontano himself staged in his lively and highly influential dialogues, in which the author presents himself as being the member of an audience that comments, discusses and criticizes other people's ideas and verses.[5] In sum, direct interaction between author and audience is a fundamental feature of what is generally labelled humanistic literature and of Pontano's intellectual community in particular, which Soldati has imaginatively compared with an artistic workshop.[6]

This dialogic way of composing and sharing texts with the members of an intellectual community is documented by several direct (e.g., poetic correspondences) and indirect (e.g., marginal annotations and commentaries) sources. However, a post-romantic view of poetry as the direct expression of one's own feelings and the aesthetic ideal of artistic autonomy have generally induced scholars either to neglect these sources, or rather to use them as mere biographic curiosities.[7] In addition, highly dialogic texts such as, for example, pastoral poems or elegies are generally read as imitations of classical authors such as Virgil or Propertius, thus neglecting their authors' actual involvement in a conversation filtered by the language and clichés of their ancient models. In analogy with their medieval predecessors, Renaissance poets directly engage their historical audiences by turning their readers and other historical subjects into characters of their texts.[8] Therefore, I propose that intellectual communities such as those gathering in Florence and Naples, who produced dialogues and commonly interacted in a dialogic fashion, were keen to produce texts that had a close relationship with their audience.

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[4] Christopher Celenza, 'The Revival of Platonic Philosophy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 77, 82-83. Id. *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) pp. 86-88.

[5] Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, 'The Fifteenth Century Accademia Pontaniana - An Analysis of its Institutional Elements', *History of Universities*, 21.1 (2006), 33-70.

[6] Benedetto Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1986), p. 312.

[7] Claudio Giunta, *Versi a un destinatario: saggio sulla poesia italiana del Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), pp. 16-17. Although Giunta's essay focuses on medieval texts in vernacular, its general argument against aesthetics is applicable to pre-modern literary products, and in particular to dialogic literary forms such as those investigated in this paper.

2. The case of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

The dialogic aspect of Renaissance poetry has seldom been kept in mind when interpreting Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (written 1486-1504; first printed 1504), a text whose European diffusion and profound influence on the growing body of literature in vernacular equals only Francis Petrarch's *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*. Generally speaking, *Arcadia* has been approached in essentially three ways. First, *Arcadia* has been studied as a document for the history of vernacular language and literature in fifteenth century Italy, thus emphasizing on the one hand the author's lexical and phonetic choices, and on the other his knowledge of contemporary Tuscan poetry.[9] Second, *Arcadia* has been interpreted as a document of humanistic classicism, thus devoting a great deal of critical acumen to Sannazaro's treatment of classical and humanistic Latin sources.[10] Third, Sannazaro's text has been examined thematically in search of the author's motivation that has generally been explained in terms of the author's troubled life experiences.[11] Although useful and often extremely well documented, these kinds of essays misleadingly isolate Sannazaro's text from its intended audience, which consists of two important Neapolitan intellectual communities linked with the Aragonese court. In this paper, therefore, I will reconstruct *Arcadia*'s audiences and examine the way in which these audiences are inscribed in the text in order to illuminate this text's meaning and underline the dialogic nature of Renaissance pastoral poetry.

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[8] Claudio Giunta, 'Che differenza c'è tra commentare la poesia moderna e commentare la poesia medievale', *Chroniques italiennes web. Série web*, 13.1 (2008) <http://chroniquesitaliennes.univ-paris3.fr/numeros/Web13.html> [accessed 10 February 2008].

[9] Gianfranco Folena, *La crisi linguistica del Quattrocento e l'"Arcadia" di I. Sannazaro* (Florence: Olschki, 1952). Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo, 'La lirica volgare del Sannazaro e lo sviluppo del linguaggio poetico rinascimentale', *La Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana*, 65 (1962), pp. 436-482.

[10] William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1983). Giuseppe Velli, 'Sannazaro e le <<Partheniae Myricae>>: forma e significato dell' <<Arcadia>>', in *Lettura e Creazione: Sannazaro, Aliferi, Foscolo* (Padoua: Antenore, 1983).

[11] Vittorio Gajetti, *Edipo in Arcadia. Miti e Simboli nell'Arcadia di Sannazaro*. (Naples: Guida, 1977). Angela Caracciolo Aricò, *L'Arcadia di Sannazaro nell'Autunno dell'Umanesimo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995).

When faced with the task of determining a text's audience, the critic has generally to decide whether this term will be handled as an internal function of the text or in relation to the external actions of those individuals who circulate and read books. The first approach is exemplified by the notion of *implied reader*, a figure that exists only within the limits of the text and is activated and guided by a set of textual signals and instructions.[12] This notion is generally found among text-oriented critics, whose take on the issue of detecting and understanding the audience is eminently internalist. The second approach, on the other hand, is illustrated by the notion of *empirical reader*, a concrete individual who actually purchases and reads a book. This notion is generally found among sociologists and historians of reading, whose main focus is the circulation of books and the empirical study of reading practices, rather than the interpretation of texts, and whose take on the problem of audience is externalist.[13] In both cases, however, something of the audience is lost. On the one hand, text-oriented critics may produce extremely accurate and grounded interpretations of texts, but they ultimately isolate them from their historical and social contexts. On the other, sociologists of reading may provide interesting data about the market of books in a given time, but they often disregard how these patterns are inscribed in texts These two notions of audience, in other words, constitute a critical dilemma that ultimately comes down to the opposition between internalism and externalism.

Since Sannazaro's *Arcadia* constantly refers to historical characters and events, and circulated in two different versions during its complex publication process, both the aforementioned approaches fail to grasp completely the problem of this text's audience. Firstly, it would be misleading to focus exclusively on the text because *Arcadia* is rich in extra-textual references that only its designated audiences could have completely understood. The text, that is, is not self-sufficient and the identification of its implied-reader is misleading if it is not illuminated by historical facts. Secondly, it would be deceptive to infer any hypothesis about *Arcadia*'s audience from the number of copies produced after the 1504 edition.[14] This book, which was entitled *Arcadia*, was written for an audience and conceived within an intellectual community that do not match those of its manuscript version entitled *Libro Pastorale Intitolato Archadio*.[15] These brief observations suggest that the case of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* challenges current notions of audience and requires the critic to adopt a different interpretive model.

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[12] Wolfang Iser, *The Act of Reading: a Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[13] David S. Miall, 'Empirical Approaches to Studying Literary Readers. The State of the Discipline', *Book History,* 9 (2006), pp. 291-311.

In my view, Pierre Bourdieu's model for understanding literary production, and in particular his notions of literary *field* and *habitus*, provide the critic with a sharp analytical grid to explain the genesis and features of *Arcadia* in relation to its context, and to its audience in particular. Bourdieu coined the notion of field to overcome the dichotomy between contrasting views of the writer as either independently creating original works of genius or as being determined by the constraints of institutions.[16] In contrast with these views, Bourdieu intends his *field* as a structure determined by the relations of the agents who act within it. Depending on the practice involved (e.g., economy, culture, literature etc.), Bourdieu posits a system of hierarchically organized fields (e.g., economic field, cultural field, literary field).[17] The common feature of these fields is that they are the site of a competition among the agents, whose individual choices can be conceptualized within the notion of *habitus*, by which Bourdieu means both a general disposition toward practice, as well as the series of positions that a subject takes on the field.[18] Bourdieu's model, therefore, approaches the study of the literary field by focusing on the relations between, rather than the uniqueness of, authors, texts and readers. In this perspective, the production of literary works is interpreted as an act of position-taking in the field, by which an author tries to acquire legitimacy and recognition among his contemporaries.[19]

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[14] Augusta Charis Marconi, *La nascita di una vulgata: l'*Arcadia *del 1504* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 1997).

[15] Marina Riccucci, *Il* Neghittoso *e il* Fier connubbio*: Storia e filologia nell'Arcadia del Sannazaro* (Napoli: Liguori, 2001), pp.190-204.

[16] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-4.

[17] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 37-40.

[18] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 183-184.

[19] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 50-51.

3. The two audiences of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

Most readers are acquainted with Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in the version edited by Pietro Summonte and printed in Naples in 1504. However, this edition reproduces only the second version of a text that had begun to circulate almost twenty years earlier. Sometime after 1486 and before 1488, Sannazaro had written a book entitled *Libro Pastorale Intitolato Archadio*.[20] The *Libro Pastorale* comprises a prologue and ten chapters, which correspond to the first ten chapters of the 1504 printed edition. Immediately after having completed the *Libro Pastorale*, Sannazaro began to work on a new version of his pastoral book, which he continued to edit and revise until the time of its printed publication. While in France, Sannazaro sent a new manuscript to his editor Summonte, who used it to prepare the printed edition of *Arcadia*.[21] The 1504 *Arcadia*, which is commonly reproduced in modern editions, combines the ten chapters of the *Libro Pastorale* with two new chapters and an epilogue. In my view, these two versions tell two very different stories, which betray Sannazaro's *habitus* in relation to the cultural *field* of Quattrocento Naples.

The *Libro Pastorale Intitolato Archadio* was published in the form of a manuscript presentation copy transcribed and illuminated for Ippolita Maria Sforza's library sometimes before her death in 1488. On the first page of this manuscript there is a colourful decoration in which the initials of the princess (YA) are wrapped in a pattern of vegetal motifs.[22] This mark was generally found on those books that were part of Ippolita's remarkable collection. Knowledgeable in Greek and Latin, well versed in the study and performance of dancing, Ippolita had begun to collect books before her wedding with prince Alfonso of Calabria and continued to commission and purchase books throughout her life.[23] In particular, Ippolita loved to collect illuminated manuscripts, in pursuit of which pastime she appositely commissioned a professional illuminator from Lombardy, whose hand has been recognized on most of her belongings.[24] In this context, the presentation copy of the *Libro Pastorale* can be interpreted as Sannazaro's tribute to the circle of writers gathered around Ippolita in

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[20] Marina Riccucci, *Il* Neghittoso *e il* Fier connubbio, p. 197.

[21] For a recent assessment of Arcadia's textual history, see Gianni Villani, *Per l'edizione dell'Arcadia del Sannazaro* (Roma: Salerno, 1989).

[22] Giuseppe Velli, *Tra lettura e creazione*, p. 15n.

[23] Ippolita Maria Sforza, *Lettere*, ed. Maria Serena Castaldo (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), pp. LXXVIII- LXXIX.

[24] Ippolita Maria Sforza, *Lettere*, p. LXXIX.

Castel Capuano, and to its leading intellectual Giuniano Maio.[25] Moreover, I propose that Ippolita, Maio and the group of writers that used to animate her court with the public performance of farces called *gliommeri*, the composition of poems in vernacular and the dedication of translations, can be considered the intended audience of the first version of Sannazaro's book.

On the other hand, the second version of Sannazaro's book, now entitled *Arcadia*, was edited by Pietro Summonte, printed by Sigismondo Mayr and published in Naples in 1504. This version is accompanied by Summonte's dedicatory letter addressed to Louis of Aragon, who had been cardinal since 1494 and who was in France with Sannazaro and King Federico at the time of publication. Pietro Summonte's editorial initiative needs to be understood in the context of a series of publications that were meant to spread and preserve Giovanni Pontano's works and legacy after his death in 1503. While working on the manuscript of *Arcadia*, Summonte was also editing part of Pontano's poetry and natural philosophical texts, such as the massive treatises *De Rebus Coelestibus* and *De Fortuna*. Animated by a fervent respect for Pontano's legacy, Summonte often altered his mentor's intentions by adjusting his works to suit contemporary patrons and even by rounding off their most controversial elements.[26] In the case of *Arcadia*, Summonte's dedicatory letter reminds us how the publication of *Arcadia* occurred against its author's intention, and in response to the diffusion of pirated editions of this text in its first form.[27] Considering Summonte's editorial guidelines and intellectual affiliations, along with

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[25] Carol Kidwell, *Sannazaro and* Arcadia, pp. 35-53.

[26] Liliana Monti Sabia, '*Pietro Summonte e l'*Editio princeps *delle opere del Pontano*', in *L'Umanesimo Umbro*, (Perugia: Centro di studi umbri, 1978), pp. 451-473. Id. 'Manipolazioni onomastiche del Summonte in testi pontaniani', in *Rinascimento meridionale ed altri studi in onore di Mario Santoro* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1987), pp. 293-311. Id. 'La mano di Pietro Summonte nelle edizioni postume di Giovanni Pontano', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 34 (1986), pp. 191-204.

[27] Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. by Francesco Erspamer (Milano: Mursia, 1990), pp. 49-50: '*La cagione che principalmente a questa mia non voluntaria audacia mi mosse, Reverendissimo e Illustrissimo Signor mio, di porre da me stesso mano a publicare in stampa quello che il suo auttore fu sempre alienissimo, nacque in me non meno da compassione che da giustissimo sdegno [...] mentre egli in Francia dimora, per non mancare al vero officio di perfetto e onorato cavaliero in seguitare la adversa fortuna del suo re in quelle parti, furono or son tre anni impresse in Italia le sue colte e leggiadrissime ecloghe tutte deformate e guaste, senza che lui di ciò avesse notizia alcuna* [My most reverend and illustrious Lord, the reason why I boldly dared to publish what the author did not want to, is my legitimate indignation [...]Three years ago, while he (*i.e. Sannazaro*) was living in France following his king's bad fate as a honoured and perfect knight, his learned and graceful eclogues were printed without him knowing it (my translation)] '. Summonte's preface is not found in the English translation of *Arcadia*.

Sannazaro's close ties with Pontano and his pupils at the time of this publication, I propose to read the second version of *Arcadia* as a tribute to the circle of writers that used to gather at Pontano's house. In particular, the content and function of the two additional chapters can be satisfactorily explained if one posits Pontano's intellectual community as the intended audience of Sannazaro's text.

According to Bourdieu's interpretive model, agents interacting within an intellectual field compete with each other by displaying their skills and learning, and this competition is meant to acquire recognition and legitimacy. Individual agents, consequently, take their position within the field by making choices that, in the case of literature, involve the adoption of a certain genre and specific stylistic features.[28] In a multilingual context like fifteenth century Naples, I would add to the aspects listed by Bourdieu the selection of a certain language. As it can be inferred from the preface of a translation written for Ippolita by one of her protégées, different degrees of prestige were accorded to writers who could master classical languages (Latin and Greek) and culture, and those whose production was exclusively vernacular.[29] This different degree of prestige was closely connected with an author's relation with two highly influential intellectuals, that is, Giuniano Maio and Giovanni Pontano.

Ippolita's court, Giuniano Maio and Giovanni Pontano are the most important agents in the cultural field surrounding the composition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Well versed in Latin but constantly involved in translating Latin texts into the vernacular, Giuniano Maio was himself a vernacular writer and encouraged his pupils to do the same. [30] Although he is best known for his activity at the University of Naples after its reopening in 1465, Maio was also involved in the education of minor members of the royal family such as Ippolita's daughter Isabella. Also, he was himself a vernacular writer, who composed an advice book for King Ferrante entitled *De Maiestate*[31] and translations of classical texts that were particularly appropriate for a courtly audience that had been the recipient of Tuscan gifts, such as the poetic anthology *Raccolta*

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[28] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 47-48, 189.

[29] Ippolita Sforza, *Lettere*, pp. XIX-XX.

[30] Carlo De Frede. *I lettori di umanità nello Studio di Napoli durante il Rinascimento.* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1960), pp. 80-95. Paul F. Grendler. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p.228. Angela Caracciolo Aricò, 'Maio, Giuniano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* vols. 110 (Rome: Treccani, 1960-), LXVII (2006), pp. 618-621.

[31] Nicholas Webb, 'Giuniano Maio', in *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts* , ed. by Jill Kraye, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), II, pp. 109-112.

Aragonese (edited by Angelo Poliziano and dedicated to Federico in 1476-1477), or Cristoforo Landino's translation of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. Highly selective and exclusively devoted to the study of Latin and Natural philosophy, Pontano looked at vernacular poets with a certain degree of aloofness, which emerge from the descriptions of poets such as that found in the conclusion of Pontano's dialogue *Antonius*.[32] As for his involvement in the life of the court, Pontano was primarily responsible for Duke Alphonse's education, which he immortalized in the advice book *De Principe* (written 1468; first printed 1490). He was also responsible for Ippolita's correspondence, which was often involved in complex diplomatic initiatives and designs.[33]

During his formative years, Sannazaro was deeply involved in the life of Ippolita Sforza's court and he was one of Giuniano Maio's most gifted pupils. At the same time, and especially after Maio's death in 1493, Sannazaro became increasingly involved in Pontano's circle. As a tribute to his involvement in Pontano's intellectual community, Sannazaro was nicknamed Actius and constructed as the spokesperson of Pontano's literary theory in the dialogue *Actius*. Also, Pontano chose Sannazaro as the addressee of his pastoral poem *Coryle*. The composition of the *Libro Pastorale* and *Arcadia* occurs within this span of time, and the intellectual communities of Maio and Pontano constitute the literary field in which this text is produced. In the remainder of this paper I will firstly ask how *Arcadia* inscribes or, to put it in Bourdieu's terms, *diffracts* the organization of the literary field of Naples, and secondly what the differences between the text's two versions reveal of Sannazaro's *habitus*.

4. *Libro Pastorale*, *Arcadia* and the field of Naples

The study of how *Arcadia* inscribes the field of fifteenth century Naples requires the adoption of a broader definition of *intertextuality*, which I do not intend as the mere relationship between two texts. Consistent with Bourdieu's interpretive model, I will analyze this text in relation to other texts *together with* the structure of the field and the agents involved.[34] Giuniano Maio and Giovanni Pontano correspond to the characters Enareto and Meliseus, whose different function in the *Libro Pastorale* and *Arcadia* betray Sannazaro's different attitude toward his audiences and his teachers. On the one hand, the characterization of the wizard Enareto found in these two texts translates into the vernacular a description of Giuniano Maio found in the second book of Sannazaro's collection of Latin elegies. On the other hand, the adoption of the name Meliseus and his reported direct speech found in the conclusion of the second version of *Arcadia* engages in a tight dialogue Giovanni Pontano's Latin eclogue *Meliseus*, written between 1490 and 1503.[35] Bourdieu's broad definition of intertextuality, in my view, allows the critic to explore Sannazaro's twofold dialogue with the most influential authorities in the field of fifteenth century in greater depth.

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[32] Giovanni Pontano, 'Antonius', in *Dialogi*, ed. by Carmelo Previtera (Florence: Sansoni 1943), pp. 49-119.

[33] Ippolita Sforza, *Lettere*, p. LVIII-LXIV. Judith Bryce, 'Between Friends? Two letters of Ippolita Sforza to Lorenzo de Medici', *Renaissance Studies*, 21.3 (2007), pp. 353-54.

4.1. The declining influence of Giuniano Maio

Sannazaro wrote the *Libro Pastorale* while he was one of Giuniano Maio's pupils and for a courtly audience that praised Tuscan culture and considered this scholar as a mentor and an authority. Conversely, *Arcadia* inscribes the decline of Maio's influence on the author as well as his conversion to Latin poetry and Pontano's ideas.[36] This transition is suggested by the different roles played by Enareto and Meliseus in the two versions of the text. As brilliantly explained by Tateo, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* combines multiple motifs, including the search for a remedy against love sickness and a critique of pastoral poetry. Given the narrative form of this text, these motifs are intertwined in the construction of the protagonist Sincero and in the deployment of his story, which is articulated as a quest for a love remedy and appropriate poetic form.[37]

Sannazaro's construction of Enareto can be interpreted in relation with a poem for Giuniano Maio found in the second book of his *Elegiae* (first printed 1535). As did many other Quattrocento writers, Sannazaro worked for his entire life on a book of elegies in which he encoded his literary discussions and aspects of his biography in the language of Latin Augustan poetry.[38] In line with this tradition, Sannazaro included an elegy addressed to his mentor Giuniano Maio in his three-book-long collection. Scholars have correctly pointed out that this elegy is the subtext of Sannazaro's characterization of Enareto. However, Sannazaro's reuse of his Latin poem has been interpreted as a mere amplification of a generic praise of his old mentor.[39] In my view, this point is valid only for the *Libro Pastorale*, but it is actually misleading if applied to *Arcadia*, especially if this case of intertextuality is matched with this text's relationship with the literary field of Sannazaro's Naples.

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[34] Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of Cultural Production*, p.182.

[35] Giuseppe Velli, *Tra lettura e creazione*, 34-35.

[36] Along with poetry written in Tuscan vernacular, Florentine ideas were widespread in Naples and their reception was often controversial. A case that divided Neapolitan intellectuals, for example, was the condemnation of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in 1486. After this event, Giuniano Maio received a copy of Giovanni Pico's *Heptaplos* accompanied by a letter that gives evidence of his acquaintance with Florentine intellectuals involved in Pico's rehabilitation. Giovanni Pontano, on the contrary, wrote virulent invectives against Giovanni Pico in his *De Rebus Coelestibus* (XII) and *De Fortuna* (III). For Pontano's invectives, see Giuseppe de Sanctis, 'Pico, Pontano e la polemica astrologica. Appunti sul libro XII del *De Rebus Coelestibus* di G. Pontano', *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Bari*, 29 (1986), 151-191.

[37] Francesco Tateo, *Tradizione e realtà nell'Umanesimo italiano* (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1967), pp. 16-17.

Sannazaro's poetic persona and the role of his addressee in the elegy correspond to the relationship between Enareto and a lovesick shepherd (Clonico) in the *Libro Pastorale*. Sannazaro's elegy begins with the author's self-presentation as a young boy enslaved to a cruel mistress, who is wasting his days in pointless desperation, neglecting both studies and religion. Both texts deal with the theme of love-remedy, and invest Maio/Enareto with the role of expert and healer.[40] In addition, Sannazaro's elegiac persona and Clonico confess their propensity to suicide, which is translated into the mythological metaphor of cutting the threads of Lachesis, one of the three Moirae that tradition invested with the power of determining human destiny.[41] Both Sannazaro's persona and Clonico, in addition, are represented as victims of love abandoned by Apollo and Pan. In the elegy, the poet directly complains about the silence of these oracles, whereas in the *Libro Pastorale* they are used to comfort Clonico and to exhort him to hope for a better future.[42]

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[38] Donatella Coppini, 'Poesia dell'umanesimo. Latina', in *Antologia della Poesia Italiana. Quattrocento*, ed. by Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), pp. 3-8.

[39] Marina Riccucci, *Il* Neghittoso *e il* Fier Connubio, pp. 182-184.

[40] *The Major Latin Poems of Jacopo Sannazaro*, ed. by Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), pp138-9: 'I, as you know, in the city here am constrained to obey my harsh mistress, and to pass my time in tedious delays. Nor is it of any use to have fixed the mind on rigorous studies revered the holy goddesses. And though fate has granted me so many affectionate friends, there is none among them to bring me proper aid. Cruel love is pressing me hard, sharpening his arrows on the whetstone, and my neck may not move from under his heavy yoke. And though my heart is consumed away with so many constant cares, I ask from where so many evils can come. Would that Lachesis would put an end to my unhappy years, closing off the harsh measure of my life, or that some god worthy of belief should sing to my ear what remedy there is for the cruel madness'.

[41] Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. by Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1966), p. 87, vv. 73-75: 'Sometimes for anger or scorn they wish to cut/ the thread that the Parcae are winding on the spindle;/ and with love to twine their soul from themselves'. Ibid. p. 88, vv. 85-90: 'If spirit of pity be to be found in the world, for love of God consent to free this soul,/ since life does not prove any better than death./ O thou who art able, Earth, content me, Earth,/ swallow up in thy bowels my sad body,/ so no man may see me, or find trace of me'.

Sannazaro's elegy and the *Libro Pastorale* provide Maio/Enareto with the gifts of magic and divination, and present these skills as remedies against love-sickness. More specifically, Maio's description in the elegy corresponds exactly to the description of Enareto given by a shepherd (Opico) in the *Libro Pastorale*.[43]According to Riccucci, Sannazaro's elegy was written after *Arcadia*, and it should therefore be interpreted as the Latin amplification of Sannazaro's text in vernacular.[44] This claim, however, is accurate if one considers only the *Libro Pastorale*, which began to circulate before 1488 in the dedicatory copy addressed to Ippolita Sforza. Sannazaro's elegy refers to Giuniano Maio as still alive, which would suggest that the text was written before 1493, the year of Maio's death. Given that *Arcadia* was written around 1496, the vernacular text could only have been written after the Latin elegy. Also, in the complete version of the story, Enareto never interprets Sincero's dream, which leads to his solitary descent to the underworld and eventual return to Naples as a poet of Meliseus' entourage. In contrast with Ricucci's interpretation, therefore, I propose that Enareto's portrait found in Sannazaro's elegy and *Libro Pastorale* were originally written for Giuniano Maio and Ippolita Sforza's court. While revising his book for Pontano's intellectual community, Sannazaro recontextualized in a radical way the role played by Maio/Enareto in his intellectual growth. In *Arcadia*, Enareto plays the role of what Propp would call a false hero, and he results juxtaposed to Meliseus.[45] In sum, Sannazaro wrote *Arcadia* for a new audience; this text inscribes the rebuttal of Giuniano Maio and the endorsement of Giovanni Pontano's prominent role in relation with the author.

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[42] *The Major Latin Poems*, p. 139 : 'But now the oracles are departed from laurel-crowned Delphi, and the Cumaean virgin's silent caves are mute, and Pan returns no answer from under the Maenalian shade, though the shepherd by night make offering of the slain sheep's entrails. I have no hope of hearing the Chaonian doves; horned Jove is ashamed to utter oracles. And Greece has marveled for this long time that the oaks, forgetful how to speak, keep silence when the god is by'. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial*, p.88, vv. 115-117: 'Love cheerful Apollo, and the holy Genius,/ and hate that cruel one who abuses you so,/ he who is harm in youth, shame in old age./ Then our Pan, in grace abounding,/ with fostering Pales will increase your number, so that your mind may be well satisfied'.

[43] *The Major Latin Poems*, p. 139: 'But you (Maius) can tell of things to come, and take counsel of benign divinities. You make your discoveries not so much from altar smoke or warning lightning-flash, but from dreams sent up from the Stygian realms: dreams which often disturb our uneasy sleep, while the mind perpends ambiguous images. O how many times I recall when I put away vain fear because of you, and continued my days in happiness! O how many times, when fearfully I thought they should not be ignored, I have been apprehensive of ills to come upon my head! Often when I told you my dreams about my mistress, you have surely predicted things fearful and not far off'. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial*, p. 94: 'Moreover he said he had seen him swallow a hot and pulsing heart of a blind mole, placing upon his tongue an eye of an Indian tortoise in the fifteenth moon, and make divination of all things to come.'

[44] Marina Riccucci, *Il* Neghittoso *e il* Fier Connubio, p. 183.

4.1 The growing authority of Giovanni Pontano

Whereas the *Libro Pastorale* betrays Sannazaro's involvement at Ippolita Sforza's court as a pupil of Giuniano Maio, the author wrote *Arcadia* in order to assert his status as a follower of Pontano and a promoter of his new mentor's ideas. In the additional chapters added to the second version, the protagonist Sincero abandons Arcadia and its shepherds, and returns to his native town, Naples. His return is made possible by an ominous dream, which leads the protagonist to a cave where, thanks to the intercession of two water nymphs, he finds his way back home. After a travel to the underworld, Sincero finds a forest where he meets two shepherds named Barcinio and Summonzio.[46] These shepherds are reporting the mourning verses of Meliseus. The mourning shepherd, as it can be inferred from Pontano's eclogue entitled *Meliseus*, is Pontano himself, whose hexameters are translated in the last lines of the text. In contrast to the *Libro Pastorale*, *Arcadia* presents Sincero as a new member of Pontano's intellectual community. In its final version, therefore, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* is rethought in view of Pontano's audience.

The subtext of Sannazaro's self-portrait as a member of Pontano's circle and as an interpreter of an ominous dream is Giovanni Pontano's dialogue *Actius*.[47] Pontano wrote this dialogue after 1495 and before the summer of 1501, although he was still revising and editing it in June 1499.[48] Composed after Giuniano Maio's death, then, this dialogue is also Pontano's tribute to his new pupil, whose poetic skill and literary taste are used to represent the ideology of his intellectual community in the dramatic form of a dialogue. In the last section of the dialogue, which deals with the causes of poetry and the craft of Latin hexameters, Actius' disquisition on the knowledge of

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[45] Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, translated by Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 60.

[46] According to Francesco Erspamer's commentary, these shepherds should be identified with Benit Gareth and Pietro Summonte. Gareth's nickname would refer to his town of origin, Barcelona.

[47] An interesting explanation of why Pontano might have chosen this nickname for his new pupil is found in Marina Riccucci, 'La profezia del vate: Sannazaro e il *Caeruleus Proteus*', *Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana*, 3 (2000), pp. 245-287.

[48] Salvatore Monti, 'Ricerche sulla cronologia dei Dialoghi di Pontano', *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Napoli*, 10 (1962-63): 285-290.

Latin poetry and its creative use in poetic diction is framed by an explanation of poetic inspiration in natural philosophical terms and by a contrasting view of writing based on a prescriptive view of Latin grammar.[49] On the one hand, Pontano constructs Sannazaro's persona as the recipient of a form of inspiration whose causes are found in a configuration of stars at birth. This view of inspiration, which Pontano had broached in his commentary to the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium* and defined in his treatises *De Rebus Coelestibus* and *De Fortuna*, was implicitly meant to counter the alternative and increasingly popular approach to poetic inspiration theorized in Florence by Cristoforo Landino and Marsilio Ficino.[50] On the other hand, Pontano uses Actius to contrast his own conception of poetic writing as a creative imitation of Virgil's hexameters with the dogmatic imitation of classical models prescribed by grammarians like Giuniano Maio. This view of poetic writing, which Pontano had announced in his dialogue *Antonius*, was meant to oppose the authority of local grammarians and implicitly incorporated Sannazaro's epigrams addressed against pedantic teachers working in Naples.[51]

While Pontano's *Actius* constitutes the main subtext of Sincero's characterization in *Arcadia*, the eclogue found in the conclusion of this text betrays Sannazaro's position-taking as a follower of Pontano's academy and his newly acquired *habitus* of Latin poet. This eclogue is both a rewriting and a vernacular translation of Pontano's Latin eclogue *Meliseus*. Francesco Tateo has persuasively illustrated how this section of *Arcadia* sets out a correspondence between Sincero's tragic love story and Meliseus' truncated marriage by translating and reframing Giovanni Pontano's Latin eclogue *Meliseus* within *Arcadia*'s text.[52] Sincero's loss of his beloved, which is explicitly reported in the epilogue, corresponds to Meliseus' loss of Philli, which is the pastoral name of Pontano's wife Adriana Sassone.

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[49] Giovanni Pontano, 'Actius', in *Dialoghi*, pp. 127-239. Pardo's discussion on poetic inspiration (pp. 142-146) and Summonte's grammatical view of poetry (pp. 190-2) frame Actius' investigation of poetic diction (pp. 146-190).

[50] Giuseppe Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento*, vols. 2 (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), I, pp. 650-651, 656-657. Marc Deramaix, 'Excellentia et Admiratio dans l'Actius de Giovanni Pontano: une poétique et une esthétique de la perfection', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 99 (1987), pp.171-212, 185, 190. The problem of the diffusion of Ficino's ideas in Naples, however, is still open.

[51] For a study of Sannazaro's epigrams written against Neapolitan grammarians and their schools, see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 'L'Accademia Pontaniana e la sua ideologia in alcuni componimenti giovanili del Sannazaro', in *Acta XI Conventus Neolatini Cantabrigensis. Cambridge, 30 July- 5 August 2000*, ed. by R. Schnur (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp. 61-82.

[52] Francesco Tateo, *Tradizione e realtà nell'umanesimo italiano*, pp. 64-67.

According to Tateo, Sannazaro created this correspondence in order to communicate both his own biographic experience and his views on literary history. Following his years as a writer of vernacular eclogues, according to Tateo, the poet found the last remaining Neapolitan poetry in Pontano's humanistic circle.[53] I would add that Sannazaro's newly acquired *habitus* as a member of Pontano's circle explains the negative connotation of vernacular language found in the epilogue of *Arcadia*.

The dialogic organization of *Arcadia*'s last eclogue and the way Sincero, Barcinio and Summonzio present themselves as witnesses of Meliseus' lament is modelled on Pontano's eclogue *Meliseus*. Originally conceived for circulation among a small audience of friends in the form of scattered papers rather than a compact book, Pontano's eclogues are marked by a constant feature. As in Pontano's dialogues, which seldom present their author as a character but rather distribute his opinions throughout the personae of his followers, the author's pastoral voice is diffracted by the voices of other characters.[54] In addition, Pontano's eclogues are often set in the future and represent the poet's followers in the act of lamenting the absence of the author, who fashions himself as a predecessor or a founding father.[55] In Pontano's eclogues, in analogy with Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the author's voice is always overheard and engaged in a dialogue with other voices that correspond to a selected group of readers and disciples who could recognize themselves under the pastoral fiction. *Meliseus*, in this sense, is the most representative text of Pontano's bucolic corpus and its presence in *Arcadia* needs to be read as Sannazaro's tribute to his new audience.

Furthermore, Sannazaro's combination of elegiac and bucolic language that marks the last chapter of *Arcadia* may be considered a response to Pontano's eclogue *Coryle*, which I propose to read as the meta-literary counterpart of *Meliseus*. *Coryle* starts by exhorting Actius/Sannazaro to embrace the combination of mournful love themes and pastoral setting metaphorically represented by the hazelnut tree.[56] The poet indicates the model for this newly found poetics in his eclogue *Meliseus*, whose text is recalled by a series of direct quotations.[57] Although *Coryle* is partially unaccomplished, its exhortation might have been what caused Sannazaro to conclude his *Arcadia* on a mournful note, and explain the reasons behind this poetic choice in the epilogue added to this text. Sannazaro's acceptance of this exhortation, if my interpretation rings true, is consistent with his newly acquired position as a member of Pontano's intellectual community.

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[53] Francesco Tateo, *Tradizione e realtà nell'umanesimo italiano*, pp. 52-53.
[54] Thomas K Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan: Intertextuality and Literary Filiation from Theocritus to Milton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 248-256.
[55] Thomas K. Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan*, p. 250.
[56] Giovanni Pontano, 'Coryle', in Liliana Monti Sabia, 'Esegesi e preistoria del testo nella Coryle di Giovanni Pontano', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli,* 45 (1970), p.197, vv. 1-5: '*Hanc Acti (neque enim patula solum aesculus umbra/ Grata placet) corylum tueare, nec arbutus una/ carmine nota dei est, Pana aut tegit una canentem/ Aestibus in mediis somnos*

5. Conclusion

If the ultimate meaning of *Arcadia* resides in the dialogue with a selected group of friends as the only remedy against desperate love, Sannazaro's text would be consistent with Pontano's views on the nature and function of language formalized in his treatise *De Sermone*. Pontano's text is based on the assumption that nature provides humans with reason and words, and that humans are naturally disposed to escape pain and look for rest.[58] Consistently, the text brings forth an ideal of discursive virtue (*medietas*) and disposition toward truth (*veracitas*) along with a typology of humankind based on the way in which individuals interact in a conversation.[59] One may object that *De Sermone* is a philosophical work and that its thesis does not apply to poetic discourse, whose mechanisms and purposes are to be found exclusively in the poetic tradition. However, both the eclogues of Pontano and

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suadente cicada,/ verum etiam et corylus nostris est cognita siluis [Look at this hazel-nut tree, Actius. Indeed, the wide-spreading oak gives pleasure with its shadow and the wild-strawberry tree is famous for Pan's poem or hides his singing, while the cicada invites to sleeping in the summer afternoons. In our woods, however, also the hazel-nut is famous (my translation)].' These verses may be referred to Theocritus's description of Pan's midday sleep (*Idylls* I: 15; *Epigrams* V: 6), which the author is setting out to rework in light of the mourning pastoral poetics epitomized by the hazelnut- tree. The presence of the cicadas in the context of a mournful love song, however, may also recall Plato's *Phaedrus* (259A), a text that Marsilio Ficino had translated and annotated in Pontano's times.

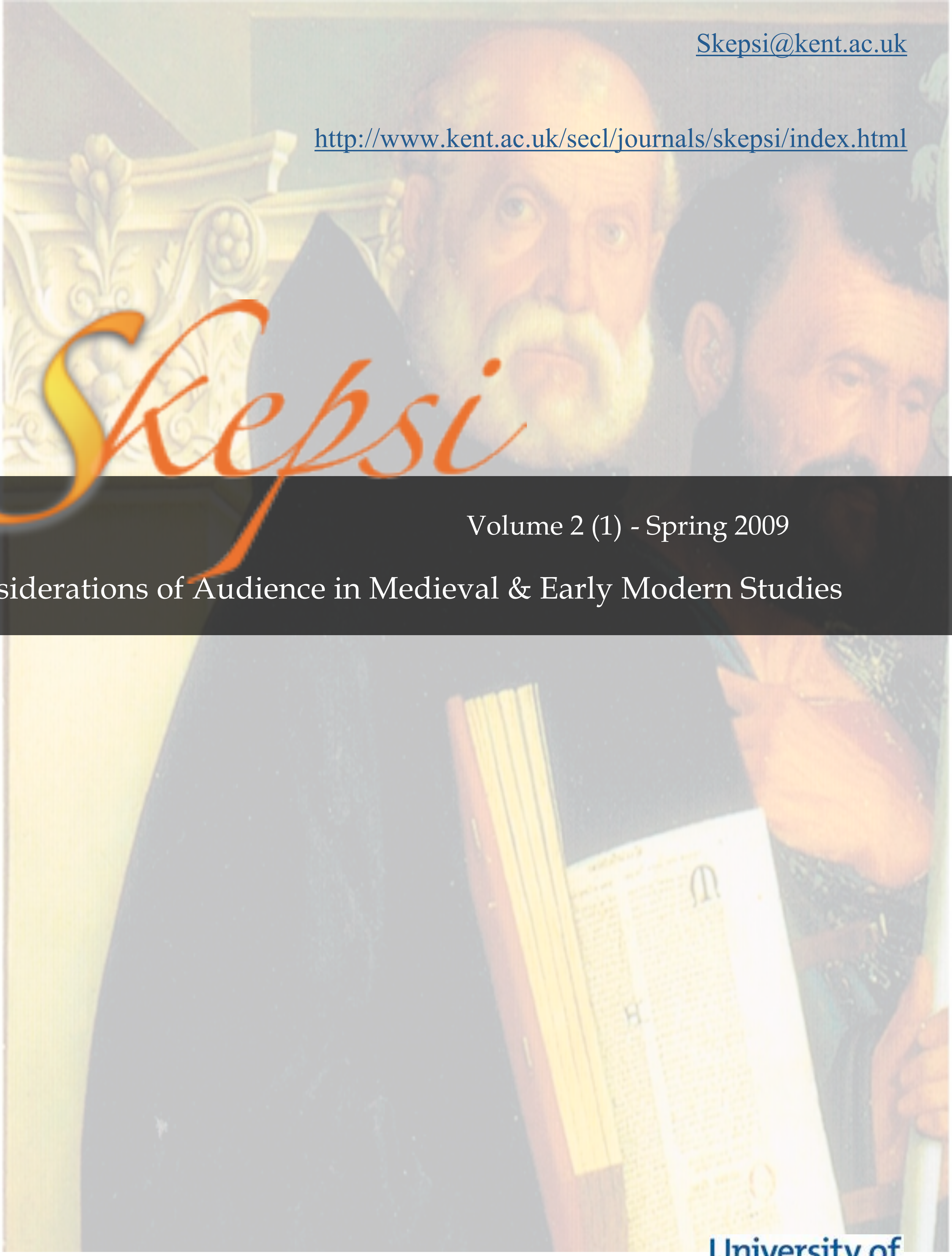
[57] Giovanni Pontano, 'Coryle', p.197, vv. 6-13: '*Nec tantum Meliseus eam aut tantum una Patulcis/ ornarunt calamis caesoque in cortice versu, / cum questu commota gravique excita querela/ vertice decuteret frondes et corde sub imo/ redderet <<Heu heu>>; sed singultibus interrupta/plena nequit raucas iam vox erumpere ad auras;/ sibilat ipsa tamen: <<Vidi tua funera coniunx>>/ atque illa: <<Ah moriens morientem, Ariadna, relinquis>>* [Not only with their pipes and verses carved on trees Meliseus and Patulci honoured her (*i.e. Coryle*), while deranged by the tears and shaken by the lament she was shaking her branches and repeating inside <<Helas, Helas>>. Her voice, suffocated by the sobbing, couldn't fully burst into the husky wind anymore. Nevertheless she whispered <<I saw your burial, consort>>, and she replied <<Ariadna, your death leaves me like a dead man>> (my translation)].' The verses in brackets correspond to those found in Pontano's eclogue *Meliseus*.

[58] Giovanni Pontano, *De Sermone*, translated byAlessandra Mantovani (Rome: Carocci, 2002), pp. 75, 83. This edition reproduces the critical edition by Lupi and Risicato (Lugano: Thesauri Mundi, 1954).

[59] Giovanni Pontano, *De Sermone*, pp. 81, 171.

Sannazaro generally emphasize the simultaneous presence of many characters and frame the authors' voices within a choir of different personae. This dialogic poetics, I would suggest, has its bedrock in Pontano's *De Sermone*. The protagonists of Giovanni Pontano's eclogue *Meliseus* and Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, therefore, are two individuals who are suffering for the loss of a woman they loved and find their mutual consolation in the dialogue, which emerges as the trademark of Pontano's intellectual community.

The external history of Sannazaro's text, as well as the poetic conversation that closes *Arcadia* epitomizes the dialogic nature and the close relationship with specific audiences that mark humanistic poetry in general and the pastoral fiction in particular. Knowledge of the audience and history of *Arcadia* therefore helps modern readers to rethink modern assumptions about poetry and literature. The case of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*'s illustrates that if related to historical facts, linked to anecdotes, and framed in a network of mutual relationship, literary products of the Quattrocento can be understood as the manifestation of a *field* and of on author's *habitus*, and therefore interpreted in the broader context of that "culture of disputation" that, according to Christopher Celenza, is the distinctive mark of humanistic writing and thought.



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