"The toun is wast":
Middle English Literature and the Western Schism, 1378-1414

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Acknowledgements

Wilmore. Oxford. Charlottesville. Stockholm. The places on the title page of this dissertation tell the story of the project's development and, more importantly, the people who have shaped me a as a scholar and as a person.

Wilmore

I cannot remember not loving the Middle Ages. Growing up, my dad put us to sleep with stories of King Arthur and his adventures. Then, when he took a sabbatical year in Germany, my mom entertained my sister and me by taking us around to castles. C.S. Lewis' *Chronicles of Narnia* were the first books I remember reading and my love for J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* introduced me to the field of medieval literature via his foundational interpretation of *Beowulf*. Although Asbury College lacked a medieval studies major, I cobbled together courses from History, English, Classics, Theology, and Philosophy to make my own curriculum. Through these courses, I developed the tools necessary to pursue a career in academia.

Four people deserve particular mention: I grew up with Jordan Dongell, we lived together in throughout college, and we took more medieval classes together than I can count. Dan Strait not only introduced me to Middle English literature, but also imbued my scholarship with a moral energy and playful spirit that sustains me today. Randy Richardson spent four years trying to teach me Latin and has remained a constant source of encouragement throughout my graduate career. Burnam Reynolds ensured that I built my interpretive house upon a solid historical foundation. The most important debt I owe to Wilmore, however, is to the place itself. I grew up surrounded by academics who provided foundational examples of integrity as they taught, published, and loved their families. Twenty-two years of life in Wilmore allowed me to embark on this career with confidence that I belonged in this world.

Oxford

Asbury also opened the door to Oxford by enabling me to spend a semester at Oxford as part of the SCIO program in 2007. It was there that I realized I wanted to pursue a career in academia, and specifically in medieval literature. Succeeding in that environment gave me the confidence necessary to continue my education. When I returned to Oxford for my masters, I was convinced I wanted to focus on Old English, especially *Beowulf*. Then I met Ralph Hanna and, two years later, I turned in "A Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Wadham College, Oxford" as my MPhil thesis. If Dan Strait taught me *why* we read medieval literature, Ralph taught me how to read *books*, how to take them apart, how to make them spill their secrets, and how to listen to their silences. It is no stretch to say that I came to Middle English via paleography and book history. Oxford also opened the door to a wider professional and personal community that remains with me today. I cannot imagine my life, much less my work, without the generosity, wisdom, and good cheer of people like Jameson Workman, Dan Wakelin, Vincent Gillespie, Kantik Ghosh, Mistooni Bose, Linne Mooney, John Thomson, Simon Horobin, and the many others who I met during my time at Oxford.

Two of these Oxford-adjacent people deserve special mention: Fiona Somerset and Ryan [R.D] Perry. I can't quite remember when or where I met either of these two, but I would not be here without them. I certainly would not have been accepted to UVa without their feedback on multiple drafts of my application materials. Fiona's work on Lollardy has structured my own understanding of later medieval religious culture, and she has been a constant source of advice, encouragement, inspiration, and accountability. Likewise, Ryan has been the intellectual older brother I never knew I needed. Always a step or two ahead of me, he taught me the value of our field as a field. In fact, in many ways, he taught me how to be a successful graduate student.

Charlottesville

When I came to UVa I did not set out to write about the Schism. In fact, I didn't even know what the Schism was. Rather, this dissertation grew out of footnote from a now abandoned chapter on Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*. In that chapter, my supervisor Bruce Holsinger suggested that I consider fourteenth-century English descriptions of Rome. This led me to the Schism—a topic I was confident other scholars had addressed. Much to my surprise, I discovered that Middle English critics rarely talk about the Schism. Soon a footnote grew into a chapter, and that chapter split into three parts. Eventually, Gower swallowed the whole project. This may not be the most efficient way to write a dissertation, but it is the only way I would have written this dissertation. And for that, I must thank my committee for their trust, patience, and, at times, impatience.

Throughout the whole project, Bruce empowered me to follow my interests and research while simultaneously ensuring that I did not wander too far afield. I am grateful that he provided precisely the right amount of supervision at exactly the right times. Bruce ensured that my project spoke to others but remained *mine*. My second reader, John Parker, proved to be my best critic: from prodding me to produce pages rather than 'ideas' to insisting on close attention to the verbal surface of the dissertation itself, John expressed his commitment to my project in the language I value most: critique. In course work, Elizabeth Fowler taught me to ask the questions that led to this project. While Edmund Spenser does not figure in my dissertation, her class on Spenser continues to remind me to ask a basic question: what am I reading? What are the things that make this text *this text*? Finally, my fourth reader, Deborah McGrady, has no doubt saved whatever book emerges from this project from a number of embarrassing Anglo-French errors. Thank you, all four of you, for being my dream team.

While this dissertation focuses on the things that tear communities apart, the process of writing it has only re-affirmed the importance of intellectual friendship. Listing the many colleagues who have provided feedback and counsel on this project would be impossible. Several, however, deserve special mention. Casey Ireland has been an excellent, generous, colleague since the beginning. From reading my work to helping me navigate the Charlottesville rent market to bouncing around London, Casey and I have done grad school together and I can never thank her enough. Likewise, the great host of UVa medievalists who went before me—especially Will Rhodes, Paul Broyles, Maggie Solberg, Beth Sutherland, and Ryan McDermott—provided me with an incredible set of professional and personal role models. Over the course of literally 1000s of miles on a bike, Lindsay O'Conner helped me think through so much of the project while also dropping me on climbs. From bikes to books we probably spent more time together over the last few years than any other person except my wife. While Lindsay remains irreplaceable, Evan Chaney arrived at UVa the year she moved and thus ensured that I could continue combine books and bikes. Olivia Houck is the best copy editor anyone could hope to find and an even better friend. Sherif Abdelkarim always pushes me to think in new directions and his extemporaneous theorization of 'the Chaucer Game' remains the single best response to the *Canterbury Tales* that I have encountered.

Conversely, Aaron Colton may have never read the *Canterbury Tales*, but sometimes you just really want to watch basketball and *not* talk about your work. Similarly, Alicia Caticha has always been ready to have a glass of wine and watch *The Bachelor*. David Vander Meulen, John Casteen, Tony Spearing, Clare Kinny, DeVan Ard, Jesse Bordwin, Carol Guarnieri, Anastasia Curley, and all the others I have forgotten: thank you. I can't imagine a UVa without you. Living and working with you all made me a better scholar, teacher, and person.

Likewise, I would be remiss not to mention the Charlottesville community at large—especially Charlottesville Racing Club, Christ Episcopal Church, and my doctor, Kenneth Yew. The CRC crew kept me sane. Will Leet, Richard Serton, Michael and Emily Hanshew, Mark and Carla McCardell, Laura Ann Leaton, Gert-Jan Duine, Laura McMillion, Rose Byler, and all those I forgot to mention are the best people with whom to have a truly miserable time. Bikes were an escape from the dissertation and you all were kept me firmly anchored to the real world. My wife and I were married at Christ Church and it has anchored our life in UVa. Finally, Dr. Yew was with me from the week I moved to Charlottesville to the day before I left for Sweden. Writing a dissertation with ADHD presents specific challenges, which are exacerbated by the itinerancy of the graduate student lifestyle. Dr. Yew worked with me to make sure I was always in a position to succeed. His consistent presence, trust, and support provided incredible peace of mind.

Beyond Charlottesville and UVa, I have benefited from a truly unique community of scholars. In a very real sense, I owe the completion of my project to Daniel Davies. In addition to helpful reads of various portions of the project, his tireless scan requests (300+) enabled to complete the project abroad. Sebastian Sobecki has read several iterations of several chapters and made all of them better. Bob Yeager assisted my forays into the more obscure corners of Gower's *oeuvre* and provided essential feedback on the textual arguments of Chapter 1. Taylor Cowdery and Helen Cushman have been a constant source of advice, encouragement, conversation, and conviviality. Joe Stadolnik has always been there to talk about Gower and strange things we found in archives. Liza Strakhov is the type of person who is always there to help with Anglo-French and always down for a crazy adventure. The most meaningful aspect of the field of Middle English literature is the collective impact of people like Emily Steiner, A.S.G. Edwards, Spencer Strub, Kathleen Kennedy, Sarah Baechle, Michael van Dussen, Ian Cornelius, Megan Cook, and endless others who make our field a brilliant, generous, and fun place to live and work. Being in community with you has enriched my work and my life more than I can ever say.

Finally, I have several specific PhD-related thanks. I received incredibly generous financial support from a humbling variety of sources: the English Department at UVa, the Institute for Humanities and Global Cultures at UVa, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at UVa, the Tibor Wlassics fund at UVa, The Scholars Lab@UVa, the Medieval Academy of America, St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Charlottesville, VA, the Houghton Library at Harvard, and the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church. Additionally, the library staffs at Alderman Library, the Houghton Library at Harvard, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the Kunglinga Biblioteket in Stockholm have gone above and beyond to help me with my research.

Stockholm

Liz and I spent her 2017-18 Fulbright Year in Stockholm, Sweden. This entire dissertation was written or re-written in the Kunglinga Biblioteket and Snickarbacken 7 and I am incredibly grateful for the kindness and generosity of the librarians at KB and the morning staff at Snickarbackan. While I could never have predicted that I would complete the dissertation in Sweden, a year away from friends and family created the space to write for six straight months. At the same time, however, the distance from our families only increased their importance. It was dark

for much of the year. I would arrive at the Kunglinga Biblioteket before sunrise (c. 9:30) and leave after sunset (c. 3:00). We could not have made this move without the support of our families. Their encouragement kept us going through the dark (literally) days. Tom, Mimi, Whitney, Jordan, Thomas—thank you for welcoming an awkward, talkative medievalist into your family. Mom, Dad, Hannah, James, Lyman, Ruth, Henry, Etta—you all are the best family anyone could ask for. Thank you all for believing in me on this long and winding road.

One person has been with me throughout this whole process: my wife Liz. Liz has read every part of this project multiple times and I am continually humbled by her intellectual generosity. Liz also provided me with a second fellowship year in Stockholm during which I re-wrote the entire dissertation. Absent this time, I do not believe I would have finished this project. Liz is my closest colleague, my sharpest reader, my best friend, and my wife. Your scholarship inspires me, your kindness sustains me, and your love changed my life. Thank you.

For Liz—Thank you for sharing your life with me:

"Freendes everych oother moot obeye,

If they wol longe holden compaignye.

Love wol nat been constreyned by maistrye.

Whan maistrie comth, the God of Love anon

Beteth his wynges, and farewel, he is gon!"

—*The Franklin's Tale*, 761-6

A Brief Note on Citations and Translations

God willing, wrote Geoffrey Chaucer to his son, "that in alle thise languages, and in many mo, han thise conclusiouns ben suffisantly lerned and taught, and yit by diverse rewles, right as diverse pathes leden diverse folk the righte way to Rome." While the *Astrolabe* does not address the Schism outright, researching the origins of the aphorism "All roads lead to Rome" has led me from the hothouse of fourteenth-century politics to Chaucer's love letter to his "Litell Lowis." As I wrestled with 'mission creep' throughout this project, I found that, indeed, all roads lead to (or from) Rome. Tracing the Schism's impression on English literary culture c. 1378-1414 led me along "diverse pathes" and to "diverse folke" and the fruits of these labors led me to adopt "diverse rewles" regarding the presentation of this material.

Broadly, my goal has been to render my arguments accessible to the widest possible range of readers. All non-Middle English primary texts are quoted in translation and cited parenthetically. While I have quoted published translations in all but one instance (discussed below), John Gower's Anglo-Norman *Mirour de l'Omme* and Latin *Vox Clamantis* are cited according to G.C. Macaulay's (Macaulay 1, 4) lineation rather than their respective translations: Wilson (1970) [*Mirour*] and Stockton (1962) [*Vox*]. There are two reasons for this choice. First, though both translators convert Gower's verse to English prose, they incorporate Macaulay's lineation into their editions. Citing these translations by line number affords more precision than simply citing the page number of the respective translation. Second, neither translation is universally accessible whereas Macaulay's editions are freely available online. In the case of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* I have opted to quote Trevisa's Middle English translation rather than translating Higden's Latin. While I acknowledge that Trevisa's translation is not 'neutral,' it conveys the content of the *Polychonicon* well enough for my purposes. In the few cases in which I address the specific language of Higden's text, the Latin is quoted alongside the vernacular.

There is no modern English translation of Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*. Furthermore, neither modern edition of *Chronicon* reflects the *Chronicon* as it was obtained in later medieval England. For that reason, I have cited the *Chronicon* according to the best English manuscript of the text, Oxford Bodliean Library, MS Bodley 712 (B), and provided my own rough prose translations. Given the nature of my second chapter's discussion of the relationship between content and form, I have annotated my transcriptions and translations of B to reflect the exigencies of transmission. **Bold** text indicates rubrication of some sort. ~~Struck-through~~ text indicates portions of the *Chronicon* which were not translated by the Middle English *Chronicles of Popes and Emperors*.

Finally, given the scope of this project, I have tried to contextualize my interventions as efficiently as possible. The first mention of major figures (popes, kings, emperors, etc.) always includes a parenthetical date for their life/reign and a brief biographical reference in a footnote. Likewise, monarchs (popes, emperors, kings, etc.) are cited according to modern numeration. Instances in which the modern and medieval numerals diverge are marked with an asterisk (*). "God wot," these efforts will "leden diverse folk the righte way to Rome."

Abbreviations

CA	Gower, John, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck with Latin Translations by Andrew Galloway, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 2006)
Companion	Rollo-Koster, Joëlle, and Thomas M. Izbicki eds., *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009)*CR*
Crisis	Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300*, (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1988)
CR	*The Chronicles of Rome: An Edition of the Middle English Chronicles of Popes and Emperors; And, the Lollard Chronicle* [*CR*], ed. Dan Embree, (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 1999)
DEP	Giles of Rome*, Giles of Rome on Ecclesiastical Power: The* De ecclesiastica Potestate *of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. and tr. R.W. Dyson, (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 1986)
DRC	James of Viterbo, *De regimine Christiano*, ed. and tr. R.W. Dyson, (Lieden: Brill, 2009)
EMC	*Enclyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, 2 vols., (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
Hartung	*A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, ed. Albert E. Hartung, 11 vols, (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences).
Macaulay	John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower* [Macaulay], 4 vols., ed. G.C. Macaulay, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899-1902)
MED	*Dictionary of Middle English Online*, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
MO	John Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme*, in Macaulay 1
NCMH	*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 vols., (Cambridge: CUP, 1995-)
Oakley	Francis J. Oakley, *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*, vols. 1-3 (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010-2015)
ODP	J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, (Oxford: OUP, 1986).
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Minge 1844-55, accessed via < http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>
PP	John Gower, "In Praise of Peace," in John Gower, *The Minor Latin Works and "In Praise of Peace,"* ed. and tr. R.F. Yeager and Michael Livingston, (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 2005)

VC	John Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in Macaulay 4
Walsingham	Thomas Walsingham, *The Saint Albans Chronicle: The* Chronica maiora *of Thomas Walsingham*, 2 vols., ed. and tr. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003-11)

Introduction

An Absent Presence: The Schism and English Literary History

The Prologue of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* presents a world beset by division. Of these divisions, one looms particularly large: the Western Schism:[1]

> Betwen tuo stoles lyth the fal
> Whan that men wenen best to sitte.
> In holy cherche of such a slitte
> Is for to rewe unto ous alle; (*CA*, P.335-339)[2]

The "slitte" that cut the western church in half between 1378-1418 carved Christendom into rival camps, loyal to either the Urbanist (Rome) or Clementine (Avignon) pope. Torn between "tuo stoles," the Schism compromised that which later medieval ecclesiology understood as "the most

[1] Walter Ullmann's *Origins of the Great Schism* (Hamdon, CT: Archon Books, 1972) is the primary English language account of the Schism. The foundational accounts of the English and French experience of the Schism are, however, Edouard Perroy's *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*, (Paris: J. Monnier, 1930 and Noël Valois *La France et le grande schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols, (Paris: Picard et fils, 1896-1902). For more recent perspectives and studies focused on particular issues of relevance to this dissertation see: W.A. Pantin, "The Fourteenth-Century," in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. C.H. Laurence (New York: Fordham UP, 1965); Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, (London: Methuen and Co., 1972); R.N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1979); Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A study of some English attitudes 1378 to 1409*, (St. Ottilien, Germany: EOS Verlag, 1983); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism 1378-1417*, (University Park, PA: Penn State P, 2006); *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)* [*Companion*], ed. Joëlle Roster-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki, (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[2] All quotations from the *Confessio Amantis* [*CA*] are from John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck with Latin Translations by Andrew Galloway, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 2006).

important mark of the *vera ecclesia*": unity.[3] While the Schism of 1378 was hardly the first division in the Western Church—in fact, in 1389 Honorat Bovet claimed that France had defended the 'true' pope against at least twenty-one previous antipopes—the attempt of Clement VII, neé Robert of Geneva (r. 1378-94), to displace Urban VI (r. 1378-89) was fundamentally different from earlier conflicts over the Roman papacy.[4] Unlike those previous disputes, this schism, *the* Schism, was not the product of imperial interference but rather the result of internal stress.[5] Unable to resolve the Schism by dismissing one pope as an imperial stooge, the crisis upended the epistemological foundation of Gower's world. Uncertain of where "to sitte," or in which pope one ought invest their faith, confusion reigned, much to the detriment of all.

Given Gower's representation of the stakes of this crisis, it is surprising how little attention modern readers of his poetry have paid to the Schism. In fact, although scholars of Middle English literature habitually enumerate the Schism as one of the crises besetting later Medieval England, there have been few efforts to explore the degree to which this specific crisis informed the English

[3] David Zachariah Flanagin, "*Extra Ecclesiam Salus Non Est—Sed Que Ecclesia*?: Ecclesiology and Authority in the Later Middle Ages," in *Companion*, p. 340; for a more extensive treatment of the paramount importance of unity in later medieval ecclesiological thought see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine vol. 4, (Chicago: UCP, 1984) 69-84.

[4] Honoré Bovet, *The Tree of Battles* ed. and tr. G.W. Coopland, (Cambridge: CUP, 1949), pp. 177; For a detailed account of many of these schisms see Mary Stoll, *Popes and Antipopes: The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform*, (Lieden: Brill, 2012); **NB:** While papal and imperial efforts to re-unite the Eastern and Western churches intersect with the concerns of this project at regular intervals, addressing the representation of *that* Schism, the "Great Schism" of 1054, exceeds the bounds of this dissertation. For my purposes, all references to the "the church," "Christendom," "Rome," etc. are to be understood with reference to the Western Church unless noted otherwise.

[5] Brett Edward Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 168.

literary imagination.[6] Rather, critics such as Derek Pearsall, John Scattergood, and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski have expressed surprise at the degree to which the Schism is *not* discussed by English writers.[7] At the most basic level, my dissertation corrects this misconception. English writers did address the Schism, often in depth and with great imagination. The English literature of the Schism has, however, been obscured by two aspects of the English experience of the Schism.

First, scholars have failed to explore the literary ramifications of England's political position(s) on the Schism. "The French," Margaret Harvey explains, "were driven to theorise [about the Schism] because, had they not supported Clement VII, the schism would not have lasted. Thus they felt the need to justify their allegiance and their change from Urban." Conversely, she continues, "The English, who had made no such change, felt almost no such need."[8] As Blumenfeld-Kosinski has accordingly shown, the French literature addressing the Schism was extensive and diverse.[9] She is able to identify and describe such a tradition, however, in part due to the burden of proof placed on the French by their adherence to Clement VII. This burden led to the production of a literature that explicitly dealt with the practical problems of the Schism and aimed,

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[6] There are only three small sets of studies that address the relationship between the Schism and Middle English literature in any significant depth. Marco Nievergelt and Suzanne M. Yeager have explored the resonances between Middle English Romance and the Schism in two excellent studies: "The *Sege of Melayne* and the *Siege of Jerusalem*: National Identity, Beleaguered Christendom, and Holy War during the Great Papal Schism," in *The Chaucer Review* 49.4(2015), pp. 402-26 and "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Biblical Exegesis: Writing About Romans in Fourteenth-Century England," in *The Chaucer Review* 39.1(2004), pp. 70-102. David Watt has addressed Thomas Hoccleve's association of the Schism and his own mental illness at length in *The Making of Thomas Hoccleve's Series*, (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2016), pp. 119-20, 140, 165-76, 181-2. The third set of studies concerns the potential relationship between the *Second Nun's Tale* and the Schism. I address this topic in Chapter 5, n. 1.

[7] Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffery Chaucer: A Critical Biography*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) p. 109; Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006) pp. 14-5; V.J Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth-Century*, (New York: Barnes & Nobel, 1972) pp. 220-1.

[8] Harvey (1983), p. 49.

[9] Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006).

at least in part, at justifying the French positions and/or supporting their proposed solutions. The existence of such a corpus allows Blumenfeld-Kosinski, in turn, to describe modes of discourse and patterns of imagery connected to the Schism that she is then able to locate in other texts which are less obviously "about" the Schism. Yet the absence of such a corpus of English theory does not mean, as Blumenfeld-Kosinski claims, that "the Schism was not a subject for English vernacular writers."[10] Rather, it means that there is not an English corpus identical to the French corpus in genre, style, tone, or imagery. This is hardly the same thing as saying "the poets were mostly silent on the crisis." To expect the Middle English responses to the Schism to follow the pattern of French responses denies the basic facts of the European experience of the Schism: it was 'universal' in that it touched all parts of Europe, but each part of Europe experienced the Schism in its own way.[11] In the case of England, one of those local particulars has exacerbated the scholarly tendency to ignore the Schism.

In England, the Schism was—as Gower, Nicholas Love, and others testify *ad nauseam*—perpetually linked to the problem of heresy, specifically Lollardy.[12] For Lollards, the Schism was the ultimate justification of their critiques of the established church, and their opponents bitterly lamented the openings for heresy caused by the church's institutional rupture.[13] For these opponents, such as Gower, heresy was the first fruit of the Schism (*CA*, P.348-9). Thus, while

[10] Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006), pp. 14-5.

[11] On the local effects of the Schism see: Philip Daileader, "Local Experiences of the Great Western Schism," in *Companion*, pp. 89-122.

[12] Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*, "Memorandum of Approbation," ed. Michael G. Sargent, (Exeter: U. Exeter P, 2005) p. 7, ll. 19-20.

[13] Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, (Oxford: OUP, 1988) pp. 330-4, 409-10.

Harvey has concluded that explicit "preoccupation with Lollardy was much more common than preoccupation with the Schism," the two issues were inextricably linked.[14] To that end, literary critics would do well to remember that the council which convened to end the Schism began the process of reconciliation and reform by burning Jan Hus, posthumously condemning Wyclif as a heretic, and ordering his body to be disinterred and removed from sacred ground.[15] In fact, the persistent association of heresy and the Schism suggests the imaginative stakes of the crisis.

Schism and heresy went hand in hand because both compromised the idea of a unified church which was, from the patristic era onwards, the precondition for salvation. As St. Cyprian (c. 200-258) put it: there is no salvation outside of the church.[16] Division, Zachariah David Flanagin explains, cast doubt on the sacramental power of the church.[17] Gower's "tuo stoles" evoke the rival claimants to the papacy via their respective thrones; the conflict between them divides "holy cherche" such that men and women doubt the mediatory function of the church itself (*CA*, P.336-9). This situation, Gower declares, is disastrous to everyone. One of the consequences of confusion, Gower continues, is heresy: "…this branche, /Which proude Envie hath mad to springe, /Of Scisme, causeth for to bringe /This newe secte of Lollardie" (*CA*, P.346-9). To these academic heresies, Gower responds that it is better to "stonde upon the ryhte feith, / Than knowe al that the

[14] Margaret Harvey, "Lollardy and the Great Schism: Some Contemporary Perceptions," in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilkes, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 396.
[15] Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif*, (Oxford: OUP, 2009), p. 29.

[16] "Cyprian: On the Unity of the Catholic Church" in Bart D. Ehrman, *After the New Testament: A Reader in Early Christianity*, (Oxford: OUP, 1999) p. 342.

[17] Flanagin, *Companion*, p. 337-8; See also Frantisek Graus, "The Crisis of the Middle Ages and the Hussites," tr. James J. Heaney, in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. Steven E. Ozmet (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), pp. 88-90.

Bible seith" (*CA*, P.353-4). Gower, however, refuses to define precisely what he means by "rhyte feith."

To return to Cyprian, the third-century father associated doctrine with unity: "If a person does not keep this unity, he is not keeping the law of God."[18] While Gower almost certainly did not read Cyprian, the latter's theorization of the relationship between doctrine, unity, and salvation "form[s] the foundation of all late medieval ecclesiology."[19] In this context, Gower's apposition of heretical couplet of "Scisme… /…Lollardie" and the similarly associated "feith / seith" makes a clear argument: "rhyte feith" is unity. Nevertheless, the *Confessio*'s most visceral image of the Schism, the autocannibalism that concludes the "Tale of Boniface" (*CA*, II.3028-9), associates the division of the church with the foremost advocate for a unified Christendom: Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303).[20] Gower's "rhyte feith" seems to be neither the radical solutions proposed by Wyclif nor a return to the excessively hierocratic model of Boniface. The ambiguity, and perhaps incoherence, of Gower's ecclesiological commitments continues to vex critics of the poem.

For example, in his influential analysis of exemplary discourse on the writings of Chaucer and Gower, Larry Scanlon argues Gower's "extreme" critiques of the church are "not finally anti-ecclesiastic" because they participate in a coherent argument for the "restrict[ion] of the spiritual to a realm entirely separate from the structures of lay power."[21] Conversely, David Aers has argued that Gower's "paratactic" style "staves off dialogic relations between units which might force the poet,

[18] "On the Unity of the Catholic Church," p. 342.

[19] Flanagin, *Companion*, p. 336.

[20] *ODP*, pp. 208-10.

[21] Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The medieval exemplum in the Chaucerian Tradition*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1994) pp. 245-67, pp. 262.

and readers, to explore the congruencies between aspects of his work and aspects of "Antecristes lollardie.""[22] While the dispute between Aers and Scanlon may seem local, it is actually a proxy war for a much larger question regarding the nature, purpose, and success of Gower as, in Alastair Minnis' words, "*Sapiens* in ethics and politics."[23] Regarding this larger question, critics seem to be in broad agreement that Gower's poems cohere into a larger ethical project, of which they generally approve.[24]

Nevertheless, despite their different conclusions Scanlon, Aers, and the critics that follow them imagine Gower torn between two options regarding the papacy: complete and total adherence to Boniface VIII's extreme position on ecclesiastical unity or the radical abolition of both the papacy and the system it embodied. This is not an accurate representation of the intellectual history of later medieval Christendom in the West. Medieval ecclesiological texts did not so much *describe* an existing church as they sought to *argue it into being*. For example, neither James of Viterbo's (c. 1255-1307) robust defenses of the hierocratic system nor, for that matter, Wycliffe's critiques of those arguments, fell out of a clear blue sky so as to provide scholars a template of 'the medieval church' against which to measure the relative orthodoxy of particular vernacular poems.[25] On the contrary, these texts were explicit interventions into the intense debates over the nature of spiritual and secular power that convulsed Christendom during the fourteenth-century, and they spoke to specific

[22] David Aers, "Reflections of Gower as '*Sapiens* in Ethics and Politics,'" in *Faith, Ethics, and Church: Writing in England 1360-1409*, (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2000), p. 118.

[23] Alastair J. Minnis, "John Gower, *Sapiens* in Ethics and Politics," *Medium Aevum* 49(1980): 207-29

[24] Aers (2000), pp. 102-5 outlines this critical tradition.

[25] James of Viterbo, *De regimine Christiano* [*DRC*], ed. and tr. R.W. Dyson, (Lieden: Brill, 2009), pp. xvii-xviii.

moments in that debate.[26] When, however, we turn to the actual beliefs and praxis of Christians in later medieval England, we find a rich and broad variety of positions regarding the relationship between the spiritual and the sacred and, thus, the papacy.

For example, the fourteenth century English chronicler Thomas Walsingham saw no problem with a) vigorously defending the legitimacy of Urban VI's papacy, b) lauding king and parliament for resisting the very taxes (and provisions) that Urban and his successor Boniface IX deemed essential to advancing their claim, and c) savaging Wyclif and his followers at every possible opportunity.[27] Conversely, on the other side of the doctrinal coin, Ian Christopher Levy and J. Patrick Hornbeck II have emphasized the nuance and complexity of Wyclif's own views on the papacy.[28] In fact, Hornbeck has described the 'Wycliffite' conception of the office in terms much closer to those Scanlon attributes to Gower than the terms by which Scanlon, and others, seem to understand Wyclif's putative 'antipapalism':

> For many Wycliffite writers, to call the pope 'Antichrist' was not simply to condemn the papacy as an institution of the devil; it was rather to point out that contemporary popes, like many of their subjects in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, had strayed from the example of the apostles. Both Wyclif and a substantial majority of those who came after him retained the hope that the papacy might be reformed, whether by force of argument or force of arms. If the pope were to understand his role properly and exercise it faithfully, the man who deserved to be called Antichrist yesterday could well merit the title 'captain' tomorrow.[29]

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[26] For an excellent treatment of a similar problem see Wendy Scase's *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989) pp. 1-14.

[27] Thomas Walsingham's *The Saint Albans Chronicle: The* Chronica maiora *of Thomas Walsingham* [Walsingham], vol. 1, ed. and tr. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003) *passim*. **NB:** Throughout this dissertation I follow Walsingham's account of the Schism for the simple reason that Walsingham's chronicle spans the length of the Schism, collates many relevant documents, and is readily available in an excellent modern edition and translation.

[28] J. Patrick Hornbeck II, *What is a Lollard?: Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford: OUP, 2010) pp. 174-95 and Ian Christopher Levy, "John Wyclif and the Primitive Papacy," in *Viator* 38.2(2007) pp. 159-69.

[29] Hornbeck (2010), p. 195.

Thus, we find that both the received opinion on the range of possible positions available to Gower with reference to the papacy and the nature of his attitude(s) towards those positions governed by ahistorical assumptions about a) the broad nature of belief and dissent in the later Middle Ages, b) the diversity of opinion regarding the papacy in late medieval England, and c) a flawed understanding of the specific contours of Wycliffite thought regarding the that institution. Likewise, the most recent and interesting work on the relationship between Lollardy and literature has eschewed the sorting of texts/authors into predetermined doctrinal camps and focused instead on exploring how those texts imagine the experience and practice of personal and corporate religion.[30] To that end, situating Middle English representations of the church within the context of the Schism raises new interpretive possibilities. For example, rather than reading the seeming disjunction between Gower's views on Lollardy and his critiques of the church as a problem to be solved, we are able to understand them as part of a wide-ranging, multi-lingual, and trans-national conversation regarding the histories, identities, and possible futures of 'Christendom.'

The Idea of Christendom and the Concept of Crisis

This dissertation is rooted in the history of the Schism but it is not *a* history of the Schism by other means. I am not interested in Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower because they wrote about the Schism. I am interested in the Schism because it informed the poetry of writers like Chaucer and Gower. To that end, Gower's image of a church torn "Betwen tuo stoles" exemplifies English literary responses to the Schism. Writers like Chaucer and Gower understood the Schism in terms of that which it threatened: Christendom. Rather than engaging in polemical discourses regarding the

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[30] See, for example, Fiona Somerset *Feeling Like Saints, Lollard Writing after Wyclif* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2014).

immediate crisis and its possible resolution, these writers wrestled with the imaginative effects of the Schism on the church, the state, and the idea of poetry itself. Instead of addressing the Schism directly, these writers punctuated their representations of Christianity and Christian history with references to the Schism as a way of linking their meditations on the past to the crisis of the present.

Gower is at the center of this project because his trilingual *oeuvre* returns to the Schism repeatedly. In fact, while histories of Gower's work typically center on the evolution of his attitude towards Richard II, his interest in the Schism predates Richard's ascent and continues after the king's fall. Beginning with Gower's most explicit references to the Schism, I locate and retrieve the network of images, topoi, persons, and ideas that the poet associated with the rupture. For Gower, the Schism signified not so much the presence of an antipope but rather the *absence* of unity. Or, as he put it in his first major poem, the Anglo-French *Mirour de l'Omme*: "Holy Church has only one head before God, but now two have grown up, so that the noble beauty of the Church is disfigured and ruined" [disfigure et est malmise] (*MO*.18831-5). Just as the existence of "tue stoles" confuses people, two heads disfigure the church. Dis*figure*. The Schism compromises the *representational* resources of the church. In neither the *Confessio* nor the *Mirour* does Gower suggest there is not *a* true church, rather he laments that that the Schism has torn the discursive fabric that created and sustained the idea of unity. Gower understands the schism as a specifically *literary* problem: a crisis of Christendom as a *form* or imaginary shape through which people filtered or perhaps constructed religious experience. Accordingly, when I refer to 'Christendom' in the following pages I do not mean to suggest that Gower or his contemporaries imagined themselves to inhabit a world governed by D.W. Robertson's "quiet hierarchies." Rather, they used the *idea* of hierarchy to imaginatively

order their representations of the world.[31] In the same vein, when I refer to poems or passages as 'reforms' I am not invoking rigid Medieval/Orthodox vs. Early Modern/Reform binaries, but rather describing the way texts re-use similar materials to imagine alternative Christendoms.[32] This discursive conception of Christendom also informs my understanding of the Schism as a 'crisis.'

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[31] For a recent account of Robertson's legacy and a bibliography of the controversy surrounding his work see Steven Justice, "Who Stole Robertson?," in *PMLA* 124.2(2009) pp. 609-15; On the vast literature regarding medieval ideas of hierarchy see: John Marenbon and D.E. Luscombe, "Two medieval ideas: eternity and hierarchy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A.S. McGrade (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 51-72; For detailed studies on specific conceptions of hierarchy see: Wulfgang Müller, "Whose Constitution? Grass-Roots and Hierarchical Visions of the Late Medieval Church", in: Constitutionalism in Europe before 1789. Constitutional Arrangements from the High Middle Ages to the French Revolution, ed. Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2014) 94-106, 223-227; Gerson Moreno-Riaño, "Hierarchy ambiguity and a *via media* in Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis*," in *The World of Marsilius of Padua*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 248-69; Edward P. Mahoney, "Albert the Great on Christ and Hierarchy," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow, (South Bend: Notre Dame UP, 1998) pp. 364-92; Jonathan Beck, "A critical moment in the history of 'Hierarchy': Secular literature in France in the Age of the Schism and the Conciliar Movement," in *Jacob's ladder and the tree of life: Concepts of hierarchy and the great chain of being*, ed. Marion I. Kuntz and Paul G. Kuntz, (New York: Lang, 1988) pp. 161-210; See also the many studies of D.E. Luscombe: "Hierarchy in the late Middle Ages: criticism and change," in *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages/Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im Mittelalter*, ed. Joseph Canning and Otto Gerhard Oexle, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 113-26; "François de Meyronnes and Hierarchy" in *The Church and Sovereignty c. 590-1918: Essays in Honor of Michael Wilks*, ed. Diana Wood, *SCH* Subsidia 9, (Oxford: Ecclesiastical Historical Society, 1991), pp. 225-31; "John Gerson and Hierarchy," in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. Ian Wood and G.A. Loud, (London: The Hamblen Press: 1991) pp. 194-200; "Thomas Aquinas and Conceptions of Hierarchy in the Thirteenth Century," in *Thomas von Aquin: Werk und Wirkung im Licht Neuerer Forschungen*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988) pp. 261-77; "Conceptions of Hierarchy before 1300," in *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstversändnis des Mittelaters*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), pp. 1-19.

[32] While I generally concur with James Simpson's skepticism regarding the emancipatory potential of reformist literature, and affirm his interrogation of the medieval/early modern divide [*Reform and Cultural Reformation*, vol. 2 in *The Oxford Literary History*, (Oxford: OUP, 2002) p. 560], his choice to expel vernacular theology—and explicitly religious texts at large—from *literary* history limits the utility of his categories with reference to Middle English representations of the Schism. Rather, I follow Bruce Holsinger's generative critique of Simpson's project in arguing that "Literary history thus needs to under- stand the aesthetics of its objects as situated—and often, by necessity, as constrained by particular historical circumstances that encourage even the most capable writers of poetry and literary prose to efface their formal and stylistic ingenuities beneath masks of banality,

While the key events and dates of the Schism are not in doubt, controversy surrounds its historical and cultural significance. On one hand, scholars such as Frantisek Graus understand the Schism as the apex of an era defined by crisis. Graus argues that the Schism superseded all other crises because it rocked the core foundations common to all European nations.[33] It was, in Flanagin's words, "a crisis—of radical proportion—in th nature of the Church."[34] On the other extreme, Howard Kaminsky denies the presupposition of Graus' thesis: "Those who nevertheless speak of a crisis of the Late Middle Ages must therefore imagine the period *as if* it were some kind of integral entity, which in practice is to postulate a common mentality holding all the diverse phenomena together. A crisis of this mentality must then be imagined in dialectal engagement with the alleged crisis or crises of social order."[35] While Graus and Kaminsky's disagreement centers on the perception of crisis, Philip Daileader has traced a similar disagreement regarding the pragmatic scope of the Schism. There is "maximalist position, which sees the Schism as generating both severe practical problems and spiritual crises"; and a "minimalist position, which sees the Schism as an administrative entanglement that, while a nuisance, did not jeopardize anything essential."[36] Dalieader's conclusion is that the Schism was a little bit of both. "Local reactions" prove that the crisis was not confined to the "political and religious elites," yet those same "local reactions" also suggest that "as long as masses were said, confessions heard, and baptisms administered, and burials

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imitativeness, and discursive normality," ["Lollard Ekphrasis: Situated Aesthetics and Literary History," in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35.1(2005) p. 86].

[33] Graus (1971).

[34] Flanagin, *Companion*, p. 337.

[35] Howard Kaminski, "From Lateness to Waning to Crisis: the Burden of the Later Middle Ages," in *Journal of Early Modern History*, 4.1(2000) 92-3; **NB:** I concur with Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006) that Kaminsky's hyperminimalist position "is not supported by evidence" p. 1, n. 1.

[36] Daileader (2009), p. 90.

conducted as they always had been—as long as the means of salvation remained unchanged and unchallenged—then the Schism's local consequences could only be minimal."[37]

A discursive understanding of Christendom, however, goes a long way towards negotiating between the positions of Graus, Kaminsky, and Dalieader. As John van Engen has shown, "'Christendom' (*Christianitas*) was a term medieval writers applied to themselves and their civilization…it was the term [Christian] medieval folk at every level used to identify their religious culture."[38] Critically, just as Gower declines to define "rhyte feith," so too does van Engen maintain the ubiquity of the term *Christianitas* without reducing it to specific entity. From this perspective, to say that the Schism was a 'crisis' is simply to say that it forced people to reconsider the imaginative shapes through which they conceptualized the idea of society at large. In this context, the diversity of opinions regarding the precise nature of Christendom, its history, and its possible futures does not conflict with the universal embrace of the term. Harvey has come to this same conclusion regarding the avatar of the idea of Christendom: the papacy. "Just before the Reformation," she argues, "communion with the papacy was considered essential in the Western Church, but almost nothing else was agreed."[39] What was true of the head was believed to be true of the body. In fact, as James of Viterbo argued in his *De regimine Christiano* (*DRC*, p. 35), far from denying diversity, the idea of Christendom as a unified whole demands variation. The Schism, I argue, motivated writers to

[37] Daileader (2009), p. 121.

[38] John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem," in *The American Historical Review*, 91.3(1986), p. 541; See also John van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom" in *Religion and the History of the Medieval West*, (Farnham: Ashgate: 2004), pp. 19-67; For an expansive account of the interpenetration of the idea of Christendom and prophetic discourse that speaks to many of the concerns of my project see Brett Edward Whalen, *The Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2009).

[39] Margaret Harvey, "Unity and Diversity: Perceptions of the Papacy in the Later Middle Ages," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackweel, 1996): p. 168.

reform, i.e. re-arrange and re-compose, the elements constitutive of this idea. The ecclesiology that labored to associate the *corpus mysticum* of the church with the body of the pope allowed English to transform abstract ecclesiology into narrative poetry.[40] The theology of James of Viterbo and Boniface VIII hinged on questions of representation and fiction common to ecclesiology and poetics alike.

Contexts

On September 27, 1303 Master William Hundleby, an English procurator in Rome, wrote to his superior, Archbishop John Dalderby of Lincoln, with dramatic news: King Philip IV of France (r. 1285-1314) and dissident cardinals from the influential Colonna family had joined forces to attack, imprison, and perhaps murder Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303) in Anagni.[41] This event, the "Outrage of Anagni," loomed large in English responses to the Schism. Not only did Philip's deposition of Boniface offer Lancastrian partisans a useful model of 'regime change,' but Boniface's papacy, especially his controversial and climactic bull *Unam sanctum* (1303), distilled the hierocratic theology of the previous three centuries into its purest form and structured the terms through which English writers responded to the Schism.[42] Unlike their French contemporaries, English poets showed little interest in adjudicating the specific details of the Schism. Rather, they preferred to

[40] Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, tr. David S. Peterson, (Chicago: U Chicago P, 2000).

[41] For the text of Hundleby's letter see: Henry G.T. Beck, "William Hundleby's Account of the Anagni Outrage," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 32.2(1946) pp. 190-220; On the reactions to Anagni see: Walter Ullmann, "Boniface VIII and his Contemporary Scholarship," in *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 27.1(1976) pp. 58-87 and Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Reaction to Anagni," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 65.3(1979) pp. 385-401.

[42] Charles T. Wood, "Celestine V, Boniface VIII and the authority of parliament," in *Journal of Medieval History* 8(1982) pp. 45-62; On the significance of *Unam* to the Schism see Flanagin, *Companion*, p. 337-8.

explore its conceptual ramifications for the idea of Christendom. English writers habitually understood the Schism in relation the recent history of the Church: the dramatic conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, the so-called "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy in Avignon that followed Philip's deposition of Boniface, and the dramatic events of Gregory XI's return to Rome in 1377.[43] The controversies surrounding *Unam*, Avignon, and Rome supplied Gower and his contemporaries with the raw materials through which to imagine the Schism. The history of the fourteenth-century papacy focused their attention on the literary aspects of the church itself: questions of representation, personification, and characterization were at the very center of later medieval ecclesiology.

Unam begins by asserting the ancient claim that "there is one holy, Catholic and apostolic church" and "outside this church there is no salvation or remission of sins."[44] Then, Boniface recounts a list of biblical precedents to associate the "one body" of the church with its equally singular head: "Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and Peter's successor." Just as there is no salvation outside of the church, Boniface declares that all who "are not committed to Peter and his successors necessarily admit that they are not of Christ's flock." Within this church, Boniface continues, "there are two swords, a spiritual one and a temporal one." Moreover, he declares, "both are in the power of the church…But one is exercised for the church, the other by the church, the one by the hand of

[43] For a concise account of Boniface's political legacy see Joseph Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages 1296-1414*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), pp. 11-59; For a detailed but dated account of Boniface VIII see T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface the Eighth: 1294-1303*, (London: Constable and Company, 1933); for translations of *Unam* and related documents see *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* [*Crisis*], ed. Brian Tierney, (Toronto: UT P, 1988) pp. 172-92 and Charles T. Wood, *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: State vs. Papacy* (NewYork: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1967); On the Avignon Papacy see and the return to Rome: Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy, 1309-1417: Popes, Institutions, and Society*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015) and Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy: 1305-1403*, tr. Denis Bethell (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1970).

[44] For the text of *Unam sanctum* see *Crisis*, pp. 188-9.

the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, though at the will and sufferance of the priest." Rooted in Gelasius I's (r. 492-6) interpretation of Matthew 22:38, *Unam*'s "two swords" gestured towards the long and complicated relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.[45] In *Unam*, Boniface yoked this image to another venerable weapon from the hierocratic arsenal: Pseudo-Dionysius' "law of divinity." [46] According to this 'law,' lower things lead to higher things via intermediaries. Thus, Boniface argues, given the self-evident superiority of the spiritual power, the material or temporal sword must be contained within and therefor at the disposal of the spiritual. From this position, Boniface concludes that "it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

From one perspective, Boniface's claims were entirely conventional: he simply collated and compressed the major themes and arguments that had animated the papacy's conflicts with the empire since at least the Gregorian Reform.[47] At the same time, however, Boniface catastrophically misread the political landscape. At a personal level, the controversial resignation of his predecessor

[45] *ODP*, pp. 47-9; For contrasting interpretations of Gelasius' letter see: Oakley, 1, pp. 99-102 and Ullmann (1955) pp. 14-28; For a text of Gelasius letter see: "Gelasius I: Priesthood and Kingship," in *Crisis*, p. 13; On the image more generally, see: Patrick Stephen Healy, "Gelasian doctrine," and "Two Swords, Doctrine of the," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork, (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 2 p. 688 and 3, p. 1661.

[46] Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius : A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence*, (Oxford: OUP, 1993), esp. pp. 36-7; For translations of *Unam* and related documents see *Crisis* pp. 172-92 and Wood (1967); On Psuedo-Dionysius and the "law of divinity" see: D.E. Luscombe, "The reception of the writings of Denis the pseudo-Areopagite into England," in *Tradition and Change: Essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall presented by her friends on the occasion of her seventieth birthday*, eds. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth, and Jane Sayers, (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), pp. 115-144 and Graham Gould, "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in the thought of Pseudo-Dionysius," in *Studies in Church History* 26(1989) pp. 29-41.

[47] Oakley, 2, p. 195.

Celestine V cast a pall over Boniface's election.[48] Celestine's own election, in turn, reflected the internal divisions of the cardinalate and the contrast between the mystical hermit pope and his all-too worldly successor poured fuel on one of the major internal fires of the later medieval church: the mendicant or poverty controversy.[49] Where Celestine had championed the 'spiritual' Franciscans and their rejection of clerical wealth, Boniface anathematized all who would dispute the papacy's spiritual *and* temporal sovereignty.[50]

Boniface's most serious miscalculation, however, was his failure to recognize that the kings of the inchoate nation-states of England and France did not conceptualize their own authority within the universalizing terms that both defined the papacy's conflicts with the empire and dominated *Unam sanctum*. For example, in an earlier bull, *Ascultа fili* (1301), Boniface addressed Philip in the familial terms constitutive of papal-imperial discourse: "Listen here son..." [*Ascultа fili*].[51] Unlike the imperial title, however, kingship did not require a papal sanction.[52] As such, Robert Fawtier has suggested that Philip's actions were hardly radical but rather a "procedurally correct"

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[48] On the problem of abdication see John R. Eastman, *Papal Abdication in Later Medieval Thought*, (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1990); see also Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 218-9 for a short discussion regarding the ways in which Celestine's abdication drove Boniface VIII's to "self-legitimate" his papacy.

[49] The classic account of rise of the Mendicant Orders is Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1995); For concise accounts of the political stakes of this controversy see: Canning (2011), pp. 107-32 and R.N. Swanson, "The 'Mendicant Problem' in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life*, ed. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 217-38; For an excellent account of the relationship between the mendicant controversy and English literature see Scase (1989); For a complete history of the controversy see: David Burr, *The spiritual Franciscans : from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis*, (University Park, PA: Penn State P, 2001).

[50] Whalen (2009) pp. 205-6 and Burr (2001).

[51] For the text of *Ascultа fili* see *Crisis*, pp. 185-6.

[52] See below, Chapter 3, p. 166.

attempt to adjudicate the dispute between Boniface and France according to 'feudal' rather than ecclesiastical law.[53] Boniface understood taxation in terms similar to those in which Gregory VII viewed investiture, a symbol that bespoke the hierarchized unity of Christendom, whereas Philip operated in a bourgeoning world of fiscal realpolitik driven by national concerns. Philip's lawyers, Francis Oakley argues, did not root their arguments in "the hallowed vision of a unitary and universal Christian commonwealth" but rather "the sturdy platform of French national sovereignty within its territorial borders."[54] Consequently, this ostensibly local conflict ignited a propaganda war that was, in Oakley's estimation, "a new phase in the unfolding history of Western political thought."[55] These political developments had aesthetic consequences.

Popes "did not," according to Rienhard Elze, "have two bodies or substances, like a sovereign."[56] To that end, representations of individual popes emphasized the institutional persona of the office rather than the personal bodies of each man. Boniface VIII tried to change all that.[57] Boniface, as Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani has shown, endeavored to present himself, Benedetto Caetani, in precisely the same terms as he set out in *Unam*:[58]

> The Bonifacian images bespeak the unity of the church, the pope's holiness, and the Roman papacy's jurisdictional power and superiority to the empire. This was no longer the typology of a pope, but of an individual physiognomy that *incarnates* the pontifical office…For Boniface, bodily practices and their rendering in images therefor sustained a common ideal of immortality, one that could not but appear to contradict the rhetorical and ritual tradition of humility…For did Boniface's effort to orchestrate the survival of his *physiognomic memory*

[53] Fawtier quoted on Oakley, 2, p. 186.

[54] Oakley, 2, pp. 194-5.
[55] Oakley, 2, p. 195.

[56] Reinhard Elze, "'*Sic transit gloria mundi*': la morte del papa nel medioevo," in *Annali dell'Instituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 3(1977): pp. 23-41; quoted and translated on Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. xv.

[57] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 231.
[58] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 220-2.

> not contradict the idea that in dying "the pope returns to being a man"? And did Boniface VIII not "wish to construct a glorious memory for himself," defying the belief that "even the pope dies."[59]

For Boniface, the power of the papacy was inextricably tied to the representation of the office. Just as he believed himself to incarnate the church, so too did he represent the church, the *corpus mysticum*, as if it were his own physical body. It was this effort to ensure the perpetuation of his "individuality" that, in Paravicini-Bagliani's judgement, led Philip IV's lawyers to charge Boniface with "inducing men to idolatry."[60] While Paravicini-Bagliani's arguments center on the monuments Boniface commissioned during his own lifetime, his analysis of papal aesthetics illuminates Gower's representation of both Boniface VIII and the Schism itself.

English writers persistently associated Boniface VIII and the Schism for several reasons. Clearly, the Schism shattered the ecclesiological vision of *Unam sanctum*. Gower wrote the *Confessio*, however, at a time when England supported a pope who explicitly embraced Boniface VIII's legacy: Boniface IX. Within the representational architecture of the papacy, taking a new name memorialized the death of the individual man, the assumption a new "suprapersona," and signified an ideological heritage rooted in the rituals of embodiment through which the papacy created itself.[61] By taking the name 'Boniface,' Boniface IX signaled his intent to persevere in universalizing rhetoric of his namesake and recommitted the papacy to the uncompromising vision of *Unam sanctum* at precisely the same time as many in the church sought compromise. Just as Boniface VIII's metaphorical survival perpetuated the Schism, Philip IV's response to *Unam sanctum* set in motion a

[59] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 232.
[60] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 231, 224.

[61] Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "Onomastics, Pontifical" in *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*, v. 2, ed. Phillipe Levillain (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1067 and Paravicini-Bagliani (2000) pp. 58-74; See also: Reginald L. Poole, "The Names and Numbers of Medieval Popes," *English Historical Review* 32.3(1917) pp. 465-78.

sequence of events that, in English eyes, caused the crisis in the first place. Unwilling to risk another dispute with Rome, Philip pushed for the election of a friendly pope. Then, after the 1305 election of the Gascon Raymond Bertrand de Got as Clement V, Philip 'encouraged' the new pope to relocate to Avignon where the papacy remained from 1309-1376.

This move aroused discontent for many reasons. Despite the papacy's many absences from Rome, especially during the fetid summer months, writers like Dante, Petrarch, Catherine of Sienna, and Bridget of Sweden viewed transalpine migration of the curia as both the cause and a sign of the moral degradation of the church.[62] The move to Avignon also necessitated new building programs, which cost money.[63] The distance between the curia and its Italian "patrimoine" led to uprisings in the Papal States, which in turn required the papacy to spend even more money on mercenaries.[64] The rapid escalation of papal expenditures forced the curia to streamline its administration and optimize revenues. Consequently, Avignon became a shorthand for the "eschange" (*CA*, P.207) that Gower bemoaned throughout his three major poems.[65] By the late 1360s, the criticism of Avignon reached a crescendo and Urban V agreed to return to Rome.[66] His stay was short lived, however, and circumstances forced him to return to Avignon. The task of reestablishing the papacy in Rome fell

[62] On the imaginative relationship between the papacy and Rome see Chapter 2.

[63] For a robust and meticulous account of the financial relationship between England and the Papacy during this era see William Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England: 1327-1534*, Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages, v. II, (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1962).

[64] For an overview of papal warefare in the later Middle Ages see: D.S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals, and War: the Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*, (London: I.B. Taurs & Co., 2006).

[65] On criticisms of Avignon see: Unn Falkied, *The Avignon Papacy Contested: An Intellectual History from Dante to Catherine of Siena* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2017), p. 80.

[66] Rollo-Koster (2015), pp. 109-28.

to his successor: Gregory XI (r. 1370-7). Gregory returned to Rome in January of 1377, though his death just fifteen months later left the papacy in a precarious position.

Although the details of Urban VI's 1378 election remain somewhat confused, the shadow of Urban V's abortive return and the Roman question hung over the conclave.[67] In fact, Richard Trexler has suggested that Gregory XI's own return in 1376/7 was precipitated, at least in part, by the fear that, absent *the* pope, the Romans were prepared to "provide themselves with *a* pope who would live in Rome with them."[68] Then, after Gregory arrived, Romans worked to ensure the pope could not leave the city, even in the summer. As Gregory's health deteriorated, the Romans plotted to prevent the curia from fleeing to Avignon.[69] To that end, they explored ways to "insure the election of a Roman or at least an Italian pope" and, if necessary, arresting and/or killing the French faction of the college prior to Gregory's death.[70] Given the "murderous" atmosphere in Rome, Trexler concludes that it would be wrong to judge Urban's election as "free."[71] While English writers like Thomas Walsingham denied the Roman coercion, the eyewitness account of Urban VI's future cardinal Adam Easton registers the tensions that surrounded the election.[72] Conversely, Bartholomeo Prignano's choice of the name 'Urban' must, in this context, be understood as a declaration of intent: Urban VI meant to remain in Rome and he meant to reform Rome.[73]

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[67] Richard C. Trexler, "Rome on the Eve of the Great Schism," in *Speculum* 42.3(1967) p. 494; See also Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Civil Violence and the Initiation of The Schism," in *Companion*, pp. 9-65.

[68] Papal inquisitor Nicholas Eymerich quoted in Trexler (1967) p. 491.
[69] Trexler (1967) p. 497.
[70] Trexler (1967) p. 503-4.
[71] Trexler (1967) pp. 506-9.

[72] Leslie Macfarlane, "An English Account of the Election of Urban VI, 1378," in *Historical Research* 73(1953) pp. 75-85.

While Trexler's account of Rome c. January 1377-March 1378 has important ramifications for the historiography of the Schism, it also intersects with a critically neglected, yet crucial moment in Chaucer's life: the 1378 mission to Italy. Though these travels loom large in important accounts of Chaucer's development as a poet, their relationship to papal politics is habitually ignored. Given the degree to which the conflict between Milan and Florence was but a part of the papacy's long struggle to subdue its Italian patrimony, we should assume that Chaucer's business in Italy *required* him to remain abreast of the situation in Rome. In fact, Derek Pearsall has plausibly suggested that it was precisely this situation that motivated Chaucer's seemingly early return to England.[74] Even if we reject John Hirsch's fanciful suggestion that Chaucer actually visited Rome, it is impossible to imagine that he was not aware of the situation there.[75] Just as Hundleby provided Archbishop Dalderby with up-to-date news regarding Boniface, the English Parliament was well informed about the goings on in Rome.[76] The community of English merchants in Rome was well connected to precisely the same London communities to which modern scholars have localized the initial circulation of Chaucer and Gower's works.[77] Indeed, it was the 1378 journey to Italy that caused Chaucer to entrust his English affairs to John Gower.[78]

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[73] Note also that when Robert of Geneva declared himself to be "Clement VII" he associated himself with the pope who moved the curia to Avignon, Clement V, and the most famous pope of the Avignonese era: Clement VI.

[74] Pearsall (1992) p. 109.
[75] John C. Hirsch, "Did Chaucer Visit Rome?" in *English Language Notes*, 37.4 (2000) pp. 2-8.

[76] Harvey (1983).

[77] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362-1420: A Portrait of an Expatriate Community*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 24-6, 37, 76; Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375-1425*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013).

Outline and organization

My dissertation centers on John Gower's trilingual trilogy—the *Mirour de l'Omme* (Anglo-Norman) the *Vox Clamantis* (Latin) and the *Confessio Amantis* (Middle English)—and his last major poem, "In Praise of Peace." From its terrifying emergence in the *Mirour* to the cautious optimism of "In Praise of Peace," the Schism permeated Gower's literary imagination; his *oeuvre* constitutes the most sustained English exploration of the church's contemporaneous division. Recovering Gower's representations of the Schism has both textual value—i.e. it enables us to date versions of each poem more precisely—and literary significance, as it indexes the ways English writers addressed the Schism. Chapter 1 focuses on Gower's revisions to the *Vox* and the *Mirour* as well as the *Confessio*'s account of "the status of the clergy, as they call them, in regard to spiritual matters, in the time of Robert of Geneva, who took to himself the name Clement, at that time the antipope," [De statu cleri, vt dicunt, secundum spiritualia, videlicet tempore Roberti Gibbonensis, qui nomen Clementis sibi sortitus est, tunc antipape] (*CA*, P.194-9). While these texts draw on the same sources, their representations of the Schism track the evolution of the crisis from the fall of 1378 to the mid-1380s.

Chapter 2 steps away from Gower so as situate his representation of the Schism in relationship to the imaginative contours of Christian Rome in later medieval England. To that end, the chapter explores Christedom as a literary phenomenon. Focusing on the reception of Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, the single most popular continental history in late medieval England, I examine the relationship between ideological form and bibliographic format in

[78] The most recent assessment of the Chaucer-Gower relationship is Sebastian Sobecki's "A Southwark Tale: Gower, the 1381 Poll Tax, and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*," in *Speculum* 92.3(2017), pp. 630-60.

the *Chronicon* tradition, specifically in two Middle English translations/adaptations—the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* (*Chronicles*) and the *Lollard Chronicle*—and the manuscript that contains the version of Latin text on which these versions were based: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 712 (B). Together these texts bear witness to the ways in which fourteenth-century English scribes and writers could create and contest competing 'Christendoms' via their reformations of Martinus' Rome. It is this collection of persons, places, ideas, and topoi that constitutes 'the Matter of Christendom.'

Chapters 3 and 4 return to the *Confessio* to explore Gower's engagement with this 'Matter of Christendom' during the later years of the Schism. Together, these two chapters focus on the last two tales of Book II: the "Tale of Boniface" and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester." Beginning with the Prologue's lengthy interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar from Daniel 2 and concluding with the "Tale of Boniface," Chapter 3 traces Gower's association of church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" and the 'Matter of Christendom.' This chapter illustrates Gower's periodization of Christian history by situating his version of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in conversation with other medieval versions of Daniel 2, especially that of the twelfth-century German historian Otto of Freising. Specifically, I argue that Gower associates the "feet of erthe and stiel" (*CA*, P.827) with the Schism so as to transform the the crisis of Christendom into a question of papal embodiment.

Chapter 4 addresses Gower's "solutions" to the Schism: the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" and his last major poem, "In Praise of Peace." While the *Confessio* introduces the "Tale of Constantine" as a cure for a divided church, the tale concludes in crisis and reveals Gower's putative prescription or "phisique" (*CA*, P.3163) to be a malignant tumor. This conclusion puzzles critics as Gower seems to advocate for a mode of disendowment similar to that embraced by the Lollards he consistently repudiates. Situating the "Tale of Constantine" in the context of English experiences

with the Schism c. 1385-95 resolves this tension. In the *Confessio*, Gower works to *exhaust* the church's internal resources of reform so as to create the preconditions for a mode of secular intervention that does not seek to dismantle Christendom but rather to affirm it. While Gower does not explicitly endorse a general council as a solution, the consensual, constitutional tone of "In Praise of Peace" resonates with the evolution of English attitudes towards the Schism in the 1390s. This evolution emerged, in turn, from the failure and gridlock that characterize the *Confessio*'s accounts of Constantine. Only extreme circumstances, argued canonists, permitted laypersons to convene a general council. From this perspective, then, Gower's cautious embrace of royal intervention no longer seems to conflict with his dogmatic opposition to Lollardy, rather it seems inline with his wider poetic ambitions.

The dissertation concludes with a Chaucerian coda in which I argue that Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* [*SNT*] deploys the 'Matter of Christendom' to a different end than his friend Gower. Chaucer uses the well-known story of Saint Cecilia to imagine the possibility of literary history after Christendom. His vision of the early church works against precisely the idea that Gower sought to locate and retrieve: the *ecclesia primitiva*, Gordon Leff's "myth of the Apostolic Church."[79] Where Gower sought to invoke the idea of the early church so as to reunify a broken whole, Chaucer rewrites the story of Cecilia so as to ensure that his own poetry will be to English literature what the *ecclesia primitiva* was to the church: a generative myth of perpetual reform. For Chaucer, the Schism provided an opportunity to use the 'Matter of Christendom' to imagine the idea of poetry after, outside of, or beyond Christendom, to imagine the idea of literary history itself.

[79] Gordon Leff, "The Myth of the True Church," in Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1.1(1971) pp. 1-16.

Chapter One

"Meis scriptis super hoc":
John Gower, Witness to the Schism

Introduction

John Gower described his three major poems, the Anglo-French *Mirour de l'Omme*, the Latin *Vox Clamantis*, and the Middle English *Confessio Amantis* as "three books of instructive material" and critics have noted the degree to which these books speak to each other.[1] Not only do these three poems address similar concerns and draw on the same discursive traditions, Gower habitually recycled specific source material across the *Mirour*, the *Vox*, and the *Confessio*.[2] "In a very real sense," John Fisher concludes, "Gower's three major poems are one continuous work…that provide[s] as organized and unified a view as we have on the social ideals of England on the eve of the Renaissance."[3] The coherence Fisher locates in Gower's oeuvre, however, testifies to the division that characterized his world and permeated his poetry. From the start of the *Mirour* during the halcyon days of Edward III's triumphs over France, through the *Vox*'s account of Richard II's troubled reign, to the Henrician revisions of the *Confessio*, Gower wrestled with the problem of

[1] See John Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer*, (New York: NYU P, 1964) pp. 88-9 for a compete translation and discussion of John Gower's colophons to the *Confessio*; for concise descriptions and critical histories of the *Vox* and the *Mirour* see Robert J. Miendl "The Latin works" and Craig E. Bertolet, "The French Works: *Mirour de l'Omme*" in *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, eds. Ane Sáez-Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, and R.F. Yeager (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 321-7 and 341-54.

[2] For a complete conspectus of the shared passages see Peck and Macaulay's extensive apparati for all three poems.

[3] Fisher (1964) pp. 135-6.

social, political, and religious division and his responses to these crises remain central questions animating the study of Gower's *oeuvre*.[4]

Though editions of Gower's poetry note the poet's many references to the Schism, Russell Peck's brief account of the Schism in his Prologue of the *Confessio* remains the only semi-extended attempt to analyze Gower's response to the crisis and its aftermath.[5] All three of Gower's major poems anatomize late medieval society according to the "three estates" (Nobility, Clergy, Peasants) and, throughout his career, the lawyerly poet remained invested in both the politics of poetry and the poetics of politics.[6] Given that the precise nature of ecclesiastical power and its relationship to the nascent nation states of England and France was perhaps *the* question that animated fourteenth-century politics, it is hardly surprising that Gower would think long and hard about the questions

[4] On the subject of division see: Malte Urban, *Fragments: Past and Present in Chaucer and Gower* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2009); Craig E Bertolet, "Fraud, Division, and Lies: John Gower and London," in *On John Gower: Essays at the* Millenium, ed. R.F. Yeager, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 46, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2007) pp. 43-70; Katherine R. Chandler, "Memory and Unity in *Gower's Confessio Amantis*," *Philological Quarterly* 7 (1992), pp. 15-30; Hugh White, "Division and Failure in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," *Neophilologus* 72(1988), pp. 600-616. On the longstanding debate regarding the coherence of Gower's ethical vision in the *Confessio Amantis* see Aers (2000), Minnis (1980), Scanlon (1994) pp. 245-67 and Russell A. Peck, *Kingship and Common Profit in Gower's* Confessio Amantis, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1978). For more recent interventions on this broad topic see: Matthew Irvine, *The Poetic Voices of John Gower: Politics and Personae in the Confessio Amantis*, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013); Conrad van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013); T. Matthew N. McCabe, *Gower's Vulgar Tongue: Ovid, Lay Religion, and English Poetry in the* "Confessio Amantis," *Publications of the John Gower Society* 6, (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011); Diane Watt, *Amoral Gower: Language, Sex and Politics*, *Medieval Cultures* 38, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); and Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), esp. Chapter 7, "O Political Gower."

[5] Peck (1978) pp. 13-9.

[6] For classic accounts of the medieval "estates" and the literary genre of "Estate Satire" see: Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, tr. Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: UCP, 1980) and Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

raised by the Schism.[7] Recognizing Gower's responses to the Schism throughout his career allows us to not only come to a better awareness of his ecclesiological commitments, but also to understand just how those commitments shaped his poetic vision.

The Schism interrupted the composition of both the *Mirour* and the *Vox*. Gower's initial responses to the crisis in those poems testify to his familiarity with what Wendy Scase has described as the "New Anticlericism." Rooted in the writings of Richard FitzRalph (c. 1300-1360), the "fundamental issue" of the "New Anticlericism" was "clerical dominium, or lordship."[8] Just as Scase argues that scholars of Langland should read *Piers Plowman* in conversation with the "New Anticlericism" of the 1360s and 70s, I begin this chapter by arguing that Gower adapted this discourse to incorporate discussions of the Schism into the *Mirour* and the *Vox* from the fall of 1378 to c. 1384.[9] I argue that the representation of the Schism in the *Confessio* echoes with the stalemate and despair that dominated English attitudes towards the crisis from the mid 1380s until the mid 1390s. Although the Prologue draws on the anticlerical tradition, the *Confessio* labors to historicize the contemporary church instead of simply indexing the failures of modern clergy. Not only does this chapter trace the evolution of Gower's representation of the Schism, but it also illuminates the discursive breadth of the crisis. In the *Mirour* and the *Vox*, the Schism is a textual problem, a question of sources, versions, and scribes. This textual instability aligns with the rapid pace of events c. 1378-1484 and limits the scope of Gower's concern to localizable events. In contrast, while Gower's engagement with the Schism in the *Confesso* presents few textual problems, this stability

[7] On church and state power in the later Middle Ages see: Oakley, 3, Canning (2011), and Brian Tierney, *The Foundations of Counciliar Theory*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1955).

[8] Scase (1989) p. 7; On FitzRalph in general see: Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: OUP, 1981).

[9] Scase (1989) pp. 1-15.

affords him the opportunity to examine the aesthetics of division within the context of Christian history.

Two-Headed Monsters: Papal Residences and Gower's Revisions of the *Mirour de l'Omme*

The *Mirour* can be divided into three major parts: a description of virtues and vices (*MO*.37-18420), a survey of the three estates (*MO*.18421-27360), and a life of the Virgin Mary (*MO*.27361-29945).[10] While Gower began work on the *Mirour* as early as 1360 and continued to revise the poem into the 1390s, Fisher and R.F. Yeager's datings of the *Mirour* center on secular concerns and only address the Schism in passing.[11] Fisher, G.C. Macaulay, and Maria Wickert all agree, however, that the only certain reference to the Schism (*MO*.18817-40) is a revision to Gower's original account of the church in estates portion of the *Mirour*.[12] While I affirm the critical consensus that this passage was an addition to Gower's original text, I argue that it is possible to date Gower's revisions to the *Mirour* to the months between Robert of Geneva's election as Clement VII in September 1378 and Clement's flight from Rome to Avignon in the summer of 1379, which would make Gower's revisions to the *Mirour* the first literary response to the Schism in any European vernacular. This date also allows us to contextualize the difference between the *Mirour*'s depiction of the Schism and Gower's later responses to the Schism by establishing a timeline for Gower's representation of the crisis. This timeline, in turn, demonstrates the consistency of Gower's engagement with the crisis

[10] In his 1900 review of Macaulay's edition of the *Mirour* George Lyman Kitteridge described these three sections as "the cause, the condition, and the remedy," *Nation* 71(1900) p. 254.

[11] R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's French," in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Siân Echard (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004) pp. 137-51.

[12] Maria Wickert, "The Text and Development of the *Vox Clamantis*" in *Studies in John Gower*, 2nd ed., tr. by Robert J. Meindl (Tempe: ACMRS, 2016) p. p. 16 n. 31; Fisher (1964) p. 95; Macaulay, 1, p. xlii.

and the degree to which he was in dialogue with the wider theories of representation and embodiment that informed the debates surrounding the Schism.

Gower begins the estates portion of the *Mirour* with "those who govern our world commencing first at the Court of Rome," (*MO*, p. 214). This account of the Roman curia consists, in turn, of three parts in two or three voices. In the first part, Gower outlines a problem: "Simon is now reigning with gold and silver in the court of Rome" (*MO*.18450-1). In this section, Gower merges his own voice with "the murmur, complaint, voice, and cry of all Christian folk" (*MO*.18447-8). To these complaints, a pope responds with a lengthy speech in which he revels in the acquisition of temporal wealth. In fact, while Macaulay is likely correct that Gower's reference to a 'Pope Innocent' (*MO*.18784) is not a reference to Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352-62), the name remains provocative: popes Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) and Innocent IV (1243-54) were the chief architects of the hierocratic system whose corruption Gower bemoans.[13] Both popes would certainly have concurred with the parting shot of the *Mirour*'s pope: "For there is no one who can take us to court for repayment, and that is what gives us confidence," (*MO*.18790-2). Then, in the last four stantzas of the *Mirour*'s account of the papacy, Gower responds to this speech. The first two stanzas (*MO*.18793-816) are the original conclusion of this part of the *Mirour* while the last two were added in the wake of the Schism (*MO*.18817-40):

> Quant monster naistdu quelque gendre,
> Des mals procheins du dois entendre,
> C'est la prenosticacioun;
> Mais ore qui voet garde prendre,
> Verra comment Orguil engender
> D'Envie en fornicacioun
> Le monstre de dampnacioun;
> Dont vient celle hesitacioun
> Q'en un soul corps om pet comprehendre
> Duex chiefs par demonstracioun

[13] Macaulay, 1, p. liii; *ODP*, pp. 186-8.

Et par diverse nacioun
L'un chief sur l'autre volt ascendre
  A Rome c'est ore avenue
Du monster q'est trop mal venu
Au bonne gent; car sainte eglise
N'ad q'un soul chief pardevant dieu,
Mais ore ad deus trestout parcru;
Dont la bealté de sa franchise
Se disfigure et est malmise.
Si dieus n'en face la juise
Au fin que l'un chief soit tollu
Le corps, q'en porte la reprise,
Ensi porra par nulla guise
Long temps estier en sa vertu." (*MO*.18817-40)

Whenever a monster of any kin is born, thou shouldst expect some coming ill, for it is the prognostication. Nowadays he who wants to look into the matter will see how Pride engenders by fornication with Envy the monster of damnation. From it comes the wavering the derives from two heads on one body and trying to prevail over the other in various countries. At Rome such a monster now exists, and he is unwelcome to good people; for Holy Church has only one head before God, but now two have grown up, so that the noble beauty of the Church is disfigured and ruined. Unless God renders judgement that one head be removed, the body, which bears the burden, cannot remain for long standing in virtue.

In fact, comparing Gowers's revision to the *Mirour*'s account of the papacy to his representation of imperial Rome suggests that there is good reason to believe that Gower had concluded his account of the papacy down to ln. 18816 sometime before the winter of 1376/7 and that he added ll. 18817-40 very shortly after news of the crisis reached England in the fall of 1378:

  O Rome, jadys chief du monde,
Mais tu n'es ore la seconde,
Ove deux chiefs es sanz chevetein:
L'un est qui sainte eglise exponde;
A son poair n'est qui responde,
Ce piert en toy chascun demein,
Car s'il avient qu'il t'est prochain,
Lors tolt de toy le flour et grein,
Et laist la paile deinz ta bonde,
Et puis se tient de toy forein:
C'est un des chiefs le premerein,
Par qui Fortune te confonde.
  Un autre chief duissetz avoir,
Mais voegles ad les oils pour voir,
Si ad tout sourdes les oreilles;
Ne puet oir, ne puet veoir,

> Si mal te vient, q'en poet chaloir?
> Helas, Fortune, as tes merveilles;
> C'est l'aigle d'orr qui tu n'esveilles,
> C'est cil qui tient les nefs sanz veilles
> Et les chivalx sanz removoir.
> He Rome, jadys sanz pareilles,
> N'est ore honour don't t'apareilles,
> Tes chiefs te font le corps dolior. (MO.22189-22212)
>
> O Rome, formerly head of the world, now thou art not even second. With two heads, thou art without a head. The one is he who sets forth the will of Holy Church, no one corresponds to his power—this appears in thee everyday. For if he is in Rome, he takes away from thee both flower and seed, leaving only the chaff in thy control; and then he betakes himself outside of thee. He is the first one of the heads through whom Fortune confounds thee. Another head thou shouldst have, but his eyes are blind for seeing, and his ears are all deaf. He cannot hear, he cannot see; if ill comes to thee, what matters it to him? Alas Fortune, thou hast thy marvel; he is the golden eagle whom thou dost not awake; it is he who has the ships without sails and the horses which do not move. Ah, Rome, formerly nonpareil, there is not no honor with which thou canst bedeck thyself. Thy heads make thy body grieve.

Both of these passages deploy the same image of a two-headed beast, associate that monster with the state of Rome, and situate this Roman monster within an apocalyptic frame. Clearly, these two passages are working with the same basic source materials. Despite these similarities, however, these monsters represent different things. In the first case, the monster obviously symbolizes the Schism of 1378 as it identifies the "two heads" [deux chiefs] (*MO*.18826). The identities of the "two heads" [deux chiefs] (*MO*.22191) of the second passage are equally obvious. In this case, the two heads represent the two vectors through which the universalizing Roman legacy survived into the Middle Ages: pope and emperor. The apocalyptic overtones of these two passages, however, are more complex.

In the first instance, Gower's initial response to the pope's horrifying speech was to associate this fictive pope with the Antichrist. Yet while Gower clearly associates the Antichrist with the generalized pope of the *Mirour*, this figure remains—in the original conclusion of his account of the papacy—singular: "What does one say about Antichrist coming? Holy scripture says that the name Antichrist signifies anyone who does contrary to Christ…Nowadays in our affairs the situation is the

same, for a man climbs up and assumes the dignity of St. Peter—along with the diadem and the vestment—but ignores the corresponding obligations" (*MO*.18793-6, 18812-6). Now, he says in the moment in which he writes, the pope, the avatar of the Roman curia is corrupt because he acts contrary to God's laws. In these two stanzas, it is this hypocrisy that heralds the end times.

The perspective of the last two stanzas, however, is different. Monsters, Gower declares, signify "some coming ill," [mals procheins]. In this particular case, the "mals procheins" is in fact *another monster*: "the monster of damnation," [Le monstre de dampnacioun]. This second monster, Gower asserts, consists of "two heads on one body" each "trying to prevail over the other in various countries." This monster is, of course, the Schism: "At Rome such a monster now exists." While a bicephalic monster would become a popular image for the Schism—especially in French literature—the *Mirour* pre-dates the most famous literary examples of this trope: Philip de Mézières' *Epistre au roy Richart II* and Eustace Deschampes' "Ballade 950."[14] In fact, the origins of Gower's monster can be traced to the original conclusion of the *Mirour*'s account of the papacy.

In that passage, Gower critiques the pope for taking up the "diadem and the vestment" [dyademe et la chymere] of the office while ignoring the attendant duties. On one hand, the denotative meaning of Gower's *chymere* is perfectly clear: vestment. On the other hand, the Anglo-Norman word cannot, especially in this context, but evoke anything but the mythical multi-headed monster. [15] The immediate source(s) for both Gower's bicephalic, schismatic, "monster of

[14] On de Mézières and Deschampes useage of this image see: Blumenfeld-Konsinski (2006), pp. 119, 126.

[15] See "chimer" <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED7595> and "chimera" <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED7595> in *DME*.

damnation" and his generalized pre-Schism papal antichrist were the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*.[16] This common source, in turn, explains the fluidity with which Gower was able to integrate the Schism into the *Mirour*'s wider vision. He was already in contact with one of the dominant literary traditions through which men and women would respond to the Schism.[17] The Schism turned a "chymere" into a chimera.

Gower's other "deux chiefs," the pope and emperor, also emerge from a well-worn eschatological tradition: the four world empires.[18] Originating with Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams in Daniel 2 and 4, this system understood history as a succession of monarchies culminating in Rome. While the *Mirour* lacks the explicit references to Daniel 2 which are found in the *Confessio* and the *Vox*, it presents Rome as the last of a series of empires which began with Nebuchadnezzar (*MO*.21979-22080) and associates the rise and fall of these empires with a Christianized Fortuna (*MO*.22081-22164). Like the *Confessio*, the *Mirour* contrasts the state of classical and Christian Rome (*MO*.22165-22224). While Gower lauds ancient emperors like Trajan and Caesar Augustus (*MO*.22165-76), he bemoans the current state of the city, describing it as "ill-ruled" [malbaillie] despite Christian control (*MO*.22179-80). Unlike the Schism, where the two-headed beast signified a horrifying *presence*, Gower defines the misrule of modern Rome's "deux

[16] On these prophecies see Martha H. Fleming, *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The "Genus nequam" Group*, (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999); Hélène Millet, "Le Grand Schisme d'Occident selon Eustache Deschampes: Un monstre prodigieux," in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995) pp. 215-26; Orit Schwartz and Robert E. Lerner, "Illuminated Propaganda: the origins of the 'Ascende calve' pope prophecies,' in *Journal of Medieval History* 20(1994) pp. 157-91; Bernard McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," in *Chruch History* 47.2(1978) pp. 155-73.

[17] Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006) pp. 166-78.

[18] Graeme Dunphy, "Daniel's dream," in *EMC*, pp. 507-9; For more on Gower's use of Daniel see Chapter 3, pp. 138-54.

chiefs" in terms of their *absence*. This specific evocation of Rome as abandoned by *both* Pope and Emperor suggests that Gower wrote this portion of the *Mirour* prior to Gregory XI's departure for Rome in 1376.[19] While the imperial crown had long since migrated north of the Alps, Gregory's arrival in January of 1377 ended the papacy's c. 70-year residence in Avignon. During this so-called "Babylonian Captivity" writers such as Dante, Petrarch, Catherine of Sienna, and Bridget of Sweden figured the papal absence from Rome in terms similar to those used by Gower in the *Mirour*.[20] It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that Gower wrote a large part of the *Mirour* prior to Gregory's departure from Avignon in 1376. Conversely, when Gower revised the *Mirour* he located the Schismatic "monster of damnation" explicitly in Rome. In fact, when compared to Gower's revisions of the *Vox*, the *Mirour*'s emphatic location of *both* heads of the monster to Rome suggests that Gower updated the *Mirour* sometime after the fall of 1378 but before the summer of 1379.

"Francia scismaticum colit": Anglo-French Conflict and Gower's Revisions to the *Vox Clamantis*

The textual history of the *Vox*, which survives in nine manuscripts, is more complex than that of the *Mirour*, which survives in a single manuscript. The *Vox*, according to Maria Wickert, exists in two principle versions: the A-Text (Macaulay's TH_2 manuscript group), which was "concluded before 1390"; and a B-Text (Macaulay's SCHGEDL manuscript group) about which there is significantly more controversy. Most of this controversy centers on a group of four particularly important manuscripts: S, Oxford, All Souls College, Manuscript 98; H, London, British Library, MS Harley 629; C London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iv; G, Glasgow,

[19] Note also that memories of the brief return of both Emperor Charles IV and Pope Urban V in 1370 lingered on, Rollo-Koster (2015) pp. 125-6.

[20] On the Avignon Papacy and its critiques see Introduction pp. 19-21.

Hunterian Library, MS T.2.17. In all four of these manuscripts, the A-Text has been corrected in favor of the B-Text. While all scholars agree that the revision from A to B was authorial, they disagree on the date and the stakes of their respective datings. Macaulay dated this revision to 1383, John Fisher dated it to "around 1386," and Wickert argued that while the B-Text "simulate[s] the situation of *ca.* 1387," it dates from after 1390 and, "in all likelihood originated, as its political attitude shows, in the period after Richard's fall," i.e. after 1400.[21] These theories regarding the development of the *Vox* have been dominated by two major themes: first, the Peasant's Revolt of 1381 and its relationship to the evolution of Gower's view of Richard II; and second, the complex relationship between "some twenty or more scribes" whose hands appear throughout these manuscripts, many of which appear in multiple manuscripts.[22] While Macaulay suggested that the implementation of a significant program of authorial revisions by a relatively small group of scribes implied the existence of a more or less organized scriptorium, which Fisher then located to St. Mary Overeys in Southwark, Malcolm Parkes has shown that the evidence actually suggests a far less formal network of "a few 'neighborhood scribes' who were employed *ad hoc* on commissions from Gower's earliest readers and admirers."[23]

Alongside these secular concerns, the Schism has played a minor role in theories regarding the development of the *Vox*. Just as in the *Mirour*, Gower begins the estates portion of the *Vox* with the church; in the A-Text, just as in the original version of the *Mirour*, there is no mention of the Schism:

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[21] Macaulay, 4, pp. xxx-xxxiv; Fisher (1964) p. 108; Wickert, (2016).

[22] M.B. Parkes, "Patters of scribal activity and revisions of the text in early copies of the works of John Gower," in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle*, ed. Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995) pp. 82-6.

[23] Macaulay, 2, pp. cxxx-cxxxi and 4, pp. lx-lxi; Fisher (1964), pp. 93, 101; Parkes (1995), p. 98.

A: Sunt clerus, miles, cultor, tres trina gerentes;
Hic docet, hic pugnat, alter et arua colit.
Quid sibi sit clerus primo videamus, et ecce
De reliquis fugiens mundus adheret eis.
Primo prelatos constat preferred sequendos,
Nam via doctorum tucior illa foret. (*VC*.3.1-6**)

There are the cleric, the knight, and the peasant, the three carrying on three [different] things. The one teaches, the other fights, and the third tills the field. First let us see what the clergy are. Behold, the whole world cleaves to them and shuns the rest of us. Evidently prelates prefer to be waited upon first, for the pathway of learned men ought to be quite secure.

If the B-Text simply revised the A-Text to mention the Schism, the trajectory of Gower's thought regarding the issue would be clear. Gower, however, revised the portions of the *Vox* relevant to the Schism twice, resulting in a B1-Text (MSS CHGEDL) and B2-Text (MS S). Because Wickert's interests lay in determining the recensions of the *Vox* with reference to events which postdate the Schism—the Peasants Revolt of 1381 and the fall of Richard II in 1399—she dismisses the differences between B1 and B2 as stylistic:[24]

B1: Sunt clerus, miles, cultor, tres trina gerentes;
Hic docet, hic pugnat, alter et arua colit.
Quid sibi Clerus primo videamus, et ecce
Eius in exemplis iam stupet omnis humus.
Schisma patens hodie monstrat quod sunt duo pape
Vnus schismaticus, alter et ille bonus:
Francia scismaticum colit et statuit venerandum
Anglia sed rectam seruat vbique fidem.
Ergo meis scriptis super hoc vbicumque legendis
Sint bona dicta bonis et mala linquo malis. (*VC*.1.3-10*)

There are the cleric, the knight, and the peasant, the three carrying on three [different] things. The one teaches, the other fights, and the third tills the field. First let us see what the cleric is. Behold, the whole world is now stunned by his example. The schism of today shows plainly that there are two popes, one a schismatic, and the other the proper one. France favors the schismatic and declares that he ought to be revered, but England everywhere preserves the right faith. I accordingly bequeath the good things said by my

[24] Wickert (2016), p. 13.

writing about this matter to good readers wherever they may be, and I bequeath the bad things to the bad.

B2: Sunt Clerus, Miles, Cultor, tres trina gerentes,
Set de prelatis scribere tendo prius.
Schisma patens hodie monstrat quod sunt duo pape
Vnus schismaticus, alter et ille bonus:
Francia scismaticum colit et statuit venerandum
Anglia sed rectam seruat vbique fidem.
Ergo meis scriptis super hoc vbicumque legendis
Sint bona dicta bonis et mala linquo malis. (*VC* 3.1-8)

There are the cleric, the knight, and the peasant, the three carrying on three [different] things. But I intend to write about the prelates first. The schism of today shows plainly that there are two popes, one a schismatic, and the other the proper one. France favors the schismatic and declares that he ought to be revered, but England everywhere preserves the right faith. I accordingly bequeath the good things said by my writing about this matter to good readers wherever they may be, and I bequeath the bad things to the bad.

Parkes argues that given the "rolling" nature of Gower's revisions, it is not possible to determine the precise relationship between these two versions.[25] Both Wickert and Parkes, however, fail to account for the sophistication of Gower's representation of the Schism.

For example, Parkes suggests that the references to clerical violence in B1 (*VC*.3.16*) and B2 (*VC*.3.11) indicate that Gower revised this passage *after* Bishop Henry Despenser's 1383/4 "crusade" against Clement VII's Flemish supporters.[26] Parkes, it seems, assumes that *any* reference to clerical violence in close proximity to a reference to the Schism *must* refer to Despenser's Crusade. This is not necessarily the case, however. First, the *Mirour* contains extensive critiques of clerical

[25] Parkes (1995), p. 84

[26] Parkes (1995), p. 84-5; For Despenser's Crusade see: Michael J. Wilks "Roman candle or damned squib: the English Crusade of 1383," in *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice. Papers by Michael Wilks*, ed. Anne Hudson, (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 2000), pp. 253-72 and Jonathan Sumption, "The Path of Flanders, 1382-1383," in *Divided Houses*, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. 3, (Philadephia: U Penn P, 2011), 456-510. On English attitudes towards crusades in the fourteenth-century see: Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury, (Cardiff: University College Cardiff P, 1985), 127-34; On Gower's specific response to Despenser's campaign see R.F. Yeager, "*Pax Poetica*: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower," in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 9(1987) 97-121.

violence that must predate Despenser's campaign and likely predate the Schism (e.g. *MO*.18565, 18661-84, 18769-80). The A-text of the *Vox*, which also clearly predates the Schism, contains the *exact same* critique of clerical violence as the passages Parkes associates with Despenser's campaign:

A-Text:	"He used to make peace, but they wage wars," (*VC*.3.12**) [Hic pacem dederat, hii quoque bella ferunt]
B1-Text:	"He used to make peace, but they wage wars," (*VC*.3.16*) [Hic pacem dederat, hii quoque bella ferunt]
B2-Text:	"He used to make peace, but they now wage war," (*VC*.3.11) ["Hic pacen dederat, hii modo bella mouernt]

Clearly, there is nothing about B-Text's references to clerical violence that *must* postdate Despenser's crusade. In fact, there is both internal and external evidence to believe that the A→B1 revision took place between the summer of 1379 and Despenser's crusade in 1383/4 and perhaps even prior to Wyclif's 1381 departure from Oxford.

While Clement VII's envoy to England did not address the Gloucester Parliament until 13 November, the large cadre of English clerics in Rome ensured that Parliament, and especially the sub-group of clergy convened by Archbishop Simon Sudbury (1316-1381) to adjudicate the competing claims to the Apostolic See, had a firm grasp on the issues at hand (Walsingham, 1, pp. 246-63). Indeed, the turmoil in Rome and the controversy surrounding Urban's election began well before Clement VII's official revolt on 20 September 1378, a fact that would have been well known to many in Gower's circle.[27] As Margaret Harvey has shown, the wool trade encouraged an Anglo-Roman network of exchange that supplemented the ecclesiastical and political connections between the crown and the curia. The English institutions in Rome that supported the wool trade, in turn, enjoyed strong relationships with precisely the same mercantile networks in which men like Gower

[27] Harvey (1983): pp. 15, 22-9.

and his friend Geoffrey Chaucer lived and worked.[28] Derek Pearsall has speculated that the run up to the Schism truncated Chaucer's 1378 diplomatic mission to Italy—during which Gower helped manage Chaucer's English affairs—and led to Chaucer's unexpectedly early return to England in September of that year.[29] While debate regarding the nature of the relationship between Chaucer and Gower continues, it is hard to imagine that the former would not have mentioned the general circumstances of his return to the latter.[30] In short, Gower would have been able to obtain relatively current information regarding the situation in Rome from a variety of sources throughout his poetic career. As such, it seems reasonable to assume that differences in Gower's depictions of the Schism might reflect the evolution of the crisis.

In the early days of the Schism, immediately after the election of Clement VII, the rival popes battled for control of the central papal states, especially Rome.[31] In April 1379, however, Urban VI soundly defeated Clement VII in a battle near Marino and forced his withdrawal to Avignon. If Gower revised the *Mirour* between September 1378 and the summer of 1379 both popes would actually be *in*, or at least around, the city of Rome, just as Gower describes in the poem. While Gower is alarmed by the Schism in the *Mirour*, his choice to locate the crisis in the city of Rome admits possibilities for containment and resolution. If one head could be cut off quickly, Gower seems to imply, a major catastrophe might be forestalled. To that end, the *Mirour* reflects the general hopes for a quick resolution, whereas the geopolitics of the Schism in Gower's revisions to Book 3 of the *Vox* registers the widespread nature of the crisis.

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[28] Harvey (1999), pp. 24-6, 37, 76.

[29] Pearsall (1992) p. 109.

[30] Sobecki (2017).

[31] Ullmann (1972), pp. 44-57.

Right from the start, Clement VII's close relation to King Charles V (1338-1380) and the nobility of France led men like Walsingham to question the initial sincerity of French support for the pope. It was Charles' decision to prop up Clement after his defeat at Marino, however, that elicited Walsingham's most vitriolic, and verbose, critique (Walsingham, 1, pp. 252-3):[32]

> After Easter that year the knights of Pope Urban with an army of Romans and Italians declared war against the army of the antipope who called himself Clement and against the Bretons who were giving him their full support. Our men gained the victory by God's grace, and five thousand or more of the common soldiers in the army of the antipope were killed. Sixty of their knights were captured along with their commanding officer Bernard de la Salle. Hearing of this disaster, the antipope, no longer 'Clement' but rather 'demented,' fled with all speed to a certain fortress of the queen of Naples which is called Sperlonga ('the Cave'), and he hid there in the territory of the count of Fondi until he was secretly conveyed by his schismatics to Avignon. It was his hope, no doubt, to be under the shadow of the wings of the King of France, whom he knew to be favorable to his cause, and for that reason he decided to make for Avignon for greater security. O how detestable, impius, and damnable is, not the ignorance, but the malice of this king! For he is well aware how unjust, how unconstitutional, how contemptible is the claim of this false pope, and yet the king endevours to prostrate himself before this pretender, and to venerate and exalt him, not only at the peril of his own soul but to the damnation and destruction of many others, as well as the confusion of the Church. He was certainly aware that he had not 'entered by the door but had climbed up some other way,' indeed, over the wall. All faithful Christians therefor consider support for him anathema. The king had received letters from Clement after the election of Pope Urban, about his accepted election, his enthronement, his see, and other things which should befit the true successor of Peter; as the result the king seems to be accepting, without any objection, the decisions of men who call the truth falsehood, and falsehood the truth. (Walsingham, 1, pp. 275, 7)

Walsingham continues in this vein, denouncing Charles V for his knowing and willful support of a heretical, at least in Walsingham's eyes, antipope. While Walsingham knew the Schism began in the fall of 1378, he clearly sees Charles' actions in the summer of 1379 as the decisive factor that transformed a local dispute into a global crisis (Walsingham, 1, pp. 252-63). A cadre of cardinals might have "[raised] up Clement in the likeness of Baal—a metaphor for vanity" but it was Charles who "strove with all his power and wealth to drag the whole of the Christian Church into the abyss

[32] Clement VII, previously Robert of Geneva, was Charles V's cousin, Ullmann (1972), p. 163.

of apostasy," (Walsingham, 1, p. 278-9). Absent Charles' rescue, Walsingham implies, Urban's victory at Marino would have nipped the Schism in the bud.

To return to Gower, the accounts of the Schism in the *Mirour* and the *Vox* align with Walsingham's narrative arc. The *Mirour* appears to be an immediate reaction to the Schism, a response to the rise of this specifically *Roman* monster appended to an otherwise finished critique of the papacy. By the time Gower revised the A-Text of the *Vox*, however, the situation in Rome had changed and the B-Text's explicit condemnation of French support of Clement VII (*VC*.3.5-6. 7-8*) reflects the new political reality. Nobody, however, argues that either version of the B-Text of the *Vox* predates 1379. Rather, the disputes regarding B1 and B2 center around the events of the 1380s. There is, however, good reason to think that the text of S, Wickert's B2 text, post-dates B1. First, B2's tacit admission by subtraction that "the whole world" is no longer "stunned" (*VC* 3.1.4*) by the Schism suggests a later date. Moreover, B2's revisions to the end of Book IV, the *Vox*'s account of regular clergy, suggests a *terminus ante quem* for B1 of c. 1382-4.

In both the A-Text and B2, Book IV concludes by "stress[ing] the need for pious clergy" (*VC*.4.1221-32).[33] In B1, however, Gower concludes with a meditation on clerical heresy which is not present in A or B2:

> Now that the destiny of the clergy wavers from Christ's order, the world wrongly practices what God himself forbids. Burnel, as long as your teaching is widespread in the world, every man is deceived by it from top to toe. But when blessed Gregory's teaching shown on earth, the true faith flourished and set everything at peace. But Arius is the new teacher now, as is Jovian, provoking schisms in the churches with their teachings. Thus where rule of life should instruct people to take the right path, death in instructs them; where light should do so, darkness does. Therefor let every good man, whether he be knight or peasant, offer his orisons to God, praying for the clergy. (*VC*.4.1221-32*).

Gower's "Arius" is "almost certainly Wyclif."[34] Parkes argues further that, given the scholastic context of this allusion, B1 imagines Wyclif in Oxford. As such, Parkes concludes, this revision

[33] Parkes (1995), p. 93.

would have been meaningless "soon after 1382."[35] Thus the internal evidence suggests that the beginning of Book III and the end of Book IV—i.e. the start and finish of Gower's account of the church—seems to exist in three basic forms:

1. The A-Text which reflects the state of the church c. 1377-Sept. 1378. This version does not mention the Schism in Book III nor does it compare Wyclif to Arius in Book IV

2. B1 which reflects the state of affairs c. July 1379-1382. This version describes the Schism as 'stunning,' figures it in terms of Anglo-French relations (Book III), and locates the "New Arius" to Oxford (Book IV).

3. B2 which reflects the situation after 1382. While this version of Book III retains the geopolitics of B1 it suppresses the expressions of surprise and, in Book IV, scholastic contexts of Wyclif's teaching.

The manuscript evidence supports this conclusion as well. The key figures in these revisions are Parke's "Scribes 7 and 8."

Scribe 8 made rolling revisions to three crucial manuscripts of the B1 text: GCH. In all three of these manuscripts, Scribe 8 copied the B1 text of *VC*.3.2-10* and 4.1221-32* over erasures of the A-Text. While Scribe 8 executed these revisions after 1408, Parkes suggests that these revisions "[derive] from a copy of a version of the *Vox* that antedates that preserved in the original text of the surviving copies."[36] Essentially, the evidence suggests that Gower revised the A-Text to address the Schism and Lollardy—two issues he always connected—*after* Clement's flight to Avignon in 1379, but either prior to or shortly after Wyclif's departure from Oxford in 1381, and thus prior to Despenser's Crusade. The evidence of S, i.e. B2, supports this hypothesis. In S Scribe 7 copied the B2 version of *VC*.3.1-8 overtop of the A-Text and added a marginal note addressing Despenser's

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[34] Parkes (1995), p. 93.
[35] Parkes (1995), p. 93; Note also that the first official condemnations of Wyclif's writings in the Spring of 1377 coincide with critical hypothesis regarding the date at which Gower began working on the A-Text; Lahey (2009) pp. 17-21.
[36] Parkes (1995), pp. 93-4.

Crusade beside *VC*.3.375: "Note here concerning the war on the part of the clergy in the time of King Richard in Flanders; for at that time not only the secular but also the regular priests took to plundering in mortal battles there, like laymen."[37] While Parkes seems to assume Despenser's Crusade is both "referred to and glossed" at *VC*.3.375, only the second half of his statement is true.

In fact, the entirety of *VC*.3 chapter 6 (*VC*.3.329-406) is devoted to the question of clerical violence and, excluding the gloss, *VC*.3.375 makes no mention of *any* specific circumstance. Associating this passage with Despenser precludes other possibilities. For example, it would be wise to remember that an English mercenary with ties to Gower's circle, John Hawkwood, had participated in perhaps the most infamous bout of clerical bloodshed prior to the Schism: the massacre at Cesena in February of 1377. Gregory XI's return to Rome was contingent on the pacification of the papal states. Gregory entrusted this task to a loyal lieutenant: Robert, the Cardinal of Geneva.[38] Robert hired Hawkwood to lead the papal forces during the "War of Eight Saints."[39] If Cesena surrendered, Robert promised to be merciful. Seeing the cause lost, Cesena laid down its arms and opened its gates. Robert and his mercenaries entered and proceeded to slaughter 2,000-20,000 inhabitants, thus earning the cardinal the nickname "the butcher of Cesena."[40] Given that Chaucer's Italian business was directly related to the "War of Eight Saints" and that Gower would later associate the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," i.e. Robert of Geneva, with precisely the

[37] I assume that Scribe 7 copied B2 over the A-Text based on S's retention of the A version of the conclusion of Book IV, which is discussed below.

[38] Chambers (2006), p. 33.

[39] On the War of Eight Saints see: John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, (Oxford: Blackwell P, 2006) pp. 151-5. David S. Peterson, "The War of Eight Saints in Florentine Memory and Oblivion" in *Society and the Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell, (Berkeley: UC P, 2002), pp. 173-214.

[40] Chambers (2006), p. 33.

type of irregular companies, "brygantaille" (*CA*, P.213), employed by Hawkwood, it seems reasonable to suggest that the original intent of this passage was to evoke the papal-sanctioned wars that convulsed Italy during the fourteenth century. To that end, Scribe 7's work supports such a conclusion. Not only did Scribe 7 gloss *VC*.3.375 as a reference to Despenser's Crusade in S, they also glossed GCH in precisely the same way.[41] From this perspective, Scribe 7's revisions to S express a persistent pattern of updating the *Vox*'s references to the Schism to reflect the state of affairs after 1383/4: France and England each backed their own pope but once the initial shock had worn off, Wyclif was no longer in Oxford and perhaps even dead by the time S reverted the end of *VC*.4 back to the original A-Text, and the unbridled bloodlust of Despenser's Crusdade has so completely "astonished" (*CA*, P.277) observers that Scribe 7 retroactively read it back into earlier discussions of clerical violence.

In short, the *Mirour* and the *Vox* allow us to observe the trajectory of Gower's thought during the first five years of the Schism. The original text of the *Mirour* and the A-Text of the *Vox* focused on the sins of the Avignonese clergy. In the wake of the dramatic events of 1378, Gower drew on the same prophetic discourses that informed those critiques—Scase's "New Anticlericism—to figure the Schism, c. September 1378-July 1379, as a monstrous new birth in the *Mirour*. *Vox* B1 evokes the shocking state of affairs in the torrid first few years of the Schism and B2 registers the situation after Despenser's Crusade. Gower's next major engagement with the Schism occurs in the Prologue to the *Confessio*. While the *Confessio* returns to many of the same topics as the *Mirour* and the *Vox*, its representation of the Schism is not tied to specific events and textual revisions. This does not mean that the *Confessio* is somehow less concerned with the Schism or detached from the pace of events. Rather, it registers the stasis and gridlock of the years between

[41] Parkes (1995), p. 92.

Despenser's Crusade and the death of Clement VII in 1394: "In contrast with the debates, divisions and conflicts of the opening years of the schism, the second half of the 1380s was," according to R.N. Swanson, "a period of comparative peace, almost of anticlimax."[42] In the *Confessio*, Gower uses this "breathing space" to shift his attention to the stakes of the crisis and its long history.

"Tempore Roberti Gibbonensis": Papal Names and Clerical Violence in the *Confessio Amantis*

By the time Gower began to write and revise the *Confessio* in the 1380s and 90s, the Schism had evolved from a terrifying new development into a tragically quotidian reality. Gower did not need to revise the crisis into the *Confessio*. Despite its numerous subsections and topics, the Prologue to the *Confessio* spends more time on the church and its history than any other subject.[43] These discussions of the church, however, are not concerned with doctrinal theology but rather with what might be broadly described as ecclesiology. Or, in other words, Gower is more interested in the politics and history of Christendom than the content of Christian belief. While Gower returns to many of the same topics, images, and sources that animated his description of the church in the *Mirour* and the *Vox*, the Prologue expands on those discourses to periodize the Christian past. It is this historicization of the Schism that differentiates the *Confessio* from the *Mirour* and the *Vox*.

Gower divides church history into a glorious past and a broken present. On one hand, such a move is hardly surprising. What generation does not pine for idealized "daies olde" (*CA*, P.193)? On the other hand, the specific sins for which Gower assails the contemporary church indicate his

[42] Swanson (1979), pp. 70-89.
[43] For example, in its account of the three estates, the discussion of the second estate, the clergy, is longer than the combined discussion of the first, the state, and the third, the commons. Likewise, his interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the account of Christian Rome dwarf the discussion of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Classical Rome.

participation in a particular set of later medieval theo-political discourses surrounding the *ecclesia primitiva*.[44] Although "[t]he quest for the true church is almost as old as the church itself," Scott Hendrix and Gordon Leff have argued that the invocation of the ancient church took on a distinctly new flavor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[45] Where previous generations had evoked an idealized past in order to encourage monastic reform, later medieval writers, ranging from Petrarch to Marsilius of Padua, periodized church history so as to critique the contemporary institution *en bloc* juxtaposing it with Leff's "the myth of Apostolic Church."[46] In the Prologue, Gower anchors his long discussion of "the status of the clergy, as they call them, in regard to spiritual matters, in the time of Robert of Geneva, who took to himself the name Clement, at that time the antipope," [De statu cleri, vt dicunt, secundum spiritualia, videlicet tempore Roberti Gibbonensis, qui nomen Clementis sibi sortitus est, tunc antipape] (*CA*, P.iii) to this protean yet powerful mode of historicism. In fact, despite its brevity, this short gloss both roots Gower's periodization of the

[44] On the development of the idea of the *ecclesia primitiva* see Glenn Olsen, "The Idea of *Ecclesia primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Traditio* 25(1969): 61-86. For wide ranging discussions of the idea *de senectute mundi* topos in Medieval Literature see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the the Latin Middle Ages*, tran. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series XXXVI, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1953) 94-101; George Boas, *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1978); and, of course, Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, tran. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1996) and the many responses it inspired. On the roots of the reforming tradition in the Patristic era see Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1959); For an insightful account of Langland's contemporary reception of the *ecclesia primitva* in the context of anticlerical literature see Scase (1989) pp. 88-97.

[45] Scott H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: The Crisis of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," *Viator* 7.1(1976): 347; Gordon Leff, (1971) and "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology," in *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 18(1967) pp. 58-82.

[46] Hendrix (1976) pp. 348-51 and Leff, (1971).

church in the specifics of his contemporary moment *and* distances him from the more radical types of historical critique embraced by John Wyclif and his followers.[47]

At the most basic level, Gower blames "Robert of Geneva, who took to himself the name of Clement," for the contemporary church's distance from "daies olde." Conversely, Wyclif habitually placed the responsibility for modern departures from the apostolic model on "our Urban."[48] The specificity of Gower and Wyclif's nomenclature suggests the distance between their positions while indicating Gower's keen awareness of papal semiotics.[49] Papal election was not like other ecclesiastical promotions. Taking a new name symbolized the death of the old man and the assumption of this new "suprapersona" that was nothing short of the church itself.[50] To call a pope by his papal name was to affirm this political theology. Conversely, to deny a pope his name was to deny his office. In short, the Schism provided Gower with an opportunity to differentiate his systemic critique of the contemporary church, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," from Wyclif's wholesale assault "Urbanus noster" and, thus, the idea of Christendom itself. In fact, lest we doubt Gower's keen awareness of the significance of papal names, let us compare his nomenclature to Walsingham's account of the Schism.

After Gregory XI's death (r. 1370-8), Walsingham writes that "Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari" was elected. Henceforth Walsingham refers to Bartholomew by his papal name: Urban VI (r.

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[47] This "gloss" is the sort of "functional" Latin that, in Siân Echard's view, enabled readers to "skim" the *Confessio* for interesting and/or relevant portions, "With Carmen's Help: Latin Authorities in the "Confessio Amantis,"" in *Studies in Philology*, 95.1(1998) pp. 11-12.

[48] Hudson (1988) p. 333.

[49] Hergemöller (2002) p. 1067.

[50] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000) pp. 58-74.

1378-89).[51] In Walsingham's eyes, the election extinguished Bartholomew's old self.[52] Conversely, Walsingham refuses to grant Clement VII either the name or the title that belonged to the papal office.[53] Rather, Walsingham refers to him in precisely the same terms as Gower: a self-styled antipope.[54] Both Gower and Walsingham also pun on Clement's name in such a way as to indicate their awareness of the symbolic significance of papal names. Regarding Clement's hasty retreat after the defeat at Marino, Walsingham remarks that "Hearing of this disaster, the antipope, no longer 'Clement' but rather 'demented,' fled with all speed to a certain fortress of the queen of Naples," [Quod audiens, non iam Clemens set pene demens factus antipapa, concito fugit ad quoddam castrum regine Neapolis] (Walsingham, 1, pp. 274-5). Then, in the *Vox*, Gower declares that "So the one now called Clement is far from being clement, and he is wrong in keeping this name, for he lacks a prefix," [Sic differ Clemens nunc clemente vocatus / Errat et Acephalo nomine nomen habens] (*VC*.3.951-5). While the precise shape of Gower's pun derives from the dedication of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poeta Nova*, its immediate context in the *Vox* both anticipates the depiction of the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" in the *Confessio* and resonates with the rhetorical violence of Walsingham's pun.[55] In short, Gower's juxtaposition of his vernacular invocation of the *ecclesia*

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[51] *ODP*, pp. 225-8; Walsingham, p. 223; on the particular significance of the name "Urban" see: James H. Caxton, "On the Name of Urban II," in *Traditio* 23(1967), pp. 489-95.

[52] On the powers reserved to the Pope-elect see: Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1968) pp. 150-200.

[53] *Cf.* polemical greetings of the letters that Urban and Clement sent to the Gloucester Parliament in the fall of 1378, Walsingham, p. 253-5. *NB*: For the sake of clarity, the English translation of Walsingham's *Chronicle* frequently refers to Clement by his would-be papal name but the Latin text universally denies Robert both his papal name and his title.

[54] On the emergence of the term "antipope" see: Michael E. Stoller, "The Emergence of the Term Antipapa in Medieval Usage," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 23(1985), p. 43-61.

[55] Stockton, p. 398, n. 21.

primitiva, the "daies olde" (*CA*, P.193-239) with the Latin summary/description of the church, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" both evokes a particular type of historicism *and* associates it with the rhetoric of the Schism.

While modern scholars are comfortable attributing a high degree of secular legal knowledge to Gower, his relationship to canon law remains under examined.[56] In the *Vox*, Gower's pun on Clement's name concludes a long speech in the person of the pope that dominates the majority of *VC*.3 chapter 10 (*VC*.3.817-953). This speech, in turn, imagines a John Gower possessed with the ability and inclination to read canon law:

> In the books of the clergy of Rome [libris cleri Rome] I have seen this written: "Read these writings of ours in order that you may live better. Do you wish to serve God? Do you wish to learn what He demands? Read them, and then you shall know how this is possible. Love God with your mind. Seek, trust, and strive to serve Him." (*VC*, 3.791-6)

The speech delivered by Gower's pope evidences a more than passing familiarity with the political theologies of the later Middle Ages. Combined with Gower's (potential) background in civil law, *VC*.3 chapter 10 suggests that Gower was interested in and had specific knowledge of the language and semiotics of papal power that structured the politics of the Schism.

When, however, Gower compares that which he finds "in libris cleri Rome" to the behavior of modern clerics he contends that, as he would later say in the *Confessio*, "Betwen the word and that thei werche / Ther is a full gret difference" (*CA*, P.450-1). The *Vox*'s response to this hypocrisy contains the kernel of the *Confessio*'s binary historicism: "Now that I have read that, I am at once struck with amazement that I can see strife among the clergy. So I wanted to ask of the clergy who there might be that could give me a reasonable explanation," (*VC*, 3.809-12). First, Gower posits an

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[56] For an account of the scholarly opinions regarding Gower's legal knowledge see van Dijk (2013), 1–5 and for an example of the way legal discourse shaped the *Vox*, see Robert Meindl, "Semper Venalis: Gower's Avaricious Lawyers," in *Accessus: A Journal of Premodern Literature and New Mediea* 1.2(2013) pp. 1-64.

absolute disjunction between his experience of the church and an imagined past. Second, the virtues of the past are precisely those of the *ecclesia primativa*. In the *Vox*, the books of Roman law defined the virtuous life via the fruits of the spirit (*VC*.3.797-808). Conversely, the *Confessio* defines the "daies old" via the absence of those same virtues (*CA*, P.193-239). Gower's demand for an explanation of this disjunction evokes with the historical-critical method paradigmatic of *ecclesia primativa*-centric critiques of the church. While Gower does not, in the *Vox*, explicitly periodize his "books of Roman law," describing these texts as "books of *Roman* law" endows them with a historical weight. The moral authority of *ecclesia primativa* rested on its alterity, the degree to which it was a past only accessible as a text. There is a hermeneutic consistency between the *Vox* and the *Confessio*: both construct alternative, idealized, textual and/or historical pasts so as to critique the present.[57]

Finally, both the *Vox* and the *Confessio* define the present as an age of strife. In fact, in the *Vox*, Gower's pun on Clement's name is an explicit response to clerical violence:

> The question was raised, and one churchman stood up and answered my objections. Suggesting first that he possessed the highest honor of Supreme Pontiff, he said this about them: "The earthly powers have divided their command with me, and I guard over the realms subject to the law of heaven. But since earth is near us and heaven is far away we like earth more, which is so close…Let the priest sell his frock and buy a sword, and let every holy order cease its sacred works. Let us magnify our name on earth so that others shall fear wars against themselves in the future. Let the pastoral staff be turned into a spear, and let the mitre become a helmet, and let peace rush to slaughter. Let the man who wishes to do good do it; we wish to be held in esteem above everyone, and to let others bear the burden. Thus we who bear the title of highest cleric have blindly elected in our own heart to pursue violence. Whatever their souls may do, we intend to subdue men's bodies… But we lop off the whole head [*colo*] in our anger; we are so sure that no one with such a wound returns afterwards to a sound state of health. Therefor our judgement is heavier than Peter's and our sword is mightier than his." So the one now called Clement is far from being clement, and he is wrong in keeping this name, for he lacks a prefix. (*VC*, 3.929-40, 951-6)

[57] On the topic of history and textuality see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, 2nd ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1999).

This long response not only fails to explain the disjunction between church doctrine and the actions of the contemporary church, but it valorizes precisely the nexus of power, property and violence that characterized the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." While the pope begins his speech with an entirely conventional precis of hierocratic thought, the remainder consists of a ludicrously extreme argument for papal sovereignty, wherein the church not only claims the power to intervene in temporal affairs, but in fact finds its highest meaning in battle. In this context, Gower's poetic decapitation of Clement links the problem of clerical violence—"we lop off the whole head,"—with the political theologies that informed papal onomastics—"we who bear the highest title [nomina]…he is wrong in keeping his name"—and the personae of the Schism so as to figure the distance between the *ecclesia primativa* and the contemporary church. While this speech is clearly a caricature, its moral arch is identical to that of the *Confessio*.

Of the vices that define the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," one reigns supreme: "Simon" or simony, i.e. the practice of buying and selling church office. In "daies olde," Gower declares, clerks trusted God for material sustenance so as to "fle the vice /Which Simon hath in his office," (P. 193-205). While simony, which was named for Simon Magus' efforts to purchase church office (Acts 8:9-24), was as old as the church, the Schism exacerbated this ancient issue. For example, as Stefan Weiß has shown, Urban VI's "battle against simony" provoked the election of "Roberti Gibbonensis."[58] Now, however, Gower laments that:

> …men sein is otherwise,
> Simon the cause hath undertake,
> The worldes swerd on honde is take;
> And that is wonder natheles,
> Whan Crist Himself hath bode pes
> And set it in His Testament,

[58] Stefan Weiß, "Luxury and Extravagance at the Papal Court in Avignon and the Outbreak of the Great Western Schism," tr. Charlotte Masemann, in *Companion*, p. 78; Harvey (1983), p. 17).

How now that holy cherche is went
Of that here lawe positif
Hath set, to make werre and strif
For worldes good, which may noght last… (*CA*, P.240-9)

Against both Christ's example and his teaching, the church's affection for temporal possessions leads it to conflate spiritual authority and secular power as it deploys positive law to justify Christian on Christian violence. Simony, in the *Confessio*, is more than just the purchase of ecclesiastical office. Rather, "Simon" personifies an entire economic system that both characterizes Christendom "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" and sunders it from the *ecclesia primativa*:

In thilke tyme [i.e. "daies olde"], I understonde,
The Lumbard made non eschange
The bisschopriches forto change,
Ne yet a lettre for to sende
For dignite ne for Provende
Or cured or without cure. (*CA*, P.206-11).

This dense passage distills the critical dispute between England and the papacy throughout the Middle Ages—the provision of ecclesial appointments and the finances therein—and puts its finger on the specific problems caused by the Schism and English responses.

First, Gower bemoans the influence of "Lumbard" bankers in the fiscal transactions necessary for clerical advancement.[59] The appointment of bishops was particularly contentions during the 1380-90s. The raft of translations that followed in the wake of the Merciless Parliament in 1388 aroused significant anger, driven in part by the fiscal aspects of these translations.[60] The

[59] For more on Gower's view of Lombards and Lombardy see: Craig Bertolet, "'The slyeste of alle': The Lombard Problem in John Gower's London," in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. Malte Urban, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 197-218; for details on the financial relationship between England and the Papacy see Lunt (1962).

[60] Lunt (1962) p. 296; on the literary responses, especially Gower's, see: Andrew Galloway, "Literature of 1388 and the Politics of Pity in Gower's Confessio Amantis," in *Letter of the Law: Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England.* ed. Emily Steiner and Candace Barrington, (Ithaca,

reference to letters and lucrative appointments—dignities, provisions, and curates with and without cure for the soul—focuses attention on the mechanics of these transactions. In order to secure preferment, English clerics sent letters of petition to the curia and paid proctors to represent them.[61] Once received, English clergy paid their service tax via letters of credit. These letters, Gower's "lettre forto send," were backed by Italian, predominantly "Lumbard," banking syndicates. Despite their ostensible commitment to poverty and reform, the papal Curia under Urban VI and Boniface IX developed an advanced market for service taxes contingent on Lombard banking ties in both Rome and England.[62] Hence, while Gower's lament over "eschange" expresses general remorse over the commodification of church office, his references to the details of contemporary praxis force attention to the specific machinations of the Church government during the Schism. Just as in the *Vox*, the commodification of grace in the *Confessio* leads directly to violence. In fact, Gower could hardly have chosen a better avatar for a church plagued by simony and violence than Robert of Geneva.

Circa 1375/6 Robert of Geneva was appointed as the rector of Bishopwearmouth near Sunderland.[63] In the list of medieval rectors of Bishopwearmouth many other names, such as John

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NY: Cornell UP, 2002), 67-104. While Galloway's account is stimulating he does not engage with the problems posed by the Schism.

[61] While dealing with a slightly later period see J.A.F. Thomson, "'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth-Century," in *Piety and Politics in Britain in the 14th and 15th Centuries: The Essays of John A.F. Thomson*, ed. Graeme Small, Variorum Collected Studies no. 1020 (Farnham: Ashgate P, 2013), pp. 99-114 for an analysis of such letters.

[62] See Lunt (1962) pp. 169-306 for an extended discussion of the service taxes leveled on English Clerics and 186-192 for specific changes under Urban VI and Boniface IX and 203-16 for a discussion of the role of banking syndicates in this process.

[63] Hutchinson, W., *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 3 vols (1785-1794), vol. 2, p. 512; See A.M.D. Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland, and Northern England 1342-78*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) p. 118 for precise dates.

Gaetani de Orsini and Simon Langham, leap off the page and it is clear that the Bishopwearmouth's wealth made it a coveted benefice.[64] It is equally clear, however, that the ecclesiastical movers and shakers ostensibly responsible for the spiritual welfare of Bishopwearmouth never actually went to northern England. Rather, they used their cozy relationships with the Avignonese papacy to collate this benefice into a multinational portfolio. To that end, we should remember just why Pope Gregory XI valued Robert of Geneva. Robert was an effective military commander who played a crucial role in Gregory's Italian wars.[65] Even before the Schism, Robert of Geneva's career embodied everything Gower thought wrong with the church.

Where, however, the *Vox* speaks in generalities that Scribe 7 later linked to a specific circumstance, the *Confessio* ties its account of clerical warfare to the specific event: the 1382/3 Flemish 'crusade' of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich.[66]

> And thus the werres thei beginne,
> Wherof the holi cherche is taxed,
> That in the point as it is axed
> The disme goth to the bataille,
> As thogh Crist myhte noght availe
> To don hem riht be other weie.
> Into the swerd the cherche keie
> Is torned, and the holy bede
> Into cursinge, and every stede
> Which scholde stonde upon the feith
> And to this cause an ere leyth,
> Astoned is of the querele. (*CA*, P.266-77)

In the wake of the Schism, each pope anathematized the other, declaring that the adherents of their rivals were heretics. At the same time, England was locked in conflict with its 'ancient foe,' France.

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[64] Barrell (1995), pp. 117-9.

[65] See above, pp. 43-4

[66] On Despenser's crusade see above p. 36, n. 28.

In 1382, the goals of England and the Roman papacy appeared to align and Urban authorized the Bishop of Norwich, Henry Despenser, to grant indulgences to any and all who would support his 'crusade' against the Clementine regime in Flanders (Walsingham, 1, pp. 626-41). To return to the *Vox*, the irony runs deep. While concatenation of jussive subjunctives (Let us/the…) in *Vox*.3 chapter 10 mirrors the *Confessio*'s image of perverse translation (Into the swerd the cherche keie / Is torned, and the holy bede /Into cursinge, and every stede) and Despenser's Crusade attempted precisely what Gower seems to advocate in the *Vox*'s pun, the decapitation of one of the *Mirour*'s "deux chiefs," the *Confessio* clearly views the Crusade in a negative light. Unlike Walsingham, who was simply disappointed that Despensers' excursion ended in failure, Gower viewed the expedition as moral disaster from start to finish (Walsingham, 1, p. 700-1). Warfare transformed the papacy, "That scholde be the worldes hele," into a "pestilence" that compromises the spiritual authority of the church (*CA*, P.278-83). The specifics of Gower's "worldes hele," however, lead us back to Walsingham's own vicious jokes at Clement's expense.

Clergy, as Gower reads "In libris cleri Rome," are to be peacemakers (*VC*.3.806-8). Unfortunately, the clerks "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" follow the example of the *Vox*'s "Supreme Pontiff":

> But whil the lawe is reuled so
> That clerkes to the werre entende,
> I not how that thei scholde amende
> The woful world in othre thinges,
> To make pes betwen the kynges
> After the lawe of charité,
> Which is the propre dueté
> Belongende unto the presthode. (*CA*, P.252-9)

When clerks make war, they cannot attend to their true job: "To make pes betwen the kynges." Given that Despenser's failure forced England and France back to the negotiating table at Leulingham, it seems reasonable to assume that Gower is specifically thinking about papal attempts to end the Hundred Years War. The Schism, however, continued to complicate these matters. For

example, the French jurist Honoré Bonet claimed that, in the course of the Leulingham negotiations, John of Gaunt told him that solving the schism and ending the war went hand in hand.[67] Walsingham's report of Clement's revolt supports Gower's depiction oft he Schism as well. In Walsingham's telling, Urban's plans to curtail the simoniacal practices from which clerics like Robert of Geneva profited and Urban's promise that "He would ensure that justice was done between one man and another, and especially between the kings of France and England," (Walsingham, 1, pp. 278/9). Essentially, Walshingham suggests that it was not to the advantage of Clement and his cardinals for France and England to make peace and thus they preferred to make war.

Gower, it seems, agreed with Walsingham's assessment. In fact, the sentence that links the *Confessio*'s generalized remorse over the clerical abdication of their "propre dueté" with the specific circumstances of Despenser's crusade borrows directly from the Pope's speech in the *Vox*:

> To make pes betwen the kynges
> After the lawe of charité,
> Which is the propre dueté
> Belongende unto the presthode.
> Bot as it thenkth to the manhode,
> *The hevene is ferr, the world is nyh,*
> *And veine gloire is ek so slyh,*
> Which coveitise hath now withholde,
> That thei non other thing beholde,
> Bot only that thei myhten winne.
> And thus the werres thei beginne,
> Wherof the holi cherche is taxed,
> That in the point as it is axed… (*CA*, P. 256-68, emphasis mine)

> "…The earthly powers have divided their command with me, and I guard over the realms subject to the law of heaven. *But since the earth is near us and heaven is far away, we like the earth more, which is so close.* My palace is grand, and distinguished for beautiful art…" (*VC*.3.815-20, emphasis mine).

[67] Sumption (2011), p. 822.

In the *Vox*, Gower imagines the Pope confessing his true motivations. In the *Confessio*, Gower's speculative projection becomes historical fact. According to Walsingham, Clement and company tried to depose Urban because "non other thing beholde, / Bot only that thei myhten winne" and from those efforts "werres thei beginne." War, however, led to Clement's defeat at Marino, which, in turn, led Walsingham to declare that Urban had so toughly defeated Robert of Geneva that he lost his mind and "Clement" became "demented."[68] What Gower and Walsingham's puns share is an obsessive fixation on papal claims to be the head of the church or "caput mundi." Just as with their refusal to grant Clement his name, their puns seek to decapitate the two-headed monster—the *Mirour*'s "chymere"—that tormented Christendom. In the *Confessio*, however, Gower clearly condemns solving the Schism via military action, i.e. "the way of force." The distance between the *Vox* and the *Confessio* illustrates that Gower's views of the Schism evolved across the course of his poetic career.

"Avynoun" and "Th'experience Therof": Wyclif and Gower on the Schism

Like Gower, Wyclif deployed the rhetoric of the *ecclesia primitiva* to critique the contemporary church.[69] At the same time, however, Wyclif's near gleeful celebrations of the Schism as a vindication of his views on the papacy as an institution are entirely at odds with Gower's bitter despair over the division of Christendom.[70] Where Gower prayed that "Peter's sword" might find its sheath (*CA*, 1, iii), Wyclif wholeheartedly endorsed state sanctioned violence as the optimal solution

[68] See above, pp. 49-51.

[69] On Wyclif and the early church see Levy (2007).

[70] See, for example: John Wycilf, *Tractatus de Potestate Pape*, ed. Johann Loserth, (London: Trübner and Co., 1907) pp. 248, 353 and "Cruciata," in *John Wyclif's Polemical Works in Latin*, vol. 2, ed. Rudolf Buddensieg (London: Trübner and Co., 1883), pp. 597-604.

to the Schism and called on "crusaders" who were loyal to both popes to unite so as to abolish the temporal power of the papacy once and for all.[71] In fact, this disagreement between Gower and Wyclif illustrates their broader perspective towards the Schism. While Wyclif and Gower agreed on the material facts of the Schism, i.e. they understood the crisis as a historical consequence of the church's departure from the *ecclesia primitiva*, they diverged sharply on the meaning of "Th'experience / therof" (*CA*, P.331-2). For Gower, the Schism was a tragedy of unparalleled proportions—"Rewe unto ous alle," he writes (*CA*, P.339)—that threatened to annihilate Christendom. Wyclif viewed the crisis providentially, arguing that God ordained the Schism precisely to abolish the hierocratic model whose collapse Gower lamented.[72]

For Wyclif, the Schism clarified the state of the church and rendered the solution to the problem clear: disendowment. To Gower, the Schism only brought division and doubt. To that end, just as Gower submitted his account of the contemporary church under the sign of the false pope, so too did he locate Schism to an anti-Rome:

> At Avynoun th'experience
> Therof hath gove an evidence
> Of that men sen hem so divided.
> And yit the cause is noght decided.
> Bot it is seid and evere schal,
> Betwen tuo stoles lyth the fal
> Whan that men wenen best to sitte.
> In holy cherche of such a slitte
> Is for to rewe unto ous alle; (*CA*.P. 331-9)

Like Rome, "Avynoun" (Avignon) exemplified and epitomized the state of the world. Where, however, Rome signified unity, Avignon bespoke division. While locating the Schism in Avignon certainly directs the blame for the crisis towards Clement VII and France, Gower seems less

[71] Wyclif, "Cruciata," pp. 596-7; on Gower's pacifism see Yeager, (1987).

[72] Wyclif, "De Potestate Pape," p. 248.

interested in adjudicating the dispute than exploring its effects. He describes the Schism as a "slitte" that divides the church between rival "stoles" or seats. Like Gower's subtle manipulation of papal onomastics and the symbols of papal power that punctuate his account of clerical violence, the papal throne is a synecdoche that invokes a theoretical unity of Christendom via the symbols through which that whole was, ostensibly, created, sustained, and transmitted. The Schism, Gower argues throughout the Prologue, is "rewe unto ous alle," because it perverts these symbols such that they exacerbate the very division they were designed to forestall.

Absent a unified church, the icons and institutions designed to transmit authority mutated into a circular discourse that amplified and perpetuated the Schism and offered aid and comfort to heretics:

> And so to speke upon this branche,
> Whiche proude Envie hath mad to springe,
> Of Schisme, causeth forth to bringe
> This new secte of Lollardie,
> An also many an heresie
> Among the clerkes hemselve.
> It were betre dike and delve
> And stonde upon ryhte feith,
> Than knowe al the Bible seith
> And erre as somme clerkes do. (*CA*.P.346-55)

In Gower's reckoning, the Schism and Lollardy were inextricable.[73] Gower's advice to confused Christian men, to "stonde upon the ryhte feith" rather "Than knowe al the bible seith" (P.353-5), both emphasized his persistent concern with order and unity and evoked the impasse at which the Church found itself c. 1384-94. While the Schism and Lollardy terrified Gower in equal measure, he seems to have worried that efforts to solve the Schism risked compromising the very thing he sought to save: ecclesial unity. In fact, the very precondition for one potential solution—joint

[73] Gower's understanding of this relationship is predicated on a long tradition, Tierney (1955) p. 57.

English and French withdrawal of support from Boniface IX (1356-1404) and Benedict XIII (1328-1423), the respective successors to Urban VI and Clement VII—seemed, at least to the Cambridge theologians summoned by Richard II in 1399, heretical and schismatic itself.[74]

Though the Schism generated the "newe sect of Lollardie," it also opened the door for other forms of academic heterodoxy that included Lollardy but might not have been limited to it. The erring clerks of the Prologue could include Marsilius of Padua or William of Ockham, or perhaps even less radical figures that used Biblical precedent to argue for conciliar solutions to the Schism.[75] The crux of the Prologue's opposition to clerical debate is not a question of biblical literacy but rather an epistemological issue that grew out of a contradiction regarding the precise nature of the curch as a corporate body. The "diverse electcioun" (P.365) of two popes critically compromised the ontological presupposition of Gower's exhortation to stand on "rhyte feith": ecclesiastical unity.[76] Without a unified source of correct doctrine or "ryhte feith," ecclesiastical authority fell subject to "th'affeccioun / Of sondry londes al aboute" (P. 366-7). This, the Prologue suggests, is not an ideal state of affairs.[77] Nobody, Gower laments, attends to the "comun profit" of Christendom:

> Upon the Pope and his astat,
> Whereof thei falle in grete debat;
> This clerk seith yee, that other nay,
> And thus thei dryve forth the day,
> And ech of hem himself amendeth

[74] Harvey, (1983), p. 101 and Tierney, (1955), p. 240.

[75] Leff (1967).

[76] On the idea of unity, see "Introduction," pp. 8-13.

[77] Note also that this passage ought to check readings of the *CA*, especially Book II, that attribute a Wycliffite notion of *dominium* to Gower's understanding of the Church-State relationship, e.g. Scanlon (1994), pp. 258-67 and Aers, (2000), p. 113. On Wycliffe and *dominium* see Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wycliffe*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) and Margaret Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Povert, Politics, and Disendowment," in *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600*, 95-132.

Of worldes good, bot not entendeth
To that which comun profit were (P.371-377).

For all the polemic, the "grete debat" regarding the "Pope and his astat," nothing changes. Lollardy itself seems subsumed in this clash of self-serving discourse. It was but one mode of clerkish division in a world rent by the Schism. The Prologue presents the church at its lowest point. The Schism led to open warfare in the heart of Christendom and all of the solutions seem at least as bad as the problem itself: "thus tobroke is Cristes folde" (*CA*, P.390 and "Devoured is on every side" (*CA*, P.392).

Conclusions

The last hundred or so lines of the Prologue's account of the church focus on the problem of clerical hypocrisy (*CA*, P.395-498).[78] At the most basic level, Gower censures wayward clerics for sins common to all: covetousness and pride (*CA*, P.445). These sins are especially egregious, however, when committed by the clergy precisely because

…thei ben to the worldes ÿe
The mirour of ensamplerie,
To reulen and to taken hiede
Betwen the men and the Godhiede, (*CA*, P. 495-98).

Clergy, Gower claims, are the rule or standard that God ordained to lead men to himself. While this might seem a rather conventional sentiment, the problem of hypocritical clergy is the problem of the Schism in miniature. Within a system structured according to Psuedo-Dionysius "rule of divinity," inferiors could only reach superiors through an intermediary.[79] Gower identified the idea of

[78] While Gower orients his account of clerical hypocrisy around the Schism, he draws on the same literary and intellectual tradition that, as Wendy Scase (1989) has shown, informed William Langland's depiction of the clegy, p. 90.

[79] On Psuedo-Dionysius see Introduction, n. 44.

exemplarity with mediation. A good exemplar/priest enabled one to move "[b]etwen the men and the Godhiede." Linking the *failure* of clerics to exercise this power correctly with their pursuit of "Simon" (*CA*, P.443), Gower suggests that the Schism, also rooted in "Simon" (*CA*, P.204), is a local crisis as well as a global disaster. It is a crisis of papal authority which manifests itself as a sacramental absence where individuals are left to fend for themselves: "For every man hise oghne werkes / Schal bere" (*CA*, P.491-4).

Perhaps more problematically, this local collapse curtails the effectiveness of even the most powerful reforming discourse of the era: the *ecclesia primitiva*:

> For if men loke in holy cherche,
> Betwen the word and that thei werche
> Ther is a full gret difference…
> …With holy tales thei devise
> How meritoire is thilke dede
> Of charité, to clothe and fede
> The povere folk and for to parte
> The worldes good, bot thei departe
> Ne thenken noght fro that thei have… (*CA*, P.449-51, 464-9).

Although they do not address the Schism directly, Catherine Sanok and Elizabeth Allen's recent theorizations of poetic exemplarity illuminate Gower's "holy tales."[80] Exemplary discourse assumes, in Sanok's reading, the continuity of "contemporary society" and "the world of the narrative."[81] At the same time, however, the efficacy of such "holy tales" depends on the imaginative reconciliation

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[80] Catherine Sanok, *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Later Medieval England,* (Philadelphia: U Penn P, 2007) and Elizabeth Allen, *False Fables and Exemplary Truth in Later Middle English Literature*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). See especially Chapter 3 of Allen's book, "The Costs of Exemplary History in the *Confessio Amantis*" pp. 53-82. While Allen focuses on the ancient Roman tales of Book 7, her conclusion that "Book 7's skepticism about the imaginative work required for exemplary efficacy suggests a somewhat more equivocal politics" than most scholars attribute to Gower resonates strongly with my own conclusions regarding Gower's representation of Christian Rome.

[81] Sanok (2007), p. 14.

of what Allen describes as the "contradictory strains of the broad [exemplary] mode—at once universal and particular, exceptional and typical, transhistorical and circumstantial."[82]In fact, this paradox—the exemplum's dependence on alterity *and* familiarity—evokes the "historiographic problem" of Christendom: the reconciliation of a universal term with variegated local experience. Or, rather, it was Christendom—the conception of a hierarchically ordered whole—that lubricated the machinery of exemplarity, that enabled the *ecclesia primitiva* to be both wholly other and readily applicable to contemporary problems.

The Schism perverts the exemplary circuits common to clerical discourse and literary fiction alike. The clergy hold up the "holy tales" of the early church so as to exhort men to good works, but all their parishioners see is the "full gret difference" between word and deed. In this brutally personal vision of the church, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," it is precisely the negative exemplarity of individual clerics and the church at large that is the problem. Having exhausted the resources of the present, Gower turns to the past in order to historicize, and perhaps save, the idea of exemplarity itself. And for that, to understand how and why "world empeireth every day" (*CA*, P.833), he must "beginne" in Rome (*CA*, P.835). This Rome, however, did not emerge from a vacuum. Rather, it stood at the end of a long and complicated tradition that defined the terms through which Gower responded to the Schism.

[82] Allen (2005), p. 3.

Chapter Two

Martinus Polonus and the Matter of Christendom

Introduction

Gower's great trilogy asks a simple question: what is wrong with the world? While scholars come to a vast array of conclusions regarding the 'purpose' or 'meaning' of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, there is a general agreement that Chaucer was interested in the organization of society at large. Chaucer and Gower shared a common world. At a local level, generations of critics have enriched our understanding of these two writers by locating their texts within the London milieu. London, however, was part of a larger world—as Gower explained in the prologue of the *Confessio*, he wrote "[a] bok for Engelondes sake," (*CA*, P.24). Yet as we saw in Chapter 1, Gower's horizons extended beyond the nation. Or, rather, he understood the local crises besetting England as part of global collapse, of which the Schism was perhaps the most alarming manifestation. In Chapter 1, I indexed the persons, images, ideas, and topoi through which Gower figured the fragmentation of Roman Christendom. Nor was this referential system unique to Gower—rather, as we will see in in my conclusion, Chaucer drew on this same discursive archive in their own representations of the Schism. In short, these materials constituted what I call "the Matter of Christendom," i.e. the vehicles through which English writers conceptualized the Schism as an imaginative crisis.

This chapter explores the transmission of "the Matter of Christedendom" in later medieval England. While Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* was the immediate source for many of the era's Roman tales, Higden himself relied on "the most widely circulated and probably the most influential"

history of Rome in fourteenth-century England: Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*.[1] The English reception history of the *Chronicon* offers unique insight into the formal questions at the center of the Schism, i.e. the degree to which the Schism shattered the broad imaginative paradigm by which writers like Chaucer, Gower, and their contemporaries understood the relationship between themselves and society at large. Christendom, I suggest, was not the subject of Martinus' *Chronicon* but rather its form. Conversely, the English receptions of the *Chronicon* transform Martinus' idealized forms into a set of stories, places, and ideas by which historians, poets, and heretics could, to paraphrase Chaucer's famous envoi at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, render Christendom "subgit be to alle poesye." From the bibliographic layout of Martinus' text to the grammatical and terminological nuance of the Middle English translations, these texts labored to negotiate and reform the concept of Christendom. I do not, however, assume the stability of that form between each text or, in fact, within individual texts. Rather, I suggest that Martinus' *Chronicon* and its Middle English translations constitute a speculative archive of possible Romes.

Martinus Polonus (d. 1278) was a Dominican friar, official of the papal penitentiary, erstwhile Bishop of Gnesen (Poland), preacher, and author.[2] Despite his long, varied, and mostly distinguished career, Martinus' legacy rests on the *Chronicon*, which survives in over 500 manuscripts.[3] The *Chronicon* was particularly popular in England. Roughly 20% of the surviving

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[1] Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, "Martinus Polonus' *Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors*: a Medieval Best-Seller and its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers," in *The English Historical Review* 116(2001), pp. 341.

[2] Anne-Dorothee von den Brinken is the foremost authority on Martinus' life and works. While most of her scholarship is only available in German, see her short article "Martin of Opava," in *EMC*, pp. 1085-8 for a concise biography of Martinus and an excellent overview of the *Chronicon* and its place in European historiography.

[3] Ikas (2001), pp. 327-41 is the best English language account of the *Chronicon*'s reception in England. In fact, as Ikas notes, Martinus' *Chronicon* was, based on extant manuscripts, the single

manuscripts (91 MSS) have English connections and, in many cases, English scribes attempted to extend or continue Martinus' *Chronicon* into the fifteenth century.[4] Major portions of the *Chronicon* were translated into Middle English at least three different times. Two of these translations, the Middle English *Chronicles of Rome* (*Chronicles*) and the *Lollard Chronicle*, are more or less free-standing translations and/or adaptations.[5] Whether cited or not, Martinus was a critical source for major English writers like Nicholas Trevet, John Gower, Ranulf Higden, and John Wyclif.[6]

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most popular historical text in medieval Europe, exceeding the 419 known manuscripts of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (pp. 330-1). While Ikas' statement assumes that the manuscript losses are relatively equal across texts, the sheer volume of surviving copies of both the *Chronicon* and Valerius' *Facta*—both of which survive in almost twice as many manuscripts as the third-place text, Orosius *Historia adversum paganos* (245 MSS)—warrant the claim. Von den Brinken's discovery of even more manuscripts of the *Chronicon* only increases the strength of Ikas' claim (*EMC*, p. 1086); Note also that in addition to this Latin corpus, the *Chronicon* was also translated into almost every national language of medieval Western Europe as well as Greek, Armenian, and even Persian (Ikas, p. 332).

[4] Ikas, (2001) p. 331; Ikas has edited these continuations as *Fortsetzungen zur Papst- und Kaiserchronik Martinus von Troppau aus England*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum N.S. 19, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004).

[5] The *Chronicles* [Hartung 2263-4] and the *Lollard Chronicle* [Hartung 2263] have been edited by Dan Embree as *The Chronicles of Rome: An Edition of the Middle English Chronicles of Popes and Emperors; And, the Lollard Chronicle* [*CR*], (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 1999); the *Lollard Chronicle* was also edited by Ernst Talbert as "A Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy" in *JEGP*, 41.2(1942) pp. 163-93. The other Middle English "translation" of the *Chronicon* is the middle section of John Capgrave's *Abbreuacioun of Chronicles* [Hartung 2668-70] ed. Peter J. Lucas, *EETS* 285, (Oxford: OUP, 1983) pp. 47, ln. 25 to 116, ln. 28. On Capgrave's use of Martinus see: see Peter Lucas' introduction to the *Abbreviacioun*, pp. lxxii-lxxvii; London, British Library, Additional MS 37049 also contains a few scattered Middle English extracts of the *Chronicon*, including a few passages from the "Historia." While these passages are interesting, especially in conjunction with the maps of Rome and Jerusalem that accompany them, I have not included them in my discussion of the Middle English translations of the *Chronicles* for four reasons. First, as Embree has shown, they are entirely independent of both the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle*. Second, the brevity of the extracts makes it difficult to determine a coherent rational. Third, these extracts date from well after the period under consideration in this dissertation. And fourth, Additional MS 37049 is an incredibly complex manuscript. Thus, given the first three points, it seemed unwise to attempt to incorporate the extracts of Additional 37049 into this dissertation. For more on these extracts see: Dan Embree, "The Fragmentary Chronicle in British Library, Additional MS 37049," in *Manuscripta* 37(1993), pp. 193-200. For an extended reading of Additional 37049 see Jessica Brantley's recent and excellent monograph devoted to the manuscript:

The *Chronicon* was popular because it was useful.[7] Given the size and density of other histories, such as the *Speculum Historiale* of Martinus' Dominican confrere Vincent of Beauvais, Martinus designed his "little work" [opusculum] to be user friendly (B, f. 199r). The brevity of the *Chronicon* and its tight focus on Roman history made it easy—both in terms of scribal effort and intellectual context—to incorporate the text into a broad range of manuscript anthologies.[8] Unfortunately, neither critical edition of the *Chronicon* reflects both the content *and* the layout of this text as it obtained in later medieval England.[9] Thus, given the centrality of format to my arguments,

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Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England, (Chicago: CUP, 2007); Additionally, the Middle English *Fructus Temporum* relies on the *Chronicon* via Werner Rolewick's *Fasciculus Temporum* [Hartung, pp. 2673]. Given late date of this text and its secondary nature I do not discuss it in my dissertation. Finally, Andrew Wyntoun excerpted and translated portions of the *Chronicon* in his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* [Hartung, pp. 2788-9]. While this text is interesting, it is extraordinarily long and somewhat to the side of the core foci of my dissertation. For more on Wyntoun's use of Martinus see: William Matthews, "Martinus Polonus and some later Chroniclers" in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsworthy*, eds. Derek Pearsall and R.A. Waldron, (London: Athalone P, 1969) pp. 276-7.

[6] Ikas (2001) *passim*.

[7] Ikas (2001), p. 329-30; Matthews, pp. 275-6; A.G. Little, "Chronicles of the Mendicant Friars," in *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, (Manchester: MUP, 1943) pp. 37-8.

[8] Assuming scribes adhered to Martins' 50 line per folio format, a complete copy of the text including the prologue occupied c. 25-30 complete (recto and verso) folios; Note also Andrea Worm's assertion that "diagrammatic chronicles" like the *Chronicon* almost always circulated with other texts, *EMC*, p. 522-32; For a representative—and highly accessible—picture of the multifarious textual situations that defined Martinus' English reception see the copies of Martinus' *Chronicon* preserved in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: MS 59, ff. 80r-132r; MS 194, ff. 43r-79v, 99r-140v; MS 372, ff. 1r-57v; MS 427, ff. 113-76; Full facsimilies of these manuscripts can be found at *The Parker Library On the Web: Manuscripts In the Historic Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker>; For further additional descriptions of these manuscripts see M.R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vols. 1-2, (Cambridge: CUP, 1909, 1912), pp. 119-25, 468-70 and 214-5, 334-336. (Bibliograpy)

[9] Ludwig Weiland's 1872 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* edition (SS 22, pp. 377-475) conforms closely to the text of B, but it abandons Martinus' format. Conversely, while Anna-Dorothee von der Brinken's preliminary digital edition retains this layout

I cite Martinus' text according to a particularly important English copy of the *Chronicon*: Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 712 (B). B follows the recension of the *Chronicon* most popular in later medieval England (C-version) and unlike the two critical editions of the text, B presents this specific version according to Martinus' tabular layout.[10] Finally, and most importantly, Dan Embree, the editor of the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle*, has demonstrated the close genetic relationship between B's specific text of the C-version of the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* [11]

As Martinus explained in his preface, the *Chronicon* was organized around the 'opening,' i.e. a set of facing 'pages,' rather than the individual folio. While B's scribe was unable to retain the minute details of Martinus' intended layout, this manuscript preserves the essence of this tabular format: papal history on the left (verso), imperial on the right (recto).[12] For example, consider a characteristic opening: ff. 234v-5r [Appendix 1.1]. The opening is divided between two folios each with its own rubricated running title: **Papa : Imperatorum**. Within each folio, individual accounts are separated by blue and red Lombardic capitols and rubricated dates. On the left, f. 234v, the account of papal history begins with the end of John X's papacy (r. 914-28) and concludes with John XIII (r. 965-972).[13] On the right, the *Chronicon* starts with the end of Louis III's rule (r. 901-5) and finishes with

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<http://www.mgh.de/ext/epub/mt/index.html>, her text routinely disagrees with B regarding both accidental and substantive variants.

[10] *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1922), SC n. 2619.

[11] *CR*, pp. 4-6; **NB:** While I disagree with Embree's interpretations of the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle* and have significant problems with the layout of his edition, his editorial judgements regarding the texts/versions of the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle* remain sound.

[12] While Martinus meant for each opening to contain precisely 50 years of history, most scribes chose to maintain Martinus' tabular layout but did not bother about the precise dates, *EMC*, p. 1086.
[13] The popes in-between John X and John XIII are: Leo VI (r. 928), Stephen VII [VII] (r. 928-31), John XI (r. 931-35/6), Leo VII (936-9), Stephen VIII [IX] (r. 939-42); Martinus III [Marinus II] (r.

Berengar II* (d. 966).[14] From one perspective, these years should have posed a formidable challenge to Martinus' method. The collapse of the Carolingian dynasty resulted in the division of Western Empire. North of the Alps, Saxons and Franks battled for control of Charlemagne's empire while Italy devolved into an increasingly internecine Lombard family fued and a few Roman families treated the papacy as a personal fief. Absent a clear sequence of popes and emperors, Martinus' format should have floundered. On the contrary, precisely the opposite happened. While the historiography of this era remains deeply confused, Martinus' *ordinatio* goes a long way towards regularizing the so-called "Saeculum Obscurum."[15] In fact, as I will argue below, *regularization* was one of Martinus' primary objectives and his layout relentlessly smooths out history so as to present two lines of linear descent. While the tabular layout, running titles, rubricated dates, and Lombardic initials made it relatively easy for would-be researchers to locate specific popes, emperors, or eras, these devices also imposed a stable framework on papal and imperial history. If, however, Martinus'

942-6), Agapitus II (946-55), John XII (955-64), Benedict V (964), and Leo IX [VIII] (963-5); On the lives of these popes see: *ODP*, pp. 121-130.

[14] Berengar presents a particularly complex numerological problem. B's "Berengarius Secundus" and "Berengarius IIII" are actually both Berengar II*. Moreover, B omits Martinus' other Berengar, "Berengarius III," who was also actually Berengar II*. Of "Berengarius III," Wieland's edition reads: "imperavit annis 7. Huius tempore maximum scisma fuit in Ytalia" [Berengar III ruled 7 years. In his time there was a great schism in Italy]. Given the brevity of this entry and the sequence of Berenger's, B's omission is surely haplographic. The fact that the *Chronicles* also omits "Berengarius III" but papers over the mistake by 'fixing' the numeration (i.e. *Chronicon* "Berengarius IIII: *Chronicles*, "Beryngary þe III") my suggest that the *Chronicles* was not just based on a B-type manuscript but B itself.

[15] While the term "Saeculum Obscurum" has passed into more-or-less popular currency, it seems to originate in Caesar Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*, v. 10, (Rome, 1602), p. 647.

layout endeared him to medieval readers, modern critics routinely dismiss Martinus' commitment to format as either irrelevant or an embarrassment.[16]

These judgements, however, are rooted in a historical positivism that fails to understand the importance of form and format to medieval historiography at large, much less their critical role in *Chronicon* tradition.[17] I, on the other hand, follow Hayden White in "treat[ing] the annals and chronicle forms of historical representation, not as the imperfect histories they conventionally conceived to be, but rather as particular products of conceptions of historical reality, conceptions that are alternatives to, rather than failed anticipations of, the fully realized historical discourse that modern historical form is supposed to embody"[18] In fact, scholars that censure the *Chronicon* and its translators for their retention of, in Embree's words, "fanciful nonsense," take Martinus' bait.[19] Despite his veneer of neutral pragmatism—Martinus' claims that he simply wanted to provide "theologians and judicial experts" [alios theologos ac iuris] with a concise reference tool—the *Chronicon*'s success, as Bert Roest notes in passing, proceeded from its combination of "handy format *and* coherent hierocratic vision."[20] Critics who take Martinus at his word and judge the text according to modern standards of accuracy fail to understand his project because they fail to understand the text as a "particular product of [a] conception of historical reality." While the *text* of

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[16] See, for example, Embree's endorsement of this critical consensus and his far more damning misapprehension of the *Chronicles*' sensitivity towards Martinus' format and its ideological claims, *CR*, pp 2-3.

[17] As Embree notes, von den Brinken is an exception to this rule, *CR*, pp. 2-3.

[18] Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1987), pp. 5-6.

[19] *CR*, p. 12.

[20] Bert Roest, "Later Medieval Institutional History," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 309, emphasis mine.

the *Chronicon* is not overtly polemical, Martinus' *format* relentlessly molds the past into an explicitly pro-papal shape. As we shall see, the *Chronicon*'s English readers and translators were keenly aware of the stakes of Martinus' project, especially during the Schism. In fact, given Martinus' ubiquity in later medieval England, the degree to which English writers—such as John Gower—responded to the Schism as a crisis of Roman form, and the production and/or circulation of both *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle* during the Schism, it is hard to imagine that Matinus' particular "conceptions of historical reality" *did not* inform English representations of Rome in the later Middle Ages, the Schism included. Or, to put it another way, the Rome whose fall haunted Gower and his contemporaries was, to a large extent, Martinus' Rome.

The History of Form(at)

Martinus did not write in a vacuum—rather, he stood at the end of an ancient tradition apart from which the *Chronicon*'s particular blend of bibliographic format and ideological form cannot be understood. Terminological debates notwithstanding, 'the chronicle' has been defined as the "the subordination of content to the chronological framework; that is the chronographic frame can be retained even when there is no content to report, while content that is unable to be assigned a date within the chronographic frame cannot be recorded."[21] In texts like the *Chronicon*, this valorization of temporal architecture results in a bibliographic format that organizes historical data into shapes that can be seen before they are read. Chronicle form is, in this sense, a way of conceptualizing and ruling textual space, words on the page, or, in Malcolm B. Parke's celebrated analysis, the visual

[21] R.W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Tradition from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, vol. 1: *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middles Ages*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013) p. 190; For a concise and even-handed account of the controversies surrounding the term 'chronicle' see Graeme Dunphy "Chronicles, (terminology)" in *EMC*, pp. 274-82.

organization (*ordinatio*) of assimilated content (*compilatio*).[22] 'Form,' in this tradition, *is* format and the physical organization of historical data on the page can be understood as a proxy for a particular conception of history itself. To format or reformat is to re-arrange. The Schism was, by definition, a crisis of parts: it rendered plural that which claimed an essential, intrinisic, unity. Responding to the Schism, in turn, required the reconciliation, the re-arrangement, and the reformation of a fragmented Christendom. To that end, Martinus' form(at) registers the histories of reform that informed the *Chronicon*.

Rooted in "Greek cultural imperialism," chronological literature emerged from the Hellenistic world as a discourse of power, a way of asserting preeminence via antiquity.[23] Faced with the "endemic cultural chauvinism of the Greeks," Jewish authors like Philo and Josephus fired back "in exactly the same Hellanistic terms": they asserted historical priority of Moses and Abraham.[24] Then, when faced with similar charges, early Christians responded to Roman persecution "with apologetics that employed exactly the same arguments that Jewish apologists had used to defend the antiquity of Judaism."[25] Then, in the fourth century, Eusebius' *Chronological Tables and Epitome of Universal History, both Greek and Foreign* wed apologetic chronology to the universal—if abbreviated—scope of the Olympiad chronicles so as to produce a form, a "conception of historical reality" that,

[22] Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilation on the Development of the Book," in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts,* (London: Hamblen, 1991), pp. 35-70.

[23] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), p. 103.
[24] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), pp. 103, 8.
[25] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), p. 110.

via the *Canones cronici* (Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius, henceforth: *CC*), defined the ideological and material shape of medieval historiography.[26]

Eusebius adapted the tabular layout of Origin's *Hexapla* so as to foreground historical synchronicity.[27] In this way, the *CC* differed from earlier chronological texts in that "the year was no longer the major ideological division on the page. Rather the diachronic listing of kingdom and ruler (the column) was the basic unit of division, and synchronic geography (the row) was subordinate to it, a structure that allowed the reader to easily follow the history of each individual nation (the column) while also comparing the events of any single year across the different kingdoms (the row)."[28] According to this grid, the *CC* organized world history into four initial kingdoms/columns: Assyrians, Hebrews, Sicyonians, and Egyptians.[29] As history progressed, kingdoms/columns were added and removed before their final reconciliation in Rome [Appendix 2.1]. Rome, as Eusebius

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[26] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), pp. 121-3; For more on Eusebius' use of the Olympiad chronicles see: Paul Christensen and Zara Martirosova-Torlone, "The Olympic Victor Lists of Eusebius: Background, Text, and Translation," in *Traditio* 61(2006) pp. 31-93; Eusebius' Greek text no longer survives. In fact, as Burgess suggests, the Greek version might have disappeared within a century of Eusebius death [Richard W. Burgess, with the assistance of Witold Witakowski, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999) p. 22]. Given that Jerome's translation/continuation is not only "the most faithful witness to the *Canones* we possess," [Burgess, (1999), p. 21] but also the means through which Eusebian thought influenced the Middle Ages, I follow the general practice of referring to Eusebius text via its Latin title. On Eusebius and Jerome see: Burgess and Kulikowski, pp. 126-31; Burgess, (1999), esp. pp. 21-7; Alden A. Mosshammer, *The* Chronicle *of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1979), pp. 37-8, 67-73; J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1975) pp. 72-5.

[27] Burgess and Kulikowki (2013), p. 122; For a thrilling account of Origin, Eusebius, their scriptorium, and its influence on intellectual culture see Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origin, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2006).

[28] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), pp. 122-3.

[29] The most accessible edition of the *CC* is the Roger Pearse' collaborative edition on Tertullian.org: <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_00_eintro.htm>.

explains in his second Tricennial Oration, "On Christ's Sepulchre," occupied a critical place in salvation history.[30] The *CC* expresses this viewpoint bibliographically: "Eventually all the columns resolved themselves into a single column of text representing the year-by-year chronology of the Roman Empire: the polytheistic polyarchy of the past resolves itself into the monotheistic monarchy of the reign of Constantine."[31] This providential reading of the Roman Empire was the grounds of the "political Augustinianism" that, according H.X. Arquillière, governed the political theologies of later medieval Christendom.[32]

While late antique and early medieval historians such as Orosius (c. 375-418) and Bede ensured the transmission of Eusebian ideology, they abandoned his layout, opting instead for hypotactic narrative. The intellectual and political cross-currents of the "Twelfth-Century Renaissance," however, militated in favor of a return to the Eusebian *mise-in-page*.[33] Sigebert of Gembloux's (c. 1030-1112) *Chronicon sive Chronographie* was a critical part of this process. Sigebert

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[30] "And as the knowledge of One God was imparted to all men and one manner of piety, the salutary teaching of Christ, in the same way at one and the same time a single sovereign arose for the entire Roman Empire and a deep peace took hold of the totality," Eusebius, "On Christ's Sepulcher" in H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, (Berkeley: UCP, 1975), p. 120.

[31] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), p. 124.

[32] Oakely describes 'Political Augustinianism' as "an essentially theocratic pattern of thought, within the modalities of which there is a marked tendency to respiritualize politics, to absorb the natural order into the supernatural, to the profane laws of civil society into the sacred laws mediated by the ecclesiastical order (whether under imperial, royal, or episcopal/papal leadership), and, as a result, to interpret kingship as a divinely ordained and essentially *ministerial* office incorporated within, and at the service of, the Christian church," v. 1, p. 141; For more on "Political Augustinianism" see see Henri Xavier Arquillière*, L'augustinimse Politique*, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1955) and for an extended review of Arquillière, his followers, and his critics see see Michael J.S. Bruno, *Political Augustinianism: Modern Interpretations of Augustine's Political Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress P, 2014); On the legacy inherited and transmitted by Otto see Oakley, 1, pp. 137-42.

[33] *EMC*, p. 524.

clearly intended his work to supplement and extend Jerome's translation of Eusebius. The *Chronicon sive Chronographie* both starts where the *CC* concluded, 381 CE, and, like Eusebius, Sigebert used a chronological framework to emphasize synchronicity. While Sigebert's antipathy towards the papacy was the precise opposite of Martinus' attitude towards the Roman curia, Sigebert revived the formal precedent wherein "framework…had meaning independent of the way in which the chronologies corresponded to historical 'fact.'"[34] In Martinus' *Chronicon* we can see the two prongs of the Eusebian tradition converge. Martinus' *Chronicon* was, to borrow Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams description of the *CC*, a "dynamic hieroglyph" designed to teach "one massive lesson:" Rome.[35]

History and Form and the "Historia Romana"

Martinus' *Chronicon* survives in three distinct recensions, the third (C-version) of which was most popular in England. Not only did this version bring the text up to c. 1277, it also included the "Historia Romana."[36] In this lengthy prose summary of Roman history, Martinus reveals his ideological and bibliographic debt to the chronological tradition traced above. First, Martinus invokes a rhetoric of pragmatism—"I have judged it convenient…" [Idcirco conveniens arbitratus sum…] (B, f. 199r) that stretched back to Eusebius.[37] More importantly, both writers associated the utility of their form with the universality of Rome. Just as Eusebius represented history as a story of progressive Romanization, so to did Martinus describe the forthcoming "Historia" as an outline of

[34] Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), p. 267.

[35] Grafton and Williams (2006), p. 141.

[36] *EMC*, p. 1086-7.

[37] Grafton and Williams (2006), pp. 133-77, esp. 140.

the "condition and status of the City" in which Martinus will address five topics: the four major kingdoms that defined world history, the date of Rome's foundation, the nature of its founders, the physical fabric of the city, and the rulers who made Rome into its present state (B, f. 199r).

While Martinus' treatment of the "four major kingdoms" is brief, it is shot through with Eusebian assumptions. First, Martinus assumes that Rome is the universal end [ultimum] of all other kingdoms [regnis]. Second, Martinus' vision of history proceeds from precisely the same synchronicities that animated the *CC*, the most important of which is the Roman convergence of monarchy and monotheism. Martinus' description of this event could hardly be more Eusebian:

> 752 years after the foundation of the city. When the Romans wanted to worship Caesar Augustus, who composed all of the nations from east to west, from north to south, and the whole circle of the oceans into one peace, as himself a god, he prohibited it, nor permitted himself to be called lord. And at that same time, Jesus Christ was born. Then converged the two governances of the city of Rome and the whole world, papal and imperial: papal government through Christ, Imperial government through Octavian. (B, f. 206r)

Eusebius and Martinus share a common grammar of enclosure. Where Martinus describes Augustus "composing" [compostis] "all the nations" [cunctis gentibus], Eusebius praises Rome because it "abolished" and "subdued" all other, regimes.[38] Then, each author uses this rhetoric of containment to emphasize the coincidence [concurrerunt] of the *pax Augusti* and the *adventus Cristi*.[39] What is not Eusebian, however, is Martinus' emphasis on the "two governments of the city of Rome and the whole world" [duo regimina Romane urbis et totius orbis] i.e. papacy and empire. This difference grew out of the divergent trajectories of Eusebian thought in the East and the West. Where the "the Greek political vocabulary" lacks a term analogous to "Christendom," the "Eusebian harmonics"

[38] Eusebius, "On Christ's Sepulchre," p. 120.
[39] Eusebius, "On Christ's Sepulchre," p. 120: "…in order to *merge* the entire race into one unity."

that informed western historiography resulted in a Roman universalism analgous to Caroline Levine's recent exploration of the "whole."[40]

Levine defines "whole forms" as shapes or structures that afford enclosure and/or containment.[41] Roman History, for both Eusebius and Martinus, takes precisely such a form. Over and over, both writers reiterate the degree to which Rome conquered, subsumed, enclosed, and contained all other nations, governments, and peoples so as to produce a harmoniously whole world.[42] However, these writers differ in the way in which they format their histories of enclosure. In fact, while both writers embrace a tabular layout, they move in opposite directions. The *CC* begins with four columns (and expands to as many as eight) before resolving them into a single column indicative of the conjunction of monarchy and monotheism [Appendix 2.1]. Conversely, Martinus' *Chronicon* started where Eusebius ended: the conjunction of the *pax Augusti* and the *adventus Cristi*. Martinus' Rome does not, however, resolve itself into a single column. As such, Martinus' form(at) remains stubbornly ahistorical in a way that is foreign to Eusebius. Where the gradual changes in Eusebius' layout—the number of columns—evolved in response to the events of history, *Chronicon* never flinches: popes and emperors come and go, but the shape remains the same.

Although the "Historia" begins with the "four major kingdoms" [de quatour maioribus], Martinus does not arrange these histories into columns but rather a single prose paragraph in which he summarizes these regimes as quickly as possible before progressing his four-part account of Rome, itself dominated by the final section: "De rectoribus," (B, f. 200r-7v). This highly selective

[40] Oakley, 1, p. 105.

[41] Levine (2015), pp. 37-8.

[42] This grammar is so habitual it would be impossible to note all of its incidences. One only need skim Martinus' "Historia" or the writings of Eusebius to realize the degree to which they understood Rome as a universal entity.

chronicle of pre-Christian Rome conforms to the annalistic model as it relates the history of the Roman Republic, beginning with Lucius Junius Brutus (B, f. 202v). Throughout this section, each entry begins with some variation of "X years from the foundation of the city" [**A**nno ab urbe condita] [Appendix 1.2]. This format achieves two things: first, it continues Martinus' persistent narrowing of focus. Rome, her rulers, and her government are the sole foci of the narrative. Second, it organizes the visual aspect of page into a single linear progression of Lombardic A's. While this layout might seem so conventional as to hardly merit comment, Martinus' spatial awareness is no less keen, nor less political, than that of Eusebius. For Martinus, Rome was always already universal.

The goal of the "De rectoribus" is not so much to establish the providential coincidence of the *pax Augusti* and the *adventus Cristi* as it is to reify a particular vision of Rome, *urbis et orbis*.[43] To that end, the rubrication of "De rectoribus" concretizes, realizes as form(at), Martinus' rhetoric of containment. This portion of the "Historia" consists of 22 paragraphs, 20 of which begin with some version of "**A**nno ab urbe condita." The two exceptions are initial and penultimate paragraphs. The former is as a prefatory, mythographic, account of the kings of Rome (B, ff. 202rv). The latter, however, is a critical fulcrum in Martinus' argument:

> The things which have been said above ["**S**upra actum est"] are only of one government of the city, namely temporal. Consequently, the things that are about to be done [Consequenter agendum est] are of two modes of government of the city, namely of the spiritual, which was though the popes, and [namely] the temporal, which was through the emperors. And, indeed, the papacy began governance of the city and world first by Christ, who was pope of this time and of heaven. Likewise, imperial governance of the began with Octavian, who was the first emperor of the city and the word. (B, f. 206rv)

The rubricated S of "**S**upra" interrupts the cascade of Lombardic A's that determined the shape of "De rectoribus." This 'punctuation' draws attention to what the sentence says: everything that is

[43] On the history of the *urbis et orbis* topos and its relationship to the grammars of containment discussed in this chapter see: Robert L. Benson, "*Urbs et orbis*: An Ancient Roman Topos in Medieval Political Language," in *Law, Rulership, and Rhetoric: Selected Essays of Robert L. Benson*, ed. Loren J. Webber, (Notre Dame: UND P, 2014), pp. 3-19.

above can be contained in a single regime that is, in Martinus' words, "temporal" or "of time." Martinus' "**S**upra," however, affords more than just ideological or metaphorical enclosure; it also gestures towards that text, the actual web of words on parchment, which physically came before, or 'above' it. The next sentence, in turn, applies this identification of bibliographic format and the ideological form, 'form(at),' to "that which is to come" [agendum est], i.e. the events that will be described/pages and words that are to follow. In short, Martinus' layout—the paratextual system that organized his text—gestures towards the conjunction of the book as a material object *and* the ideological forms represented and/or imagined in the contents of that book.

While the "De rectoribus" returns to the singular, annalistic format, "**A**b anno urbe condita," for the final paragraph, the parallelism that governs the syntax of this passage, which was anticipated by the "namely of the spiritual…and [namely] of the temporal" of the penultimate paragraph, both departs from the plain straightforward prose of that which came before/above [supra actum est] and presages the form(at) of that which is to come [agendum est]:

> 752 years after the foundation of the city. When the Romans wanted to worship Caesar Augustus, who composed all of the nations from east to west, from north to south, and the whole circle of the oceans into one peace, as himself a god, he prohibited it, nor permitted himself to be called lord. And at that same time, Jesus Christ was born. Then converged the two governances of the city of Rome and the whole world, papal and imperial: papal government through Christ, Imperial government through Octavian. These two swords, namely the spiritual and the material, which are sufficient to the governance of the church. After Peter said: Look lord, there are two swords, Christ responded: it is enough. There are two great lights, which God placed in the heavenly firmament, that is in the universal church, which are papal authority and imperial power. Between these two lights, just as the sun is the greater light and the moon is the lesser light, so to the spiritual power is the greater and the imperial power the lesser. For this reason, I am willing to write about both dignities, I first set out the pontifical, which is the great of the lights of these days, on the first page, then, on the following page, of the imperial, which is the lesser lights of the nights.

Although Eusebius' account antedates the papacy's ascendency, Martinus' syntax operates along lines that are analogous to the *mise-en-page* of the *CC* as it situates a series of synchronicities in linear succession:

Imaginative Shape of Martinus' Rome

Jesus Christ	Caesar Augustus (Octavian)
Spiritual Regime	Temporal Regime
Papal Government	Imperial Government
Spiritual Sword	Material Sword
Greater Light of the Sun	Lesser Light of the Moon

From this account of the two basic powers, Martinus transitions directly into a discussion of the *Chronicon*'s format, which is a precise mirror of Augustan Rome. To extend Martinus' logic, just as Rome epitomizes the entire world order—*urbis et orbis*—so to does the *Chronicon* epitomize Rome:

Layout of Martinus' *Chronicon*

Pontifical	Imperial
Greater Light	Lesser Light
First Page	Other Page

Where *CC* represented historical progression, the *Chronicon* sought to embody its very essence, to map the ideological arrangement of Roman Christendom onto the physical aspects of the book itself. First, Martinus' axiomatic association of Rome and all human society—"Now run together the two governments of the city of Rome and the whole world" [Tunc concurrerunt duo regimina Romane urbis et totius orbis]—assumes a supersessionist logic of containment. Like "supra actum est," all other polities and/or histories are homogenized into the temporal regime signified by the Roman containment of papacy and empire. Within this whole, there is, however, a clear hierarchy. Just as the sun is greater than the moon, so to does pontifical power exceed imperial.[1] Thus the "Historia" not only universalizes a specific version of Rome, but it also represents history itself as the iteration of a static arrangement of nested wholes.

The Affordances of Form(at)

[1] For an English translation Innocent III's classic formulation of the sun/moon metaphor see *Crisis*, p. 132, n. 71.

While it was left to the next generation to explicitly define the precise shape of Christendom, Martinus' *Chronicon* embodies a form that writers like Giles of Rome and James of Viterbo would, in the coming years, further articulate. For these men, Christendom was a whole and whole forms, as Levine has shown, contained and enclosed. Likewise, both the "Historia" and the *Chronicon* operate in and through grammars—rhetorical and material—of containment and enclosure. In the "Historia," Martinus habitually relies on verbs, prepositions, and idioms that express these operations.[2] Turning to the *Chronicon* proper, Martinus builds his whole through an *ordinatio* designed to contain and enclose. Folio 234v contains accounts of twelve different popes [Appendix 1.1]. For many of these popes, Martinus provides almost no information. For example: "Leo VI, a Roman, sat [on the papal throne] for six months and fifteen days and [after which the papacy] ceased for ten days," (B, f. 234v).[3] Would that all the accounts of this era were so brief. Regarding the infamous John XII (r. 955-64), Martinus supplements the raw computistical data with a laconic lament: "this [pope] was a hunter and a complete scumbag [totus lubricus], so much so that he even openly held women," (B, f. 234v).[4] While, on one hand, we might wonder why an ardent papalist would retain such embarrassing details when he clearly had no problem with reducing many other papacies to names and dates, the *Chronicon*'s account of John XII actually illustrates power of form(at). First, architecture drove content. In the absence of information regarding many of the popes of this era, Martinus filled out his text with the information he had. Perhaps if popes like Leo VI had been less obscure Martinus would have filled space with their good deeds instead of John XII's sins. Either way, it was the form(at) that mattered. The rubricated dates and Lombardic initials that bracket the

[2] While some examples were cited above, recording all such expressions would be tantamount to translating the entire text, given how completely these grammars saturate the "Historia."

[3] *ODP*, p. 122.
[4] *ODP*, pp. 126-7.

description of Leo and John's reigns enclose and contain them so that neither obscurity nor obscenity shatters the whole *regimen* conveyed by Martinus' running title: **Papa**. Across the gutter between the two folios, the *Chronicon*'s account of post-Carolingian Empire acknowledges the interregnums and succession crises that plagued the empire prior to the rise of the Ottonian dynasty while, simultaneously, rubricating them out of existence. Under the sign of empire, the temporal order or *regimen*, names, dates, and years come and go, but the form(at), Christendom, march on.

Containment and enclosure, in turn, offered at least one further affordance: ontological distance. Martinus' form(at) allows its readers to imagine themselves *outside* of time. Regarding the universal chronicle as a genre, Hans-Werner Goetz suggests that the genre "seems to be universal in a triple way: in respect to divine providence, of time (from the beginning to the end of the "world," *saeculum*) and, at least judged by its intention, of space."[5] Of these three modalities, however, Goetz concludes that the genre habitually privileged time and providence over geography.[6] In essence, universal chronicles were universal because they told a universalizing story. In this way, a text like the *Chronicon* could claim to be a truly universal history despite its nominally local focus.

If the "Historia" established the universal geography and history of Rome, *urbis et orbis*, the *Chronicon* proper actualizes the providential teleology of universal history as a form(at). On a local level, each individual opening of a manuscript like B tells the same story of enclosure and containment wherein the dialectical tension between sacred and the secular finds resolution via bibliographic format analogous to the basic *ordinatio* of Christendom itself. While Martinus remained,

[5] Hans-Warner Goetz, "On the Universality of Universal History," in *L'Historiographie Médiévale En Europe: Actes du Colloque Organisé Par la Fondation Européenne de la Science Au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 Mars Au 1er Avril 1989*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique : Presses du CNRS, diffusion, 1991), p. 248.
[6] Goetz (1991), p. 259.

in the words of Rolf Sprandel, "more pragmatically, and less eschatologically oriented than other world chroniclers of the High Middle Ages," the *Chronicon* presents an essentially hierocratic world in which the universality of the church persists over and against the events of history.[7] In short, each and every opening of a manuscript like B implies and epitomizes the providential *grand récit* of Christendom. By enabling readers to range back and forth across time, to locate both the events and themselves in history, Martinus *ordinatio* removed—at least imaginatively—the reader from the stream of time itself. Readers saw the world as they believed God saw it. This, I argue, is Martinus 'whole of history,' his Rome form(at), *urbis et orbis*. It is, however, a deeply charitable reading of the *Chronicon*, one which, while it recognizes the historicity and situatedness of the *Chronicon*'s particular form(at), also affirms the powers of form(at) to constrain, enclose, and contain. The final entry of the *Chronicon*, however, bears witness to the potentially insubstantial nature of Martinus' universalizing forms. In this passage, which traces the fortunes of the empire after the death of Emperor Frederick II in 1250, the *Chronicon* struggles to maintain its form(at) under the sign of absence (B, f. 246r).

Reform(atting) Rome: Frederick II and the End(s) of Empire

Frederick II remains one of the towering figures of the Middle Ages and debates surrounding both Frederick himself and the historiography of his reign continue to swirl.[8] For Martinus, as for many of his followers, Frederick's death was a major event with transhistorical

[7] Rolf Sprandel, "Word Historiography in the Late Middle Ages," Deliyannis (2001), p. 160.
[8] The two most important biographies of Frederick remain Ernst Kantorowicz' *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*, Makers of the Middle Ages n. xxvii, (London: Constable, 1931) and David Abulafia's *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1988). Robert L. Benson's review of these two biographies is the most concise account of the historiographic debate surrounding Frederick II, "The "mythic" in the Study of Frederick II Hohenstaufen," in *Law, Rulership, and Rhetoric: selected essays of Robert L. Benson*, (Notre Dame: UND P, 2014), pp. 347-54.

significance.[9] Afterwards, writes Martinus, the Roman Empire began to lose its grip on the world. Specifically, Frederick's death lead to the fragmentation of the *regna* united by Caesar Augustus: "dividing themselves in two after the death of the aforesaid Frederick, certain electors choose the king of Castile as emperor and others chose the Count of Cornwall, brother of the king of England," (B, f. 246v). In response to this imperial schism, which "persisted for many years" Martinus modified his form(at): "and because many notable things [multa notabilia] occurred in diverse parts of the world that during the time of this vacancy, I will explain these things in order, beneath the last title which I call vacancy," (B, f. 246r). Martinus' account of these "multa notabilia" lacks, however, the internal organizational framework and punctuation afforded by imperial succession. While Martinus attempts to organize these events [multa notabilia] chronologically, manuscripts like B reveal the inability of the *Chronicon* to contain a post-Imperial Christendom.

The description of these "many notable things" occurs within the single longest paragraph in B. While von den Brinken's edition of the text helpfully divides Martinus "multa notabilia" into paragraphs based on time and place, the B scribe presents the information as a continuous flow of undifferentiated prose. For example, see Martinus' account of Frederick's son, Conrad IV (d. 1254) [Appendix 1.3] This long prose paragraph, in turn, alters the *ordinatio* of the *Chronicon*. On the left-

[9] Frank Shaw, "Friedrich II as the "last emperor,"" in *German History*, 19.3(2001) pp. 321-39; Roger Dragonetti, "Dante and Frederick II: the poetry of history," in *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Rennaisance Studies*, 1.1(1989) p. 1-15; Robert E. Lerner, "Frederick II, alive, aloft and allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite eschatology," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, eds. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, Andries Welkenhuysen, (Leuven: Leuven UP, 1988), pp. 359-84; Marjorie Reeves, "Joachim of Fiore, Dante and the prophecy of a Last World Emperor," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, eds. J. Chrysostomides, (Camberly, UK: Porphyrogenitus, 1988) pp. 385-94 and "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor," in *Traditio* 17(1961) pp. 323-70; Note also that Martinus was a) employed by the same popes who feuded with Frederick and b) seems to have begun his *Chronicon* almost immediately after Frederick's death. From this perspective, it could be argued that the imperial vacancy that followed precipitated the *Chronicon*.

hand side, popes continue as before, the linearity of their transmission embodied by the *ordinatio* that governs the page. The red dates and blue Lombards remind the reader that these popes exist in relationship to all who came before them and all who are to come: they are examples of a form whose shape is fixed. Conversely, on the right, the tangle of events that followed the death of Frederick II lacks any visual order.

The absence of rubrication bespeaks the evacuation of the empire. This is not to say, however, that this paragraph lacks organization all together. Events unfold in chronological sequence and years and reigns are noted, but unlike Martinus' visual elevation of the imperial pretenders of the "Saeculum Obscurum"—i.e. his choice to treat, at least in terms of layout, German kings like Henry the Fowler (d. 936) *as if* they were emperors—the kings of Dacia, Fresia, France, Sicily, and others remain just that: kings [Appendix 1.3]. If, then, the "Historia" traced the providential emergence of the Roman Empire as an enabling condition for the rise of Christendom, the end of the *Chronicon* attempts to reconcile the fragmentation of that *imperium* with the overarching form(at) of the book itself, as one of the *Chronicom*/Christendom's constituent "duo regimine" collapses into a cacophony of undifferentiated *regna*. In fact, it is the absence of imperial *ordinatio*, the B scribe's efforts to keep the post-Frederick II kings just that, *kings*, not emperors, that exemplifies B's desperate commitment to whole forms.

The only vestiges of imperial order that remain are the running titles. To the B scribe, Martinus' "multa notabilia" unfold under the sign of empire [Appendix 1.3]. In essence, the B scribe is testing the durability of Martinus' form. Or, to put it another way: absent the emperor himself, can the *form* of empire guarantee the providential end of history promised by the *Chronicon*'s form(at)? Can Christendom survive sans empire? Can the papacy rule Rome, city and world alone? By denying the individual kings that followed Frederick the bibliographic trappings of empire, the B scribe seeks to contain and control the fragmentation described in the text itself. While the B scribe may have

stopped the bleeding in his particular manuscript, the reformation of the *Chronicon* in the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries, the ways in which scribes and translators were forced to alter Martinus' layout so as to reconcile his text with their world, would reduce his Rome and all that it stood for to rubble. While the Latin continuations of Martinus' history testify to this struggle, the remainder of this chapter focuses on the two principle Middle English translations/adaptations of the *Chronicon*: the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle*. As these two texts translate and reformat the *Chronicon*, they illuminate the range of possible Romes that informed English literary production during the Schism.

The *Chronicles* survives in four manuscripts: Cambridge, Magdalen College, MS Pepys 2014 (P), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 205 (D) and MS Ashmole 791 (A), and Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.iv.31 (C). P is the only complete manuscript of the *Chronicles* and the base text for the critical edition.[10] Embree divides these four manuscripts into two families: P-A and D-C. Both versions, he argues, descend from a common ancestor, T, which was based on a manuscript of the *Chronicon* genetically related to B.[11] None of these manuscripts, however, retained either the "Historia" or the Martinus layout.[12] The *Chronicles*'s exclusion of Martinus' introductory material, its abandonment of the *Chronicon*'s tabular format, and the text's immediate manuscript contexts informs both the *ordinatio* of the text, especially its rubrication, as well as the politics of inclusion and

[10] *CR*, pp. 6, 13-4, 27-8; While D and P both date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries, the former may be slightly older than the latter. Based on its contents, A must have been copied after 1437 and Dan Embree describes C as "late fifteenth-century" in his edition of the *Chronicles*.

[11] Based on B's relationship to T, for which Embree's evidence is—given the number of extant copies of the *Chronicon*—compelling, the date of D, the earliest extant manuscript of the *Chronicles*, T must have been produced between 1330 and the late fourteenth-century Embree's evidence for these relationships are compelling, especially when considering how many English manuscripts of the *Chronicon* survive, *CR*, pp. 4-10, 13.

[12] *CR*, p. 7.

exclusion that govern its translation and adaptation of the content of the *Chronicon*. In short, the *Chronicles* reform Martinus' Rome, giving it a new material and imaginative shape, a new form(at). Absent the *Chroncion*'s framing devices—the layout and the introductory texts—the *Chronicles* relies on rubrication to renegotiate Martinus' universalizing forms in light of contemporary Rome. Martinus' whole forms were, I argue, irreconcilable with the lived reality of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Christendom.[13] In this environment, the *Chronicles* exchanged the ontological distance afforded—at least in theory—by *Chronicon*'s layout for a form(at) that forced its readers to participate in the messy, heterogeneous rhythms of time itself.

These rhythms are apparent even from the initial folios of *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* [Appendices 2.2-3]. B maintains a rough temporal equivalence between its two narratives. P, on the other hand, does not. Though not all of B's openings synch as well as those of ff. 207v-10r [Appedix 2.2], its tabular format allows readers to consistently locate themselves in time by subsuming any slight disjunction between papal and imperial chronology within a larger container. This larger container, the book as a proxy for Christendom, asserts the (supposed) teleological homogeneity of time over and against the accidents of history. Regardless of what happens, the reader's imaginative relationship to the end(s) of history remains consistent. Conversely, the *Chronicles* is both recursive and proleptic. It is always either telling what it has already told, or saying what it will say again [Appendix 2.3] This rhythmic alternation gives the *Chronicles* its shape, its form. These rhythms, in turn, are governed by the *Chronicles*'s system of rubrication. The *Chronicles* uses Lombardic capitols, running titles, marginal annotations, and a repertoire of stock formulae to regulate—to rubricate—the content of the text and to organize the book itself.

[13] On the usage of the term 'Christendom' in this dissertation, as well as the relationship of that term to the wider religious, social, and political histories of the later Middle Ages see Introduction, pp. 8-13.

Consider the titles in D [Appendix 2.4].[14] While this system does not facilitate the sort of diachronic comparative reading enabled by the *Chronicon*'s apparatus, it does manage the synchronic alternation of papal and imperial biographies. The layout forces to reader to situate each pope or emperor in relation to their respective predecessors and successors rather than the absolute chronology of the *Chronicon*. Within this large pattern, the individual biographies of specific popes and emperors are bracketed by blue or red Lombards and, if necessary, paraphs. For example, consider D, f. 3v. The passage on this folio runs from the conclusion of John X's (r. 914-28) papacy through to Pope Urban II (r. 1088-99) and the start of Emperor Henry II's* reign (r. 1014-24) [Appendix 1.4].[15]

While each biography begins with a Lombard, it is not possible to draw conclusions based on color and/or size.[16] All biographies, however, begin with some sort of rubricated initial. Whenever two biographies overlap in the same line, such as the end of Gregory VII (r. 1073-85) and the beginning of Pope Victor III (r. 1086-7), the scribe uses red or blue paraphs and/or punctuation to clarify what text goes with which biography.[17] In short, the scribes of the *Chronicles* were diligent

[14] D is badly damaged and contains only the last third of the *Chronicles*: Emperors Otto I-Frederick II and Popes Hadrian II-John XXI.

[15] *ODP*, pp. 154-60; On Henry II see: Boyd H. Hill, *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV*, (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd, 1972) pp. 61-9.

[16] For example, in some cases, such as Benedict X* (r. 1058-9; *ODP*, pp. 150-1) small initials correspond reflect the spatial constraints imposed by one line entrees. Nevertheless, Popes Alexander II (r. 1061-73; *ODP*, pp. 152-3) and Gregory VII (r. 1073-85; *ODP*, 154-6) receive the same one-line treatment as Benedict X, despite their longer biographies. Conversely, Victor II gets a two-line initial despite the fact that his biography is less than half as long as Alexander II or Gregory VII. Likewise, while the colors of each initial alternate between blue and red regularly on this folio, including a reset when D shifts from papal to imperial history, f. 3v is an exception in this regard.

[17] *ODP*, pp. 154-8; The intended rubrication in this passage is clear despite inconsistent realization. For example, the scribe who copied the text left guide letters for each Lombard and signaled paragraph breaks with a characteristic ".//" punctuation mark.

to signal the beginning and end of each pope or emperor. Rhythm, in Levine's analysis, consists of "repetitive temporal patterns…that always already refuse the distinction between aesthetic form and other forms of lived experience.[18] In short, rhythms relate to the relationship of bodies—personal or institutional—and time. In the *Chronicles*, beginnings and ends matter because they were the critical moments in the making and unmaking of papal and imperial bodies. To organize the text around these moments is, in turn, to direct attention towards bodies and their meanings. The connection between bodies and death, i.e. the end of a given reign, is rather straightforward. What is less obvious is the relationship between the start of each reign and the body of each monarch. This connection grows out of the unique status of papal and imperial bodies in medieval thought.

Popes, Reinhard Elze has shown, "did not have two bodies or substances, like a sovereign, but only a natural body that is born and dies. What remained were Christ, the Roman church, and the Apostolic See; but not the pope."[19] Consequently, the rituals surrounding the coronation of the pope-elect drew heavily on funerary rights so as to symbolize the degree to which the old man died and the new pope was born.[20] In the same vein, the celebrated fourteenth-century lawyer Baldus de Ubaldis argued that emperors could not be bound by contacts made by their predecessors precisely because the imperial office was not heritable, but rather "created anew" with each election and coronation.[21] To focus on beginnings and endings, makings and unmakings, is thus to focus on

[18] Levine (2015), pp. 49, 53.

[19] Elze quoted and translated on Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. xv; Elze is responding to Kantorwicz's classic articulation of 'the king's two bodies,' esp. the latter's remarks on the convention *dignitas non moritur* (the dignity does not die) in *The king's two bodies*, pp. 381-401.

[20] Paravicini-Bagliani, pp. 129-30, 140.

[21] Baldus de Ubaldis, *Consilia* X.3.5.25 quoted and translated in Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) pp. 85, 241; On the nature of the imperial office see: Canning, (1987), pp. 86-90.

bodies and time. Consequently, where the form(at) of the *Chronicon* emphasized the coherence and stability of Christendom *in spite of* any given pope or emperor, the *Chronicles*'s narrative is organized around and regulated by temporalized bodies. Absent the enclosing layout of the *Chronicon*, it is the rhythm of ecclesiastical and royal succession and the alternation between institutional bodies—Church and Empire—that format the *Chronicles*. This rhythm also governs the *Chronicles*'s politics of inclusion and exclusion. The *Chronicles* are c. 40% shorter than the *Chronicon*.[22] This abridgment results, in Embree's opinion, in "a more unified volume than Martinus' original."[23] If, however, we read the *Chronicles* as a rhythmic shape, a particular conception of historical reality, organized around succession—temporalized sequences of personal and corporate bodies—we are able to both reconcile the translator's editorial decisions regarding the content of the *Chronicon* with their material reformation of the book and, then, understand the resulting form(at) in relation to the much larger intellectual history of Roman bodies, both personal and institutional.

Papal Bodies

The *Chronicles* edits and reformats Martinus' text so as to transform a place, Rome, into a sequence of bodies. As argued above, Martinus anchored his Roman exemplarity in the coincidence of papacy and empire within the city of Rome. Despite Martinus' appeals to nature and pragmatism, this rhetoric was pointedly political. Beginning with the struggle to extricate itself from the eastern empire and continuing through the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy, the papacy rooted its claims to universal authority in and on Rome.[24] Medieval Rome, however, was famous for

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[22] *CR*, pp. 10-12.
[23] *CR*, p. 11.

[24] Ullmann (1955), pp. 44-86, esp. pp. 73-86; Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 60-1.

its restive populace and noxious summers.[25] Consequently, the papacy was obliged to vacate Rome for extended periods of time.

While the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in Avignon was the most controversial papal peregrination, it was hardly the first.[26] Maintaining papal authority, then, required the papacy to renegotiate its legal, spiritual, and imaginative relationship to the city of Rome. For example, during the twelfth-century, Gratian (fl. c. 1150) reinterpreted the "ancient tradition" that obligated bishops "to travel to Rome to carry out a visit *ad limina* ("at the threshold") of the tombs of Peter and Paul" by glossing "ad lima" as "also the Roman curia, wherever it may be."[27] Then, in the thirteenth century, Martinus' celebrated contemporary Hostiensis (d. 1271) expanded on Gratian's *Decretum* to argue that "ubi papa, ibi Roma" [where the pope is, there is Rome].[28] Thus the hyper-papalists of the next generation could, in the wake of the curia's move to Avignon in 1303, assert that "the pope's

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[25] On the relationship between Roman summers and papal bodies see Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 176-7.

[26] In fact, between 1100 and 1304 the papacy spent away from Rome than in the city, Renouard (1970), p. 37. For more on the Avignon Papacy see above, Introduction pp. 19-21.

[27] Gratian, *Decretum* 1188-91, quoted in: Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 61. The best English language account of Gratian and his *Decretum* is Anders Winroth's *The Making of Gratian's* Decretum, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000). For slightly shorter and more recent discussions of Gratian see: Peter Landau, "Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*" and Rudolf Weigand, "The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretem*," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Perioid, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, eds. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), pp. 22-97. For a lively discussion of Gratian's politics see: Stanly Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's* Decretum, (Berkeley: UCP, 1972).

[28] Hostensis quoted in: Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 62; See also Paravicini-Bagliani (2000) p. 274, n. 33; see also Michele Maccarrone, "'Ubi est papa, ibi es Roma,'" in *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Fetschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, (Sigmaringen : J. Thorbecke, 1983), pp. 371-82.

person represented the universality of the church even in its spatial dimensions" over and against his actual absence from the city of Rome.[29]

The pope embodied the universal nature of Rome by virtue of his unique status as the Vicar of Christ.[30] To Bernard of Clairvaux, popes were able to "temporarily represent God's Church," as he explained to Pope Innocent II, "because [they were] made of "the bones of his [Christ's] bones, and the flesh of his flesh."[31] Or, in Pope Innocent III's own words, "the pope is he who is called upon to bear or to 'represent' [gerere] the person of Christ."[32] This incarnational understanding of the papacy, however, required the church to "dissociate the physical person unequivocally from the institution."[33] The rituals surrounding papal deaths, burials, elections, and coronations were designed to depersonalize the pope elect and, in turn, repersonalize the dead pope so as to ensure the perpetuity of the *corpus mysticum* of the universal church. The *Chronicles*'s adaptation of the *Chronicon* reflects these discourses and the issues they raised in the later Middle Ages.

For example, virtually every papal entry in the *Chronicon* begins by noting the nationality [nacione] of each pontiff. The *Chronicles* always excise this data.[34] While this might seem like a trivial point, it is interesting for three reasons. First, it is pervasive. The *Chronicon* always includes this material. The *Chronicles* never includes it. Second, it hovers between form and content. Because the formulae with which the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* begin their respective papal biographies are

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[29] Paravicni-Bagliani, (2000) p. 63; Wilks, (1955) pp. 402-7; Kantorwicz, pp. 204-5.

[30] On the concept of the pope as Vicar of Christ see: Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 58-74; Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), pp. 331-410; Ullmann (1955), pp. 426-37.

[31] Bernard quoted in Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 69.
[32] Innocent III quoted in Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 69.
[33] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 73.

[34] *CR*, p. 11.

almost entirely consistent, they constitute the connective tissue that binds individual biographies together: years and, in the *Chronicon*, nationalities change but the rhetorical framework with which each text begins its papal biographies remains stable. In short, while the ubiquitous introductory tags convey information about specific popes, they also organize the text. The *Chronicles*'s choice to abandon most of the *Chronicon*'s *ordinatio* only increases the regulatory importance of these formulae. Third, this formula is also the basic unit of papal history, the absolute minimum to which either the *Chronicon* or the *Chronicles* are willing to abbreviate a given reign. In other words, the *Chronicles* defines the essence of the papal office as participation within a sequence of papal bodies. To observe these trends in action, let us compare the *Chronicles*'s account of the papacy from Leo VI (r. 928) to Aegiptus II (r. 946-55) and the corresponding portion of B:[35]

> "**~~¶dccccxix~~**
> **L**Eo sextus ~~nacione romanus~~ sedit mensibus .vi, diebus .xv. 7 cessavit diebus .x.
> **~~¶dccccxx.~~**
> **S**Tephanus .vii. sedit annis .ii. mensibus .i. diebus .xii. 7 cessavit diebus .iii. ~~nacione romanus~~.
> **~~¶dccccxxiii.~~**
> **I**Oohannes .xi. nacione romanus sedit annis .iiii. mensibus .x. diebus .xv. 7 cessa diebus .i. ~~Huius primo anno in ianuensi civitate fons sanguinis largissime effluxit. forte portendenso ipsius cladem imminentem nam eodem anno saracenis ex africa venientibus capta fuit 7 hominibus ac thesauris evacuata.~~
> **~~¶dccccxxvii.~~**
> **L**eo .vii. ~~nacione romanus~~ sedit annis .iii. mensibus .vi. diebus .x. 7 cessa mensibus .vno.
> **~~¶dccccxxx.~~**
> **S**Tephanus .viii. sedit annis .iii. mensibus .iiii. diebus .xv. 7 cessa diebus .x. ~~hic nacione germanus fuit mutilatus a quibusdam romanis.~~
> **~~¶dccccxxxiii.~~**
> **M**artinus .iii. ~~nacione romanus~~ sedit annis .iii. mensibus .vi. diebus .xiiii. 7 cessavit diebus tribus.
> **~~¶dccccxxxvi.~~**
> **A**Gapitus .ii. ~~nacione romanus~~ sedit annis .viii. mensibus .vi. diebus .x. 7 cessavita diebus .xii. ~~Huius tempore odo primus abbas cluni acensis obdormivit in cristo. cui successit ademarius 7 ademario successit sanctus maiolus vir mire virtutis 7 reparator monastice discipline.~~
> **~~¶dccccliii.~~**" (B, f. 234v, portions of text not translated by the *Chronicles* ~~struck through~~)

[35] *ODP*, pp. 122-6.

> "¶Lion þe VI was Bysshoppe of Rome vi monþes & xv daies. & þe bysshopryche cessed x daies.
> ¶Steven þe VII was Bysshoppe of Rome ii ȝere, i monþe, & xii daies. And þe bysshopryche cessed ii daies.
> ¶Ion þe X was Bysshoppe of Rome iiii ȝere, x monþes, & xii daies. & þe bysshopryche cessed I daie.
> ¶Lion þe VII was Bysshoppe of Rome iii ȝere, vi monþes, & x daies. & þe bysshopryche cessed i monþe.
> ¶Steven þe VIII was Bysshoppe of Rome iii ȝere, iiii monþes, & xv daies. And þe bysshopryche cessed x daies.
> ¶Martyne þe III was Bysshop of Rome iii ȝere, vi monþes, & xiiii daies. & þe bysshopryche cessed iii daies.
> ¶Agapitus þe II was Bysshoppe of Rome iii ȝere, vi monþes, & x daies. [And þe bysshopryche cessed xii daies.]" (*CR*, pp. 93.2374-94.2387)

Neither account of the papal history of this era is particularly robust, but the *Chronicles* strips Martinus' text down to its bones, omitting all information other than names and regnal length. Only creation, death, and succession remain. The *Chronicles*'s choice to render Martinus' "sedit annis" as "was Bysshoppe of Rome" hammers home the degree to which papal election transformed a particular man from a specific place into the depersonalized Vicar of Christ.[36]

The choice to systematically de-nationalize each pope is significant precisely because national origin is, for many of these pontiffs, the only bit of information conveyed by B that does not pertain directly to succession. Who men like Leo VI (r. 928-9) and Steven VII (r. 928-31) were prior to their election is entirely irrelevant to *Chronicles*'s narrative.[37] Rather, all that matters to the *Chronicles* is participation in an unbroken succession of *vicarii Christi*. Conversely, the *Chronicles* almost always

[36] On papal chairs, see Paravicini-Baglian (2000), pp. 39-45; See also his interesting citation of Paride de Grassi's account of the arrangements made by Pope Julius II (d. 1513) regarding funerary clothing: "When [a religious] is elected [pope] he must, for the rest of his life, take of the regular habit in order and put on the apostolic, the same for all the popes…as the Vicar of Christ, he is above the human condition. Once dead, therefore, the pontiff, because he ceases to be the Vicar of Christ and returns to being a man, for this reason for his burial, he must be dressed, carried, and interred with the habit he was accustomed to wear before the Apostolate, when he was still a man," pp. 129-30.

[37] *ODP*, p. 122-3.

retains the details of Martinus' stories regarding succession and/or papal bodies. In short, the format of the *Chronicles* —which includes the introductory formulae—concretizes the iterative connotations of Martinus' frequentative construction "sedit…cessavit:" Popes die, but the papacy persists. Where the *Chronicon* could contain the particularity of individual pontiffs within a larger format that attempted to ensure stability and perpetuity, the *Chronicles* responds to the conditions of the fourteenth-century church, especially the papal absence from Rome, by relocating papal authority to the rhythm of succession itself: *Ubi papa*, *ibi Roma*. The suppression of papal nationality was particularly important in the later fourteenth-century England: national rivalries instigated and perpetuated the Schism.

The hierocratic claims of absolute papal sovereignty reached a climax during the papacy of Boniface VIII.[38] Boniface not only embraced an extreme position regarding the incarnational aspects of the papal office, but he abandoned the typological mode of previous hierocratic theologians. Rather than presenting himself as a universal *type*, he attempted to associate his own "individual physiognomy" with the papal dignity itself.[39] In other words, Boniface refused to let Benedetto Caetani, his old name and his old self, die. While Boniface was himself deposed—and possibly murdered—by agents of the French king Philip IV (r. 1285-1314), his ideas enjoyed a long life and shaped the ecclesiological discourses of the Schism.[40] For example, in his infamous bull *Unam sanctum* (1302), Boniface cites John 10:16, "there is one sheepfold and one shepherd," in support of

[38] *ODP*, pp. 208-10; On Boniface VIII's life and legacy see Introduction, pp. 13-20.

[39] Paravicini-Bagliani, pp. 231-4.

[40] "Philip IV the Fair," in Richard K. Emmerson, ed., *Key Figures in Medieval Europe: an Encyclopedia*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 527-8.

his collocation of universal sovereignty and the singularity of the papal body.[41] Similarly, when Walsingham relates Archbishop Sudbury's rejection of Clement VII's claims at the Gloucester Parliament in 1378, he includes Sudbury's citation John 10:16: "There will be one who is our shepherd," (Walsingham, 1, p. 249).[42] Walsingham's account of the Schism takes pains to emphasize the corporeality of the crisis, the way it tore at the church as an institutional body. For example, the reply of the English bishops to the Clementine charges of electoral coercion claims that "the face of Mother Church has become pale, with a pallor surely caused by great turmoil resulting from the error of your sinful actions" (Walsingham,1 p. 259). Conversely, these same bishops describe Urban VI's authority in terms in the same terms that Paravicini-Bagliani's has defined as the essence of papal political theology as it pertained to succession: "that very election was, and continues to have been, duly and canonically celebrated, and [we] will faithfully adhere to the person elected, enthroned, and crowned as the true head of the Holy Church, the successor of Peter, and Vicar of Christ on earth" (Walsingham, 1, p. 261). In fact, not only does Walsingham's account of the outbreak of the Schism register the pervasive influence of bodily language on ecclesiological discourses of the era, it also foregrounds precisely the issue that the *Chronicles* labored to suppress, that of nationality, and associates it with another critical vector through which the political theologies of papal bodies were mediated: onomastics.[43]

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[41] For an English translation of *Unam* see *Crisis* pp. 188-7; For the Latin text see: *Les registres de Boniface VIII: Recueil des Bulles de Ce Pape Publiées Ou Analysées D'après les Manuscrits Originaux des Archives du Vatican*, eds Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas, (Paris: E. Thorin, 1884-1906) v. 3, n. 5382; On the relationship of *Unam sanctum* and the Schism see Flanagin (2009), pp. 339-48.

[42] *ODP*, pp. 228-30.

[43] On the nature of papal onomastics see: Hergemöller (2002) and Poole (1917).

After Gregory XI's death (r. 1370-8), Walsingham writes that "Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari" was elected. Henceforth Walsingham refers to Bartholomew by his papal name: Urban VI (r. 1378-89) (Walsingham, 1, p. 223). [44] In Walsingham's eyes, the election extinguished Bartholomew's existence. [45] Conversely, Walsingham refuses to grant Clement VII his papal name. Rather, Walsingham refers to him as either an anti-pope or one "who called himself Clement," at times even punning on the disjunction between Clement's name and his actions, (Walsingham, 1, p. 275)[46] The pope's assumption of a new name signaled his transformation into a new man and signaled his assumption of his new "superpersona."[47] To that end, the dueling letters through which Walsingham relates the outbreak of the Schism in 1378, testify to the ideological stakes of papal onomastics.

The Clementine cardinals address their letter to "Bartholomew, previously archbishop of Bari," precisely because Clement's claim to the papacy rests on their contention that Urban's election was invalid (Walsingham, 1, p. 253). Urban's election was invalid, they argue, because it was coerced by a Roman mob who demanded a Roman, or at least an Italian, pope (Walsingham, 1, pp. 253-5). To Walsingham, however, it is clear that Clement's own election depended on his French nationality and family ties [consanguinitatis] to the French king (Walsingham, 1, p. 253).[48] The English were particularly sensitive to the question of papal nationality precisely because they believed that France capitalized on its cozy—and often familial—relationship with the papacy, especially during the Avignon era, to influence the direction of church policy with regard to the

[44] *ODP*, pp. 225-8; on the particular significance of the name "Urban" see: Caxton, (1967).

[45] On the powers reserved to the Pope-elect see: Benson (1968) pp. 150-200.

[46]On the emergence of the term "antipope" see: Stoller (1985), p. 43-61; For Gower's similar pun, see Chapter 1, pp. 49-51.

[47] Hergemöller (2002), p. 1067; Paravicini-Bagliani, (2000), pp. 71-3.

[48] Renouard (1970), p. 71.

Hundred Years War. In this particular passage, Walsingham associates the outbreak of the Schism with the failures of the Cardinal of Amiens, Jean de la Grange, to appropriately mediate between England and France (Walsingham, 1, p. 251). In short, the question of papal nationality was inextricably tied to both the hierocratic theology that governed ecclesiastical thought in the fourteenth century and the realpolitik of international diplomacy. To name a pope was to affirm and obey him; to nationalize a pope was to question his validity.

The *Chronicles*, I suggest, attempts to chart a middle course through the Roman controversies of the later Middle Ages by, on one hand, affirming the hierocratic incorporation of pope and city, while at the same time minimizing the problems—such as nationality—posed by papal bodies. The *Chronicon*'s whole forms may be unavailable, but the *Chronicles* relocates Roman universality to an unbroken chain of de-nationalized papal bodies so as to reconstitute in time that which Martinus situated outside of time: Christendom. To that end, the *Chronicles* also strips Martinus' text of its dates as part of its pervasive rejection of the paratextual apparatus that allowed Martinus' readers to imagine themselves outside of time. Where the *Chronicon* punctuated each pope with a date, the *Chronicles* relativizes time by placing each pope in relation to their predecessor/successor. The papacy, in the *Chronicles*, is figured as a temporal rhythm rather than a self-sufficient whole.

Imperial Geneologies

Just as the *Chronicles*'s abridgment and reformation of Martinus' papal history negotiated the rhetoric and reality of the later medieval curia, so too did its imperial biographies respond to the fragmentation of the Holy Roman Empire that followed the death of Frederick II (r. 1220-50).[49] Imperial genealogies, however, raised issues foreign to papal succession, namely inheritance. The

[49] On Frederick II see above, p. 86, nn. 52-3.

empire was, theoretically, not heritable.[50] As Baldus said, "the emperor in his person may die, but the dignity itself, that is, the authority [*imperium*], is immortal; just as the supreme pontiff dies, but the supreme pontificate does not die."[51] Nevertheless, history remembers the Holy Roman Empire as a series of dynasties: the Carolingians, the Ottonians, the Salians, the Hohenstaufen, etc.[52] In fact, it was Frederick II's insistence on uniting the Kingdom of Sicily and the empire into a single, heritable entity that fueled his conflicts with the papacy.[53] The conflicts over how to make an emperor anticipated ecclesiological crises of the later fourteenth-century, especially in regards to the question

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[50] See, for example, James Muldoon's suggestion that Charlemagne understood "the imperial title that he had been awarded in 800 a personal one and not an office or title to passed down to one of his sons," in *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800-1800* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999) p. 27; See also: Canning (1987), pp. 83-6; Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 149-50; 241; For a concise account of the idea of Empire c. 1100-1200 see: Benjamin Arnold, "The western empire, 1125-1197," in *NCMH* 4, pp. 390-6.

[51] Baldus de Ubaldis, *Consilium* I.59.3 quoted and translated in Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), pp. 149, 317 n. 47; See also Canning, (1987) pp. 83-5.

[52] On the family dynasties of Europe and the relationship between lineage and election in the medieval empire: Armin Wolf, "The Family Dynasties of Medieval Europe: dynasties, kingdoms, and *tochterstämme*, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 12(1991) pp. 183-233; For a generative critique of Wolf's thesis see: Bernd Kannowski, "The impact of lineage and family connections on succession in Germany's elective kingdom," in *Making and breaking the rules: succession in medieval Europe, c. 1000-1300*, eds. Frédérique Lachaud and Michael Penman, *Histoires de famille: La parenté au Moyen Âge* 9, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) pp.13-22 For a very brief summary of the dynasties that ruled the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages see: "Roman Empire," in Bjork (2010), pp. 1423-7; On the Carolingians see: Paul Fouracre, "Frankish Gaul to 814," Janet L. Nelson, "The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: the West," and Johannes Fried, "The Frankish Kingdoms, 817-911: the East and Middle," in *NCMH* 2, pp. 85-168; On the Ottonians see: Eckhard Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians as kings and emperors" in *NCMH* 3, pp. 233-66; On the Salians see: Hanna Vollrath, "The western empire under the Salians," and Arnold, "The western empire" in *NCMH* 4, pp. 38-71, 384-421; On the Hohenstaufen see: Michael Toch, "Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs," in *NCMH* 5, pp. 375-404.

[53] Abulafia, (1988) p. 437; Nor was Frederick II the first to attempt this, rather he merely followed the precedent of his father Henry VI* [Arnold (2001), p. 421); For more on Frederick and the church see: James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the church in the kingdom of Sicily, 1220-1224" and "Frederick II and the church: a revisionist view" in *The Papacy, Frederick II and Communal Devotion in Medieval Italy*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), items XII-XIII.

of consent.[54] While the *Chronicles* attempted to navigate these issues via a system of rubrication and abbreviation similar to that applied to the papacy, the variety of formulae the *Chronicles* uses to introduce each emperor reflect the complex problems of imperial succession. Ninety-six of the ninety-nine biographies begin in one of three ways [Appendix 2.5]:[55]

> *Chronicles* Type 1: "X was Emperoure of Rome X ȝeer" (8 biographies)
> *Chronicles* Type 2: "NAME was emperoure X ȝeer" (27 biographies)
> *Chronicles* Type 3: "NAME regned X" (61 biographies)

The 35 *Chronicles* Type 1/2 biographies can be further subdivided into two major groups: classical emperors from Gaius to Commodus and the Western Emperors after Charlemagne.

Conversely, although the *Chronicon* uses two different formulae, they are essentially the same. Sixty-seven of Martinus' ninety-nine biographies begin with some permutation of "NAME imperavit X annis X mensibus X diebus." The remainder of Martinus' biographies omit the verb "imperavit" and rely on readers to understand the ablative of time with reference to the running titles: "**Imperator**." For example, consider Julian the Apostate (r. 361-3; B, f. 218r): "Julian ruled two years and eight months," [**I**Vlianus annis .ii. mensibus .viii]. In both cases, however, the verb regulating the imperial succession are the same, even if, in the later, it remains implicit. The introductory formulae of the *Chronicon* posit a homogenous *imperium* over which each emperor's rule is described in precisely the same way: *imperavit*. Where Martinus' formulae imply the stability of the imperial office, the *Chronicles* edits and formats its history of the Western empire after Charlemagne

[54] For a magisterial account of the religious and secular discourses of consent during this era and their relationships to each other, see Oakley, v. 3, pp. 172-239; For recent English language re-appraisals of German elections and the influence of lineage see: Kannowski, (2008) and Björn Weiler, "Suitability and right: imperial succession and the norms of politics in early Staufen Germany," in *Making and breaking the rules: succession in medieval Europe, c. 1000-1300*, eds. Frédérique Lachaud and Michael Penman, *Histoires de famille: La parenté au Moyen Âge* 9, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) pp.13-22, 71-86.

[55] The three exceptions will be discussed below; On the variety of imperial titles and possible meanings see: Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians," pp. 250-1, 255, 261-2, 265-6.

to emphasize the tension over succession and lineage. Throughout this part of the text, the *Chronicles*'s formulae map onto its internal depictions of the rituals of death, election, and succession rather than the specific introductory language used by their source. Where ubiquity in the *Chronicon*'s "imperavit"-style formulae emphasized the continuity of rule, "imperium," the *Chronicles*'s translations of these stages and its adaptations of Martinus' text negotiate the failures of the Holy Roman Empire to translate and sustain either the rhetoric or the reality of Roman universality in the later Middle Ages.

Martinus' "imperavit" tacitly assumed that all readers understood what was ruled—Rome—and the relationship of that notional whole to Christendom.[56] This form, this organizational mode, was believed to be the end of history, the age after which time itself would be abolished.[57] Yet, at the end of the *Chronicles*, the empire dies:

> "¶After Frederykes deþ, þe emperoures cessedene at Rome.
> For after he was deposed of Pope Innocent, oþer were ichosen to haue ben emperoures, but þei lyffed not so long for to be icrowned.
> After Frederykes deþ, þei chosen þe Kyng of Castyle, & som chosen þe Erle of Cornewayle, þe Kyngges broþer of Ynglond. And so þis scisme dured long.
> Conradus, Frederykes sonne, after Frederykes deeþ, he went to be Kyng of Ciȝele, and sone after his entre into Napels, he was syke, and his leches ȝeuene hem a medecyne to haue heled him, & hit enpoysoned him." (*CR*, p. 112.3033-41)

The *Chronicles*'s abbreviation and translation of the *Chronicon* not only focuses on the end of the empire, but also it centers on the failure of the electoral, dynastic, and religious systems designed to ensure the perpetuity of Baldus' imperial "dignity" [ipse dignitatus].[58] First, the biography begins

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[56] On Christendom See Above, Introduction, pp. 8-13.

[57] Arnold, "The western empire," p. 392.

[58] On Baldus and the empire see Canning, (1987), pp. 23-30, 43-4, 64-73; On titles and their meanings more generally, see Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians," pp. 250-1, 255, 261-2, 265-6 and Muldoon (1999), pp. 1-20.

with the deposition rather than a coronation of an emperor by a pope. Then, the electoral process results in gridlock. Finally, death extinguishes Frederick's biological line. In short, the empire does not die because Frederick dies, rather it collapses under the weight of its own iterative machinery, its failure to produce a single, viable, imperial body.[59] In this passage, *Chronicles* abbreviates the *Chronicon* dramatically, excluding details regarding the German electors, the entire Danish story, Conrad IV's* capture of Naples, everything that followed the *Chronicon*'s account of Conrad IV*, and Martinus' metatextual commentary:

> After the ~~deposition and~~ death of Emperor Frederick II the Roman Empire began to be vacant of rule. For after the deposition itself, Pope Innocent III, who had deposed him [Frederick], procured, ~~via the princes and electors of Germany,~~ several to be elevated to the rule [of the Empire], ~~namely the Landgrave of Thuringia and then the Count of Holland,~~ both of whom reached the end of their life before they could obtain the imperial blessing. Indeed, after the death of the aforesaid Frederick ~~the electors split into two parties~~, some of whom chose the King of Castile to rule, others of whom chose the Count of Cornwall, brother to the king of England. Because of this, schism persisted for many years. ~~And in the time of this vacancy, much which was notable occurred in diverse parts of the world. Under the title of so great a vacancy I will explain these things in order and as briefly as I can. A.D. 1250. In Dacia [Denmark] Henry, famous King of the Danes, was suffocated in the sea by Able, his own younger brother, so that he [Able] might rule in place of him [Henry]. Little honor and utility came to this Able from this [deed]. For the following year of his reign, when he intended to subjugate the Frisians he was killed by the Frisians. AD 1251.~~ King Conrad, the son of Fredrick, that had assumed the rule of Sicily after the death of his father. ~~He came to Apulia by sea and, having captured Naples, he destroyed the walls of that city to the foundations.~~ But when he himself entered Apulia the following year and he began to be less strong, a medicine, which had been judged by doctors to bring [him] to heath, having been mixed with poison, carried him to death… (B, f. 245r)

Given the distribution of these details in its source text, we can be relatively certain that the translator of the *Chronicles* made a conscious choice to exclude these materials.[60] To that end, two of

[59] While modern historians like Michael Toch argue that Frederick II's death "does not appear to have been the decisive event in the slow dismantling of Hohenstaufen rule" ["Welfs," p. 391], the emperor figured prominently in medieval eschatological thought (see above, p. 86, n. 53).

[60] On the circulation of the *Chronicon* see above, see above, pp. 2-3; There are over 500 extant manuscripts of the *Chronicon*. None of them contain a passage equivalent to the *Chronicles*' version of these events. To that end, the *Chronicles*' suppression of Martinus' metatextual commentary (B, f.

the three biographies of that do not conform to any of the three formulae outlined above, Henry I*, "the Fowler," (r. 919-936, *CR*, p. 91.2282-5) and Otto IV, (r. 1209-15, *CR*, p. 110.2968-77), intersect with the concerns and discourses that animated the *Chronicles*'s depiction of Frederick II's legacy.[61]

Henry I*, the *Chronicles* explains, "is [noȝt] accounted amonges oþer emperourers, for he regned noȝt in Italy, neiþer he was noȝt crowned of þe pope." Nevertheless, while he lacked the *de facto* authority conveyed by an Italian kingdom and the sacramental, *de iure*, investment of a papal coronation, the *Chronicles* considers Henry more than just a king: "Herry þe Kyng was emperoure in Almayne xviii ȝeer."[62] Henry's *imperium* rests on his relationship to his predecessor, Conrad I* (r. 911-8).[63] Like Henry I*, Conrad I* "the German" was not "accounted amonge emperoures" because he "regned noȝt in Italy, and þerfor he þe blessyng that longeþ to þe emperor" (*CA*, p. 91.2275-7). Nevertheless, both Conrad I* and Henry I* merit independent biographies in both the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* because they ruled Germany, i.e. part of Charlemagne's *imperium* and thus part of the 'Roman' patrimony. Henry and Conrad also integrate the man who would reunify the empire, Otto

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236r: "Et plurima quia…potero explicabo") might lead us to question Embree's assumption that the archetype of all four extant manuscripts of the *Chronicles*, T, retained Martinus' tabular format (*CR*, p. 13) and the "Historia." Rather, from this perspective, it seems that the *Chronicles* carefully suppressed precisely the theoretical apparatus—the form(at)—that defined Martinus' text.

[61] "Henry I of Saxony" and "Otto IV," in Emmerson (2006) pp. 313-4, 497-8; The other anomalous biography, Galba and Vitallus (*CR*, pp. 35.262-3), also pertains to a particularly complicated succession crisis: the so-called "Year of four Emperors." The antiquity of these events, however, and, more importantly, the pre-Christian nature of the Roman 'imperium' limits the stakes of this passage with regard to this dissertation.

[62] Muldoon, (1999), p. 31.

[63] On Conrad, Henry, and the *translatio regni francorum ad saxones* see: Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians," pp. 233-42.

I, into the *Chronicles*'s imperial genealogy.[64] To that end, Henry I* also mediates between two kinds of imperial authority: lineage and consent. Elevated to the throne by the collective assent of Conrad I* and the "princes of his reem" (*CA*, p. 91.2279), Henry I* departs from Conrad I's* precedent by passing his crown down to his son Otto I (*CA*, p. 91.2285). Finally, the *Chronicles*'s relative fidelity to Martinus' respective accounts of Conrad I* and Henry I* suggests the translator's interest in these questions.

For example, in the case of Henry I* the *Chronicles* radically abbreviates its source text, omitting everything except the first and last sentences:

> King Henry ruled Germany for 18 years. But he is not counted among the emperors because he did not reign in Italy nor was he crowned by the pope. ~~In his time Spitigneus, Duke of Bohemia, was converted to the faith~~….[lengthy account of the conversion of Bohemia and St. Wenceslas]…And when King Henry died his son Otto I was crowned king (B, f. 235r)

> ¶Herry þe Kyng was emperoure in Almayne xviii ȝeer, but he is [noȝt] accountted amonges oþer emperoures, for he regned noȝt in Italy, neiþer he was noȝt crowned of þe pope. Whan Harry was deed, Octo þe First was icrowned kyng. (*CR*, p. 91.2283-5)

The *Chronicles*'s exclusion of this material, a discussion of the conversion of Bohemia, conforms to its general pattern of neglecting anything not directly related to the imperial or papal succession. Conversely, the *Chronicles* retains the entirety of the *Chronicon*'s account of Henry I's predecessor, Conrad I*, precisely because everything in that account pertains to issues of succession and status:

> Conrad the German ruled for seven years. Nevertheless, he is not considered and emperor because he did not rule in Italy and thus lacked the imperial blessing. In his time Saracens devestated Apulia, Calabrian, and almost all of Italy. Dying in his seventh year, King Conrad publicly designated Henry, son of Duke Otto of Saxony as king in the presence of the princes of the realm. (B, f. 235r)

> ¶Conradus þe Almayne regned vii ȝeer.
> But he is noȝt accountted amonge emperoures, for he regned noȝt in Italy, and þerfor he lacked þe blessyng þat longeþ to þe emperoure.
> In his tyme, þe Saresonnes destroyed moche of Italy.

[64] "Otto I," in Emmerson (2006), pp. 493-5; Muldoon, (1999), pp. 31-4; Müller-Mertens, "The Ottonians," pp. 240-9.

> In his vii ȝeer, he dyde, & tofore þe princes of his reem, he ordeyned Harry [Henry I*] to be þe kyng, þat was þe Dukes sonne of Saxonye. (*CR*, p.91.2275-80)

Even the piece of information that seems to be irrelevant, "In his tyme, þe Saresonnes destroyed moche of Italy," is, in this context, a referendum on Conrad I's* status. It was Conrad I's* failure to rule Italy that opened Rome to attack and the protection of Rome is, in the *Chronicles*, integral to imperial authority, as the *Chronicles*'s biography of Otto I demonstrates.

Otto I, in turn, is presented as a new Charlemagne (*CR*, pp. 91.2291-2302, 97.2475-2487) and his ascendency mirrors the rise of the Carolingian dynasty under Pepin III (*CR*, p. 83.1996-2002) and his son Charles (*CR*, pp. 84.2026-85.2082).[65] First, Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otto all deliver Italy, Rome, and/or the papacy from Lombard tyranny.[66] Second, Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otto each gain control of the empire through exchanges that signify the relationship between pope and emperor.[67] Specifically, these rituals emphasize the papacy's power to translate the empire and bestow the "blessyng" (*CR*, p. 91.2276) that Conrad I* and Henry I* lacked. Broadly, these rituals boil down to the exchange of a papal coronation in return for imperial acknowledgement of papal privilege.[68] The *Chronicles* links these rituals to both the symbolic and actual relationships between the individual and institutional bodies of the pope and emperor. While this is most obvious in the case of Pepin, whom the *Chronicles* describes as preforming stator service (*CR*, p. 83.1997-9), the *Chronicles*'s descriptions of both Charlemagne and Otto I's arrivals to Rome emphasize the degree to

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[65] "Pepin III the Short," in Emmerson (2006), pp. 512-2; *CR*, p. 83.1196; Charlemagne: *CR*, pp. 84.2027, 2039-41, 85.2060-2; Otto I: *CR*, p. 91.2294-2300; On the rise of the Carolingians see: Fouracre, "Frankish Gaul," pp. 85-109.

[66] On the connection to Italy, see Muldoon, (1999), p. 43.

[67] Pippin, *CR*: p. 83.2000-2; Charlemagne: *CR*, p. 85.2063-5; Otto I: *CR*, p. 81.2301-2.

[68] Muldoon, (1999), p. 32-4.

which they "restored þe Romaynes al þing whiche þe Lumbardes had itaken of hem before" (*CR*, p. 84.2039-40).[69] In return for these services, all three rulers receive ritual blessings that signify their right to the empire. Though these details are present in the *Chronicon*, the *Chronicles*'s abbreviation of Martinus' text centers the narrative squarely on the rhythm of succession by excising information unrelated to succession or the imperial/papal relationship. The *Chronicles* introduces a new term to describe this relationship: 'underfongen.'

Broadly, the verb "underfongen" means to accept, receive, inherit, take possession of, etc.[70] The *Chronicles* uses this word twelve times [Appendix 2.6]. Eleven of those uses occur after Charlemagne's reign and all eleven of these incidences pertain to the relationship between the emperor and Rome. For example, the first incidence is in the biography of Pope Steven IV (r. 816-7): "þis [Steven IV] went into Fraunce to Lowys þe Emperoure. And he [Louis I] vnderfonged him [Steven IV] faire & worshipfully. & as he [Steven IV] come aȝen toward Rome þoruȝ Fraunce, he

[69] Peter Wilson defines the strator service as such: "Acting as ceremonial groom to the pope, involving some or all of the following elements: prostrating oneself before the pontiff, kissing the papal stirrups, and helping the pope to dismount. Allegedly first performed by Pippin on meeting Pope Steven II in 753, the ceremony was subsequently claimed by popes as a means of asserting superiority over emperors. Last performed by Frederick III, in 1452," *Heart of Europe: A History of the Holy Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2016), p. 691, see also pp. 25, 47, 62, and 73 for other references to the performance of this service by emperors; On the relationship of stator service to the Donation of Constantine and Martinus' *Chronicon* see: Ullmann, p. 55-9; See also: Dmitri Zakharine, "Medieval perspectives in Europe: Oral culture and bodily practices," in *Body-Language-Communication: An International Handbook on Multimodality in Human Interaction*, eds. Cornelia Müller, Alan Cienki, Ellen Fricke, Silva H. Ladewig, David McNeill, Jana Bressem, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 355-7, Mary Stoll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Controversy*, (Lieden: Brill, 1991) pp. 90-1, 193-8, and Eduard Eichmann, "Das Officium Stratoris et Strepae," *Historische Zietschift* 142(1930) pp. 16-40; In this context, the *Chronicles*' depiction of Charlemagne dismounting a mile from Rome and walking into the city, kissing churches as he went, (*CR*, p. 85.2073-5) must be seen to evoke the strator service.

[70] "underfongen, v.," in *DME*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED48241

bouȝt many prysoners" (*CR*, p. 85.2085-7).[71] As the *Chronicles* noted, Charlemagne designated Louis I as his successor before he died (*CR*, p. 85.2082).[72] After Charlemagne's death in 814, Steven ensured the Roman's "election" of Louis I and then, in 816, travelled to France to crown Louis I himself.[73] Just as the *Chronicles*' description of Steven IV's journey, "went into Fraunce," invokes the transalpine peregrinations of his predecessors Leo IV (*CR*, p. 84.2047-50) and Steven II (*CR*, p. 83.1996-7), so too does Louis I's warm welcome, "vnderfonged him [Steven IV] faire & worshipfully," echo his father and grandfather's embrace of those popes.[74] Furthermore, Louis I, like his father and grandfather, receives his crown as part of the transaction, the second half of which the *Chronicles* records (*CR*, p. 85.2085-7). The *Chronicles* explicitly links this transaction to the Donation of Constantine (*CR*, p. 87.2135-9). Not only did the Donation supposedly establish the right of the papacy to translate the empire, but it was also the source of the quintessential expression of papal/imperial relationship: the strator service. Thus, despite its brevity, the *Chronicles*' account of Steven IV and Louis I encapsulates the broad pattern of reciprocal exchange and confirmation symbolized by the rituals of bodily service by which Pepin, Charlemagne, Steven II, and Hadrian I were understood to have established the Carolingian empire. For the remainder of the text, the *Chronicles* uses the verb "underfongen" to invoke this paradigm.[75]

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[71] *ODP*, p. 99.

[72] "Louis the Pious," in Emmerson (2006), pp. 422-3.

[73] *ODP*, p. 99.

[74] While Muldoon, (1999) notes that Louis actually rejected the precedent of his father, Charlemagne, so as to imitate his grandfather, Pepin, the *Chronicon* relates the medieval tradition regarding Charlemagne and the empire rather than the modern consensus, pp. 28-9.

[75] For the pre-history of this tradition see: Donald A. Bullough, "Empire and emperordom from late antiquity to 799," in *Early Medieval Europe* 12.4(2004) pp. 377-87.

To return to Otto I, in his narrative we find all of the constituent elements through which the *Chronicles* transferred the empire to the Carolingians. Like Pepin and Charles, Otto I crossed the Alps to deliver Italy from Lombard "tyrauntrye" (*CR*, p. 91.2298). The *Chronicles* punctuate Otto's rise with two usages of "underfongen." First, the *Chronicles* presents Otto I acting as a *de facto* emperor by mediatizing Lombardy (*CR*, p. 91.2295). This territorial reorganization is linked to Otto's acceptance of the now humbled Berengar II*: "Octo vnderfonged Beryngary" (p. 91.2294). While still just "Kyng of Almayne," the collocation of "underfongen" and Italian rule presages Otto's final ascent. After putting down Berengar II's* revolt, Otto proceeds, via Lombardy, to Rome in order "to be icrowned" (*CR*, p. 91.2298-9). Once in Rome, he "was vunderfonged of þe pope worþily & of þe Romaynes" (*CR*, p 91.2301-2). As a result, he "was icrowned emperoure" (*CR*, p. 91.2301) and the *Chronicles* then describes his son and grandson according to the *Chronicles* Type 1 formula: "Emperoure of Rome" (*CR*, p. 97.2488, 98). While the *Chronicles* notes the conflicts between Otto and Pope John XII (*CR*, pp. 97.2478, 85-6), the paradigm established by Pepin and Charlemagne, defined via its absence between the death of Louis III and Berengar II*, re-confirmed by Otto I, and encapsulated by the verb "underfongen," obtains for the remainder of the *Chronicles*, hence the almost universal Type 1/2 formulae.[76] Indeed, the *Chronicles*'s last usage of "underfongen" occurs in the third and final anonymous biography: Otto IV.

Despite his papal coronation, the *Chronicles* denies Otto IV the imperial title on account of his "yuel doing" (*CR*, p. 110.2969). While other emperors neglected Rome and/or warred with the papacy, Otto IV's sins are particularly egregious precisely because they undermine the relationship signified by the *Chronicles*'s "underfongen." Rather than participating in the reciprocal rituals of acceptance and support, the *Chronicles* implies that Otto capitalized on Roman generosity to launch a

[76] On the conflict see: *ODP*, pp. 126-7; Appendix 2.5

brutal attack on the city and the papacy that choose to support him rather than his Hohenstaufen rival, Philip of Swabia (*CR*, pp. 109.2940-3, 110.2970-2).[77] In fact, it is tempting to read Otto's actions as a reaction to the disjunction of papal coronation, dynastic succession, and electoral consent. When the previous emperor, Henry VI* (r. 1191-7, *CR*, p. 109.2931-43) died, his son, the future Frederick II, was far too young to inherit leading to the "dyscension bytwene þe princes of Almeyne" (*CR*, p.109.2940-1) that resulted in the double election of Philip and Otto in 1198.[78] This strife persisted until Frederick II's reconciliation of these three vectors of imperial authority:

> "And in his [Otto IV] fourþe ȝeer, þe princes of Almayne chosen Frederyk to emperoure.
> And he come by shippe to Rome. & he was **vnderfongen** of þe pope & of þe Romanynes worshipfully.
> And when he came into Almeyne, he ouercame Octo wonderly.
> And he was made emperoure." (*CR*, p. 110.2973-77, emphasis mine)

Despite the geographic reversal of Frederick's intervention—rather than descending across the Alps, he progresses north from Sicily, through Rome, to Germany—the *Chronicles* presents Frederick II according to the typology established by Charlemagne and Otto I.[79]

Together, then, the exceptions to the *Chronicles*'s normative introductory formulae—Henry I*, and Otto IV—illuminate the interpenentration of *ordinatio*, textual abbreviation, the representation of imperial authority after Charlemagne. Within this sequence there are three distinct groups. The first and last consist of dynasties: the Carolingians on one hand and the Ottonians, Salians, and Hohenstaufens on the other. The interregnum of Conrad I*, Henry I*, and Berengar II* separate these two groups. While the Carolingians are the template for the later emperors, the

[77] On the conflict between Otto IV and Philip and its stakes for the idea of empire see Muldoon (1999), pp. 79-84.

[78] "Henry VI*," in Emmerson (2006), pp. 322-3; On Frederick's minority and the disputed election of 1198, see Abulafia, (1988), pp. 89-132.

[79] On Frederick's ascent see, Abulafia, (1988), pp. 132-64.

rubrics of the Carolingian era reflect the inchoate definition of emperorship during that period.[80] The formalization of the imperial office described in the chaotic years between Louis III and Otto I, in turn, enables the *Chronicles* to apply Type 1/2 formulae to the Ottonian, Salian, and Hohenstaufer emperors consistently. While these formulae might seem to express a universality akin to Martinus' conception of Rome, the *Chronicles*' nominalization of the *Chronicon*'s "imperavit" raises new issues.

Unlike Martinus' *Chronicon*—which sustains the fiction of a universal empire via its format—the *Chronicles*' *imperium* cannot survive the absence of an emperor precisely because it is the sequence of bodies which formats, i.e. gives shape to, the text itself. To return to the interregnum between Louis III and Otto I, the *Chronicon* attempted to rubricate this crisis out of existence. To that end, Martinus exploits the polyvalence of the Latin "imperium," which could mean either "the empire" or "rule."[81] When addressing situations like the death of Louis III, the *Chronicon* holds out the possibility that the empire, the *authority*, remains singular despite the division of its rule: "For this reason, the *empire/rule* began to be divided during the time of that Louis" [propter quam causam tempore istius Lodovici dividi cepit *imperium*] (B, f. 235r). This ambiguity, however, is not available in Middle English. The *Chronicles* must pick either the empire or the rule of the empire. This choice, in turn, leads the *Chronicles* to locate the governmental understanding of "imperium," rule or authority, in the bodies of the emperors themselves. Thus, where the *Chronicon* explains that the division after Louis III's death lasted until Otto "began to rule in both places" (B, f. 235r), the *Chronicles*'s decision to nominalize the *Chronicon*'s verbs locates imperial unity within the actual body of a singular emperor: "Octo þat was emperoure of boþ" (*CR*, p. 2245-6). Then, absent the framing structure of Martinus' format, the *Chronicles* edits the intervening accounts of Conrad I* and Henry I* to

[80] Muldoon, (1999), p. 30.

[81] For a discussion of this term with specific reference to the medieval empire p. 108, n. 102.

emphasize the chain of bodies that links Otto to the Carolingians via his rule of Germany. Essentially, the *Chronicles* edits and reformats the *Chronicon* so as to transform its grammars of containment and enclosure into rhythms of bodily succession.

Rhythmic Forms

The *Chronicles* transformed the *Chronicon* from a system of nested wholes into a rhythmic form. To that end, we might understand the *Chronicles* as a recuperative project, an effort to translate Rome into a form(at) unbeholden to the fortunes of the city. The open-ended temporality of rhythmic forms, however, proscribes the stability afforded by whole forms. Rather, Levine argues, rhythmic forms collide so as to "shape, reinforce, unsettle, and alter one another."[82] Thus, to conclude my account of the *Chronicles*, I want to situate my analysis of its internal rhythms in relation to patterns of its manuscript circulation so as to consider the collision of these two rhythmic forms. The books through which the *Chronicles* was transmitted amplify the tensions between Roman universalism—papal or imperial—and the emergence of alternative socio-political shapes that redefined England's political and imaginative relationships with Rome during the Schism and beyond. Three of the four witnesses of the *Chronicles* also include either a version of Robert of Gloucester's *Metrical Chronicle* (P, D, E) and the other manuscript (A) includes *The New Chronicles Compendyusly Idrawn of the Gestys of the Kynges of England*, which covers similar material.[83] P also includes the Middle English romance *Titus and Vespasian* which, along with the related *Siege of Jerusalem*, has

[82] Levine (2015), p. 38.

[83] Hartung pp. 2616-21, 2638-40.

been persuasively associated with the Schism.[84] In fact, if read sequentially, P's contents trace a provocative arc that maps onto Oakley's compelling account of fourteenth-century political theory.

Opening with the *Chronicles*, P evokes a world, defined by the relationship between papacy and empire that, by 1400, was already over. To that end, the amelioratory form(at) *Chronicles* draws on a broader thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century discourse that Francis J. Oakley has described as the "politics of nostalgia." Oakley argues that while the thirteenth-century witnessed the most robust articulations of Roman Christendom, these arguments unfolded against a historical landscape that had already begun to conceptualize sovereignty without reference to papacy or empire.[85] This retrospection bespeaks the anxiety at the heart of the *Chronicles*: the absence of both the papacy and the empire as a universalizing force. Then P's next text—*Titus and Vespasian*—wrestles with the potential annihilation of Christendom. Like other siege poems, *Titus and Vespasian* foregrounds "the factors that threaten to tear the community apart." [86] Chief among these "factors" was the Schism.[87] Finally, the third text of the manuscript, Robert of Gloucester's *Metrical Chronicle*, is also concerned with corporate identity. It, however, anticipates the political form that will, eventually, displace

[84] Nievergelt (2015) and S. Yeager (2004).

[85] Oakley 3, pp. 14-50; See also H.S. Offler, "Empire and Papacy: the last struggle," in *Chruch and Crown in the Fourteenth-Century: Studies in European History and Political Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), item II.

[86] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Incorporation in *The Siege of Melayne*," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), p. 38.

[87] Nievergelt, (2015), p. 421: "the ambivalent and divided representation of both Jews and Romans resonates deeply with the identitarian crises associated with these historical events [the Schism and the Hundred Years' War]"; See also Yeager, (2004), pp. 87, 91-2, 96.

Christendom: the nation-state[88] Centered—bibliographically and metaphorically—on the destruction Jerusalem, always a proxy for Christendom, P has one foot in the past and one foot in the future.[89]

This external, bibliographic tension resonates with the heterogeneous temporalities that are basic to the *Chronicles*'s internal rhythmic shape, its persistent tendency to either say what it will say or repeat what it has said. The *Chronicles* isolates the empire and the papacy by stripping away Martinus' references to contemporary events. This distillation of Martinus' text forces readers to wrestle with the relationship between these two embodiments of Roman universalism. The *Chronicles*, however, vernacularlizes Rome as well. I mean this in two ways. Most obviously, the *Chronicles* converts Martinus' Latin into Middle English prose. In a much larger sense, however, internal rhythms that format the *Chronicles* and the external patterns that defined its circulation reflect the "sovereign hermeneutics" that, in Emily Steiner's analysis, characterized Middle English translations of universal history. Like John Trevisa's translation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, the *Chronicles* conceives of universal history as lineage or, in Steiner's words, "the cultural foundations of lay lordship."[90] The circulation of the *Chronicles* suggests that English scribes and readers understood its representation of Roman form(at) in relation to the broader crises and conflicts that informed the political aesthetic of later medieval England. In short, the *Chronicles*' efforts to reform Rome in light

[88] While the debate regarding the precise nature of Robert's politics in the *Chronicle* continues, there is a general agreement that the text is an important landmark in the literary history of English national identity. For a survey of the state of the field regarding Robert's *Chronicle* see: Philip A. Shaw, "Robert of Gloucester and the Medieval Chronicle," in *Literature Compass* 8/10(2011) pp. 700-9.

[89] On the relationship between the *imperium* and *regnum* in the later Middle Ages, see Canning, (1987), pp. 23-30, 43-4, 64-73.

[90] Emily Steiner, "Radical Historiography: Langland, Trevisa, and the *Polychronicon*," in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 27(2005) p. 183.

of the fragmentation of Christendom oscillate between nostalgia for a fading Rome and proleptic anticipation of the socio-political forms to come.

Both of these rhythms, the internal shape of the text itself and its external relationship to both literary history and the world at large, resist the ontological distance assumed by Martinus' whole forms. Rather, they are both "composed of subtle and conflicting temporal organizing patterns" which neither affirm nor reject Rome. Instead, these rhythms temporalize that which Martinus' form(at) seeks to remove from history entirely: the readers themselves. This, I argue, is the mark that the Schism made on the *Chronicles*. The Schism, as Frantisek Graus has argued, was an apex-crisis precisely because it rendered uncertain the social, political, and imaginative forms that allowed people to understand their own life in relation to the putative meaning of all life.[91] Thus, while the *Chronicles*' narrative concludes a century before the Schism began, the rhythms that governed its circulation and shape register the imaginative stakes of that crisis, the degree to which the Schism challenged the ideology and the aesthetics of Martinus' Rome.

Hierorcratic Forms

At first glance, the *Lollard Chronicle* seems nearly formless, at least when compared to the *Chronicon* and *Chronicles*. Both versions of the *Lollard Chronicle*, New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton Additional 3 (Pl) and Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 85 (Em), present the text as a block of continuous prose devoid of rubrication.[92] By breaking individual accounts into paragraphs

[91] Graus (1971).

[92] *CR*, pp. 16-7, 24-6; I have not been able to fully examine Pl or Em. Embree describes their *ordinatio* as such: "The *Lollard Chronicle* [Pl] follows the previous text without a break and in the same hand. The announcement *Here bigynneþ þe cronycles of Rome* fills out the line on which the proverbs end. The text itself begins on the next line, with a large (six lines deep), but undecorated capital *P* in red ink, the sole marker of adornment in the text. A large captital *P* begins the subsequent text, the

separated by blank lines, however, the modern edition of this text presents both versions of the *Lollard Chronicle* as if they were formatted like the *Chronicles*.[93] While this presentation makes it easier for modern readers to navigate the *Lollard Chronicle*, it amplifies a critical tendency to overlook the importance of form(at) within this textual tradition. Consequently, scholars have failed to understand the degree to which the *Lollard Chronicle* reforms the 'Matter of Christendom.'

While the *Chronicles* certainly responded to the fragmentation of the *Chronicon*'s Rome, its binary commitment to papacy and empire retained Martinus' basic assumption that "these two swords, namely the spiritual and the material, are sufficient [satis est] for the regulation of Christendom," (B, f. 206v).[94] The *Chronicles*' tacit acceptance of the political theologies that stood behind Hostiensis' *ubi papa*, *ibi Roma* formula presupposed the existence of another form common to both Christendom and representations of Christendom: hierarchy. At the risk of oversimplification, medieval ecclesiology understood 'the church,' i.e. Christendom, as a hierarchy.[95] Rooted in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, this "hierocratic theology" governed the shape both Martinus' *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles*.[96] For example, let us consider two quintessential late medieval hierocrats: Giles of Rome (c. 1243-1316) and James of Viterbo (c. 1255-1307).

"Prophecy of St. Hildegard", which follows in a smaller hand after a break of one line. The *Lollard Chronicle* is copied in single columns, occupying the whole of the writing space (205 mm x 120 mm). It is in a small, neat anglicana hand in black ink. Occasional slight indentations, one line deep, and perhaps intended for paraphs that were never added, are the only other signs of division in the text." Regarding Em he says: "There are no initials or other marks of divisions in the text," (*CR*, pp. 24-5).

[93] In this respect, then, Ernst Talbert's 1942 edition of Em is a better representation of that version's format.

[94] On the two swords, see: Patrick Stephen Healy, "Gelasian doctrine," and "Two Swords, Doctrine of the," in Bjork (2010), pp. 688, 1661.

[95] On the topic of hierarchy, see Introduction, n. 29.

[96] On Pseudo-Dionysius and his medieval reception see Introduction, n. 44.

In his *De ecclesiastica potestate* (*DEP*), Giles lays out this ideology in some depth: both swords belong to the church and thus the pope.[97] To that end, Giles appeals to Psuedo-Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy* so as to argue that "[t]he order of the universe requires this: that the lowest and the intermediate were both led to the highest through the intermediate." Were it otherwise, Giles claims, the entire world would be disordered. Then, drawing on Romans 13:1, Giles notes that all power both derives from God and is "ordained," i.e. arranged by God. Following the Gelasian model, Giles associates the powers of Romans 13:1 with the two swords of Luke 22:38. The manifest sufficiency of these two swords—the same "satis est" as in Martinus' "Historia"—leads Giles to argue that "they must be ordained [i.e. arranged in their proper order]." This ordination, for Giles, entails hierarchy: "[the two swords] would not be ordained unless one sword were led by the other and unless one were under the other," (*DEP*, 8-9). Given the essential inferiority of the temporal sword—a claim also rooted in Psuedo-Dionysian thought—Giles concludes that the spiritual sword, that is the papacy, must stand between God and secular power:

> "There will, however, be this order: the power of the Supreme Pontiff has lordship over souls; souls have lordship—or should as of right have lordship—over bodies, or the body will be ill-ordered with respect to that part of it which does not obey the soul and mind and reason; but temporal things themselves are the servants of our bodies, and it follows that the priestly power, which has lordship over souls, may rule bodies and temporal things."(*DEP*, p. 245).

The law of divinity, the rule of ordination, is also a grammar of embodied containment: "kingdoms must be under the Vicar of Christ," (*DEP* pp. 145-53). In fact, even Giles' limitations of papal power—his restriction of the power to bind and loose to "souls that are united with and rule bodies" (*DEP*, p. 53)—pivots on the relationship of wholes and rhythms, in Levine's understanding of those two forms.

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[97] Giles of Rome, *Giles of Rome on Ecclesiastical Power: The* De ecclesiastica Potestate *of Aegidius Romanus* [*DEP*], ed. and tr. R.W. Dyson, (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 1986), p. xiii.

James of Viterbo's *De Regimine Christiano* (*DRC*) also advances his political theology via grammars of enclosure that incorporated the physical body of the pope with the metaphorical body of the church. James' church—and by this he means Christendom—is, by nature, one.[98] Within this unity, however, there is diversity. One of the reasons for this diversity, James argues, is dignity and beauty. Order, James argues, "creates beauty and comeliness and adornment, but order requires a certain diversity," (*DRC*, p. 45). To that end, James' pope not only epitomizes the unity of the church, he also functions as an ordainer-in-chief (*DRC*, p. 177). What James means by this is that it is the pope who orders the church, i.e. arranges the diversity of Christendom into its optimal hierarchy. In a departure from the *DEP*, however, James derives his version of papal supremacy from the *potestas iurisdictionis* rather than the *potestas ordinaris*. The latter is the sacramental power invested in all priests, whereas the former is the administrative capacity to rule in a given area, i.e. a parish, bishopric, etc.[99] *DRC* delineates two types of *potestas iurisdictionis* or "royal power" in James' parlance: spiritual and secular (*DRC*, pp. 147-228). For James, secular power is 'secular' "not inasmuch as external goods are called earthly, but inasmuch as all things are suited to the activities of earthly life, by which is meant that earthly life which belongs to man according to his nature," (*DRC*, p. 203). Conversely, 'spiritual' power pertains to "things of grace," (*DRC*, p. 201). Not only does this understanding of spiritual and secular *potestas iurisdictionis* leave space for the spiritual rule of material things, but only so long as those things pertain to "grace" rather than "nature." It also assumes a hierarchy of natural and *super*-natural, (*DRC*, p. 203).

The spiritual power, James argues, is superior in terms of priority, dignity, and causation, (*DRC*, pp. 207-11). This hierarchy, in turn, entails containment: "Because lower virtues are

[98] Part 1 of *DRC* offers perhaps clearest account of medieval Christendom as a hierarchical kingdom (*regnum*).

[99] *DRC*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

contained in higher, and what is caused pre-exists in what causes, the temporal power, which stands in comparison to the spiritual as inferior to superior, and as caused to cause, is contained by the spiritual power," (*DRC*, p. 217). From this ordination—i.e. hierarchized distinction—James adduces his theory of papal supremacy: "And for this reason it is said that the laws of both the earthly [secular] and the heavenly [spiritual] empires were given by Christ to the blessed Peter, because Peter and each of his successors, in whom the fullness of power resides, has temporal power pre-existently," (*DRC*, p. 217).[100] From this position, James offers an uncompromising vision of the relationship between spiritual and secular power: "The temporal power therefore stands in comparison with the spiritual in the following ways: it is subject to it; it serves it; it is instituted by it; it is judged by it; it is led and ordered by it; and it is contained and reserved in it," (*DRC* pp. 219, 21). While James avers the sacramental collegiality of all bishops—*potestas ordinis*—he asserts that one cannot derive a theory of papal supremacy from the pope's *episcopal* office, i.e. his function as the Bishop of Rome. As a bishop *qua* bishop, i.e. according to his *potestas ordinis*, the pope is equal to all other bishops, (*DRC*, p. 179). Rather, the pope's superiority derives from the unique Petrine relationship to Christ, i.e. the pope's status as the Vicar of Christ, (*DRC*, pp. 173-9). Rome's preeminence, for James, derives from its role as a papal seat, not the other way around (*DRC*, p. 179). It's dignity, like the Pope's, derives from the degree to which its *potestas iurisdictionis* contains all other jurisdictions. To be a pope, in James' calculation, is to rule, to *ordain*.

From Lollard Jurisdiction to Secular Style

The *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* are predicated on the idea of hierarchy and represent it as either a system of nested wholes or a rhythmic pattern. While their respective layouts privilege

[100] Dyson glosses "pre-existently" as such: "That is, in the way that a cause already has within it the power subsequently manifested in its effects."

different expressions of this form, they agree that Christendom is a hierarchy ruled by the pope. In fact, both texts seem far more invested in maintaining a particular form or shape than in relating an exhaustive or comprehensive history. The *Lollard Chronicle*, on the other hand, is subversive and is a 'Lollard' text precisely because it rejects the hierarchies that are basic to their Roman form(at)s. It was one thing to criticize a particularly scurrilous pope or to resist papal taxation—as Margeret Harvey has shown, the medieval church permitted a wide spectrum of debate on that issue—but it was quite another to deny sovereign "law of divinity" that ordered Christendom and structured the representation of its past.[101]

While both versions of the *Lollard Chronicle* abandon Martinus and the *Chronicles*' commitment to papacy *and* empire as a synthetic pair, Pl focuses exclusively on the papacy whereas Em incorporates secular material—imperial and English—so as to explicitly critique the papacy. Pl is very short, just 140 lines in Embree's edition, and runs from Pope Alexander I (r. c. 109-16) to Gregory X (r. 1271-6), though the emphasis (31/39 entrees) is on the church prior to c. 600.[102] Even for this period, however, the Pl addresses just c. 66% of the popes discussed by Martinus and the *Chronicles* (38/60).[103] The themselves are notably brief: 32/39 entrees consist of three lines or less. Nevertheless, despite its brevity, Pl's version of the *Lollard Chronicle*, entitled *The Chronicles of Rome* and inserted between some Old Testament proverbs and the "Prophecies of Hildegard," seems to be complete.[104] Although Em is significantly longer, running at 718 lines in Embree's edition, the

[101] Harvey (1997).

[102] *ODP*, pp. 8-9, 197-8.

[103] Pl has two entrees for Pope Marcellinus, (r. 296?-305, *CR*, pp. 116.Pl.28-9, 119.Pl.67-8); *ODP*, p. 24-5.

[104] *CR*, p. 17, 25.

manuscript wants at least two folios (1, 8).[105] As it survives today, Em runs from Pope Sixtus II (r. 257-8) to Clement VI (r. 1342-52).[106] Both Pl and Em, as Embree has shown, derive from a common source, Ld, "closely resembling Pl 1-70, 98-123." Ld, in turn, was based off Martinus' *Chronicon*.[107] Pl, Embree demonstrates, sticks close to both its immediate and ultimate sources, Ld and the *Chronicon*.[108] Em, on the other hand casts a wider net and makes extensive use of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* as well as Gratian's *Decretals*, the Lollard tract "The Clergy May Not Hold Property," and John Wyclif's *De civili dominio* and *De dominio divino*.[109]

While Steiner describes Trevisa's translation of Higden as "radical" due to its origins in discourses of lay lordship, the Middle English *Polychronicon* is, like both its Latin source and the *Chronicles*, more ponderous than controversial. Nevertheless, Steiner argues, "it produces a theology of clerical exemplarity" that, in William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, "leads inevitably to clerical disendowment."[110] Putting aside Langland's vexed relationship to Lollardy, Steiner's insights into "the hermeneutics that universal history enjoins" illuminate the *Lollard Chronicle*'s reformation of Martinus' Rome.[111] At the most basic level, the *Lollard Chronicle* provides fodder for Lollard arguments for clerical disendowment by serving up a compilation of bad popes and good kings.

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[105] The *Lollard Chronicle* is the only text in Em and Embree estimates the complete text would have been c. 750 lines (*CR*, p. 26).

[106] *ODP*, pp. 21-2, 219-21.

[107] *CR*, pp. 16-20. There is no evidence that either the translator of Ld or the scribes of Pl and Em had any knowledge of the *Chronicles*.

[108] *CR*, p. 20; While Pl cites Higden once (*CR*, p. 123.Pl.135) Embree's argument that Martinus' is the "principle" source for Pl is sound.

[109] *CR*, p. 19-20, 220, n. Em 22-3; Talbert(1942), pp. 165, 174.

[110] Steiner (2005), pp. 180-1, 211.
[111] Steiner (2005), p. 211.

That said, neither of the *Lollard Chronicle*'s two editors nor Steiner consider the relationship between religious dissent, historiography, and form(at).[112] Yet not only was form(at) critical to Martinus, his Latin continuators, and his Middle English translators, it also had been an integral part of Christian historiography since at least the time of Eusebius.[113] A truly "radical" historiography would, it seems, be radical with regard to both contents and shape. The *Lollard Chronicle* meets both of these criteria: its content reflects the influence of Wyclif's theories of *dominium*, an explicit repudiation of political theologies of Giles and James, and its layout levels the ideological hierarchy basic to both the later medieval church and their bibliographic reflexes in the *Chronicon* tradition. For example, let us compare its account of Pope Pelagius I (r. 556-61) to the account in the *Chronicon*.[114] Pelegius I is a particularly useful pope for this purpose because Pl and Em's agreement with each other regarding Pelagius, and their joint disagreement with Higden, who hardly mentions Pelagius I at all, suggests that both Pl and Em retained Ld's *Chronicon*-based archetypal reading.[115] Given Em's later departures from Ld, beginning our analysis of the *Lollard Chronicle* with an archetypal reading will allow us to measure the degree to which Em's expands the horizons of Ld/Pl.

Ld

Pl: "Also Pope Pelagre ordeynede þat heretikes & scismatikis schulden be punysched bi seculer lordis—in þe ȝeer of þe Lorde v^{c}lviii," (*CR*, p. 119.Pl.55-6).

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[112] On Embree's dismissive comments regarding the form of the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles*, see above; Talbert does not address the question of format; Steiner's conception of the formal properties of universal history—Latin or vernacular—remains rooted in the question of content and or intent [(2005) pp. 174-83]. Despite her gesture towards the idea of shape vis-à-vis linearity, Steiner neither addresses how the text is actually laid out on the page nor theorizes how the discourses of need that she inform the "sovereign hermeneutics" of Trevisa's text respond to the needs of readers and/or shaped, perhaps 'ruled,' the *ordinatio* of the book itself.

[113] See above pp.72-7.

[114] *ODP*, p. 62-4.

[115] Higden's account of Pelagius consists of brief mentions of his election and death, *PRH*, 5, pp. 346, 56.

> **Em**: "Pope Pelagie ordeyned þat heretikis & sismatikis schuld be punyschid bi seculere lords," (*CR*, p. 119.Em.59-60).
>
> ***Chronicon***: "Pelagius I, ~~of the Roman nation and from the district of John, sat four years, ten months, and eighteen days [after which] the papacy was vacant four months and twenty five days.~~ This pope decided that heretics and schismatics were punished by secular powers. ~~At this time Blessed Brandon was considered to be famous in Scotland. This pope was blamed for the death of Virgilius but he purged [himself] by toughing the cross and the gospel in the presence of all the people. In these times the bones of bones of the protomartyr Stephen we transferred to Rome and collected in one tomb with Saint Laurence,~~" (B, f. 223v, Passages present in B but not included in the *Lollard Chronicle* are ~~struck through~~).

Ld radically abbreviates its source by excluding biographical material, the peripheral account of St. Brandon, the translation of St. Stephan's relics, and a potentially explosive story in which Pelagius seems to have submitted to the secular authority of "all of the people." Ld's exclusion of the first three items is readily explicable. Both the Middle English translations of the *Chronicon* suppressed biographical data and the information regarding St. Brandon and St. Stephen is entirely superfluous to Ld's purposes. Pelagius' trial, however, would seem to be precisely the type of exemplum a 'Lollard' chronicle would include. Perhaps the *Chronicon*'s account Pelagius' penance implied ecclesiastical adjudication, hence Ld's suppression. Indeed, the *Chronicles*' contemporaneous retention of the details of Pelagius' expiation suggests that story did not necessarily entail a heterodox position (*CR*, p. 70.1547-53). Rather, what seems most important to Ld is Pelagius' role as legislator.[116] In fact, 30 of the 34 biographies that Embree believes Em *and* Pl carried over from Ld, consist of very short (1-3 lines) entrees that follow the same pattern: "Pope X ordeyned Y" [Appendix 2.7]. Though Wyclif and his followers certainly disputed the pope's capacity to make law,

[116] Embree notes that "the power of secular authorities to punish clerics is a key Lollard tenant," *CR*, p. 222 n.Pl.55-6

the specific ordinances mentioned by Ld/Pl are not the topics that aroused their strongest anger.[117] They are, however, the ordinances mentioned by Martinus. In other words, were someone to transform the single most ubiquitous history of the papacy into a legislative history — a chronicle of jurisdiction, an account of the papacy that distilled James of Viterbo's conception of the office to its essential terms— it would look a lot like Ld/Em.

It would not, however, look like Embree's edition of the *Lollard Chronicle*. Embree's edition treats the "Pope X ordeyned Y" formula exactly the same as the rubrics of the *Chronicles*, i.e. he uses it to format and to organize his edition. This reification of these tags, however, is entirely at odds with *Lollard Chronicle*'s presentation of Pelagius I and colleagues. Both Pl and Em (and thus presumable Ld) present this history of ordination as a homogenous block of prose.[118] This flat *ordinatio* is every bit as political as the hierarchical shapes of the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles*.[119] Essentially, the *Lollard Chronicle* submerges the papacy's claim to jurisdictional power—its authority to rule the entire church—in a bibliographic negation of that claim. Whereas the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* translated the ideological hierarchies of their texts into a system of rubrication, the *Lollard Chronicle* secularizes—in James' terms—the papacy and the hierarchies it represents. For James, secular power was that power which pertained to nature rather than grace. Such a jurisdictional power is, for James, secular because "*saeculum* implies temporal duration" whereas the jurisdictional power which pertains to grace is, by definition, "heavenly," (*DRC*, p. 201, 3). The implicit claim of the *Lollard Chronicle*'s *ordinatio*, is that that which the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles* reified as form(at), or

[117] *Cf.* Talbert (1942), p. 165-6.

[118] On this count, Talbert's edition offers a better representation of the *Lollard Chronicle*'s *ordinatio*.

[119] On medieval perceptions of hierarchies of script, see Malcolm Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), esp. pp. 133-9 and *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*, (Oxford: OUP, 1969), pls. 19-20; For a concise definition of the term "hierarchy of scripts" see Parkes (2008) p. 152.

the hierocratic conjunction of layout and ideology, is actually just the stuff of history, the "temporali" of the "Historia." Though Pl/Ld does not explicitly criticize the papacy, its rejection of hierocratic form and format creates space for Em to confront papal claims to temporal power directly. Specifically, the flat or open format of the *Lollard Chronicle* increases the organizational importance of style.

Form, in my reading of the *Chronicon* tradition, is format. As such, form is visible. It is that which remains stable and apparent across years and pages. Style, on the other hand, is invisible in that it is unrubricated. It must be read rather than seen. To return to James' two versions of jurisdictional or royal power, format, in this textual tradition, claims a type of 'spiritual' jurisdiction: it reifies and remains stable over and against time. Style, conversely, is a temporal regime precisely because it must be read, and reading is a temporal activity. Em's stylistic debt to Higden is in fact the conception of style as mode of temporal regulation. In order to isolate Em's debt to Higden, I want to compare Em's two accounts of the Formosan Schism (c. 891-911): Em[1] (*CR*, pp. 121.Em.77-122.Em.101) and Em[2] (*CR*, pp. 125.Em.210-126.Em.238). While the Formosan Schism was a fascinating, if grisly affair, I am not, at this time, concerned with the historiography of this crisis but rather what Em's double telling of it can reveal about the translators' *habitus*.[120]

Em[1] agrees with the account of Formosus in Pl (*CR*, pp. 121.Pl.97-122.Pl.122) and likely reflects Ld's archetypal reading: **"**Aftirward Formosus diede, & Stephen Pope was his successour," (*CR*, p. 121.Em.83). Em[2], however, is drawn from the *Polychronicon*: "*Also in þe ȝere of grace viiᶜlxxxxix*, Pope Stephen þe Sixte sat I ȝeere & iii monþis," (*CR*, p. 126.Em.217-8, emphasis

[120] For more on Formosus and his legacy Michael Edward Moore, "The Attack on Pope Formosus: Papal History in an Age of Resentment (875-897), in *Ecclesia et Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages*, eds. Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 184-208.

mine).[121] In terms of content, these two accounts concur with each other and Em's general handling of its respective sources, Ld and the *Polychronicon*.[122] The critical difference is Em[2]'s use of the formula "Also in þe ȝere of grace…". In fact, the inclusion of this formula is a hallmark of the accounts that Em takes from *Polychronicon*. To wit, consider Em's two depictions of Steven VI's successors:

> **Em[1]:** Afturward Stephen Pope died, and his successour—þat is Theodre þe II & Iohn þe IX. Sithen gadred togidere, [Em is missing a line, Pl reads: "dampneden alle þe dedes of [Stephene]. After whom Cergius Pope"] pope, bifor deposid, raveynosely toke þe popehode bi þe miȝt of men of Fraunce and cast out from þe popehode Cristofore, which [presoned] Pope Leo þe II. Þis, a generalle counseil gaderid togedere, dampned alle þe dedis of Theodre & of Iohn his [predecessours], and degratid alle þat hade take degre bi þe same predecessouris, and commaundide þe bodi of Formosus, foundun, to be cloþide with pontifical cloth and afturward þe heede to be girde off, & to be cast into Tibre—at which body, trewly after foundun bi a fischere & born into þe chirch, ymagis bowid hym. (*CR*, pp. 121.Em.91-122.Em.101)
>
> **Em[2]:** *Also in þe ȝere of grace ix^{e}*, Pope Iohn þe IX *sate pope ii ȝeere*, which mad a conseil at Raveyn, & dampned the dedis of Stephen Pope, & fauȝt aȝence Romanis. And Pope Theoder þe Secunde also revoked þe dedis of Pope Stephen, and confermed þe dedis of Formosus. *Also in þe ȝere of grace ix^{e} vi*, Pope Leo þe Fyfþe *satte Pope ii monþis*. For whi Cristofer his prest emprisoned him & bi raveyn assayled þe popehode, but after þe iiii monþe he was cast out. *Also in ȝeere of grace ix^{e}vii*, Pope Sergius þe IIII, after þat he hade cast out Cristfire, *sate pope vii ȝeere*. Which Sergeus, sumtym deken & cardinal, repreued bi Pope Formosus, went to Frenchmene, bi whos helpe he presoned Cristofire, raveynoure of þe popehode, & so he occupied. Which for vengaunce of his casting out, mad Pope Formosus to be draw out of his sepulture, as it is bifor seid. (*CR*, p. 126.Em.225-38, emphasis mine)

While the many differences of syntax clearly indicate that these two versions derive from slightly different sources, the one persistent difference is Em[2]'s habitual adoption of "Also in þe ȝere of grace" and/or "sate pope" to signal narrative shifts. While Em eschews the marginal dates that characterize most manuscripts of the *Polychronicon*, it translates those rubrics into an English prose that retains the aggregational logic of Higden's text. Like Higden's rubrics, this hypotactic tissue

[121] *CR*, p. 229 n. 201-6.

[122] Higden's account of these events is dispersed across a chapters 3-4 of Book 6 of the *Polychronicon*, *PRH*, 6, pp. 390-409.

lumps events together according to date. On one hand, the persistence and the organizational nature of these formulae evoke the rubrics that formatted the *Chronicles*. On the other, however, they are unrubricated, like Ld's "ordeyned" formulae and unlike the introductory formulae of the *Chronicles* and the dates of the *Polychronicon*. This, I argue, is the essence of style in the *Lollard Chronicle*: it is repetitive content invested with the organizational agency of form(at), but denied its reification. Rather, the Em draws on the temporal stylistics of the *Polychronicon* to organize its narrative into loose segments or stories within which the papal, imperial, and royal jurisdiction meet each other as equals precisely because their power is secular, i.e. temporal in James' sense.

To that end, I would also describe this style as "collegial," according to Wyclif's understanding of apostolic collegiality. Wyclif, Ian Christopher Levy argues, "envisioned the papacy taking place in a larger collegial setting based upon apostolic equality borne out in mutual service." Wyclif concurred in this respect with Godfrey of Fontaines and Henry of Ghent that bishops received both the *potestas ordinis* and the *potestas jurisdictionis* directly from God and without any papal mediation. Following the lead of these writers and the many others involved in the late medieval mendicant controversy, Wyclif argued that the apostles were peers [socii] and that "whatever primacy [Peter] was accorded, therefore, was due solely to his ardent love of Christ and the church."[123] Wyclif's notion of apostolic collegiality clearly proceeds from his understanding of *dominium* or "lordship." Where James placed the jurisdictional power of the pope above that of the king, Wyclif asserts that, insofar as the clerics exercise temporal power or lordship, "this can only be a matter of human lordship and so must derive from the king."[124] Essentially, the pope, insofar as he is a cleric, is like other bishops, but insofar as he is a lord, is like other lords. The implicit assumption

[123] Levy (2007), p. 178.

[124] Michael Wilks, "Wyclif and the Wheel of Time," in *Studies in Church History* 33(1997) p. 185.

of this theory is, then, that the *potestas iurisdictionis* claimed by the papacy, or clerics in general, is fundamentally secular, i.e. it pertains to nature rather than grace. As such, if the pope errs in this respect, he may be confronted by other secular powers. The open *ordinatio* of the *Lollard Chronicle*, its rejection of rubricatory reification and embrace of a temporal style, creates a mode of historiography, a virtual *saeculum*, in which the Em adapter is able to subject the papacy to dramas of royal rebuke and correction that are implicitly proscribed by the closed forms of the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicles*.

Good Kings, Bad Clerics, and 'the Matter of Christendom'

There was little room for England in either *Chronicon* or the *Chronicles*. Insofar as English affairs were mentioned in these texts, they remained subordinate to either papacy or empire.[125] While Em follows Martinus' basic chronology as mediated by Higden, the *Lollard Chronicle* makes no formal distinction between English, papal, or imperial events. In this context, the historical synchronicities that, from Eusebius through to the *Chronicles*, reified and reiterated a hierocratic Christendom now afford critique. For example, Em lauds King Oswald (d. 642) for first inviting Bishop Aiden of Lindisfarne (d. 651) to evangelize Northumbria and then translating Aiden's message into English. Oswald, Em claims, followed an 'Augustinian' model of rulership wherein "seculer lord owt to tell all of sugettis" to avoid sin and seek Christ (*CR*, p. 123.Em.133-40). The next English king, Alfred of Wessex, is presented as both an English Charlemagne and a great translator (*CR*, p. 125.Em.177-

[125] *CR*, p. 12.

209).[126] Against these good Anglo-Saxon kings, Em juxtaposes notoriously bad popes, such as John XII, and the efforts of emperors like Otto I to reform the papacy (*CR*, p.126.Em.245-61).

If the contrast between good kings and bad popes was implicit in the *Lollard Chronicle*'s account of the early medieval era, the Norman Conquest initiates a new epoch defined by the explicit conflict between royal and papal *dominium*. First, the *Lollard Chronicle* reduces Higden's account of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-66, *PRH*, 7, pp. 222-5) to the saintly king's supposed deathbed prophecy (*CR*, p. 130.Em.389-402). In this vision, Edward claims he was visited by two men that he "knew sumtym in Normandie" who tell him that "[f]or þe formere ledres of Englond, bischopis & abbotis, beyne not Goddis seruantis but þe devils, God hath bitake þis reme after þi dethe oon ȝeere & oon day ynto þe hond of þi enmye." When, in response, Edward "praied þat at my prayng þei myȝt do penaunce and [be] delyuered by þe ensample of men of Nynyve, þei saiyn nay, for neuer neþer [þei] schild do penaunce neiþer God schal haue merci."[127] While the prophecy predates Wyclif's critiques of the church, the *Lollard Chronicle* subtly shifts its emphasis to accentuate its radical potential regarding *dominium*. Where Higden condemns "the leaders of England, the dukes, bishops, and abbots" for "not ministering to God but to the devil," the *Lollard Chronicle* eschews the secularizing readings of "duces" used by other translators of the *Polychronicon* and opts

[126] While most of Em's account of Charlemagne (*CR*, p. 124.Em.146-59) is missing, Em's description of Charlemagne and Alfred's deaths are uncannily similar. Em, of course, likely followed Higden who, in turn, followed accounts of Alfred based on Asser's biography which, in its turn, was based on Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*. Nevertheless, given how much material Em excludes, the retention of parts of Charlemagne's life that corresponded with its account of Alfred seems significant.

[127] While the *Lollard Chronicle*'s rendering of Higden's Latin is typically confused, the first and third '[þei]' refers to "þe formere ledres of Englond," the second to the two messengers from Normandy; *cf. CR*, p. 234, n. "King Edward."

instead for the general "formere ledres."[128] In fact, given Em's persistent attempts to clarify technical terms, one might even read this line as "þe formere ledres of Englond, [that is the] bischopis & abbots."[129] Either way, the view that lordship—spiritual or sacred—was contingent on grace and that modern rulers ought conform to biblical paradigms dovetails neatly with Wycliffite thought and the unwillingness of ecclesiastical leaders to accept correction from the king seals the fate of the nation.[130]

The *Polychronicon* mitigates the latent politics of this prophecy by subsuming it within its exhaustive narrative. The sheer size of Higden's work militates against its advancement of the sort of explicit ideology that characterizes the *Lollard Chronicle*. In this specific case, Edward's prophecy is simply the last example of a local topos: the king's personal holiness. Conversely, were the *Lollard Chronicle* unclear about the message of Edward's vision, the translator follows it with an explicitly Lollard valorization of William I's appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues (*CR*, p.131.Em.403-19).[131] The open format of the *Lollard Chronicle* allows the translator to subsume these two English episodes within a wider (if somewhat confused) account of the Investiture Controversy in which William I, unlike the Salian emperors, is able to bring his clergy to heel. In fact, the conflict between Pope Urban II (r. 1088-99) and Guibert or "Wibert," Emperor Henry IV's antipope, leads William's

[128] Higden: "Quonian priores Angliae, duce, episcopi, abbates…," Trevisa: "for þe raþer dukes, bisshoppes, and abbotts of Engelond…"; Harley 2261: "that dukes or governoures of Ynglonde 'afor tyme, bischoppes, and abbottes…" *PRH*, 7, pp. 222-5.

[129] *CR*, p. 23.

[130] Furthermore, the fact that it is an archbishop, Stigand, who dismisses Edward's vision as madness (*CR*, p. 130.Em.399-400) only enhances the anticlerical bent of the passage.

[131] On the *Lollard Chronicle*'s sources for this passage see: Talbert (1942), pp. 185/6, nn. 315-28.

successor, William II, to "denyed þe trebute to Rome" (*CR*, p. 132.Em.473-4).[132] This tax, "Peter's pence," was more than just a fiscal issue.[133] Rather, as Giles emphasizes, taxation was a central expression of *dominium* (*DEP*, p. 89) or, in the opinion of Simon Islip (fl. 1330s), vicar of the Bishop of Lincoln, "a sign of universal subjugation to the Roman court 1338.[134] Where Higden followed his source, William of Malmesbury, in condemning William II for greed, the *Lollard Chronicle* presents William II's action as a question of hierarchy and an expression of secular *dominium*.[135] To return to Edward I and his prophecy, the *Lollard Chronicle* radicalized Higden's version of the story by situating it in a context in which minor details of the story—things like the *Lollard Chronicle*'s translation of "duces"—might be interpreted as part of a larger critique of the hierocratic model. Then, just a few lines later, John of Crema's 1125 legatine mission to England occasions the *Lollard Chronicle*'s most explicit discussion of hierarchy.[136]

John, sent to England to enforce clerical celibacy, spends "day & nyȝt with an hoore" (*CR*, p. 133.Em.496) thus leaving King Henry I "for to do [ryȝtfulnesse] of preestis lyuyng in fornicacioun" (*CR*, p. 133.Em.499-500). This, the *Lollard Chronicle* declares, is the right order of things, the correct reading of Romans 13:1: "þe apostle commandith þat ech ane lyuyng be sugett to hiȝere powes, þat is secular lordis" (*CR*, p. 133.Em.504-5). "Powere," the *Lollard Chronicle* declares in

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[132] *ODP*, pp. 158-60.

[133] Nominally a penny for each English person, "Peter's Pence" or "Romepenny" [OE: "Romfeoh"] dates back to the Anglo-Saxon era. For the definitive history of "Peter's Pence" during the Middle Ages see Lunt (1939) pp. 3-84 [origins to 1327] and Lunt (1962) pp. 1-54 [1327-1534].

[134] Lunt (1962), p. 1.

[135] *CR*, pp. 336-7, n. Em.473-4; *PRH* 7.11, vol. 7, pp. 412-15.

[136] On John of Crema see: Sandy Burton Hicks, "The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125: The Legatine Mission of John of Crema," *in Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 8.4(1976), pp. 301–310.

this epitomization of *De civili dominino* 2.9, "is ȝeuene fro Heuene to seculere kingis one alle men, þat þay þat coueitene good be holpen. And to þis, God tok prestis to þe hond of powere of seculer lordis. God grauntid to þe emperour, not oonly to be lord of [knyȝtis], but also of prestis" (*CR*, p. 134.Em. 522-5).[137] This passage brings us back to the bodily concerns of the *Chronicles*. First, John's hypocrisy—and thus his need for correction—centers on the body. Second, and more importantly, as a papal legate, John *incarnated* papal power and authority.[138] In this context, Henry's ability to complete the task entrusted to John—the purification of the English clergy—evidences a King of England invested with a jurisdictional power which supersedes that of the papacy.

At this point, however, both Em and this chapter seem to have left the question of form(at) far behind. What remains are bodies, ideas, topi, and places—the *content* of Martinus' *Chronicon,* but not its shape. Or, in other words, 'the Matter of Christendom.' In fact, the *Lollard Chronicle* is hardly a "chronicle" at all, at least not in the Eusebian tradition wherein the chronological hardware of the book determined its content. Rather, the *Lollard Chronicle* is a *literary* history of Christian Rome and, in turn, less concerned with form(at) than it is with formalism. From this perspective, texts like the *Chronicles*, the *Lollard Chronicle*, and, as we will see in the following chapters, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and, to a lesser extent, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, are less invested in embodying, translating, or even critiquing Roman form(at) than they are interested in exploring the ways in which the *absence* of a universal Rome illuminates the imaginative framework that links past and present. To this end, the *Chronicles* and the *Lollard Chronicle* offer critical insight into the formalisms available to English

[137] On the *Lollard Chronicle*'s specific citations see *CR*, p. 238 n. "King Herri þe First."

[138] On legatine powers see: Robert C. Figeuira, "The medieval papal legate and his province: geographical limits of his jurisdiction" in *Plenitude of Power: Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages. Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert C. Figeuira, (Aldershot: Ashgate: 2006), pp. 73-105 and "Papal Reserved Powers and the Limitations on Legatine Authority," in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Ross Sweeney and Stanley Chodorow, (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989), pp. 191-211.

authors of the era. The *Chronicles* reads Rome as a sequence of royal bodies. Fixated on persons, it speaks to papal narratives of Gower's *Confessio* and Chaucer's *SNT*. Like the *Chronicles*, these texts process the fragmentation of Roman universalism via inquiries into the making and unmaking of papal bodies. Conversely, the effect of a text like the *Lollard Chronicle* is both more attenuated and perhaps more controversial. While neither Chaucer nor Gower embrace the radical position conveyed by the *Lollard Chronicle*'s anti-hierocratic *ordinatio*, their conception of the papacy as a literary subject deploys a formalism, a way of reading for or against form, akin to that of the *Lollard Chronicle*. Like the writer/translator of the *Lollard Chronicle*, Chaucer and Gower treat the papacy as an object of interpretation rather than its end.

Chapter Three

"At Rome ferst…":
History, Prophecy, and the Church in the *Confessio Amantis*

Introduction

If you want to understand the world, Gower advised readers of the *Confessio Amantis*, start at Rome (*CA*, P. 831-5). The truth of Rome, however, was grim, and although Gower acknowledged the universal significance of Rome, *urbis et orbis*, he also mourned the contemporary state of the city:

> The wall and al the cit withinne
> Stant in ruine and in decas,
> The feld is wher the Paleis was,
> The toun is wast; and overthat,
> If we beholde thilke astat
> Which whilom was of the Romeins,
> Of knyhthode and of Citezeins,
> To peise now with that beforn,
> The chaf is take from fro the corn,
> As forto speke of Romes myht:
> Unethes stant ther oght upryht
> Of worschipe or of worldes good
> As it before tyme stod. (*CA*, P.830-43)

Gower's vacant Rome epitomized English representations of the city in the later Middle Ages. As the population dwindled, nature reclaimed large portions of the land inside the wall, particularly in the eastern areas around the Esquiline Hill, the Colosseum, and the Roman Forum and the remaining inhabitants clung to the Tiber: "feld is wher the Paleis was."[1] Even during the years of

[1] Paul Hetherington, *Medieval Rome: a Portrait of the City and its Life*, (New York: St. Martins P, 1994), 31.

post-plague recovery, the population of Rome remained comparatively low.[2] "The toun," as Gower reports, was "wast."

For Gower, however, this legacy of loss is "Noght only of the temporal / Bot of the spirital also." Rent by the division and characterized by absence, Gower's Rome reflects the darker patterns of imagery that, in C. David Benson's account, characterized Middle English descriptions of Rome. These texts, like the Latin *Mirabilis Urbis Romae* and the Middle English poem *Stations of Rome*, would have presented Gower and his contemporaries with a Rome populated by shadows and ghosts.[3] Rome, in the later medieval English imagination, was a necropolis, a city of the dead.[4] Medieval descriptions of Rome did not so much laud the current city and its citizens but rather they meditated on "the physical traces of what [has] been."[5] In fact, Gower himself had described the city in precisely these terms in his first major poem, the *Mirour de l'Omme*.[6] And yet, despite the ravages of history and division, Rome remained at the center of any attempt to understand the present by means of the past. It was, as Winthrop Weatherbee rightly puts it, "the cultural center around which the *Confessio* is organized."[7]

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[2] Harvey (1999), p. 12.

[3] For discussions of literary depictions of Rome during the time in question, particularly English accounts, see: C. David Benson, "The Dead and the Living: Some Medieval Descriptions of the Ruins and Relics of Rome known to the English" in Albrect Classen, *Urban Space in Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, (Berlin, 2009: Water de Gruyter Press), 147-182 and Jennifer Summit, "Topography as History: Petrarch, Chaucer, and the Making of Medieval Rome," in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30.2(2000): 212-246.

[4] Benson (2009), p. 170.
[5] Benson (2009), p. 147.

[6] See Chapter 1, p. 31.

[7] Winthrop Weatherbee, "Rome, Troy, and Culture in the *Confessio Amantis*," in *On John Gower: Essays at the Millennium*, ed. R.F. Yeager, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), p. 40.

At the same time, Weatherbee insists that, despite Gower's clear reservations regarding Christian Rome, tales like the "Tale of Boniface" and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" "affirm fundamental principles [of justice and good government] in the process of showing the dangers that menace them."[8] Weatherbee's sunny reading of Gower's Rome, however, assumes that the city maintains a consistent identity throughout the *Confessio*: "Whether the pagan world of Demetreus and Persus or the early Christian world of Constantine and Constance" Roman identity "is a good thing."[9] In fact, even critics that acknowledge the complexity of Gower's Rome still posit the broad continuity of ancient and medieval Rome.[10] In the Prologue, however, Gower presents Rome as anything but stable or consistent—rather it is the avatar of division itself:

> …And in this wise,
> As ye tofore have herd divise
> How Daniel the swevene expondeth
> Of that ymage, on whom he foundeth
> The world which after scholde falle,
> Come is the laste tokne of alle.
> Upon the feet of erthe and stiel
> So stant this world now everydiel
> Departed, which began riht tho,
> Whan Rome was divided so. (*CA*, P.821-30).

In this passage, Rome remains the center of the *Confessio*'s cultural imagination, but it is a hybrid, composite city that bespeaks a broken and divided world.

To Gower, the division that marked contemporary Rome realized the last phase of the prophet Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 2: the "feet of erthe and stiel."

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[8] Weatherbee (2008), p. 24.
[9] Weatherbee (2008), p. 24.

[10] I am particularly sympathetic to Conrad van Dijk's (2013) cautious assessment of Book II: "Rome is at the center of Book II's geographic and thematic universe, and it is in relation to Rome that the question of jurisdiction is examined most closely. Rome finally comes to symbolize the difficulty of reconciling multiple jurisdictions in a world where political power constantly threatens the idealism of law," p. 50.

Daniel loomed large in the historical consciousness of the Middle Ages.[11] Following Jerome, medieval writers understood Daniel's interpretations of the dreams of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2 and 7 to predict a succession of world-empires: Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Within this general schema, however, there was significant variation, especially regarding the 'end' of history. Although, as Anna Zayaruznaya has noted, the "cultural history of Nebuchadnezzar" remains unwritten, scholars of Gower have long acknowledged the centrality of Daniel 2 to the *Confessio* and the *Vox*.[12]

These interpretations fall into two broad camps: critics like R.F. Yeager, Eve Salisbury, Deane Williams, and, to a lesser extent, Elliot Kendall understand Gower's use of this biblical passage in the broadly recuperative terms first outlined by Russell Peck.[13] Against these optimistic readings, however, Lynn Arner argues that Gower's version of Daniel 2 locates "England at the end of history and outside of history" so as to "[erase] the constructedness of the version of history that it [Daniel 2] provides and thereby denies that its representation of the past participates in power

[11] The best overview of this tradition as it pertains to medieval poetry is Anna Zayaruznaya. "Interlude: Nebuchadnezzar's Dream," in *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 142-72; For a survey of the ancient and early medieval tradition see: Ronald H. Sack, *Images of Nebuchadnezzar: The Emergence of the Legend*, (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna UP, 1991); For a concise account of Daniel's relationship to medieval historiography see *EMC*, pp. 507-9. On Gower's use of Daniel see: Russell A. Peck, "John Gower and the Book of Daniel" in *John Gower: Recent Readings*, ed. R.F. Yeager, Studies in Medieval Culture 26, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 159-89.

[12] Zayaruznaya (2015) p. 142.

[13] Elliot Kendall, "Saving History: Gower's Apocalyptic and the New Arion," in *John Gower, Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation, and Tradition*, eds. Elisabeth F. Dutton, John Hines, and R.F. Yeager, (Woodbridge: DS Brewer, 2010) pp. 46-58; Deanne Williams, "Gower's Monster," in *Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, eds. Ananya Jahanara Kabir, Ananya Kabir, Deanne Williams (Cambridge: CUP, 2005) pp. 127-50; R.F. Yeager, "The Body Politic and the Politics of Bodies in the Poetry of John Gower," in *The Body and the Soul in Medieval Literature*, eds. Piero Boitani and Anne Torti, (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999) pp. 145-66; Eve Salisbury, "Remembering Origins: Gower's Monstrous Body Poetic," in *Re-Visioning Gower*, ed. R.F. Yeager (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998) pp. 179-80; Peck (1989).

struggles among competing groups in late medieval England."[14] What all these readings share, however, is the conviction that Gower's version of Daniel 2 is to be understood with reference to Richard II's merits as a ruler and the Peasant's Revolt of 1381. In this chapter and the next, I argue that there is good reason to read Gower's representation of composite statue through "th'experience" of the church "At Avynoun" and during the Schism. In the *Confessio,* Gower used Daniel 2 to link the Prologue's account of the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" with the last two tales of Book II—the "Tale of Boniface" and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester,"—via the history of Christian Rome. Situating Gower's version of Roman-Christian history in conversation with Lollardy and the Schism allows us to read the *Confessio*'s attempts to re-assemble a coherent social whole in light of the twin forces that Gower believed most dangerous to that unity: heresy and divison.

Division and Decline: Daniel 2 in Medieval Thought

"As Nabugodonosor slepte," Gower explains, "A swevene him tok" and the king awoke terrified (*CA*, P.595-6). In this dream, Nebuchadnezzar saw "a wonder strange ymage":

> His hed with al the necke also
> Thei were of fin gold bothe tuo;
> His brest, his schuldres, and his armes
> Were al of selver, bot the tharmes,
> The wombe, and al doun to the kne,
> Of bras thei were upon to se;
> The legges were al mad of stiel,
> So were his feet also somdiel,
> And somdiel part to hem was take
> Of erthe which men pottes make." (*CA*, P.605-14)

[14] Lynn Arner, "History Lessons and the End of Time: Gower and the English Rising of 1381," in *Clio* 31.3(2002) p. 255.

The king continues, when he saw "A gret ston from an hull on hyh / Fel doun of sodein aventure / Upon the feet of this figure" and shatter the statue completely (*CA*, P. 618-24). To Daniel, the meaning of this dream is clear:

> …that figure strange
> Betokneth how the world schal change
> And waxe lasse worth and lasse,
> Til it to noght al overpasse…
> ..And thanne a newe schal beginne,
> Fro which a man schal nevere twinne." (*CA*, P. 627-30, 659-60).

Each material represented a different empire, starting with Nebuchadnezzar's golden Babylon and ending, rather curiously, with Emperor Otto I's composite Rome.

The transitions between the head and the chest, the chest and the torso, and the torso and legs—and the periodization implied by these transitions—remained relatively stable throughout the Middle Ages.[15] The transition from legs to feet, however, incited intense speculation throughout the Middle Ages and it remains unclear whether scholars and poets—medieval or modern—understood this statue as consisting of four or five distinct materials/historical epochs. In other words, did writers like Gower consider the feet *independent from* or a *continuation of* the legs?[16] While Jerome began the pattern of associating the feet of iron and clay with his own era, he clearly understands the statue as consisting of four parts:

> Now the fourth empire, which clearly refers to the Romans, is the iron empire which breaks in pieces and overcomes all others. But its feet and toes are partly of iron and partly of

[15] *EMC*, p. 508

[16] In fact, it should be noted that Gower habitually renders the Latin "ferrum" (iron) as "stiel." While this may seem innocuous, the *Dictionary of Middle English* suggests that the ME "stḝl(e (n.(3))" could be understood as "a modified form of iron artificially produced" and provides many contemporary examples in which steel is described as harder than iron. Given Gower's suspicion of alloys, material or spiritual, pursuing this line of inquiry might prove fruitful. Nevertheless, an exploration of the vernacular poetics of medieval metallurgy is far beyond the scope of this already sprawling project, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED42755>.

> earthenware, a fact most clearly demonstrated at the present time. For just as there was at the first nothing stronger or hardier than the Roman realm, so also in these last days there is nothing more feeble, since we require the assistance of barbarian tribes both in our civil wars and against foreign nations.[17]

To Jerome, writing before the complete collapse of the Western Empire, the feet signified the increasing hybridization of the Roman Empire in late antiquity. The twelfth-century Premonstratensian Philip of Harveng, however, "finds that the statue consists of five materials that can be divided into seven parts" that correlate with Hebrew and Christian history.[18] In fact, as Zayarunzaya has shown with reference to Richard of St. Victor's commentary on Daniel, "the metals and the body parts can mean anything he wants them to, whether good or bad."[19] In short, the Latin commentary tradition bequeathed vernacular writers a flexible image of progress *or* decline which could be deployed for a range of purposes. It was a formalism—a way of formatting the past.

Regarding the French reception of this image, Zayaruzyana divides writers like Giullaume de Digulleville, Philippe de Mézières, Phillipe de Vitry, and Guillaume de Machaut into two groups according to the tone of their interpretations. On one hand, Digulleville and Mézières reject negative interpretations of the statue and, instead, present it as an image of "a well governed state" and/or "stability and natural balance."[20] On the other hand, Vitry and Machaut exploit the hybridity of the statue to thematize discord. It is this second tradition that speaks to the *Confessio*. As Zayaruzyana has shown, Vitry mapped the alarming hybridity of Nebuchadnezzar's statue onto the aural textures of his motets:

> Two separate texts suddenly fill the same range, often singing the same notes, and exchanging similar-sounding syllables. But the result is not some new alloy which is stronger

[17] *PL*, 25, 504ab, tr. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, tr. Gleeson L. Archer Jr., (Grand Rapids: Baker House Books, 1977), p. 32.

[18] Zayaruznaya (2015), pp. 146-8.
[19] Zayaruznaya (2015), p. 148.
[20] Zayaruznaya (2015), pp. 153-4.

> and more resilient. As iron and clay do not mix, so these two texts combine to form not some clever intertext, but a muddle of notes and syllables that fail to signify.[21]

This disjunction, she argues, emerges from a similar exegetical tradtion as Gower's vision of the statue as a divided microcosm.[22] Gower's association of Daniel's dream and the concept of fortune also resonates with one of the lyrical interludes of Machaut's *dit Remède de Fortun*: *Tels rit au main qui au soir pleure*. In this 576-line poem, Machaut figures Fortuna herself in the "hybrid, piecemeal" terms of Nebuchadnezzar's statue.[23] What is common between Gower, Vitry, and Machaut, and in turn what distinguishes them from other French and Italian receptions of Daniel 2, is an emphasis on division and hybridity.[24] Perhaps the most interesting analogue to Gower, however, is one that goes unmentioned in Zayaruznaya's account: the great twelfth-century German historian Otto of Freising (c. 1114-1158).[25]

Otto's *Chronica de duabus civitatibus* (*Two Cities*) has been heralded as the example *par excellence* of the new historical spirit of the "Twelfth-Century Renassaiance." It was "unique [with reference to his contemporaries] because it develops something approaching a philosophy of history and applies it consistently to analyzing events."[26] This "philosophy of history" derives from Daniel. "There were," Otto explains in the dedication of his work:

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[21] Zayaruznaya (2015), p. 130.
[22] Zayaruznaya (2015), pp. 168-71.
[23] Zayaruznaya (2015), pp. 154-63; note also that the illustrations which accompany some MSS of Machaut's *Remède de Fortun* contain illuminations similar to those common in Gower manuscripts.
[24] Zayaruznaya (2015) p. 165.

[25] The most concise English account of Otto's life and work is Alastair Matthews, "Otto of Freising," in *EMC*, pp. 1174-5. While there is no evidence that Otto's writings circulated in England, Alheydis Plassmann has demonstrated the philosophical resonances between Otto's chronicle and English historians like William of Malmesbury, "German Emperors as Exemplary Rulers in William of Malmesbury and Otto of Freising," in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, eds. Rodney M. Thomson, Emily Dolmans, and Emily A. Winkler, (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 2017), pp. 139-52.
[26] Sverre Bagge "German Historiography and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany*, eds. Björn Wieler and Simon MacLean, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp.

> from the beginning of the world four principle kingdoms which stood out above all the rest, and that they are to endure unto the world's end, succeeding each other in accordance with the law of the universe, can be gathered in various ways, in particular from the vision of Daniel. (*Two Cities*, p. 91)[27]

Later, in Book II, Otto addresses Daniel 2 in greater detail, describing it as "a prophetic account of the change of kingdoms," which Otto then divides into two groups: the major kingdoms—Babylon and Rome—and the medial kingdoms—Persia and Greece. Regarding the feet, he concludes that they, "being the extremity of the human body, commonly signifies the end," (*Two Cities*, p. 167).[28] Like Jerome, Phillip of Harveng, and Gower, Otto is sure that the feet of iron and clay symbolize his own age, (*Two Cities*, pp. 95, 167-8). Otto's main interest in the Daniel 2, however, consists of identifying the idea of change itself.[29] While Otto seems to assume a quadripartite composition/periodization, his detailed discussion of the transition between the legs and feet at the end of Book VI offers insight into Gower's own interpretation of this moment of translation and transformation. Both Gower and Otto associated the statue's monstrously hybrid feet with ecclesiastical conflict. For Otto, the feet of earth and steel evoked the *strum und drang* of the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy and Gower used the feet to think about the relationship between the Reform papacy and the Schism.

165-88; Peter Classen, "*Res Gestae*, Universal History, and Apocalypse: Visions of Past and Future," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1982), pp. 400-3; Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1927), pp. 241-4; C. Stephen Jaeger, "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century "Renaissance,"" in *Speculum* 78.4(2003), p. 1161.

[27] Mierow's note that this passage specifically refers to the four beasts of Daniel 7 seems unwarranted as it suits Daniel 2 equally well.

[28] Phillip of Harveng uses a similar metaphor with regard to the feet as an 'end,' Zayaruznaya (2015), p. 147, n. 11.

[29] Jaeger (2003), pp. 1161-2; Classen (1982), pp. 401-2.

In Daniel's interpretation of the dream, a stone uncut by human hands shatters the statue and then transforms into a mountain that fills the whole earth. While Jerome and others understood this statue as Christ, Otto identifies it with the institutional, Roman church, (*Two Cities*, pp. 400-1).[30] The "kingdom" which the stone struck, in turn, was "of iron on account of its wars, and of clay on account of its condition," (*Two Cities*, p. 401). The association of iron with Rome's martial prowess was conventional, but Otto's understanding of Rome's clay-like condition is original. To Otto, clay represents the "human condition" of the now Germano-Roman Empire. While Otto does not explicitly define this "human condition," his description of the rock (the Church) striking the statue makes his meaning reasonably clear: "The Church smote the kingdom in its weak spot when the Church decided not to reverence the king of the City as lord of the earth but to strike him with the sword of excommunication as being by his human condition made of clay," (*Two Cities*, p. 401). Otto's "human condition" seems, in fact, to be roughly analogous to James of Viterbo's understanding of 'secular' "by which is meant that earthly life which belongs to man according to his nature," (*DRC*, p. 203). The "weak spot" of the "king of the City," i.e. the Emperor of Rome, was the essential subordination of this "secular" or "human condition" to the supernatural nature of the Church, the stone unworked by human hands.

The superiority of the church, in turn, is revealed by its double assault: the church both denies the emperor his secular title *and* ejects him from *corpus mysticum*. To Otto, the power of the twelfth-century church evokes Daniel's mountain that takes over the whole world (*Two Cities*, p. 401). For Otto, this blow signaled the passage from an age of iron to an age of iron and clay. This new age, in turn, is characterized by crisis:

[30]Note that Otto follows Jerome's precedent in associating the uncut nature of Daniel's stone with the immaculate conception of Christ, Zayaruznaya (2015), pp. 143-6.

> What great calamities, how many wars and perils of wars followed in consequence of the weakness of the kingdom; how often unhappy Rome was besieged, captured, laid waste; and how pope was placed over pope even as king over king, it is a weariness to record. In a word, the turbulence of this period carried with it so many disasters, so many schisms, so many dangers of soul and body that it alone would suffice to prove the unhappy lot of our human wretchedness by reason of the cruelty of the persecution and its long duration. (*Two Cities*, p. 401)

Here we see premonitions of Gower's wasted Rome. For Otto, the Investiture Controversy signaled the dawn of a new and final age characterized by schism, war, breakdown—an era in which Rome was no longer a short hand for unity but rather a symbol of division.[31] It is this apocalyptic backdrop that imbues the *Chronica* with its unique progressive pessimism. In fact, while Otto's emphasis on the *progressus* of history has led many critics to hold him up as a proto-humanist, C. Stephan Jaeger rightly argues that the *Chronica* "adapts the fundamental Christian optimism" of Augustine into a narrative of decline and fragmentation.[32] Like Gower, Otto's only hope for recompense rests in a dramatic *adventus* and the rapturous eschatology of Book VIII of the *Two Cities* imagines a transformation of history similar to the new age of poetry which Gower hopes his "New Arion" will inaugurate.[33]

"Erthe and stiel": Gower, Otto of Freising, and Periodizing the Present

[31] The literature on the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy is vast. The critical accounts of this period and its legacy are: Oakley, 2; Mary Stoll (2012) and *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Controversy*, (Lieden: Brill, 1991); Ian S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1990); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Uta-Renate Blumenthal's *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, (Philadephia: Penn UP, 1988); Ullman (1955), 262-457.

[32] Jaeger (2003), p. 1162.

[33] In this context, I am forced to disagree with Kendall's explicitly secular view of Gower's Arion, Kendall (2010), p. 52.

Like Otto, Gower focuses his interpretation of Daniel's dream on Rome.[34] To judge from Gower's marginal apparatus, however, he seemed to understand these legs and feet as distinct entities.[35] Beside *CA* P.731-7 Gower writes: "Concerning the age of iron, which is designated in the legs, from the time of Julius up to the kingdom of Charles the Great, king of the Franks," (*CA*, 1, n. P.731-7). Then, his own age, Gower glosses *CA*, P.779-806 as such:

> Concerning the age of the most recent times, in the likeness of the feet, fallen and divided in discord, which began after the passing of that Charles, when the Roman Empire fell to the hands of the Lombards, in the time of Albert and Berengar: for on their account division occurred as the Germans seized the imperial majesty. In this throne they caused to be raised up a certain Teutonic prince, Otto by name. And from the inception of this kingdom, division hardened through the whole world for subsequent generations, whence we expect from one or the other of the divisions the end of this present, last age. (*CA*, 1, n. P.779-806)

For Gower, the Ottonian *renevatio imperii Romanorum* divided the age of iron and the era of "erthe and stiel."[36] Division both enabled Ottonians to obtain the empire and characterized the German rule. Regarding classical Rome, however, Gower lauds Caesar in terms that echo the hegemonic grammars of containment and enclosure that governed Martinus Polonus' "Historia Romanorum":[37]

> The noble Cesar Julius,
> Which tho was king of Rome lond,
> With gret bataille and with strong hond
> Al Grece, Perse, and ek Caldee
> Wan and put under, so that he
> Noght al only of th'orient
> Bot al the marche of th'occident,
> Governeth under his empire,

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[34] Otto dispensed with the pre-Roman kingdoms, as well as Republican Rome, in Books I-II whereas he devoted five books (III-VI) to the history of the Roman Empire and c. ¾ of the 215 lines Gower devoted to Daniel's interpretation of the dream focus on the legs and feet.

[35] Most manuscripts of the *Confessio* signal the transition from one era to the next via a series Latin marginal glosses: *CA*, 1, n. P. 670-6 (Gold/Head), P. 688-94 (Silver/Chest), 699-705 (Brass/Belly), 731-7 (Iron/Legs), 779-806 (Division/Feet).

[36] On the Ottonian *renovatio* see: Muldoon (1999), pp. 32-5.

[37] Chapter 2, pp. 77-86.

As he that was hol lord and sire,
And hield thurgh his chivalrie
Of al this world the monarchie,
And was the ferste of that honour
Which tok the name of Emperour. (*CA*, P. 714-26)

Caesar's triumph is particularly important to Gower because it repairs the damage done by Alexander who had "schop his regnes to divide / To knyhtes whiche him hadde served" (*CA*, P.706-7), a choice that anticipates Gower's later allusion to Charlemagne's partition of the empire (*CA*, P.775-94). While "Casar Julius" begins as a "king," his successful unification of the previous kingdoms, "Al Grece, Perse, and ek Caldee," establishes an empire that spans the world from east to west thus earning the title of "Emperour." After Caesar, Gower continues, came Rome, and "the world of stiel…stod above upon the whiel [of Fortune]" (*CA*, P.731-2) until:

That the fals Emperour Leo
With Constantin his sone also
The patrimoine and the richesse,
Which to Silvestre in pure almesse
The ferste Constantinus lefte,
Fro holy cherche thei berefte. (*CA*, P.739-44)

From this point on, divisions and conflicts multiply until Otto I completely transforms the nature of the imperial office (*CA*, P.802-21), such that "Rome was divided so" (*CA*, P.830).[38]

While Gower and Otto of Freising disagree regarding the precise moment of transition between the age of iron and the age of earth and steel, they are in general agreement regarding the causes of this collapse. For Gower, Rome's power waxed until Emperor Leo V and his son Constantine stole the "patrimoine and the richesse" given by Constantine I. In Gower's eyes, this crisis unleashed discord in Christendom and set the church on the road to "Avynoun" and the

[38] While Peck cites Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou tresor* as Gower's source (*CA*, n. P.745ff.) he provides no justification for this identification. Moreover, Latini's account is encyclopedic in style and utterly unconnected to the modes of apocalyptic historiography in which Gower participates. Furthermore, there is nothing about Gower's account of the medieval empire that it would not have been possible to gather from any number of other sources.

Schism. For Otto of Freising, consolidation, conquest, and conversion gradually transformed Rome into "the pinnacle of the world," (*Two Cities*, p. 318). Otto, however, believed that history was always in motion. For him, persons, cities, and empires were either rising or falling. As such, when Rome "could go no higher on earth" it "began to gradually lose its strength," (*Two Cities*, p. 318). While Otto does not specifically invoke fortune, his understanding of history as a cycle of rises and falls certainly aligns with Gowers' Fortuna. Otto and Gower also seem to agree on Rome's zenith, or at least the moment from which it "could go no higher on earth": Constantine I.

During Constantine's reign, Otto of Freising declared, "the City of Christ is seen to have received practically all that was promised it—all, indeed except immortality" (*Two Cities*, p. 282). At the same time, however, Constantine's conversion raised new issues. First, as Otto acknowledges, internal dissent replaced external persecution as the primary threat facing the Church. Second, the emperor's choice to enfranchise and endow the Roman church created questions regarding the relationship between spiritual and secular power, (*Two Cities*, pp. 272-4). Thus, while Otto locates the boundary between the feet and legs of Nebuchadnezzar's dream to the Investiture Controversy, he implies that the history of Rome, from Constantine I to Gregory VII, was in gradual decline precipitated by precisely the questions of doctrine, power, and wealth that a) were consequences of Constantine's gift and b) would define the terms of debate in the Investiture Controversy and the Schism, i.e. 'the Matter of Christendom.'

Returning to Gower, he too traces the long decline of iron Rome (*CA*, P.737-826). While he seems to skip over Constantine, his location of the start of Rome's decline to Leo V's (supposed) assault on the Western Church both gestures back towards Constantine's gift and grounds the subsequent narrative decline in precisely the same terms that informed Otto's *Chronica*, namely the

nature of the Church as a temporal, political institution possessed of property and power.[39] Within this broad narrative, Gower shares Otto of Freising's concern with the intermediate peregrinations of the Empire, or the idea of *translatio imperii*. Gower, however, fixates on the actual city of Rome to a greater degree than the Bishop of Freising.

For example, whereas Otto explicitly describes Charlemagne's coronation as transferring the empire from the *Greeks* to the Franks (*Two Cities*, p. 114), Gower presents this transaction in avowedly *Roman* terms:

> …holy cherche thei [Leo V and Constantine his sone] berefte.
> Bot Adrian, which Pope was,
> And syh the meschief of this cas,
> Goth into France for to pleigne,
> And preith the grete Charlemeine,
> For Cristes sake and soule hele
> That he wol take the querele
> Of holy cherche in his defence.
> And Charles for the reverence
> Of God the cause hath undertake,
> And with his host the weie take
> Over the montz of Lombardie;
> Of Rome and al the tirandie
> With blodi swerd he overcom
> And the cité with strengthe nom
> In such a wise; and there he wroghte
> That holy cherche agein he broghte
> Into franchise, and doth restore
> The Popes lost, and gaf him more.
> And thus whan he his God hath served,
> He tok, as he wel hath deserved,
> The diademe and was coroned.
> Of Rome and thus was abandoned
> Th'empire, which cam nevere agein
> Into the hond of no Romein; (*CA*, P.744-68)

In this passage, Gower implies that Leo V assailed the *Roman* church. In response, Pope Adrian leaves *Rome* to seek help from Charlemagne. Charlemagne then crosses the Alps, comes to *Rome,*

[39] On Leo V see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, v. 2, ed. Aleksandr Petrovič Každan et. al. (Oxford: OUP, 1991), pp. 1209-10.

restores the papacy, and augments its power.[40] In exchange for the restoration of its spiritual "patrimoine," however, Charlemagne permanently despoils *Rome* of its imperial legacy.[41] From France, the empire passes to Lombardy where it is so wracked by division that it requires external intervention (*CA*, P.769-801). Moreover, where most medieval chronicles emphasize the providential nature of Otto I's intervention, Gower focuses on the transformation of a unified entity—"Th'empire of Rome" (*CA*, P.820)—into a composite office managed by a fractious group of "Alemaine princes sevene" (*CA*, P.804). This, Gower declares, is the "condicioun" (*CA*, P.805) of Rome "Fro thilke day [i.e. Otto I] yit unto this," (*CA*, P. 819).

The modern times ushered in by the Ottonian *renevatio imperii Romanorum*, however, bring Gower right back to the place where he and Otto of Freisng located the start of Rome's decline.

> And why the worschipe is aweie,
> If that a man the sothe seie,
> The cause hath ben divisioun,
> Which moder of confusioun
> Is wher sche cometh overal,
> Noght only of the temporal
> Bot of the spirital also.
> The dede proeveth it is so,
> And hath do many day er this,
> Thurgh venym which that medled is
> In holy cherche of erthly thing. (*CA*, P.849-59)

Division cost Rome its "worschipe" or dignity. This vacuum led to general confusion regarding the right ordering of the world, the relationship between "temporal" and "spirital" things. The "dede"

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[40] This transaction clearly resonates with the relationship that, in the *Chronicles*, was encapsulated by the verb "underfongen," Chapter 2, pp. 112-5.

[41] Note that while Peck cites Latini as Gower's source for this passage, Latini does not describe Charlemagne's ascendance as permanently removing the empire from the city of Rome. In fact, he follows his account of Charlemagne with a chapter entitled "How the Empire of Rome **returned** to the Italians," Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure / Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. and tr. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, *Garland Library of Medieval Literature* 90, (New York: Garland: 1993), p. 50, emphasis mine.

that proves truth of Gower's assertion, "And hath do many day er this," is nothing short of the preceding narrative, i.e. history itself, and especially the history of Christian Rome. While Gower does not mention Constantine by name, he alludes to his legacy via one of the most famous prophecies of the Middle Ages. As John Trevisa's translation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychonicon* tells it: "Þerfor it is i-write þat whann Constantyn hadde i-made þat ȝift to chirches, þan olde enemy cryde openliche in þe ayer, Þis day is venym i-hilde and i-schad in holy chirche," (*PRH*, 5, p. 131). Where, however, Trevisa translates Higden's "infusum est" or "was infused" as "i-hilde" or "was poured," Gower declares that the "venym…medled is." Rome began to decline after Constantine, Gower suggests, because it began to *mix* unlike substances.[42]

Though Gower clearly understands the Constantinian context of this prophecy, and, as we will see, returns to it at the end of the "Tale of Constantine," the Prologue labors to divert attention from Constantine himself. Rather than placing the blame for Rome's decline on Constantine, Gower focuses on Leo V and his son, the *other* Constantine. In the same vein, associating the poisonous mixture of "holy cherche" and "erthly thing" with modern Rome, the place from which "the worschipe is aweie," links the dark prophecy about the gift to the feet/age of "erthe and steil," rather than the (supposedly) homogenous iron legs of Constantine's own era. Comparing Gower's cautious *negotiation* of the Constantinian legacy in the Prologue to Otto of Freising's explicit *embrace* of a "mixed" church illuminates the degree to which the Schism informed Gower's interpretation of Daniel 2 and the ways in which this passage connects the critiques of the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" with the end of Book II.

"Diverse eleccioun": Otto's Church and Gower's Schism

[42] On Gower's skepticism of composite entities see *CA*, n. P.978.

In one of the most famous passages of his *Chronica*, Otto of Freising explains the historical significance of Constantine:

> Furthermore, enough has been said above, I think, regarding the two cities: how one made progress, first by remaining hidden in the other until the coming of Christ, after that advancing gradually to the time of Constantine…But from that time on, since not only all the peoples but all the emperors (except a few) were orthodox Catholics, I seem to myself to have composed a history not of two cities but virtually of one only, which I call Christendom*…hence our history is a history of City of Christ. (*Two Cities*, pp. 323-4)[43]

For Otto, Christendom, the Church that will strike the statue, is precisely this city, Augustine's *civitas praemixta*. Thus while Otto laments the conflicts of the Investiture Controversy, he leaves no doubt about his embrace of the hierocratic model of Christendom upon which Gregory VII and the reformers anchored their attempts to curtail imperial power (*Two Cities*, pp. 271-4). In fact, Otto understands the crises that beset the later Roman Empire as signifying, at least in part, the increasing power of the Church (*Two Cities*, p. 404). Thus, while Otto agrees with Gower regarding the woeful state of medieval Rome, he subsumes the potential problems of Constantine's donation within a larger providential frame wherein even crisis advances history towards its ultimate end which is Christ himself. To that end, Otto not only permits the 'meddling' of spiritual and temporal matters, but he demands it. Gower, however, faces a different problem.

For Otto, the hybrid composition of the statue's feet evoked the categories constitutive of his world: *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, Church and Empire. For him, Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream was a way to reconcile the claims of these two entities as a coherent *progressus*. Gower, on the other hand, wrote in and for a world shaped by the collapse of imperial authority after Frederick II's death in 1250, Boniface's VIII's (r. 1294-1303) disastrous conflict with France and England, the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in Avignon (1309-76), and then the

[43] Mierow translates *ecclesia* "the Church," but, given the universal import of Otto's claim, I prefer Robert Markus' translation of Otto's *ecclesia* as "Christendom," *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1970) p. 164.

Schism.[44] The idea of pope and emperor as an exemplary pair was entirely foreign to Gower's experience of Christendom.[45] To that end, Gower only addresses the imperial office, at least in its medieval guise, one other time: ll.21781-22224 of the *Mirour de l'Omme*.[46] Not only was the *Mirour* Gower's first major poem, but its discussion of the empire figures Rome via imperial and papal absence (*MO*, ll. 22201-22212). Although it seems as if the more mature Gower considered the medieval empire irrelevant, the *Mirour* historicizes contemporary Rome in precisely the same terms as the *Confessio*: Daniel's four monarchies and the turning of Fortune's wheel. While the *translatio imperii* of the *Mirour* clearly derives from Daniel, it is unclear whether Gower is drawing on either the statue of Daniel 2 or the beasts of Daniel 7. Either way, the *Mirour* still imagines contemporary Rome as the product of the same forces which govern the *translatio imperii* of the *Confessio*. The *Mirour*'s Rome is, like the Rome of the *Confessio*, bereft of both its spiritual and temporal authority (*MO*.22189-22212). Finally, the symmetry between the *absence* of the "deux chiefs" that ought to define Rome—pope and emperor—and *presence* of the two-headed papal monster of *Mirour* both connects the *Mirour*'s vision of contemporary Rome to the Schism and evokes the era between Otto and Gower's interpretations of Daniel's the feet of "erthe and stiel."

While Otto viewed the Investiture Crisis as inaugurating an era defined by the tension between papacy and empire, he assumed the essentially providential nature of each institution. The Schism, on the other hand, was an unnatural, two-headed, "monster of damnation" (*MO*.18826) that shattered the integrity of one of Otto's two halves of Christendom. The absence of a strong

[44] On Frederick II, see Chapter 2, p. 86, nn. 52-3.

[45] On the relevance of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* to later fourteenth-century discourses see Oakley, 3, pp. 14-50.

[46] While Gower includes a short story about and "Emperor Conrad" in Book 7, this brief vignette centers on moral formation, *CA*, VII.2833-44.

emperor only compounded the problem. In fact, the *Confessio* implicitly associates the problems that beset the fourteenth-century papacy with the division that laid waste to later medieval Rome. First, Gower presents both the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" and contemporary Rome/the feet of "erthe and stiel" as the products of divisive elections. Just as the "diverse eleccioun / Which stant after th'affeccioun / Of sondry londes al aboute" disfigured the papacy during the Schism (*CA*, P.364-7), so to did the collapse of the Carolingian Empire lead to foreign invention—"Of that thei stode in such degré /Al only thurgh divisioun, / Hem nedeth in conclusioun / Of strange londes help beside,"—after which "upon here [the German princes] eleccioun / Th'empire of Rome scholde stoned," (*CA*, P.801-7). In both images, Gower presents that which claimed to be universal—Rome—as subject division at the hands of nominally subordinate powers.

Second, both the division of Rome and the Schism reveal the disastrous effects of conflating spiritual and temporal goods. To Gower, the precipitous decline of post-Constantinian Rome is just as obvious as the exchange of "charité" for the "keye of avarice" and "The tresor of the benefice" (*CA*, P.315-6, 319) that characterized "de statu cleri tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." The former "so open is at ÿe, / It nedeth noght to specefie / Or speke oght more in this matiere" (*CA*, P.865-7), while the latter is revealed "Al openly to mannes ÿe" (*CA*, P. 328-30). To that end, Gower equates that which "a man mai lere" from "the forme of that figure / Which Daniel in his scripture / Expondeth," (*CA*, P.868, 871-3) with "th'experience" of "Avynoun," (*CA*, P.331). Avignon, in turn, is a symbol that cuts two ways.

On one hand, the seat of "Robert Gibbonensis" gives "evidence /Of that men sen hem so divided," (*CA*, P.332) and this unresolved division—"the cause is noght decided" (*CA*, P.334)—is clearly the Schism:

> Bot it is seid and evere schal,
> Betwen tuo stoles lyth the fal
> Whan that men wenen best to sitte.
> In holy cherche of such a slitte

Is for to rewe unto ous alle." (*CA*, P. 335-39).

On the other hand, the association of Avignon with the "keye of avarice" and "The tresor of the benefice" evokes with the critiques of the papacy in *Mirour* and the *Vox,* both of which predate the Schism. This shared material, however, likely predates Pope Gregory XI's January 1377 return to Rome, which ended the "Babylonian Captivity" and the papacy in Avignon.[47] In fact, it emerged from the same discourses that informed Gower's initial depictions of the Schism as a two-headed monster in his revisions to the *Mirour*: the 'mendicant controversy.'[48]

Back "At Avynoun": Prophecy, Power, and the Past between the Prologue and Book II.

Gower based the *Mirour*'s "monstre of dampnacioun" on the monster-popes of the *Vaticania de summis pontificibus*. Related to the prophecies of the "Last Emperor," these illustrated texts "imagined revolutionary change from corruption and ruin to spiritual revival through the revelation of a saviour-ruler" and divided the future into a sequence of papacies that later generations associated with the actual popes of the 'long fourteenth-century.'[49] The two most important sequences, *Genus nequam* and *Ascende calve*, both began with Nicholas III (r. 1277-80).[50] Other than Celestine V, these prophecies figured their popes as monsters. While these texts emerged from mendicant controversy, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Hélène Millet have demonstrated the

[47] *Cf.* Chapter 1, *passim*.

[48] On these revisions and their relationship to prophetic discourse, see Chapter 1, pp. 29-35 and Leff (1967); On the Mendicant Controversy and its stakes see Brook (1995) and Burr (2001).

[49] Marjorie Reeves, "Some Popular Prophecies rom the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. Derek Baker and G.J. Cumming, (Cambridge: CUP, 1972) p. 111; On the 'long fourteenth century' see Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*, (New York: Knopf, 1978).

[50] *ODP*, pp. 201-2.

degree to which they informed the French *imaginaire* of the Schism.[51] Given that these prophecies were just as popular in England as in France, it seems reasonable to assume Gower turned to these discourses to respond to the Schism.[52]

Gower suggests that the "statu cleri Roberti Gibbonensis," i.e. the church after 1378, emerged from "th'experience" of "Avynoun," which ran from 1309-1377. The same "heathen flame" [ethnica flamma] (*CA*, II.vi) of Envy that burns throughout Book II erupts at Avignon (*CA*, P.329-31, II.20, 163, 2837). In fact, Gower describes the volcanic envy of the Avignonese clergy in precisely the same terms as he figures the envy that motivated Boniface VIII to "supplant" Celestine V in 1294 and relocates the sight of Boniface's famous 1303 fall away from Angani (Italy) and to Avignon:

> If *Ethna brenne* in the clergie
> Al openly to mannes ÿe,
> At *Avynoun*…. (*CA*, P.329-31, emphasis mine)

> Bot whan he [Boniface VIII] sih fortune is failed,
> For which long time he hath travailed,
> That ilke fyr which *Ethna brenneth*
> Thurghout his wofull herte renneth,
> Which is resembled to Envie,
> Wherof Supplant and tricherie
> Engendred is; and natheles
> He feigneth love, he feigneth pes,
> Outward he doth the reverence,
> Bot al withinne his conscience
> Thurgh fals ymaginacioun
> He thoghte Supplantacioun. (*CA*, II.2835-46, emphasis mine)

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[51] Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006), pp. 125-7, 166-78; Millet (1999), pp. 215-6.

[52] On the English reception of apocalyptic literature see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Hildagard and the Male Reader: A Study in Insular Reception," in *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-Medieval England*, ed. Rosalynn Voaden, (Cambridge: DS Brewer, 1996), pp. 1-18 and *Reformist Apocaplypticism and "Piers Plowman,"* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 1-18; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and E. Rudolph Daniel, "English Joachimism, 1300-1500: The Columbinus Prophecy," in *Il profetismo gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Genoa, 1991), pp. 313-50; Richard Rouse, "Bostonus Buriensis and the Author of the *Catalogus Scriptorium Ecclesiae*," in *Speculum* 41(1966) pp. 471-99.

The pope was at *Avinoun*,
And scholde ryde out of the toun
Unto Pontsorge, the which is
A castell in Provence of his.
Upon the weie and as he rod,
This kniht, which hoved and abod
Embuisshed upon horse bak…
… Lo, thus the Supplantour was served;
For thei him *ladden into France* (*CA*, II. 3001-7, 3024-5, emphasis mine)

Not only does Gower associate Boniface with the Schism, his tale also reflects the popular consensus that it was Boniface's disastrous reign that resulted in the papacy being "ladden into France." Given how well known the story of Boniface's rise and fall was, it is impossible to imagine that Gower thought his deposition actually happened at Avignon. Rather, he adjusts the story to advance his own historical agenda: the association of the Schism with the Avignon papacy.[53] In short, Gower seems to want his readers to view the papacy of Boniface VIII as a critical bridge between the contemporary church and its past.

To that end, the discussion of Envy that connects the "Tale of Boniface" to the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" returns the concerns of the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." First, the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" will conclude with Gower's reiteration of the prophecy of which he quoted in the Prologue. Similarly, the "Tale of Boniface" ends in prophetic murmurings:

Of whom the wrytinge is yit now
Registred, as a man mai hiere,
Which spekth and seith in this manere:
Thin entré lich the fox was slyh,
Thi regne also with pride on hih
Was lich the leon in his rage;

[53] *CA*, II n. 2795 ff; To that end, the other baffling historical error in this story, Gower's identification of the French king who deposed Boniface as "Lowyz" or "Louis" (*CA*, II.2966) rather than Philip, might be understood as an oblique reference to the mendicant controversy by way of Louis of Bavaria (c. 1315-61) [Burr (2001), pp. 276-7].

Bot ate laste of this passage
Thi deth was to the houndes like. (*CA*, II.3030-7)

From this prophecy, Gower suggests that people follow the "ensample" of the Hebrew priest Aaron rather than modern clerics like Boniface (*CA*, II.3040, -7). Not only does this appeal to scripture gesture towards the Prologue's evocation of "daies olde," but it lauds Aaron as a priest who kept "Simon fro the folde," (*CA*, II.3055). Considering the "cas / Of that I hiere now aday," however, turns Gower's mind back to prophecy:

For Joachim thilke abbot tolde
How suche daies scholden falle,
That comunliche in places alle
The chapmen of such mercerie…

Gower's invocation of Joachim of Fiore points back to the *Vaticania de summis pontificibus* as these texts were popularly, if erroneously, attributed to the Calabrian mystic.[54] More importantly, however, this prophecy circles back to the commodification of spirituality, the "eschange" (*CA*, P.207) that haunted the Prologue. Gower identifies Joachim's "daies scholden falle" with "mercerie." In the context of this passage, the 'merchandise,' which the "chapman" "beie and selle" (*CA*, II.3061) seems to be church office. For example, although Gower advises that persons "non his oghne astat translate /Of holi cherche in no degree /Be fraude ne soubtilité" (*CA*, II.3044-6), he worries that "This vice is now so general," (*CA*, II.3084). This evocation of a world dominated by envy/simony is entirely of a piece with the Prologue's depiction of the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."

Finally, Gower describes envy as a bodily affliction, a sickness that burns in the heart. For example, to return to a critical moment in Gower's history of the Roman church, Boniface is moved to depose Celestine V by "That ilke fyr which Ethna brenneth / Thurghout his wofull herte rennet," (*CA*, II.2837-8). Likewise, Gower's putative "phisique for the seke…is Charité, / Which is the

[54] On the relationship between Joachim and Schism see Blumenfeld-Kosinski (2006), pp. 180-1.

moder of Pité, / That makth a mannes herte tendre," (*CA*, II.3163, 3173-5). By these virtues the "corage is tempred" (*CA*, II.3178). Or, in other words, these two tales, the "Tale of Boniface" and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" are very much about bodies, their politics, and the poetics of representation "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."

"He feigneth love, he feigneth pes": Election and Consent between Anagni and Avignon

Any consideration of Boniface VIII must began where he ended: *Unam sanctum* (1303).[55] In *Unam*, Boniface distilled almost a thousand years of papal theology into an unadulterated declaration of ecclesiastical superiority in all aspects of life. Gower does not directly cite Boniface's uncompromising assertion of papal power but his representation of the demands which precipitate Lowyz's deposition of Boniface suggest that he understood *Unam*'s imaginative significance in the terms set forth by Paravicini-Bagliani.[56] Even before the dramatic climax, however, Gower's lengthy account of Boniface's rise focused on the rituals and discourses from which Boniface so spectacularly departed.

Gower's account of Boniface's ascent evidences his awareness of "the form of lawe" (*CA*, II.2812) that both governed papal elections and proclaimed their ideological significance. Gower's formulation of the papal title, "vicair general off alle / hem that liven Cristes feith" (*CA*, II.2804-5), emphasizes the universal role of the papacy, hence the special care needed to sustain it. At Nicholas IV's death, Gower presents Christendom as a universal society, united under the rule of the Roman pope. After his passing, the Cardinals cleave close to "[t]he forme of lawe" to choose a successor. Gower's lexicon in this portion of the tale is shot through with English equivalents for the Latin

[55] On *Unam sanctum* see Introduction, pp. 13-9.

[56] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 224.

machinery of papal translation. In conclave, the cardinals freely express their "entente" until they reach consensus, "assente" (*CA*, II.2815-6). Their choice of Celestine V, "an holy clerk reclus,/ Which fill was of gosli vertus," evokes the increasing emphasis on the personal holiness of the pope after the Gregorian Reform.[57] Specifically, when Gower emphasizes Celestine's "pacience and simplenesse" (*CA*, II.2819-20), causally connected to his newfound "noblesse," he deploys the language of abnegation and ritual humiliation that characterized papal elevation.

Once selected, Celestine is "canonized" and "intronized" (*CA*, II.2821-2). Together, these two transliterations of canon law show Gower grappling with complex Latin formulations for papal election, formulations designed to elevate the office and denigrate the man. Gower emphasizes the priority of office over personality by by proclaiming the pope-elect "vicair general of alle" (*CA*, II.2804) prior to disclosing his name. When Gower does announce the new pope, he situates the announcement within the legal machinery of the curia: "His name Celestin men calle/ Which notified was be bulle" (*CA*, II.2824-5). The change of name marks the moment that the old man dies and the new pope is born. The bull goes out to "holi cherche" (*CA*, II.2826) and it is received with acclaim in "alle londes" (*CA*, II.2827). This is Paravicini-Bagliani's "indissoluble institutional nexus" that yoked "death, burial, and the electoral process" so as to insure the legitimacy of the new pope.[58]

The election of Boniface VIII upset this process because, in Gower's telling, artifice disrupted the naturalized language of legitimation. First, the abdication of Celestine V presented a problem. Without the ritualized burial of the pope, the mechanics designed to ensure a smooth transition of power were seriously impeded. Had Boniface been a perfect pope, the irregularity of his

[57] Paravicini-Bagliani, (2000), pp. 75-97.
[58] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 219.

transition would still have compromised his authority. And he was far from a perfect pope. Whether Boniface VIII engineered Celestine's resignation remains an open question, but the degree to which he immediately began to assert the fullness of papal power—temporal as well as spiritual—upon his election is unquestioned. It is hardly surprising that his contemporaries, especially the Franciscans, would suggest that Boniface not only benefited from Celestine's choice, but also engineered it.[59] Nevertheless, while Gower was not alone in his belief that Boniface instigated Celestine's resignation, his depiction of the process emphasized Boniface's divergence from the naturalized "forme of law."[60]

Boniface pretends to accept the new pope by joining the chorus that acclaims Celestine's election (II.2842). He then recruits a member of his personal entourage—"a clergoun of yong age" (*CA*, II.2850)—to trick Celestine into resigning. The clerk is to hide next door to the sleeping pope, use a brass trumpet to speak to Celestine through the wall, and deliver a message "As thogh it were of Goddes sonde" (*CA*, II.2878). The message of the "yonge clerc" (*CA*, II.2863) was to play on Celestine's humility and "simplenesse." Speaking as God, Boniface's clerk urges Celestine to "do thilke astat aweie" (*CA*, II.2880) so that "his soule be socoured" (*CA*, II.2882). The plan works like a charm, and the chastened pope awakes and seeks guidance from the College of Cardinals (*CA*, II.2988-9).

This "consistoire" is a reverse conclave: a living pope comes to the college to seek how he may resign while still preserving the authority of the office. In other words, he must figure out "[h]ow the lawe it soffre scholde" (*CA*, II.2912). Unlike the conclave, where the "entente" (*CA*, II.2815) of each Cardinal was debated openly until a consensus emerged, the consistory is "alle

[59] For a brief discussion of several of these theories see Peter Herde, "Celestine V," in *The Papacy*, vol. 1, 282-3.

[60] On the relationship of Gower's account to Latin chronicles see above Macaulay, 2, pp. 490-1.

stille" (*CA*, II.2913) and quiet in the face of Celestine's query and Boniface's "entente" remains secret (*CA*, II.2915-7). When Boniface finally speaks up, his opinion seems humbly deferential but actually sets the stage for the conflicts that dominate the second half of the tale. Boniface claims that "if the pope wolde ordeigne/ That ther be such a lawe wroght/ Than mihte he cesse and elles noght" (*CA*, II.2920-2). Boniface's response, couched in humility, expresses the fullness of his conception of papal power: the pope's word is law. Unlike Celestine, whose reign is bracketed by a concern for the rule of law, Boniface conceives of the pope as a law unto himself, *lex animata*.

While Gower's account of the transition from Nicholas IV to Celestine V displays a deep familiarity with the process of papal choosing and making a pope, his version of this particular translation is very much at odds with actual events of Celestine's election. Gower depicts this event as hewing close to "the forme of lawe:" Nicholas' death is followed quickly by an easy election which receives universal approval. Were Celestine's election accompanied by a normal—at least in medieval standards—amount of controversy, we might forgive Gower's poetic license. The election of 1292-4, however, was incredibly extra-ordinary. First, *contra* Gower, Nicholas IV's 1292 death *did not* result in a "conclave"—in fact, Celestine V would be the last pope to be elected *outside* of a conclave. Second, the deliberations were riven by national and familial factionalism and threatened by mob violence. This was also the fourth controversial election in a quarter century. Moreover, it was Celestine V who, in response to these controversies, actually re-instituted Gregory X's celebrated bull establishing the "forme of lawe" for papal elections: *Ubi periculum*. The first pope selected according to these principles was Boniface VIII.[61] Finally, Celestine hardly received

[61] While Gregory's immediate successor, Innocent V, and his successor, Adrian V, might have been elected according to this principle, the later suspended *Ubi Periculum* during the course of his one month papacy. Given the general chaos of 1276, a year that witnessed four popes [Gregory X (d. 10 Jan), Innocent V, (r. 21 Jan-22 June), Adrian V (r. 11 July-18 Aug.), and John XXI (elected 8 Sept.)],

universal approval. While the Spiritual Franciscans reveled in their new-found freedoms, Celestine was singularly ill-equipped to manage the now substantial machinery of the curia. In many ways, lawyerly Benedetto Caetani was far more suited for the job than the ethereal Celestine. Nor were the circumstances of Celestine's election or the state of his curia unfamiliar to the English. For example, Higden notes that Celestine "was y-take from ankeres lyvynge" and alludes to potential mismanagement: "Somdel for strif þat was in þe court, and somdel by counsaile of his successour Bonefas, he was i-meeved and resigned up þe poperiche," (*PRH*, 8, pp. 270-3). In this context, Gower's revisions to the transition between Nicholas and Celestine and, subsequently, Celestine and Boniface must be reconsidered. Essentially, Gower describes the irregular election as regular, and the regular one as extraordinary.

If Gower's account of Celestine's election deviated from the well-known historical record, his version of Boniface's trickery is uncannily similar to English accounts of Clement VII's revolt.[62] In Walsingham's eyes, the issue was simple: When Gregory XI died, Urban VI was elected (Walsingham, 1, pp. 248-63). Once pope, Urban set about cleansing the curia of the avarice which, in Walsingham's view, impeded the Anglo-French peace process. Once the French cardinals perceived the threat to their income and the interests of France, they revolted. Already, we see that Walsingham, like Gower, understood the Schism in relation preexisting critiques of the Avignonese papacy. His version of both the Clementine letter to the Gloucester Parliament and the English response pivot on the question of "entente." According to Clement, the supposedly violent coercion of the Roman mob rendered Urban's election invalid. Against these charges, the "episcoporum catholicorum" responded, in the absence of actual evidence of coercion, that "we will continue to

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Celestine V's reinstitution of *Ubi Periculum* in 1294 is conventionally understood signify the start of this new system, Paravicini-Bagliani, pp. 145-6.

[62] See also Beck, (1946) and Macfarlane, (1953).

hold that that very election was, and continues to have been, duly and canonically celebrated, and will faithfully adhere to the person elected, enthroned, and crowned as the true head of Holy Church, the Successor of Peter, and Vicar of Christ on earth," (Walsingham, 1, pp. 260-1). Even taken out of context, the verbal parallels between Gower and Walsingham's papal elections would be striking. The relative rarity of the Middle English "intronized" and, in this legal rather than hagiographic sense, "canonized," and both texts' fixation on electoral "entente" amplifies the resonances between these two accounts.

If Walsingham's depiction of the elections of 1378 illustrates Gower's broad familiarity with the "forme of law" pertaining to such events, the chronicler's bruising critique of Charles V's 1379 decision to back Clement suggests even closer links between Clement VII's attempt to usurp—in English eyes—Urban's throne and Gower's depiction of Boniface's efforts to supplant Celestine. Clement's crushing defeat at Marino motivates a flight to "Avynoun," (Walsingham, 1, p. 275). More importantly, in the process of savaging Charles for his hypocrisy, Walsingham suggests that not only was Urban's election free, but Clement had accepted him as pope: "The king had received letters from Clement after the election of Pope Urban, about his accepted election, his enthronement, his see, and other things which should befit the true successor of Peter," (Walsingham, 1, pp. 276-7). In fact, Walsingham reports that "At all events, as soon as Pope Urban entered upon his papal office, Clement attached himself more closely to him than others did, as the result of which he was called upon for his advice on more confidential matters," (Walsingham, 1, pp. 276-7). According to Walsingham, this relationship "delighted" Clement, then Robert of Genava (Roberti Gibbonensis), because the future antipope saw it as an opportunity for personal profit, (Walsingham, 1, pp. 276-7). It was only after Clement and company "saw that Pope Urban…was attaching their greed, rebuking their unjust actions, and bravely and fiercely assailing all perpetrators of simony, the repented of having elected him," (Walsingham, 1, pp. 278-9).

The symmetry between Walsingham's description of Clement's revolt and Gower's account of Celestine's election is clear. An outsider with a reputation for virtue finds himself thrust into the papacy. Letters announcing the new pope, Gower's "bulle," are distributed throughout Christendom and the pope is hailed as pope. Within the cardinalate, however, deception lurks. Gower's depiction of Boniface is virtually identical to the charges Walsingham levies on Clement:

> He feigneth love, he feigneth pes,
> Outward he doth the reverence,
> Bot al withinne his conscience
> Thurgh fals ymaginacioun
> He thoghte Supplantacioun, (*CA*, II.2842-6).

Both Celestine and Urban are brought to grief by the cardinals they called on for critical advice. While the extended fabliaux-esq chicanery by which Gower's Boniface gains his office is unique, one element of it echoes a refrain common to both sides of the Schism: their rival "had not "entered by the door but had climbed up some other way," indeed over the wall," (Walsingham, 1, 276-7).[63] This topos is relevant to Gower's account of Boniface on a variety of levels.

While Gower's Boniface does not literary climb over a wall to get rid of Celestine, he does have his henchman simulate the voice of God by blowing "his trompe thurgh the wal," (*CA*, P.2893). Clearly, then, Boniface enters the papacy by means other than "the door." In fact, by describing Boniface's instructions to his clerk as "the forme / How he the pope scholde enforme," Gower implies that Boniface's extracurricular activities are nothing less than the obverse of the "forme of lawe" through which a pope ought to be made, the 'door' through which he ought 'enter.' Where Celestine's election con*formed* to the naturalized "forme of lawe" that governed papal bodies, Martinus' *Chronicon,* and its Middle English analogues, Gower depicts Boniface's machinations as

[63] For Clement's identical accusation of Urban, see Walsingham, 1, pp. 254-5.

unnatural or artificial.[64] The biblical passage at the heart of this topos, John 10, is integral to both Boniface's vision of the church in *Unam* and the English response to the Schism.[65] In short, Gower's fixation on the means by which popes are made and unmade evidences his awareness of the degree to which, in the words of Peter Damian (c. 1007-1073), "the terror of this event impels every other man to note well the presage of his own death: the tree of the human race, seeing its top brought down so easily, trembles in all its branches under the violent winds of fear."[66] "When a pope died," Damian continued, "the whole world lost its common father" and as Paravicini-Bagliani has shown, the rituals that surrounded papal bodies and especially the transition between popes were designed to address this particular anxiety.[67] Gower, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," shared this anxiety. As he said in the *Mirour*: "Holy Church has only one head before God, but now two have grown up, so that the noble beauty of the Church is disfigured and ruined," (*MO*.18831-5). The remainder of the "Tale of Boniface" focuses on this 'disfiguration'

"Se disfigure et malmise": Boniface's Church

If Gower presented Boniface's rise via the "forme of lawe" that regulated papal bodies, he distills the conflict between Boniface and Lowyz to its most basic terms: submission. Rather than getting bogged down in the proxy fights over clerical taxation and appointments that provided the historical fodder for conflict, Gower recognizes that the essential point of dispute was temporal

[64]While Scanlon (1994) recognizes Gower's interest in the discursive nature of ecclesiastical authority [pp. 260-2], his reading of this tale limited by his limited theorization of Gower's relationship to the institutional church.

[65] On John 10 see Chapter 2, p. 97.

[66] *PL*, 145, 473D quoted and translated in Paravicini-Bagliani (2001), p. 6.

[67] Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 6-7.

sovereignty. In fact, the demand that Lowyz do "hommage / Unto the cherche bodily (*CA*, II.2968-9) evokes the memory of the most extreme symbol of submission to papal power: the strator ritual. While Gower's Boniface does not ask Lowyz to hold his bridle and walk him into Rome, he does demand a bodily expression of temporal submission which implies that kings rule their kingdoms at the pleasure of the pope. Such a claim was unconscionable to men like Philip IV and Edward I.[68] While the imperial crown remained contingent on papal coronation, the kings of England and France neither needed nor sought papal confirmation of their crowns.[69]

Initially, Boniface's demands simply confuse Lowyz, who "wist nothing why/ He scholde do so gret servise/ After the world in such wise." To Lowyz, bodily homage is the stuff of worldly service and, as such, the province of kings instead of popes. When Lowyz refuses to submit, Boniface excommunicates him and cuts him off from the corporate body of the church. Unlike the "bulle" (*CA*, II.2825) that heralded the election of Celestine, however, Boniface's "bulle" (*CA*, II.2978) was met with resistance. The king does not dispute the pope's spiritual authority, but he rejects "thilke Pride temporal/ Of Boneface in his persone" (*CA*, II.2988-9). Gower's Lowyz does not reject the papacy as it functioned under Nicholas IV or Celestine V. Nor does he call for the disendowment of the church. Lowyz does not move to depose Boniface because the latter was a bad pope, or even because he obtained the papacy through trickery. Rather, Lowyz argues that Boniface, when he demands bodily homage, supersedes his institutional authority as pope and attempts to usurp the personal prerogatives of French king. Lowyz's sharp differentiation between the pope as an institution and the pope as a particular man is fundamentally rooted in that "institutional nexus"

[68] Oakley, 2, 183-4, 190.
[69] Oakley, 2, pp. 194-5.

that Boniface's assimilation of office and person undermined. In Lowyz's eyes, his response was not radical, it was proportional: "miht with miht schal be withstonde" (*CA*, II.2983).[70]

The "Tale of Boniface" opens in Rome with the death of a pope who was "vicair general of alle" (II.2804). It ends with another papal death, this time near "Pontsorge" outside Avignon. Yet again, Gower's Boniface has exchanged the institutional for the personal. In lieu of universal Rome, Boniface heads to "a castell in Provence of *his*" (*CA*, II.3004, emphasis mine). On the way to his castle he is ambushed and captured by French knights led by "Guilliam de Langharet."[71] Langharet castigates Boniface as a "proude clerk/ Misledere of the papacie" (*CA*, II.3020-1) and imprisons him. Again, we see the agents of France distinguish between the "honourable" (*CA*, II.3017) institution of the papacy and the "false bodi" (*CA*, II.3022) of Boniface. While this sharp and consistent distinction between office and body on the part of the French is typically understood as expressing a pseudo-Wycliffite stance on *dominium*, such an approach misconstrues what Gower means by "of his persone" with reference to Boniface. For Gower, the problem is precisely the fact that Boniface has a personal body at all: Boniface's body is "fals" *because it is his own body*.

Rather than being transformed by the "forme of lawe" into the Vicar of Christ, the impersonal incarnation of the church, Boniface is "enforme[d]" (*CA*, II.2886) by envy and pride. In short, Boniface refused to follow the advice that the great English cleric Robert Grosseteste gave to another pope, Innocent IV who a) succeeded a Celestine and b) was convinced that kings and emperors ought submit to him:[72]

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[70] *Cf.* Oakley, 2, 186 where Oakley concurs with the French historian Robert Fawtier in judging Philip's actions as "procedurally correct."

[71] "Guilliam de Langharet" is another one of Gower's misprisions. Philip sent Guillaume de Nogaret to arrest the pope. "Langharet" seems to be a mistake on Gower's part but, like "Lowyz," I have retained Gower's nomenclature when discussing the text.

[72] *PRH*, 8, 234-5 registers English awareness of this succession.

> "If any one of them [the popes]—may it never come to pass!—should assume the habit of their relatives, or of the flesh itself, or of the world, or of any other thing that is not Christ…then anyone who obeys him manifestly separates himself from Christ and from his body, which is the Church and from him who meanwhile is the head of this see, inasmuch as he assumes the person of Christ."[73]

Grosseteste's clashes with Innocent IV held a special meaning in England. As Higden explains:[74]

> He sente to þe ferþe pope Innocencius a pistel scharp inow þat bygynneþ in þis manere, "Oure lord Jesus Christ." [He] sente þat pistle for þe pope greved þe chirches of Engelond wiþ taxes and wiþ paiementis undewe and uncustemable. Also for he hadde i-ȝeve his litel nevew a chauntrie which [þe] first voyded in þe chirche of Lyncolne. And þis Robert wolde nouȝt fonge þe childe, but he wroot to þe pope and seid þat he neyþer wolde neyþer schulde putte suche to þe cure of soule þat kouþe not rule hem self. Þerfore þis Robert was sompned to þe court and accursed: þan from Innocencius court he appeled to Cristes owne trone. Þan aftir Robert his deeþ, it happed in nyȝt þat þe pope lay in his bedde for to reste, a bishop [apperede to hym arrayed as a bishop, and] spak to þe pope and seide, "Arise, wrecche, and come to þe doome;" and smot hym wiþ his cros in þe lift side riȝt to þe herte; þan amorwe to popes bedde was i-founde blody, and þe pope deed: herefore, þey Robert were a noble man, and dede often miracles, the court suffreþ hym nouȝt to be canonysed. (*PRH* 8, 240-3)

Grosseteste's conflict with Innocent was directly related to a) the issues that lead to Boniface VIII's downfall and b) that Gower identified with the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis": taxation and provision, i.e. Gower's "Simon." Additionally, the jurisdictional question regarding the correction of an erring pope was relevant to both the deposition of Boniface VIII and the resolution of the Schism precisely because it focused on the hierarchical "law of divinity," which dictated that inferiors must proceed to superiors via intermediaries.[75] Furthermore, Higden's account of

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[73] Quoted and translated in Paravicini-Bagliani (2000), p. 92.

[74] Note that Gower's inclusion of the "grete clerc Grossteste" in Book IV of the *Confessio* (*CA*, IV.234-49) indicates his familiarity with and interest in the Bishop of Lincoln's legacy.

[75] On Pseudo-Dionysius and the "law of divinity" see Introduction, pp. 15-6.

Grosseteste's ghostly attack on Innocent IV emphasizes the questions of embodiment similar to those raised by Gower's "Tale of Boniface."[76]

Grosseteste's authority is expressed via the symbols of his episcopal power—vestments and crozier—and the punishment he inflicts upon Innocent registers the degree to which that pope problematically "assume[d] the habit of their relatives, or of the flesh itself, or of the world, or of any other thing that is not Christ." The contrast between the saintly Grosseteste and the all too fleshy Innocent is clear: despite the curia's refusal to canonize him, it is the Bishop of Lincoln and not the pope who dwells among the sacred dead.[77] In a similar vein, Boniface's death in the *Confessio* proceeds from the pope's "fals bodie," his refusal to "divest his own flesh."[78] Similarly, the death itself is described in terms that evoke the grammars of incorporation that governed the medieval papacy:

> "…Thi false bodi schal abye
> And soffre that it hath deserved."
> Lo, thus the Supplantour was served;
> For thei him ladden into France
> And setten him to his penance
> Withinne a tour in harde bondes,
> Wher he for hunger bothe hise hondes
> Eet of and deide - God wot how -
> Of whom the wrytinge is yit now
> Registred, as a man mai hiere,
> Which spekth and seith in this manere:
> Thin entré lich the fox was slyh,
> Thi regne also with pride on hih
> Was lich the leon in his rage;
> Bot ate laste of this passage
> Thi deth was to the houndes like." (*CA*, II.3022-37).

[76] For detailed account of Chaucer and the the Pearl Poet's potential reception of Grossteste's theology see Jim Rhodes, *Poetry Does Theology: Chaucer, Grossteste, and the Pearl-poet*, (South Bend: Notre Dame P, 2001).

[77] Paravicini-Bagliani, (2000), pp. 139-43.
[78] Paravicini-Bagliani, (2000), p. 92.

Boniface's "fals bodi" is punished as "it hath deserved," i.e. Lowyz renders Boniface precisely the "hommage…bodily" and the temporal "servise" that the pope demanded (*CA*, II.2968-73).

Just as Higden's Grosseteste 'supplants' Innocent among the bodies of the saints, so too Gower declares the "Supplantour" supplanted. Just as Grosseteste wounds Innocent's body with a symbol of spiritual, or 'ghostly,' authority, Lowyz imposes a spiritual punishment, "penance," that inflicts mortal pain: if Innocent and Boniface will not undress themselves of their selves, Grosseteste and Lowyz will do it for them. Similarly, Gower's enduring image of a handless pope, locked in a tower, eating himself to death evokes both the literal circumstances of Innocent's death—they die alone and behind locked doors—and the institutional stakes of those gruesome deaths. Essentially, despite their sin, both Gower and Higden endow the lives and deaths of Boniface and Innocent with larger significance. For Higden, Grosseteste's life after death, or at least the stories therein, drives a wedge between the curia and the sacred dead that echoes the critiques of the Avignon papacy of his own day. Gower evokes a pope, and thus a church, locked in a prison of its own making, hell-bent on cannibalism, or: "De statu cleri tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." For Gower, the monstrous condition of the church began with rise and fall of Boniface VIII. It was Boniface's envy that first caused the papacy to be "ladden into France" where "th'experience" of "Avynoun" completed the corruption of the church and, as Gower's constant recourse to the prophetic discourses the emerged from that era suggest, set the stage for "oure daies," (*CA*, II.3065). The solution, it seems, is to return to the beginning.

Chapter Four

Constantine's Corpse:
Christian History between the *Confessio Amantis* and "In Praise of Peace"

Introduction

Gower concludes the 'Tale of Constantine and Sylvester' with the Donation of Constantine. The emperor endows two new churches "[w]ithinne Rome" (II.3476) "for Peter and for Poules sake" (*CA*, II.3479). Along with these foundations, he "gaf thereto possessioun / Of lordschipe and of worldes good" (*CA*, II.3480-1) to the papacy. Essentially, Pope Sylvester I exchanges the "compaignie" of the Apostolic Church for the Roman "franchise" (II.3482). This is, in the words of the Prologue, ["t]he patrimomie and the richesse, / Which to Silvestre in pure almesse/ The ferste Constantinus lefte" (P.741-3). Yet in both the Prologue and Book II, Constantine's generosity haunts Gower. In the Prologue, Emperor Leo's infringement on the "patrimonie" resulted in the abandonment of Rome (P.766-8). In Book II, Gower acknowledges that although Constantine's "will was good/…Yit hath it proved other wise,/ To se the worchinge of the dede" (II.3482-4). Pity and Charity saved Constantine, but they doom the church he founds. The divine "liht" at his baptism seemed to herald a new age, but the "vois" that echoes "on hih" at the tale's end is bleak: "Today is venym schad / In holi cherche of temporal/ Which medleth with the spirital" (II.3488-3492). To this charge, Gower has no response other than resigned agreement:

> "And hou it stant of that degree
> Yit mai a man the sothe se.
> God mai amende it, when He wille;
> I can therto non other skile. (II.3493-6)

Gower's prescription or "phisique" for the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" leads back to the vice itself and the poet finds himself unable to reach back to "the daies olde" of the *ecclesia primitiva*,

the pre-Constantinian church.[1] Thus, despite the formidable reasons for reading Book II and the Prologue in conversation with each other, this dialogic approach raises an equally formidable interpretive crux. Gower's account of the church in the *Confessio* seems to express an avowedly Wycliffite logic: the Apostolic Church, the *ecclesia primitiva*, was good, but Constantine's largess destroyed this church. This once pure church was inexorably transformed into the envious curia of Avignon/Ethna that, in turn, gave birth to the two-headed monster of the Schism. At the same time, however, Gower consistently rejects Wyclif and his followers in the strongest possible terms.

The dissonant conclusion to Book II connects the *Confessio*'s representation of the Schism with Gower's wider poetic project. In the Prologue, Gower describes his poem as a "bok for Engelondes sake" (*CA*.P.24). Throughout the *Confessio,* 'Moral Gower' attempts to transform the English imagination such that it would, in turn, both resolve divisions plaguing the nation and recover supposedly a lost whole.[2] The *Confessio* imagines itself in much the same way that Confessor frames the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" as a kind of "phisique." Where, in the *Vox*, Gower described Wyclif as an agent of division, a "New Arius" (*VC*.4.1227*), the *Confessio* figures the poet as a 'New Arion."[3] According to Gower, Arion's "lusti melodie" (*CA*, P.1070) brought peace and concord to man and beast alike (*CA*, P.1057-69). "And if ther were such on now," Gower speculates, this Arionic poet would be able to imagine a new world into being. Just as Book II concludes with an appeal for divine intervention, so too Gower brackets his invocation of Arion with prayer:

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[1] On the *ecclesia primitiva* see Chapter 1, pp. 46-8.

[2] On Chaucer's mocking epitaph, see Alastair Minnis, "Moral Gower and Medieval Literary Theory," in *Gower's* Confessio Amantis*: Responses and Reassessments*, ed. Minnis (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1983) pp. 50-78. For a compelling alternative to Minnis' moralizing Gower see Diane Watt, *Amoral Gower: Language, Sex, and Politics*, (Minneapolis: U. Minnesota P, 2003).

[3] See also Peck's summary of Gower's use of Arion in his edition of the *Confessio*, *CA*, n. P.1053-4.

Bot wolde God that now were on
An other such as Arion…
…And now nomore,
As for to speke of this matiere,
Which non bot only God may stiere. (*CA*, P.1053-4, 86-8)

In short, the problem of the Schism and the problem to which Gower addresses the *Confessio* are one and the same: division.[4] In Gower's view, the same "law of divinity" which structured the *corpus mysticum* also governed his own poetic corpus. Or, to put it differently, it was precisely because Gower accepted Christendom as discourse, as a way of creating discursive unity, that he believed that the fictive shape of the *ecclesia primitiva*, the Prologue's "holy tales" (*CA*, P.464), might mend the representational fabric of the church.

For Gower, Constantine's baptism marked a crucial moment in Christian history: as Constantine emerges, Christendom comes with him:

And so the vessel which for blod
Was mad, Silvestre, ther it stod,
With clene water of the welle
In alle haste he let do felle,
And sette Constantin therinne
Al naked up unto the chinne.
And in the while it was begunne,
A liht, as thogh it were a sunne,
Fro hevene into the place com
Wher that he tok his Cristendom. (*CA*, II.3445-54)

At a literal level, Gower is surely using "Christendom" in a technical sense encompasses all the practices and behaviors that made one a Christian, including baptism.[5] At the same time,

[4] Although I disagree with Aers' (2000) conclusions, he makes a strong case for the global significance of Book II's local treatment of the church, pp. 102-5

[5] Van Engen (1986), p. 540.

'Christendom' also signified a theo-political idea, especially when opposed to "hethenesse."[6] This "institutional manifestation" of the term was, as John Van Engen has shown, inextricably tied to the personal—a linkage readily apparent in the *Confessio.*[7] In the *Confessio*, Gower forces attention to the incorporational imagery of baptism: Silvester cleanses Constantine of his physical illness—"The lepre cawhte in his visage," (*CA*, II.3192)—in precisely the same "vessel" in which the emperor's "grete clerkes" urged the Emperor to bathe in the blood of innocent children (*CA*, II.3199-3215). Constantine's baptism evokes both his own personal redemption and the transformation of the vessel or container which he represents. The waters that fill the vessel and heal the emperor link his individual faith to the redefinition of political authority: like the pagan empire, Christendom is built on the blood of innocents. Christendom, in the *Confessio*, appears as a reform rather than a revolution: it is the transformation, the baptism, of a person and a vessel: *imperator* and *imperium.*[8] Conversion does not, however, bring stability.

Throughout the *Confessio,* internal and external foes assail both Constantine and Christendom. In the Prologue, Constantine is invoked strictly via Leo V's assault on that which his predecessor established (*CA*, P.739-44). While the *Confessio* clearly presents Leo's attack as external, i.e. a thing which is inflicted *upon* Constantine's metaphorical body, "The patrimoine and the richesse, /Which to Silvestre in pure almesse / The ferste Constantinus lefte" (*CA*, P.741-3), Gower's choice to conclude his account of contemporary Rome by circling back around Constantine via the poison prophecy (*CA*, P.856-9) implies an internal malaise. In the Prologue,

[6] "Cristendom (1) and (2)," in *MED*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED10373>
[7] Van Engen (1986), p. 541.

[8] On the relationship between my dissertation and James Simpson's influential use of these terms see Introduction, n. 30.

Constantine's true 'gift' is neither, in the words of Book II, "possessioun / Of lordschipe and of worldes good" (*CA*, II.3480-1) but rather conflict itself (*CA*, P.860-4). Despite the Prologue's concern with Constantine's metaphorical body, Christendom, his actual body is absent. Once, however, the "Tale of Boniface" has located the immediate roots of the Schism to Boniface's body and by extension his vision of the church, Gower turns his attention to Constantine's body so as to explore the means by which sovereign bodies became sacred. By returning to Constantine's illness and subsequent conversion Gower returns to the root of the crises of incorporation that tore Europe apart during the Schism. The basic elements of Constantine's conversion and Boniface's rise and fall were well known in later medieval England. Nor was Gower the first to associate of Boniface and Constantine. Boniface himself sought to collate the Constanintian legacy, the imperial heritage, into his own personal conception of the papacy. It is hardly surprising, then, that James of Viterbo's eloquent articulation of Bonifacian ecclesiology, *De regimine christiano*, incorporates a lengthy defense of the Donation of Constantine. Boniface and James, this association wanted to associate the pope with Constantine so as to reinscribe papal authority.

Gower was not even the first poet to imagine the relationship between Boniface's body and Constantine's church. While it is unlikely that Gower actually read Dante, the *Inferno's* representation of Boniface VIII in Canto XIX anticipates the tone, topics, and imagery of Book II of the *Confessio*. Canto XIX opens with an apostrophe directed to Simon Magus (*Inf.* XIX.1), Gower's patron saint of the simonaical church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."[9] Then, as Dante gazes into the third *bolgia* he describes a rocky landscape as "perforated" with identical "openings" that remind him of baptismal fonts. And, in truth, these openings *are* baptismal fonts of a certain sort: "Out from the mouth of each hole there emerged / a sinner's feet and so much of his legs / up to the thigh; the rest

[9]All citations of the *Inferno* are from Columbia University's *Digital Dante* project, < https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/inferno/inferno-19/>

remained within," (*Inf.* XIX.22-4). Defiled by greed in life, Dante's simoniacs are doomed to a fiery re-baptism (*Inf.* XIX.25-30). Then, as Dante and Virgil approach one soul who seems in greater pain than the rest, the poet is accosted by an alarming voice. Unable to see, the anguished sinner mistakes Dante for pope Boniface VIII in terms which link simony and greed to Boniface's treacherous route to the papacy (*Inf.* XIX.52-7). After correcting his accuser, Dante learns that the sinner is in fact Pope Nicholas III, the initial pope of the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, the source of Gower's initial depictions of the Schism (*Inf.* XIX.67-72).[10] Nicholas then launches into a long critique of Boniface's rapacity that culminates with his invocation of the prophecies surrounding Constantine's disastrous gift (*Inf.* XIX.76-117). Again, though it is unlikely that Gower read the *Inferno*, he certainly drew on broad discourses of critique through which Dante, Petrarch, Catherine of Sienna, Bridget of Sweden and others "contested" Avignon.[11] Similarly, situating the "Tale of Boniface" and the "Tale of Constantine" in conversation with English analogues of this international discourse of critique illuminates the poetics of Gower's political and religious vision of the church, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" and allows us to reconcile Gower's critiques of the church with his hostility towards Lollardy.

"Ascendisti vt vulpas": Remembering Boniface

While Gower could have based his account of Boniface VIII on a range of sources and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" draws on the *Legenda Aura*, he was certainly familiar with the

[10] On the *Vaticinia* see Chapter 1, n. 26.

[11] Falkied (2011); Irvine (2011) p. 137 and J. Allen Mitchell [*Ethics and Eventfulness in Middle English Literature*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 81] briefly note the similarity of Gower and Dante's depictions of Boniface, neither pursues this topic at length; For a survey of Gower's relationship to Dante see Elisabetta Tarantino, "The Dante Anecdote in Gower's "Confessio Amantis" Book VII" in *The Chaucer Review* 39.4(2005) pp. 420-35.

Polychronicon.[12] In fact, while Steiner has argued for a 'radical' reading of the *Polychronicon*, especially Trevisa's English translation, the ubiquity of Higden's text makes it a reasonable place from which to judge a text's relative divergence from the normative discourses surrounding the papacy.[13] Higden's account of Boniface VIII is characteristically compendious and registers the scope of Boniface's legacy (*PRH*, 8, pp. 282-7). Higden prefaces the story of Boniface's rise and fall by noting his role in establishing the tradition of Roman Jubilees, i.e. years in which pilgrimages to Rome would be rewarded with extensive indulgences, and his comprehensive legal reforms. While the first item, the Jubilee, was controversial, Higden does not render any judgement on its merits and seems to accept Boniface's legal reforms as genuine administrative improvements.[14] While Higden seems unambiguous about Boniface's role in Celestine's resignation, his account of Celestine was, as we have seen, more nuanced.[15] In fact, Higden rather artfully distances himself from his record of Boniface's misdeeds by beginning, rather than concluding, his narrative with the prophecy that Boniface "Þou come up as a fox, þou schalt reigne as a lyon, and deye as a hound," [ascendisti vt vulpas, regabis vt leo, morieris vt canis] (*PRH*, 8, pp. 284-5) and presenting this prophecy at two removes: "Men seiþ þat þerfore Celestinus prophecied of hym in þis manere." And so it happened: the foxy Boniface creates the law that enables Celestine's resignation then, once becoming pope,

[12] Macaulay, 2, pp. 490-1.

[13] On the Steiner's reading of Higden see Chapter 2, pp. 115, 122; On English attidudes towards the papacy see Harvey (1997).

[14] On the Jubilee of 1300 see Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion*, (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 1975), pp. 231 ff.; On Boniface's legal reputation see Peter D. Clarke, "Two Constitutions of Boniface VIII: an insight into the *Liber Sextus*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 83.3(2001) pp. 115-28 and Thomas M. Izbicki, "*Clericis Laicos* and the Canonists," in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law*, pp. 179-90.

[15] See Chapter 3, p. 162.

retracts that same law (*PRH*, 8, pp. 284-5).[16] Boniface's leonine rule then brings him into conflict with his own cardinalate as well as their Roman supporters. It also leads him first to obstruct the manifold plans of the French king, and then to cast him down entirely (*PRH*, 8, p. 284). This "misgovernance," in Gower's words (*CA*, II.2965), results in an alliance between the royal household and the dissident Colonna cardinals that brings Boniface to his beastly, doglike end.

Gower diverges from this general account in three ways: he excludes all mention of Boniface's potential achievements, greatly extends the plot to make Boniface pope, and eliminates all references to the cardinals and/or the Colonna family. These divergences, in turn, greatly affect the tone of the tale. First, the suppression of the Jubilee and the legal reforms exchange Higden's balanced reportage for an aggressive, if transparent, moral agenda. Second, Gower's extensive—and perhaps unique—account of Boniface's plot centers his version of the story on deceit and supplantation.[17] Third, the reconfiguration of the conflict transforms a complex four-way dispute between king, pope, city, and cardinalate into a binary conflict between spiritual and temporal authorities.[18] If we stopped here the relationship between the received tradition regarding Boniface VIII and the *Confessio* might be as straight forward as most critics believe it to be: Gower adapts his source material to accentuate the structural conflict between church and state, thus preparing the reader for the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester." Comparing Higden's and Gower's versions of Boniface's life to the *Lollard Chronicle*, however, raises new issues.

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[16] "In this case, Trevisa's translation is a bit confused as he renders Higden's "Quam quidem postmodum ipse, papa effectus reocavit," as "an whan he was pope he worschipped þe same constitucioun."

[17] Macaulay, 2, pp. 490-1.

[18] The only cardinals in the *Confessio* are those who elect Celestine V (*CA*, II.2811) in whose midst lurks "a cardinal" Benedetto Caetani, the would be pope (*CA*, II. 2832, -52, -61, -87, -918).

The *Lollard Chronicle* actually has *two* accounts of Boniface VIII. The longer version, *LC*1 (*CR*, p.127.Em.271-81), is sandwiched between the entry for antipope Boniface VII (r. 974, 984-5; *CR*, p.127.266-70) and a brief digression about King Solomon (*CR*, p.127.282-3):[19]

> ***LC*1:** Also Pope Bonefas þe VIII mad þe sixte book of decretalle, & gilfully he brouȝt in Celestyn, predecessor, to reyne þe popehede & mak law þat a pope myȝte resygne his popehed, which law, Bonefas, hymsilfe made pope, revokid.
> Wherfor prophecied Celestyn of hem saying þus, "Þou has entride a fox, þou shalt regne as a lion, butte þou shalt die as a dogge."
> And he, rigoursly gouernyng, despoilid sum gentil cardinals, and note only….[The senschall] of þe King of Fraunse and breþeren of þes cardinalle kauȝten Pope Bonefas & sette him on a hors without bridille, þe face turnid to tail, whom þai made so to renne aboute til to þe last breþe & kilid him þrouȝe hunger þer in þat same [ȝere].

The shorter version, *LC*2 (*CR*, p. 138.Em.685), is in its proper place close to the end of the text:

> ***LC*2:** Also in þe ȝere of grace after suyng, Pope Boneface þe VIII, þat bi disseit gate þe popehede, & entrid as a fox, & regned as a lyoun, died as a dogge, made þe vi book of decretallis.

*LC*1 is a reasonably clear approximation of Higden's *Polychronicon* and *LC*2 is an equally clear abbreviation of *LC*1.[20] On their own, these accounts differ from Gower's version of the story to roughly the same degree as Higden—that is to say, neither *LC*1 nor *LC*2 is, independent of context, a specifically "Lollard" take on Boniface's life. In fact, the *Lollard Chronicle* rarely comments directly on the narratives it harvests from the *Polychronicon*. Rather, it prefers to 'radicalize' the content it

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[19] *ODP*, pp. 130-1.

[20] One subtle change made by *LC*1 is the association of Boniface's legal nous with his deception of Celestine. Omitting the Jubilee and emphasizing the common background necessary for both tasks as the agency remains the same throughout the first sentence: Boniface "mad þe sixte… brouȝt in Celestyn…to mak law…which law, Bonefas…revokid). Essentially, *LC*1 suggests that Celestine's election was part of Boniface's plan all along, ploy designed to create the conditions necessary for Boniface's own election. While such a reading certainly amplifies Boniface's villainy, it would problematize moral genesis of Gower's tale: the volcanic envy that consumed Boniface's, "Which the papat longe hath desired," (*CA*, II.2833). The remainder of *LC*1 cleaves close to Higden insofar as the single, perhaps corrupt (i.e. "note only….[The senschall]"), witness to the text allows us to determine. *LC*1's most significant departure from Higden is, however, entirely external to the story itself. In the *Lollard Chronicle*, Boniface VIII disrupts the very fabric of time itself.

carries over from Higden by including good kings and bad popes and excluding good popes and bad kings.[21] The *Lollard Chronicle* is not subdivided into chapters, books, or even reigns, thus its themes, resonances, and motifs emerge appositionally: this king juxtaposed with that pope or vice versa.

In the first case, *LC*1, the *Lollard Chronicle* juxtaposes its relatively lengthy account of Boniface VIII with two shorter, but more pointed stories that evoke the major themes of both *LC*1 *and* Gower's representation of the church. In the first story, antipope Boniface VII embodies an all too worldly church riven by internal strife that a) forces a pope to abandon Rome and b) echoes the macabre violence of Boniface VIII's end:

> "Also in þe ȝere of grace ix^{c} lxxii, Bonefas þe VII satte pope iii ȝere. Which, not of myȝt to abide in Rome, robbid þe chirch of Seint Peter & flede to Constantynnoble. At þe last, commyng aȝen to Rome, whille he myȝt not profite, he putte out iȝen of Iohn Cardinal [and] died sone after," (*CR*, p.127.Em.266-70)

The brief Solomon digression—"Also Kyng Salamon putte doon an hiȝ bischope for he conspired aȝence him, and also he made annoþer hiȝ bischope in his stede," (CR, p. 127.Em.282-3)—is a *locus classicus* for Lollard arguments in favor of secular *dominium*.[22] The historical arc of this sequence evokes the trajectory of the church in the *Confessio*: Boniface VIII completes the corruption of the contemporary church, such that the author of the account advocates root and branch reform via Biblical and/or Apostolic precedents. *LC*2 is brief account of Boniface VIII that is bracketed by two lengthy stories drawn from English history.[23] By trimming *LC*1 to its constituent elements—deceit,

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[21] *CR*, p. 15

[22] *CR*, p. 231 n. Em.282-3.

[23] To that end, it is interesting to note the context of the Em's first independent account (i.e. not shared with Pl/Ld) of a Pope Boniface: Pope Boniface IV. Boniface IV, Em explains, "gate a preuelege of þe emperour for þat þe chirche of Peter of Rome schuld be heede of alle chirchis in the world…and he gate also of þe emperoure þat þe chirch þat sumtyme was halewid to þe emperour of Cyvile & Neptune, þat was clepid Pantheon, where Cristen men were slayn of feendis, myȝt now be halewid in þe honoure of all halewis" (*CR*, p. 123.Em.125-31). Em follows this account of Boniface

prophecy, law—the *Lollard Chronicle* treats *LC*2 less like a text than as an appositional *signe-de-renvoi*, a marker that encourages the reader to recall the absent present of *LC*1 as they revisit the relatively recent past. Within this past, *LC*2 participates in a larger historical project that is uncannily similar to Gower's periodization of the Christian past: both the *Confessio* and the *Lollard Chronicle* present 1303/4 as *the* critical moment in the modern history of the church, the moment from which their problematic present proceeds.

In 1304, Em declares that "Benet þe III" was pope, Robert Grossseste died, and Boniface VIII "made þe vi book of decretallis," (*CR*, pp. 138.Em.659-60, 138.Em.661, 138.Em.668). Then, Em continues in 1303, Edward I "sesid alle temportees of clerkis," (*CR*, p.138.Em.684-5). As a history, this passage is wildly confused: "Benet þe III" is actually Benedict XI,* and Robert Grossesteste died 1253, not 1304.[24] While Boniface VIII did die in 1303, he ordered the publication of the sixth book of Decretals in 1298.[25] Finally, Edward's conflict with Robert Winchelesy took place in the late 1290s, not the early 1300s.[26] Any of these mistakes could be just that, a mistake. However, it is curious that they all agree with each other, and against their source(s), in pointing to 1303/4 as critical moment in the Anglo-Papal relationship, especially as it pertained to issues touching on the pope's temporal authority. Given that the *Lollard Chronicle* concludes with an appeal to God to set things right (*CR*, p. 139.Em.717), it seems reasonable to suggest that the preceding

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IV with its first English interpolation wherein King Oswald's conversion of Northumbria is cited as an exemplifying Wyclif's position on *dominium* (*CR*, p.123.Em.132-p.124.Em.144 and p. 226, n. Em 145-6 (should be Em. 143-4). Together, this pair associates Boniface IV with the buying and selling of churches and privilege. In fact, while it does not explicitly condemn Boniface for converting the Pantheon into a church, it does seem to invite readers to compare the Boniface's church, which is defined by accommodation and "eschange" with the death of martyrs, i.e. the *ecclesia primitiva*.

[24] *ODP*, pp. 210-11; On numerical confusion regarding Benet/Benedict see *CR*, p. 242 n. Em.659.
[25] *ODP*, p. 210.

[26] For a concise summary of this conflict and its contexts see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997) pp. 401-35.

text describes the *wrong* order. Given the *Lollard Chronicle*'s curious emphasis on 1303/4, it seems reasonable to suggest that the wrong order, the form to be reformed, is that which emerges from the events associated with 1303/4. This wrong order, in turn, is strongly associated with three crucial Avignonese popes: Clement V (r. 1305-20, *CR*, p. 139.Em.691-7), John XXII*(r. 1316-42, *CR*, p. 139.Em.698-708) and Clement VI (r. 1342-6, *CR*, p. 139.Em.709-16).

After Clement V's translation of the papal see to Avignon "mych wondryng was made wheder it bifelle bi Goddis steryng or mannis," (*CR*, p.139.Em.695-7). Not only does this "wondryng" register the controversy regarding the papacy's decision to leave Rome, it also evokes the appeals for divine deliverance in the face of an uncertain present with which Gower concludes his account of "de statu cleri" and the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester," both of which respond to "th'experience" of Avignon:

> "For every man hise oghne werkes
> Schal bere, and thus as of the clerkes
> The goode men ben to comende,
> And alle these othre God amende. (*CA*, P.491-4)
>
> "God mai amende it, whan He wile
> I can therto non other skile," (*CA*, II.3495-6).

The last two passages of the *Lollard Chronicle* address this experience directly and in terms which speak to Gower's concerns. For example, the *Lollard Chronicle*'s declaration that John XXII* proscribed pluralism so as to increase the number of benefices that reverted to the papacy (*CR*, p. 139.Em.699-701) mirrors the self-dealing "eschange" for which Gower relentlessly critiques the clerics "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."[27] If Clement V's translation of the curia led some to

[27] I concur with Embree's interpretation of "first frutis of oþer benefice voydng bi deeþ or bi resignnyng or bi translacioun" as a garbled and confused reference to papal annates (*CR*, p. 244, n. Em.698-706.

"wonder" about the operations of history, John's commercialization of the papacy certainly only fed the rising tide of discontent.[28]

Clement VI, in turn, embodies both the height of the Avignon papacy's cultural achievements and the low-point of its moral authority:[29]

> "Also Pope Clement þe VI, a noble mane of lettoure, but of largist wastinng, in so mych that he ȝafe all dingnitees of chirchis voiding in Englond to his cardinalle and enstorid to sett new titles for hem. For what cause King Edward þe III of Englond defended. In þe ȝere of grace 1304, [he] made voide or distroide such prouysyouns by þe pope, & forbade, vndire peyne of presonyng & lesyng of heed, þat no man from henceforth schuld bryng such provisions." (*CR*, p.139.Em.709-16)

In response to the rapid increase of papal demands and the equally rapid explosion of military expenses, King and Parliament join to bar England from papal jurisdiction (*CR*, p. 139.Em.712-6). And on this note, the *Lollard Chronicle* concludes its history. It is a fitting end to conclude for a "Lollard" chronicle of Rome. The strongest weapons in the papal arsenal were excommunication and interdict. Essentially, these two measures ejected individuals and groups of persons from Christendom. Conversely, the Statute of Provisors (as well as the related Statute of Praemunire) sought to render large swathes of English life exterior to Roman jurisdiction.[30] The *Lollard Chronicle* then directs our attention back towards 1303/4: "Edward III," who was born in 1313 and became king in 1327, could hardly have passed laws against papal provision in "1304," (*CR*, p. 139.Em.713).

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[28] Note also the link between John XXII and prophetic discourses surrounding the mendicant crisis, see: Patrick Nold, *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy*, (Oxford: OUP, 2003) and Gabrielle Gonzales, "The King of Locusts Who Destroyed the Poverty of Christ: Pope John XXII, Marsilius of Padua, and the Franciscan Question," in *The World of Marsilus de Padua*, ed. Gerson Morenao-Riaño (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 65-88.

[29] On Clement VI see Rollo-Koster (2015), pp. 69-86.

[30] On the issue of papal provision, see Chapter 1, pp. 53-6.

Again, this could just be a mistake. And yet, if we return to the *Lollard Chronicle*'s version of 1303/4, we find ourselves traversing familiar terrain.

Immediately prior to the *Lollard Chronicle*'s account of Benedict IX*, the *Lollard Chronicle* records a tax hike that Celestine V's predecessor, Pope Nicholas IV, levied on the English church (*CR*, p. 138.Em.656-8). Following on Em's earlier discussions of clerical taxation, this conforms to the *Lollard Chronicle*'s initial discursive nexus regarding Anglo-Papal relations: taxation. Then, immediately after the account of Benedict IX*, the *Lollard Chronicle* relates the story of Robert Grosseteste's dispute with Innocent IV spuriously dating these events to 1304.[31] Grosseteste, however exemplifies precisely the problem we have set out to resolve. While Robert Grosseteste was tremendously popular with Wycliffite writers, he was also, in W.A. Pantin's analysis, "probably the most fervent and thorough-going papalist among medieval English writers."[32] Or, in other words, Gower's seemingly Wycliffite positions are, from one perspective, no more or less contradictory than Wyclif's own embrace of Grosseteste.

After Grossteste, the *LC*2 reminds readers to recall Boniface VIII and his conflict with Philip IV before immediately pivoting to a local proxy war in that larger conflict. Needing money to fund his Scottish Wars, Edward turned to the English church and demanded a series of subsidies

[31]For details on this dispute see Chapter 3, pp. 167-70.

[32] W.A. Pantin, "Grossesteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown," in *Robert Grosseteste. Scholar and Bishop. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. D.A. Callus (Oxford: OUP, 1955), p. 183. For more Wyclif's relationship to Grossesteste see: Luscombe (1987), pp. 233-44. On Robert Grosseteste's politics in general see: James R. Ginther, "A Scholastic Idea of the Church: Robert Grosseteste's exposition of Psalm 86," in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littériare du Moyen Age*, 66(1999) pp. 49-72 and "The ecclesiology of Robert Grosseteste: a survey of some relevant texts" in *Scintilla* 8(1991) pp. 25-44; Joseph Goering, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle O.P.*, eds. Jacquline Brown and William Stoneman, (South Bend: Notra Dame UP, 1997), pp. 253-76.

between 1294-7.[33] The papal response was swift and Boniface's bull *Clericis laicos* proscribed clerical adherence to royal demands.[34] Edward, in turn, treated *Clericis* as a declaration of war and outlawed all who would obey it.[35] Caught between a rock and a hard place, Robert Winchelsey (c. 1245-1313), Archbishop of Canterbury, advised English clergy to heed their own consciences regarding the matter. Em's presentation of these events, however, casts Winchelsey as a pathetic papal quisling whose efforts incite clerical resistance to royal demands only pushed the English clergy into the arms of their king (*CR*, pp. 138.Em.684-139.Em.690). Then, having dispensed with Boniface VIII's successor, Benedict IX*, thirty lines earlier, the *Lollard Chronicle* is free to transition directly from the dispute between Edward and Winchelsey/Boniface to Clement V's abdication of Rome thereby evoking the moment Gower's Boniface was "ladden into France," the dawn of the "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." Gower, it seems, agreed with *Lollard Chronicle* regarding the legacy of Boniface VIII. This does not, however, mean that Gower adopted a fundamentally Wycliffite position towards the church. Different doctors treat the same illness in different ways and comparing Gower's "solution," the "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" to the *Lollard Chronicle*, in turn, begins to suggest the difference between Lollard ecclesiology and Gower's would be "phisique" (*CA*, II.3163).

Imagining an End: Constantinian "charité," Confessor's "phisique," and Amans' "Schrift"

Christendom was broken "At Avynoun," according to the Prologue (*CA*, P.331), when the papacy was—after Boniface's fall—"ladden in France" (*CA*, II.3025). To go back to the beginning

[33] For details on the financial relationship between England and the Papacy see Lunt, (1962).

[34] For a modern translation of *Clericis laicos* as well as some contemporary responses see: *Crisis* pp. 172-9.

[35] Prestwich, (1997) pp. 401-35.

was to return to the moment of its inception, the moment when Sylvester came down the "Mont of Celion," entered Rome, and converted the Emperor. This is the moment Gower has been striving for. The "daies of olde" (*CA*, P.193) from which he wishes to re-start Christian history so as to reunite Christendom. Stripped bare, Constantine enters the font "al naked up to the chinne" (II.3450). His nudity forces attention to his body and his humanity, but the mysterious "liht" (II.3452) that shines on him illuminates his institutional body. As the leprous skin falls from his body like "fisshes skales" (II.3456), Constantine—cleansed of his illness—resumes his institutional role. He immediately dispatches letters ordering the conversion and baptism of his subjects, "up peine of deth" (II.3469). With the support of his mother, Helen, Constantine forces a top-down Christianity on Rome. The era of *ecclesia primitiva*, the "compaignie" of Christians living simply on the fringes of the city, comes to a close as the Empire, following Constantine's conversion, co-opts charity and pity. What Gower seems to suggest, at this moment, is that the church, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," needs a new Constantine. Gower's tale, however, does not end on a note of reconciliation. Rather, it unravels in such a spectacular fashion that it leaves the poet speechless (*CA*, II.3490-6). Constantine, the ostensible savior of Christendom, appears to be revealed as its original oppressor: that which was to be a new "phisique" turns out to be the same old "venym." Or does it?

Higden's account of Constantine exemplifies his aggregational impulse as it collates a wide range of sources into a sprawling narrative of Constantine's rise, conversion, reign, and immediate legacy (*PRH*, 5, pp. 114-151). Within this vast, and often contradictory chapter, Higden's account of the prophecy would seem to indict Constantine rather harshly:

> From þat tyme forþward [for] [bycause of the grete] þe richesse þat þe chirche of Rome hadde he was i-made þe more [seculer and hadde more] seculer [bysynesse] þan spiritual devocioun, and more boost wiþ outward þan holynesse wi ynne, as me troweþ. Þerfor it is i-write þat whann Constantyn hadde i-made þat ȝift to chirches, þan þe olde ememy cryde openliche in þe ayer, "Þis day is venym i-hilde and i-schad in holy chirche." Þerfor Ierom in vitis patrum seiþ, "Seþþe holy chirche encresede in possessiouns it haþ decresed as in virtuesm." (*PRH*, 5, 130-1)

On the surface, Higden seems damning: the truth of the prophecy is confirmed both by personal experience and Patristic authority. To that end, the *Lollard Chronicle* carries this passage over to its own chronicle almost verbatim:

> "For þat tyme, þe Chirche of Rome bigan to be more ryche & gate more of seculer bisenesse & and subiecciouⁿ þan of gostly deuocion, more of vttermore boost of prid þan of þynner blessing of richessis.
> Therefor an aungel cried in þe eyre, "This opyn ȝyft maad bi Constantyn today is venym sched in the Chirch of God."
> Whereof Seynt Ierom wrote in *Vitas Patrum*, "Sith þe Chirch encresside in possessiouns, it decreside in vertues."" (*CR*, p. 117.Em.17-23).

The *Lollard Chronicle*, however, both alters the precise details of the passage and shifts its context. It exchanges the voice of the devil, Higden's "hostis antiquus," for an angelic voice. Then it inserts Constantine into the body of the prophecy itself. Together, these two changes subtly alter the tone of the prophecy such that it no longer laments a historical tragedy but rather indicts a particular person. The *Lollard Chronicle* eschews Higden's apparatus: "*Giraldus, ubi supra*." Just as with the prophecy about Boniface, Higden presents this prophecy third hand. He found it in Gerald of Wales who, in turn, reports that "Proinde…legitur" [Therefore…it is read]. The radical potential of Higden's version of this prophecy is tempered via the rhetorical distance afforded by the compilational logic of the *Polychronicon*. Higden recounts this prophecy not because he believes it to be true but because it is said to be part of the received historical record(s) pertaining to Constantine's life and legacy.

The *Lollard Chronicle*, however, brackets this passage in an explicitly Lollard context which focuses on the hierarchical stakes of Constantine's gift:[36]

[36] Note, however, that Embree's claim that Em.22-3 derive from the Wycliffite tract "The Clergy May Not Hold Property" is clearly wrong as Em rather obviously carried this passage over from Higden. The same is true of Em.24-6 which Embree suggests that Em took directly from the *Legenda Aura*.

> "Constantyn ordyned þat Bischope of Rome schuld be hiȝest of all bischopis and assigned the tenþe parte of the possessiouns to chirches…[And] þis priuelege to þe Bischop of Rome: þat as emperor is souereyn aboue oþere kingis, so þe Bischop of Rome is souereyn aboue oþere bischopis." (*CR*, p.117.Em.14-16, 23-6).[37]

While both of these passages are based on the *Polychronicon*, the *Lollard Chronicle* takes great liberties with the context of each. Regarding the first, "Constantyn…chirches," Higden, following "*De Legenda Silvestri*," states that "he graunteded to chirches freedom and priveleges, and ordeyneded þat þe bishop of Rome schulde be hiȝest of alle bisshoppes; and ȝaf þe tenþe del of al his possessioun to churches," (*PRH*, 5, pp. 128-9). These statements, however, are part of a much longer sentence which casts the emperor in a far better light:

> Þan whan Constantyn was i-creistened he made prisouns i-oponed, and temples of mawmettes destroyed, and chirche dores i-sette up; old chirches he mended, and new churches he bulde**;** he graunteded…to churches, at þe repayrynge of Seynt Petres chirche he wente to wiþ a mattok, and opened first þe erþe, and bare cley to þe work on his schuldres. (*PRH*, 5, pp. 128-31)

In this context, Constantine's gift is part of a much larger concatenation of clauses that imagines the emperor in quasi-messianic terms that date back to Eusebius of Caesarea.[38] Regarding the *Lollard Chronicle*'s parting shot, "[And]…bischopis," Higden follows Gerald of Wales in figuring the elevation of Rome and the papacy as a prelude to the first Nicaean Council (325) (*PRH*, 5, pp. 140-1). As such, Higden implies that the elevation of Rome was necessary to defend the integrity of the church against the original Arius. The *Lollard Chronicle*, conversely, strips Higden's account of Roman primacy of its context so as to emphasize the departure from rather than the protection of Apostolic tradition. While the *Lollard Chronicle* is clearly concerned by ecclesiastical wealth, the primary issue at stake is lordship or *dominium* and, thus, hierarchy. For the *Lollard Chronicle*, Constantine's gift

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[37] On tax as an assertion of hierarchical prerogative, Chapter 2, p. 131.

[38] On Eusebius and Constantine see Chapter 2, pp. 74-6.

reformed the church in a particularly disastrous fashion. To that end, the *Lollard Chronicle* cries out for reform: "God for his mercy bryng his peple to his ordinaunce. Amen." (*CR*, p. 139.Em.717).

Gower's account is clearly not as radical as the *Lollard Chronicle*. Gower affirms the goodness of Constantine's intent: "Bot how so that his will was good / Toward the pope and his franchise, /Yit hath it proved other wise," (*CA*, II.3482-4). The voice which cries at the end of Book II is neither angelic nor demonic—in fact, it is completely disembodied: "A vois was herd on hih the lifte," (*CA*, II.3488). Just as Higden distanced himself from this "vois," so too Gower ascribes the prophecy to another "cronique," (*CA*, II.3486). Unlike either Higden or the *Lollard Chronicle*, however, Gower imagines the stakes of the prophecy by describing its immediate effects: "al Rome was adrad," (*CA*, II.3489). And, in Gower's exemplary mode, when Rome trembled, the world shook with terror.[39] Terror is the dominant emotion at the end of Book II and Gower's principle divergence from both Higden and the *Lollard Chronicle*. Where Higden calmly compiled and the *Lollard Chronicle* bristled with hostility, the *Confessio* grieves and fears.

The emotional distance between the *Confessio*'s representation of the Roman church and Lollard representations of the papacy bespeaks the disparity between Gower's general conclusion regarding the Schism in the Prologue—that it was "Rewe unto ous alle," (*CA*, P.339)—and Wyclif's almost gleeful view of the crisis as a providential vindication of his own position.[40] Gower wanted to restore rather than transform Christendom. Wyclif proposed disendowment as a solution to the Schism, but Gower, at the end of Book II, still holds out hope that "charité mai helpe a man /To bothe worldes," (*CA*, II.3498-9). These two worlds, in turn, evoke the baptism that "hath him [Constantine] clensed bothe tuo, /The bodi and the soule also," (*CA*, II.3463-4). Given the double

[39] Paravicini-Bagliani, p. 6-7.

[40] Wyclif, "De Potestate Pape," p. 248.

nature of Constantine's conversion, its personal and institutional stakes, Genius' "bothe worldes" must also be understood to invoke the double fall of Gower's Rome, the division that mars the town—and all it stands form—"Noght only of the temporal /Bot of the spirital also," (*CA*, P.854-5).

In response, Amans promises to "Eschuie Envie," (*CA*, II.3512), to pursue his own personal integration, and to participate in Gower's own project of political and poetic renewal. He does not, however, promise to pursue the "vertu sovereine" of charity. Rather, he exhorts Confessor to:

> "Gif me my penance er I go.
> And over that to mi matiere
> Of schrifte, why we sitten hiere
> In priveté betwen ous tweie,
> Now axeth what ther is, I preie." (*CA*, II.3514-8).

Amans' ambiguous response—the promise to avoid the vice which broke the church, the hesitance to embrace virtues that may in fact conceal vices, and the call for direct negotiation "In priveté betwen ous tweie"—anticipates the form and the shape, if not the specifics of the movement that would, in the fifteenth-century, end the Schism.

In many ways, Book II's despair regarding the regenerative capacity of poetry, at least with reference to the church, evokes to the anxieties that plagued efforts to end the Schism in the 1380-90's. The mechanics for ending the Schism, clerics and lawyers worried, might open up a can of worms, so to speak, that would result in the dissolution of the church as a universal institution. How, they fretted, does one dispose of one, two, or three popes without destroying the office itself and by extension the idea of a universal Christendom? This fear grew especially acute between 1389 and 1394. In 1389, Urban VI died and was replaced by Boniface IX. Then, in 1394, Clement's death was followed by the swift election of Benedict XII. In both cases, the English and French were disappointed with the speed at which the respective cardinals moved to replace their now dead pontiffs as the elections of Boniface IX and Benedict XII both dashed hopes for an immediate,

'natural' end to the Schism and suggested that both curiae were willing to carry on indefinitely.[41] Twice, then, while writing and revising the *Confessio*, Gower saw a chance for a resolution of the Schism, and twice Gower watched the Roman and Avigonese cardinals cling to the "form of lawe" and thus perpetuate the Schism by electing new popes. Just as with Constantine's gift, the cure became the disease and the very nature of the structures designed to ensure the unity of Christendom only calcified division. At the same time however, it was the crushing experience of the 1380's and early 1390s that, according to Harvey, first led the English to "trouble their consciences about peaceful ways to end Schism."[42] Of those troubled English persons, one is of particular interest with reference to Gower: Nicholas Fakenham.

In 1395, Fakenham, an Oxford Franciscan close to Richard II, produced two *quaestiones* addressing the Schism. One addressed "possible remedies for the schism, while the other discussed princely involvement in the preliminaries for a general council."[43] In the later, Fakenham asserted that while, as a matter of course, only the pope was invested with the authority to call a general council, extraordinary circumstances called for extraordinary measures. In such cases, the authority devolved to the College of Cardinals. In the case of the Schism, however, given the complicity of the respective cardinalates, Fakenham concluded that "out of charity (*ex caritate*) it seemed that any member of the church was competent here, with the Emperor particularly envisaged as taking the initiative."[44] The resonances with Gower's line of thought are provocative.[45] First, Fakenham's and

[41] Swanson (1979) p. 90; Harvey, (1983), p. 50.

[42] Harvey (1983), p. 50.

[43] Swanson (1979), p. 109; for an edition of these *questiones* see: Margaret Harvey, "Two quaestiones on the Great Schism by Nicholas Fakenham," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 70(1977) pp. 97–127.

[44] Harvey (1983) p. 57.

Gower's positions proceed from the same two assumptions: a) order and hierarchy must be preserved and b) the events of the 1380s and early 1390s have placed the church in an extraordinary situation that demanded extraordinary measures. Second, they root their prescriptions for the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis" in "charité." Amans, at the end of Book II, embraces the charitable negotiation of "schrift" rather than charity itself as the solution to Envy. While "Tale of Constantine and Sylvester" demonstrated the insufficiency of charity as an end, Gower leaves open another possibility: charity as a mode, a "vertu sovereine" that regulates the necessary commerce between "bothe worldes." To that end, Amans' "schrifte" evokes a type of penitential participation in the economy of salvation that avoids the invidious "eschange" of the Prologue.

Instead than establishing a rigid binary, "Charity : Envy," and mapping it onto another binary, ""Daies olde" : "Tempore Roberti Gibonnensis,"" Gower suggests an alternative mode wherein solutions proceed from rather than conclude with charity. In this mode, secular lords can, when necessary, correct the church without compromising the hierarchical structure Gower clearly values. To reach this point, however, Gower—like Fakenham—believes all other options must be exhausted. And this is precisely what the *Confessio*'s representation of the church achieves: first, in "de statu cleri," Gower rejects two 'external' solutions—disendowment and 'the way of force,' (i.e. Despenser's Crusade)—then, in the "Dream of Nebuchadnezzar" portion of the Prologue and Book II, he historicizes the crisis so as to demonstrate the impossibility of the only pre-1390s 'internal' solution: 'the way of compromise.' Only once the church is placed *in extremis* are other solutions possible. In essence, Gower offers a penitential reading of the church and its history which, he hopes, will create space for a meeting "betwen ous tweie" wherein "ous tweie" can stand in for any number of the binary pairs whose division Gower has traced. In no way does Gower wish to destroy

[45] I am not positing a causal connection between Fakenham and Gower, rather I suggest they embody a general turn in English thinking about the Schism.

the vision of Christendom as the integration of "bothe worldes." Nor does he attempt to lock his different discussions of the church in paratactically sealed boxes. In fact, the *Confessio* is not trying to fix the church at all. Rather, it is trying to imagine Christendom into a place from which the dialectical project of charitable reconciliation can begin.

"In Praise of Peace" and Conciliar Poetics

The second half of the 1390s changed Gower's outlook on the Schism. English men and women gradually concluded that it was "no longer possible to merely assume that the other side was in the wrong and wait for God (or a crusade) to give one side victory."[46] A political solution was needed.[47] Then, in 1399, Henry Bolingbrook deposed Richard II. While the Henrician revolution looms large in critical accounts of Gower's political and poetic imagination, the rise of Concilarism does not.[48] Nevertheless, these two events informed each other. At the most basic level, resolutions to the Schism and Henry's rise required the negotiation of a sovereign from whom there was, in theory, no appeal. As such, clerics laboring to end the Schism and Lancastrain partisans faced the same dilemma: how do you replace the head without destroying the body.

In November of 1395, just a few months after completing his *quaestiones*, Richard II called on Fakenham to respond to a French proposal for ending the schism *via cessionis* (the way of resignation).[49] In the course of assessing and responding to this proposal, Fakenham addressed "the deadlock produced by the equal weight of arguments [for each pope]" in a novel way: *epieikeia* or

[46] Harvey (1983) p. 102.
[47] Harvey (1983) p.130.

[48] On the imaginative ramifications of the Lancastrian revolt see Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998).

[49] Swanson (1973) p. 109.

"equity."[50] In Fakenham's mind, this solution provided firm grounds for secular authorities to force the resignation of one or both popes without rendering the office of the papacy inferior to the royal office(s). This solution, he thought, might achieve unity *and* preserve hierarchy. Although Fakenham's *Determinatio de schismate* did not result in an immediate breakthrough, it reflected the shift in English attitudes towards the Schism in favor of a negotiated, conciliar solution. One of the anchors of this theory was, as Brian Tierny has shown, a question of consent rooted in the incorpational fabric of the medieval church, the *corpus mysticum*.[51] From at least 1386 onwards, "the very foundations of Lancastrian political language, therefore, were" according to Sebastian Sobecki, "erected on the principle of consensual rule and institutionalized counsel."[52] While, as Sobecki has shown, the English chancery did not embrace the particular language of *epieikeia*, until the second half of the fifteenth-century, the idea of equity permeated Henrician discourses of legitimacy and consent.[53] Perhaps, then, it was the symmetry between the inchoate conciliar theories and the Lancastrian language of consent that motivated Gower to return to the Schism one last time.

"In Praise of Peace" was Gower's last significant poem. In it, the aging poet urges the young Henry IV to pursue a path of peace with France.[54] By 1399, however, the Schism had become a

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[50] Swanson (1973) pp. 110-1; Harvey (1983) p. 65.

[51] Tierney (1955).

[52] Sebastian Sobecki, *Unwritten Verities: The Making of England's Vernacular Legal Culture, 1463-1549*, (South Bend: UND P, 2015): p. 87.

[53] Sobecki (2015): pp. 70-101, esp. pp. 83-5.

[54] On Gower and the peace movement in general see Yeager (1987). For a powerful reinterpretation of the sole surviving witness of *PP*, the Trentham Manuscript (London, British Library, Additional MS 59495), with particular reference to Gower's perspective on Anglo-French political and linguistic relationship c. 1400 see Sebastian Sobecki, "*Ecce patet tensus*: The Trentham Manuscript, *In Praise of Peace*, and John Gower's Autograph Hand," in *Speculum*, 90.4(2015) pp. 925-59.

major sticking point in negotiations to end the Hundred Years' War.[55] Prior to the Schism, the papacy had at least pretended to mediate international disputes, but after the breach each pope insisted that any Anglo-French peace settlement be predicated on a favorable resolution to the Schism.[56] Resolving this gridlock required redefining the nature of papal power so as to facilitate the removal of a pope without compromising the universality embodied by the office.[57] "In Praise of Peace" embraces a Fakenham-esq position wherein he urges Henry IV to "sette ek the rightful pope upon his stalle" (PP.383).[58] From one perspective, Gower's exhortations for Henry IV to work towards a resolution of the Schism might be seen as nothing more than a formulaic or generic platitude. Nevertheless, when considered in light of its wider context, Gower's tacit admission of the impossibility of an internal or natural resolution to the Schism, and thus the necessity of royal intervention, maps on to critical accounts of English attitudes towards the Schism c. 1378-1400. While Gower does not explicitly mention the possibility of an ecumenical counsel to address the Schism, his exhortation of Henry IV to restore the Church by joining with other kings (PP.380) in

[55] Fisher (1964): p. 133; Likewise, consider the English magnate John of Gaunt's (1340-1399) blunt assertion to the French jurist Honoré Bonet (1340-1410) during the peace negotiations between England and France encapsulating the crippling interconnectedness of the Schism and the Hundred Years War: "I am telling you that when peace is made between our kings there will be one pope, not before," Sumption, (2011), p. 822.

[56] See, for example, Gower's lament over the papacy's failure to make peace between England and France in *MO*.18697-709.

[57] For a concise and readable account of the complex and closely related problem of papal abdication see Eastman (1990); see also Paravicini-Bagliani, (2000) pp. 218-9 for a short discussion regarding the ways in which Celestine's abdication drove Boniface VIII to "self-legitimate" his papacy.

[58] All citations of "In Praise of Peace" are from John Gower, *The Minor Latin Works and "In Praise of Peace,"* ed. and tr. R.F. Yeager and Michael Livingston, (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 2005).

ending the Schism aligns with Fakenham's determination regarding extraordinary measures.[59] In essence, all Gower asked Henry to do was to apply the same discourses of consent and council by which he authorized his own rule to the problem of the Schism. Far from imagining a subordinate church, Gower exhorts Henry to affirm and protect the hierarchical order of Christendom, the *corpus mysticum*, in precisely the same way as he (supposedly) affirmed and protected the English body politic. This could hardly be a more conservative position. In fact, it would seem to align neatly with James Simpsons' prevailing view of Gower's politics as consistently "consensual and constitutionalist."[60] For Simpson, however, this characteristically Gowerian view of politics emerges from his engagement with the sciences as mediated by Alan of Lille. To that end, Simpson traces an essentially secular arc. What I want to suggest is that Gower's "consensual and constitutionalist" politics may in fact have emerged from his lifelong engagement with the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."

One of the problems with isolating Gower's representation of the Schism is his persistent re-use of sources across the *Mirour*, *Vox*, and *Confessio*. Given that the position of these materials in the *Mirour* suggests they predate the Schism, scholars resist associating Gower's later recyclings of these passages with the crisis. Yet, as we have seen, Gower historicizes the Schism so as to collapse "th'expience" of "Avynoun" into the "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis. Many of the pre-1378 sources he draws on were themselves responses to Boniface VIII and his legacy. From this perspective, the

[59] Oakley, 3, chapters 6-7, "The Politics of Consent (i) and (ii): *politia saecularis* and *politia ecclesiastica*," pp. 172-329; NB: it seems that Gower's position in "In Praise of Peace" constitutes an implicit revision of the former's condemnation of academic debate regarding "the Pope and his astat" c. *CA*, P.371.

[60] James Simpson, *Sciences and the Self: Alan of Lille's* Anticlaudianus *and John Gower's* Confessio Amantis, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p. 284. On 'Lancastrian Concilarism' in general, see: Sobecki (2015) pp. 70-101, esp. pp. 83-5.

negotiation of the Schism is one of the major through-lines uniting Gower's *oeuvre*. Likewise, we might also wonder if Gower's views of kingship were a function of his view of the church rather than other way around.

Conclusions

For Gower, poetry and politics went hand in hand; reforming the English aesthetic imagination was crucial to repairing the social fabric of the nation.[61] The Schism posed a serious challenge to these efforts because it compromised the integrity of the wider cultural forms through which Gower sought to heal England. In fact, the Schism may have helped direct his energy towards English literature.[62] In 1378, when the Schism began, Gower was writing in French and Latin. The Schism shattered Roman, or *Latin*, Christendom. It deepened hostilities between England and France, thereby feeding the inchoate nationalism that fueled the development of the nascent nation-states.[63] In the *Confessio*, Gower describes his poem as a "bok for Engelondes sake" (*CA*.P.24) and explains that he writes in English so as to reach as many people as possible (*CA*.P.22-5). While Gower would continue to write shorter poems in Latin until his death in 1408, the linguistic trajectory of his major works, the *Mirour,* the *Vox*, the *Confessio*, and "In Praise of Peace," resonates those text's representation of the Schism.

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[61] On Gower's amelioratory intent see R.F. Yeager, *John Gower's Poetic: The Search for the New Arion*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990).

[62] On Gower's use of English and French see: R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's French and his Readers," In *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500*, eds. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Caroline Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, Linne R. Mooney, Ad Putter, and David Trotter, (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 135-45.

[63] On the literature of nationalism in medieval England see: *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*, ed. Kathy Lavezzo, (Minneapolis: UMP, 2004) and Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2013).

The Council of Constance was the first time that the nations of Europe gathered to vote as nations. The great irony of this decision was that it ensured that a council assembled to restore the unity of Christendom actually accelerated the re-organization of Europe as a collection of sovereign nation-states.[64] In hindsight, the real "schism" was not the divide between Avignon and Rome but rather the degree to which the Schism years witnessed both the end of one master narrative—universal Christiandom—and, in the dawn of another. Or, as Francis J. Oakley's describes the Schism years, "the watershed of modern politics."[65] It was also, I argue, the 'watershed of modern poetics.' Gower lived through this process, it marked his poetry, and it potentially contributed to his decision to focus on *English* poetry in the later part of his career. As such, the Schism occupies a critical place in literary history as well as in political history. Finally, it seems unlikely that Gower was alone in his response to the crisis. A comparison of the images, motifs, topoi, and forms that Gower deployed to address the Schism versus those that appear in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, and their contemporaries would surely cast additional light on the wider influence of the Schism on Middle English literature.

[64] On the literature of Constance see: David Wallace, "Constance" in *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418*; On nationalism and Constance see: Margaret W. Ferguson, "Clerkly Ideas of Nationhood at the Church Council of Constance (1417) and in Other War Time Contexts," in *Dido's Daughters: Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France*, (Chicago: UCP, 2003); pp. 145-52; , J.-P. Genet, "English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 28 (1984), 60–78; Louise R. Loomis, "Nationality at the Council of Constance," *American Historical Review*, 44(1939) pp. 508-27.

[65] Oakley, 3.

Coda

"Into this day:" A Chaucerian Reply

John Gower was not the only English poet to respond to the Schism by returning to the history of the early church. Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* (*SNT*) is also interested in the relationship between the *ecclesia primitiva* and the church "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis."[1] Telling a story about the coming of Christianity to Rome under the direction of Pope Urban I at the very moment that another Pope Urban, Urban VI, claimed to be bringing the church back to Rome, fundamentally associates Chaucer's exploration of the *ecclesia primitiva* with the experience of the Schism.[2] Unlike either Gower or Wyclif, though, Chaucer argues for the *continuity* of Urban I's church and, to paraphrase both Gower and Wyclif, the church 'tempore Urbani nostri.' The *SNT* itself emerges

[1] All citations of the *SNT* are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., Fred Robinson and Larry D. Benson, eds., (Oxford: OUP, 2008)

[2] The case for the relevance of the *SNT* to the Schism was first made by Mary C. Griffin [*Studies on Chaucer and his Audience*: (Quebec: Les Editions 'L'éclair, 1956) pp. 29-48], who argued that Chaucer's tale was intended to celebrate the nomination of the Englishman Adam Easton to the fill the vacancy at St. Cecilia's Church in Trastevere and his elevation to the College of Cardinals. Easton was a principle player in Anglo-Papal relations during the early years of the Schism. John C. Hirsch extended Griffin's arguments in two articles in the *Chaucer Review* ["The Politics of Spirituality: The Second Nun and the Manciple," 12.1(1977) pp. 129-46 and "Chaucer's Roman Tales," 31.1(1995) pp. 45-57] and an article in the *English Language Notes* ["Did Chaucer Visit Rome," 37.4 (2000) pp. 2-8]. Florence H. Ridley's notes to the *SNT* in the 3rd edition of the *Riverside Chaucer* dismiss the Hirsch/Griffin case rather abruptly and without explanation: "the theory that Chaucer modified his sources to reflect English support of Urban and to imply an allegory of the reunion of the church (Hirsch, *Chaucer Review* 12(1977) pp. 129-33) is not convincing." [*Riverside*, p. 945, n. 177]. As will be made clear in the following argument, I roundly concur with both of Ridley's thesis: a) the *SNT* is not a panegyric dedicated to Urban VI and b) it is not an allegory of reunification. I do, however, strongly agree with Griffin's principle recognition of affiliation of the *SNT*'s "Pope Urban" with Urban VI and her instinct to read the tale in light of English experiences of the Schism. I also agree with Hirsch *contra* Ridley that "the connection between this tale and contemporary events is compelling and obvious…and indicates much about Chaucer's attitudes towards the current crisis in the papacy, which had for him other implications as well" ["Politics of Spirituality," p. 56 n. 7]. It is on those "other connections" I wish to dwell.

from the larger Canterbury frame so that, while invested in 'the social,' it tends to resist occasional readings or any other sort of reductive historicism.[3]

During the Schism, the English often signaled their allegiance to Urban VI and their hostility towards Clement VII by referring to the pope as "Urbanus noster,": *our* Urban versus *their* Clement. At the same time, the laws pertaining to citizenship were, as Keechang Kim has argued, shifting from a question of liberty, "how free are you," to the question of allegiance, "are you in or are you out."[4] To invoke *Urbanus noster*, then, was to invoke an allegiance, a vision of incorporation predicated on the question of loyalty or faith. Chaucer, I suggest, sought to exercise a similar hegemony over English poetry. To that end, just as the medieval traditions surrounding the *ecclesia primitiva* and Urban I allowed Chaucer to elucidate a conception of poetry-as-reform, the recent history that clung to the name Urban projected these discourses into an environment ripe for exploitation.

In 1362, Giullaume de Grimoard became Urban V (r. 1362-70).[5] Urban V's papacy was consumed by his attempts to return the papacy to Rome.[6] During the papacy of his predecessor, Innocent VI, Birgitta of Sweden implored the curia to return home in the strongest terms. To her

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[3] Paul Strohm's *Social Chaucer*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989) is the landmark study in this regard.

[4] Keechang Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law: The Origins of Modern Citizenship* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 7-8.

[5] While Rollo-Koster (2015) p. 110 suggests that Grimoard's choice of name evokes the "city on a hill" of Matthew 5:14, this notion does not conflict with the assumption that Grimoard also sought to evoke the legacy of Urban I-II. In fact, it links the reformist concerns associated with those popes to the city of Rome itself. For Urban II, the exemplarity of the church was integrally connected to its apostolic witness. Likewise, insofar as "Rome" could represent the *idea* of Christendom, and the name "Urban" evoked the representational nature of the papal office, his status as the *vicarii Christi*: Rome was to the world as the Pope was to the church as such the Pope might properly be understood to *be* "a city on a hill."

[6] For a concise summary of these efforts see: Rollo-Koster (2015), pp. 109-28.

and many like her "[t]he legitimacy of papal power and of the Catholic church was simply inseparable from Rome."[7] On Urban's part, Rome was central to his largest ambition: reconciliation with the Eastern Church "for only at old Rome could the pope negotiate with new Rome."[8] Urban V entered Rome on 16 October 1367 and then, a year later, Emperor Charles IV joined him.[9] Although Urban returned to Avignon in 1370, his efforts to mend the physical and spiritual fabric of the city resulted in an outpouring of donations from across Europe.[10] Within these revitalized churches, Urban was depicted in series of wall paintings redolent with Constantinian imagery. One painting is particularly interesting. According to Cassiano dal Pozzo's seventeenth-century *Museum Chartaceum*, S. Salvatore delle Corte once contained a painting of a crowned and enthroned Urban holding the icon of Peter and Paul by which Sylvester converted Constantine.[11] Not only does this painting imagine Urban V as a restorer of Rome, it—and others like it—were situated in the heart of Cecilia's old neighborhood: Trastevere.[12] One of these other images was in S. Crisogono, very close to a late fourteenth-century English hospital—or guest house—with ties to Chaucer's circle.[13] Nor was Chaucer's awareness of the discourses surrounding the Schism isolated to the *SNT*.

In the celebrated Prologue to the *Clerk's Tale*, Chaucer introduces "Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete," to his English audience via "Lynyan" who "Enlumyned al Ytaille /…of philosophie

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[7] Falkied (2017), p. 136.

[8] *ODP*, p. 224; In fact, Emperor John Palaeologus ostensibly renounced the Eastern Church. This reconciliation, however, collapsed in the face of Urban's commitment to dismantling the Eastern Church entirely.

[9] *ODP*, p. 224; Falkied (2017), pp. 125-6.

[10] Claudia Bolgia, "Cassiano's Popes Rediscovered: Urban V in Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 65.4 (2002) p. 564-5.
[11] Bolgia, (2002), p. 566.
[12] Bolgia, (2002), p. 574.

[13] Bolgia, (2002), p. 573; Harvey (1999) pp. 77-91.

/Or lawe, or oother art particuler." English audiences were familiar with "Lynyan," argues John P. McCall, precisely because of his roll in the Schism.[14] Legnano's defense of the legitimacy of Urban VI against the claims of Clement VII was so thoroughly and completely adopted by the English theological, academic, and political establishment that they never bothered to write their own defense.[15] When Chaucer likens Petrarch to Legnano he assumes an audience so attuned to the discourse surrounding the Schism that the mere mention of a principle actor or voice suffices to contextualize another author.[16] While scholars have long read the *Clerk's Tale* in relation to Chaucer's Italian experience, they have resisted similar readings of the *SNT*, despite the manifold similarities between the two tales.[17] Chaucer associated the *Second Nun's Tale* with the Schism via the same discourses that animated Gower's poetry but the *SNT* deploys the 'Matter of Christendom' to different ends. In the *SNT*, Chaucer uses the story of St. Cecilia to imagine the possibility of literary history after Christendom. Chaucer's vision of the early church works against the exact idea that Gower sought to locate and retrieve: the *ecclesia primitiva*, Gordon Leff's "myth of the Apostolic Church."[18] Where Gower sought to invoke the idea of the early church so as to reunify a broken whole, Chaucer rewrites the story of Cecilia so as to ensure that his own poetry will be to English literature what the *ecclesia primitiva* was to the church: a generative myth of perpetual reform. For

[14] John P. McCall, "Chaucer and Legnano," *Speculum*, 40.3(1965) p. 487.

[15] McCall (1965), p. 487; For more a more detailed account of the influence of Legnano's *De fletu ecclesie* on English policy and the English case for Urban VI see: Harvey (1983), pp. 28-49.
[16] In this context, it is worth noting that Petrarch was a famous critic of the Avignon papacy, Falkied (2016) pp. 95-120.

[17] Both tales, for example, emerge from Chaucer's Italian experiences, focus on the sufferings of pious woman, and were written in Rhyme Royal.

[18] Leff (1971).

Chaucer, the Schism provided an opportunity to use the 'Matter of Christendom' to imagine the idea of poetry after, outside of, or beyond Christendom.

The last three stanzas of Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* focus on the mechanics of incorporation. The antepenultimate stanza (*SNT*.533-9) begins with the departure of pagan Rome when the Roman prefect Almachius' executioner leaves Cecilia "half deed, with hir nekke ycorven there." As the the persecutors exit, the "Cristen folk, which that aboute hire were" emerge from the shadows, mop up the blood, and convey Cecilia's broken but breathing body to safety. Miraculously, "Thre dayes lyved she [Cecilia] in this torment," during which she "nevere cessed hem the feith to teche /That she hadde fostred; hem she gan to preche." In this stanza, Chaucer presents Christianity in much of the same form as he has throughout the tale: a charismatic community defined by its opposition to the state and grounded in the blood of the martyrs.

By the end of the poem, however, things have changed. In the final stanza (*SNT*.547-53), we find a nascent Christian *polis* governed by the pope and his "deknes." Where the earlier community was dominated by the gory presence of bruised and bloody bodies, the church founded by "Seint Urban" assumes the *absence* of those bodies:

> Seint Urban with his deknes prively
> The body [Cecilia's] fette and buryed it by nyghte
> Among his othere seintes honestly.
> Hir hous the chirche of Seint Cecilie highte;
> Seint Urban halwed it,… (*SNT*.547-551)

The collocation of "Among" and "seintes" in the context of burial immediately evokes Pope Urban's first appearance in the tale during the conversion of Cecilia's husband, Valerian. In order to receive Christian instruction, Cecilia directed Valerian to "Gooth forth to Via Apia," quod shee/ That fro *this toun* ne stant but miles three" (*SNT*.172-3, emphasis mine). Following these directions, she promises, will lead Valerian to Pope Urban "Among the seintes buryeles lotynge" (*SNT*.186). Conversely, Cecilia clearly implies that the house in which she and Valerian converse is *in* "this

toun." While this distinction might seem trivial, the critical consensus is, as Jennifer Summit has stated, that the *SNT* concludes by "signal[ing] the conversion of Rome by bringing the Christian dead to reside among the living."[19] Yet, as we see, this is not how the tale actually concludes. Moreover, this mode of reading obscures the importance of the penultimate stanza (*SNT*.540-6).

This stanza focuses on the transformation of the loose community of Christians in which Cecilia lived and worked into the institutionalized church established by Urban. On the verge of death, Cecilia leaves a double legacy. On one hand, her teaching and life provide the "Cristen folk" with a spiritual anchor. On the other, "hir moebles and hir thyng" endow the church with temporal possesions. Property, in turn, entails politics. While Cecilia "yaf" her wealth to "hem," i.e. "Cristen folk," these possessions are placed under the control of Urban: "And to the Pope Urban bitook hem tho." In fact, Cecilia explicitly charges Urban to convert her spiritual legacy into a temporal institution:

> "…I axed this of hevene kyng,
> To han respit thre dayes and namo
> To recomende to yow, er that I go,
> Thise soules, lo, and that I myghte do werche
> Heere of myn hous perpetuelly a cherche." (*SNT*.542-6).

Where, in the antepenultimate stanza, Cecilia's miraculous survival exemplified her enduring commitment to that "oother place" to which she exhorted her fellow believers to aspire (*SNT*.323), here she claims that God gave her "respit" for the specific purpose of integrating her followers into the intuitional fabric of Urban's church and then rooting that church in "this place," i.e. Rome (*SNT*.238). And Urban does his job: the last line of the poem insists that Cecilia's 'perpetual' church persists "into this day." This church, however, is not a sign of Cecilia's presence but rather of her absence. Far from imbricating the *SNT* in ecclesiological or political discourses, the Prologue

[19] Summit (2000), p. 238.

situates the tale within the moral framework of virtue and vice literature (*SNT*.1-21), Marian devotion (*SNT*.29-77), hagiography (*SNT*.85-119) and a meditation on the merits of literature that unites these three discourses (*SNT*.22-8, 78-84).

From this perspective, the tale and Prologue share a common concern with the act of labor itself rather than the fruits of those labors. Thus, while the *SNT* certainly engages with 'The Matter of Christendom' and associates it with the same crises as Gower, Chaucer deploys these familiar materials in a different fashion and to other ends. 'Moral Gower' hoped that his "New Arion" would transform the English imagination such that it would, in turn, both enable the reconciliation of the divisions plaguing the nation and recover supposedly a lost whole.[20] Conversely, the *SNT* suggests that the 'solution' is precisely that which Gower understood to be the problem: the relationship between "daies olde" and the "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis." Where Gower sought to *reform* the body politic though the reconstruction of an exemplary past, Chaucer imagined a new poetic predicated on the *form*, or shape, of *reform*. To that end, he rooted the *SNT* in a complex negotiation of, in Leff's words, "one of the most powerful and challenging ideas of the later Middle Ages": the *ecclesia primitiva*.[21]

Attested to as early as the fifth-century, Carolingian authors used the term "to signify the ideals of the common and apostolic life." Then, as the church emerged from the 'Saculum Obscurum' of the tenth-century, Hildabrand/Gregory VII's reform party adopted the the term "to promote the ideals of monastic and canonical reform, and so [it] remained associated primarily with the ideal of the common life, either as an end in itself or as a basis for the performance of the office

[20] On Chaucer's mocking epitaph, see Minnis (1983).

[21] Leff (1971), p. 1.

of preaching."[22] Gradually, such usages idealized the term and "associated [it] with the search for the most perfect form of the Christian life." By the twelfth century, however, the term had gone mainstream, exchanged much of its moral force, and became "a historical label used to describe the institutions believed to have existed in the early Church." To that end, its *terminus ante quam* remained flexible. Sometimes, the *ecclesia primativa* was restricted to Christ and his apostles. At other times, it seemed to run up through the end of the Patristic Era. Despite this variety, though, the idea of the *ecclesia primitiva* was gradually understood to imply Constantinian periodization.[23] Given this long history, Leff's late medieval radicals did not so much *invent* the idea of the *ecclesia primitiva* as they *reformed* pre-existing discourses to fit their basic belief about the state of the church. In essence, they transformed the past into the shape that they hoped would, in turn, transform the present into that same shape.

In the *SNT*, the seemingly horizontal community constituted around Cecilia's oratory power evokes the "common life" and "the office of preaching" that characterized the representation of the *ecclesia primitiva* in canon law.[24] In fact, the entire message of Cecilia's preaching is to seek a better, more perfect place or way of life. Nor does this concern seem to be incidental or inadvertent. To return to the spiritual geography of Rome, not only does Chaucer emphasize the distance between Cecilia's grave and church, but he also modifies his source material to subtly emphasize the degree to which the religious topography of Rome reflects the history of *ecclesia primitiva*. In locating the catacombs along the Appian Way definitively three miles from the town in which Cecilia and Valerian are conversing, Chaucer follows both his immediate source for lines 172-3, the *Legenda*

[22] On the Gregorian Reform see Chapter 3, n. 31.
[23] Olson (1967) pp. 85-6.
[24] Olson (1967) traces the development of this tradition in detail.

Aurea, as well as the source he will use for the second half of the tale, an anonymous Franciscan abridgment.[25]

Chaucer deviates from these two sources, however, when it comes to the site of Valerian and Tiburce's martyrdom, the place Almachius commands them to sacrifice to Jupiter. In his source material, this place is clearly *outside* of town, in a *pagus* or "country district."[26] In the *SNT*, however, Chaucer excludes all references to the *pagus*. His presentation of the martyrdoms—and the need for Cecilia to remove the bodies *from* Rome *to* the catacombs (*SNT*.407-9) —also implies that the site of sacrifice/martyrdom has been shifted from the *pagus* to the city. Given Chaucer's extremely close translation of his sources, this omission may not be dismissed as incidental. Chaucer, in his version, locates Roman religion entirely within the city of Rome and leaves the practice of Christianity perched between city and suburbs. This situation, in turn, contrasts sharply with the state of affairs at the start of the tale. In the first stanza, Cecilia is presented as Christian *and* Roman:

> "This mayden bright Cecilie, as hir lif seith,
> Was comen of Romayns and of noble kynde,"
> And from hir cradel up fostred in the feith
> Of Crist, and bar his gospel in hir mynde. (*SNT*.120-3)

In short, as the tale opens Chaucer imagines a Rome in which it is possible, at least in some fashion, to be Christian and Roman. Yet, at the end of the tale, the only thing on which Cecilia is able to agree with her persecutor, the Roman prefect Almachius, is the *impossibility* of any sort of dual citizenship or affiliation.

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[25] On the nature and relationship of Chaucer's two sources for the *SNT* see: Sherry L. Reames, "A Recent Discovery Concerning the Sources of Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*," in *Modern Philology*, 87.4(1990) pp. 337-61.

[26] On Chaucer's sources see Sherry L. Reames, "The Second Nun's Prologue and Tale" in *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. Robert M. Correale (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002) pp. 491-527, esp. p. 513 ln. 160, p. 523 ll. 126, 128-9, and 138.

Almachius' initial question, "What maner womman artow?," raises the question of identity in absolute terms. When Cecilia deflects by claiming that she is a "gentil womman born," Almachius clarifies: "I axe thee," quod he, "though it thee greeve, / Of thy religioun and of thy bileeve" (*SNT*.424-7). While Cecilia manages to confound Almachius with semantics, the prefect eventually puts his demands in the starkest possible terms: "Chees oon of thise two: Do sacrifice, or Cristendom reneye" (*SNT*.458-9). Essentially, Almachius offers Cecilia the choice that, at the beginning of the tale, she put to her husband Valerian: convert or die (*SNT*.152-61). The event which precipitated Cecilia's confrontation of Valerian, which in turn lead to his conversion and, by extension, *all* of the conflict in the story was the question of citizenship vis-à-vis Cecilia's potential participation in the cultural norms of constituent of Roman life: marriage. As such, the *ecclesia primitiva*, the idea of a church characterized by an absolute distinction between *Romanitas* and *Christianitas*, is not the source of Cecilia's sanctity but rather its product. The *SNT* does not so much *recover* the apostolic church of the martyrs as an absolute other, as it *constructs* it as such.

The *SNT* might be read as a vindication of the *ecclesia primitiva*, an example of its transformative force. Yet the *SNT* lacks precisely the sense of historical alterity that Leff defines as the *sine que non* of the *ecclesia primitiva* as a reformist discourse. On the contrary, Chaucer emphasizes the *continuity* of Cecilia's church "into this day." In fact, it is Cecilia's victory over Almachius that both establishes the *ecclesia primitiva* as a model of reform *and* creates the need for that reform. For as one Roman Empire exits, another enters. While Cecilia's bequest to Urban may seem—or even be—less problematic than Constantine's supposed donation, it nevertheless returns Rome to a state similar to that which obtained at the beginning of the tale: a world wherein dual citizenship is possible, where one can be Roman and Christian simultaneously. To that end, Chaucer's Urban is neither the avatar of *ecclesia primitiva* nor an example of a post-Constantinian synthesis of spiritual and temporal constitutive of Christendom but evidence of the dialectal tensions by which those two

poles created each other. "Pope Urban" was uniquely suited to this task because his name evoked a lineage deeply enmeshed in the representation of the relationship between the city of Rome, the idea of reform, and the person of the pope in the age of Schism.

When Odo of Ostia was elected pope in 1088 he signaled his commitment to the reformist agenda of his Gregory VII by taking on the name Urban.[27] While "the actual pontificate of Urban I presents almost a total enigma to modern historian…ready acceptance of a decretal attributed to him in Pseudo-Isidore made Urban appear considerably less enigmatic" to the medieval eye.[28] To Odo and his contemporaries, Urban I was a critical figure in the development of the church as an institution. The Psuedo-Isidorian decretal charts a trajectory familiar to anyone who has read the *SNT*: 'Urban' begins by asserting the historicity of the "common life" with reference to the clergy. Then he traces the "economic transmutation of this community." Initially, all members converted their personal possessions into cash which was then entrusted to the apostles. Nevertheless, he continues, the modern church has decided that it is more useful to keep the property so as to live off the profits rather than depend on largess. Possession, in turn, entails administrative oversight which, for 'Urban,' naturally enjoins the episcopal hierarchy.[29] Mediated by Anselm of Lucca's influential *Collectio canonum* (1083), Psuedo-Urban's decretal "was an important contribution" to Gregory VII and Urban II's efforts "to reorganize and reform the secular clergy though emphasis on the common life and apostolic poverty."[30] Not only was Odo's choice of name linked to his desire to associate himself with the eleventh-century understanding of Urban I, but this very desire bespeaks

[27] Claxton (1967) pp. 489-95; *ODP*, pp. 158-60.

[28] Claxton (1967) p. 490; On the historical Urban I see *ODP*, p. 15; On the influence of Pseudo-Isidore see Oakley, 1, pp. 211-13 and Ullmann (1955), pp. 167-89.

[29] Claxton (1967), pp. 490-1.
[30] Claxton (1967), pp. 492-3; *ODP*, pp. 223-5.

to the discursive shape of the *ecclesia primitiva*: current conditions demand recourse to ancient precedent.

The Urban of the Pseudo-Isidore was transmitted to the latter Middle Ages along a variety of lines. The representation of Urban I in Higden's *Polychronicon* illuminates the degree to which this tradition informs the relationship between the *SNT* and its Prologue.[31] Both the *SNT* and Prologue fixate on work, or what the *SNT* calls "bisynesse." By framing his story of Cecilia as "leveful bisynesse" directed against the "ydlenesse," Chaucer forces attention on both the work he is producing and the work it takes to produce it. The result of this process is to align the poetics of the *SNT*'s Prologue with the politics of the tale itself. Against idleness, the authorities set *fortitudo*. As Sigfried Wenzel has shown, *fortiudo* entered the vernacular as "besynesse."[32] In the *SNT*, Cecilia exemplifies this virtue by remaining busy with the business of sanctity. In fact, *fortitudo*, the capacity to persist in faithful action in the face of persecution, is a prerequisite for sanctity. If a saint did not demonstrate supernatural fortitude, than he or she would not be a saint.

Fortitude, however, is not a virtue exclusive to hagiography or devotional literature. It is a literary virtue as well, best exemplified at the close of *Troilus and Criseyde* in Chaucer's envoy:

> Go, litel bok, go litel myn tragedye
> Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,

[31] He [Urban] ordeynede þat þe offrynges of Cristene men schulde non oþir wyse be y-spend but in use of holy chirche, þat he knowlechede verrailiche his synne, and in help of nedy [Cristen] men, ffor þe beeþ þe avowes of Cristen men andþe prys of synne. In his tyme þe chirche of Rome bygan first to have londes and rentes, and wiþ þe profit þerof he fond notaries and clerkes to write þe lyvynge and dedes of holy seyntes; to forehonde holy chirche lyede as þe apostles, and feng onliche money to þe use of needy Cristen men. Þis is þat Urban þat cristened Valerianus þe spouse of Seint Cecily, and was at þe last i-martred wiþ hem in Aurelius his tyme, (*PRH*, 5, p. 66-9); Higden's account appears to be based on the *Chronicon*, which, in turn, likely draws on the same source as Urban II: Anselm of Lucca, Claxton (1967), pp. 492-3.

[32] Seigfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*, (Chapel Hill: UNCP, 1967), p. 89.

So sende myght to make in som comedye!
But litel book, no makynge thow n'evie
But subgit be to all poesye;
And kis the steppes where as thow seest pace
Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.[33]

Chaucer, at the close of his poem, exhorts the poem itself to remain strong, to persevere in its purpose, and to act virtuously. The poem, once put into the world, is no longer under the control of the poet. Much as Cecilia, Valerian, and Tiburce are only persecuted once they 'publish' their faith, so to speak, it is the publication of the poem and the material conditions of its reception that cause Chaucer anxiety. It may be "mysmetr[d]e for defaute of tonge" or marred by careless scribes like the one figured in his poem to Adam Scriveyn.[34] Or the poet may encounter an adverse reception, such as Chaucer's encounter with God of Love in *The Legend of Good Women*. The poet might be mocked, as we see when the Chaucer pilgrim in *Tale of Sir Thopas* is brutally insulted by Harry Baily. And yet, the poem and poet must persevere if they hope to exist at all.

Notions of "poetry as perpetuation" are hardly novel, but in Chaucer's writing, the persistent reference to the actual labor of making vernacular poems and books is striking.[35] At the close of *Troilus*, Chaucer's litany-like invocation of "Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace" imagines that the poet, like the saint, may supersede death by working well in life. This survival, though, requires ceaseless remediation of both poet and saint. In the *SNT*, Chaucer seeks to situate his own work

[33] *Troilus*, V.1786-92.
[34] *Troilus*, V.1796; On Adam see: Linne R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's Scribe', *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 97–138 and the responses to it: Eric Weiskott, "*Adam Scriveyn* and Chaucer's metrical practice," in *Medium Aevum* 86.1(2017) pp. 147-52; A.S.G. Edwards "Chaucer and "Adam Scriveyn,"" in *Medium Aevum* 81.1(2012), pp. 135-8; Simon Horobin, 'Adam Pinkhurst, Geoffrey Chaucer, and the Hengwrt Manuscript of the Canterbury Tales,' in *The Chaucer Review* 44.4 (2010) pp. 351-67; Alexandra Gillespie, "Reading Chaucer's Words to Adam," and Glending Olson, "Author, Scribe, and Curse: The Genre of "Adam Scriveyn,"" in *The Chaucer Review*, 42.3(2008) pp. 269-83 and 284-97.

[35] See, for example, Curtius (2013), pp. 476-7.

within this genealogy, or history, of remediation, specifically the remediation of St. Cecilia: "both the wordes and sentence / of hym that at the seintes reverence / the storie wroot" (*SNT*.81-3). Chaucer, in the *SNT*, understands this labor as translation. Poets and readers seek to translate the life of Cecilia into their own lives and texts. Much as Chaucer amended, or emended, the tradition of St. Cecilia as he received it, he now exhorts posterity to continue the process of remediation.

In the *SNT* itself, Urban perpetuates Cecilia's memory via the translation of her body and the transformation of her house. Just as Chaucer imagines a poetic future contingent upon labor, so to does Cecilia's church both proceed from her 'ceaseless' busyness and require the continual "servyse" (*SNT*.553) which is, in fact, the last word of the poem. Urban's translation entailed the *absence* of Cecilia's body. At an ecclesiological level, the "eschaunge," in Gower's words, of the saintly body for her material legacy might be seen heralding the end of the *ecclesia primitiva*. And yet, all who read this poem would certainly be aware that, unlike Constantine or Sylvester, Urban was not so far removed from the Apostolic era as to be spared the "palm of martirdom" (*SNT*.274). When, however, we compare Chaucer's Urban to Higden's (*PRH*, 5, 66-9) another possibility emerges.

In Higden's telling, Urban used the profits from the church's new property to fund the production of hagiographic literature. Prior to this time, which Higden explicitly describes as the era of Cecilia and Valerian, the church had "to forehonde holy chirche lyvede as þe apostles, and feng onlich money to þe use of needy Cristen men" (*PRH*, 5, pp. 68-9). After Urban, however, the production of literature is presented as the spiritual or moral equivalent of direct aid to the poor; After Urban, writing can be a good work. At the same time, however, Higden's account of Urban I opens up the possibility that such "holy tales" are not, *pace* Gower, a vehicle of reform, a way to identify with the *ecclesia primitiva* so as to reform the present. Rather, they are the sign of the church which has already conflated the spiritual and the sacred. From this perspective, the *ecclesia primitiva*

would seem to be an entirely discursive entity: a textual tradition predicated on the absence of the apostolic church.

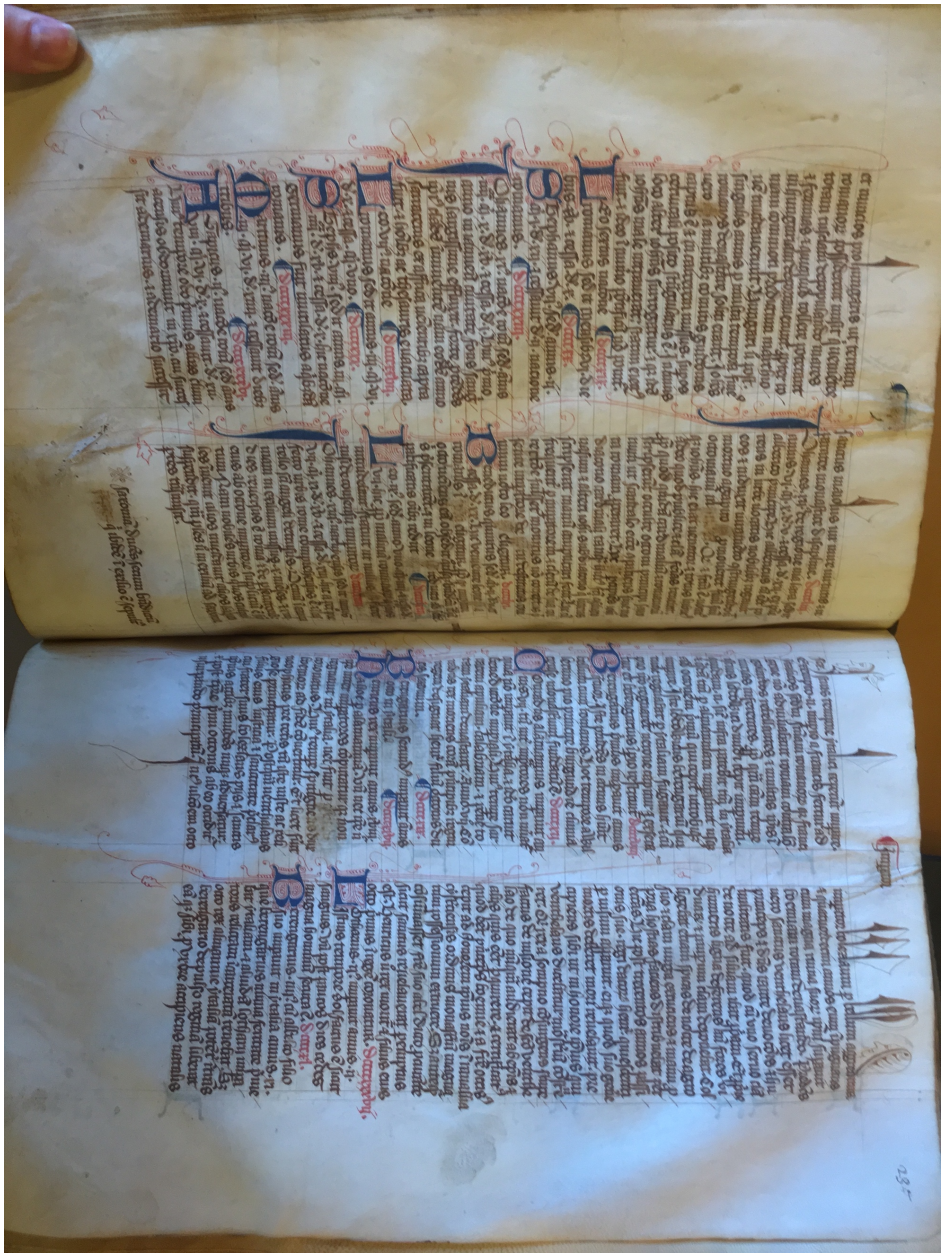
Chaucer embraced this discursive understanding of Urban's life and legacy. Both Chaucer and Urban translate Cecilia's famously recalcitrant body into the highly portable memory of that body: Urban interns Cecilia among the other saints so as to appropriate her liquid assets and Chaucer claims to recover not Cecilia herself but rather the "the wordes and sentence / Of hym that at the seintes reverence / The storie wroot, and folwen hire legende," (*SNT*.81-3). Just as Urban "halwed" Cecilia's house, so to Chaucer abstracts or reifies Cecilia into a metaphor for poetry itself. Like Urban, Chaucer founds his "church" on an absent present so as to imagine a literary history rooted in the dialect of reform. Chaucer figures his poetry as broken or in need of amendment so as to encourage the readerly "servyse" that will, in fact, insure the perpetuation of his verse. In short, he ensures that his own poetry will be to English literature what the *ecclesia primitiva* was to the church: a generative myth of perpetual reform.

More problematically, Chaucer's reification of Cecilia achieves the same thing as Urban's translation: it gets rid of female body and replaces it with an institution ruled by a powerful father. Both Chaucer's poetry and Urban's church embrace the *memory* or *idea* of reform, while actually conforming to the pattern of their own and figuring this "eschaunge" as sacred or poetic labor. To that end, Urban and Chaucer *continue* the work of Almachius. Where Almachius leaves her "half deed, with hir nekke ycorven there," Chaucer and Urban "prively / The body fette and buryed it by nyghte" (*SNT*.533, 547-8). Incorporation into Urban's body politic or Chaucer's body poetic entails a totalizing conception of citizenship based the new understanding of allegiance articulated by Kim. Just as Chaucer imagines his poem paying homage, kissing the feet, of his classical predecessors, so to does the next generation of poets pledge their fealty to 'Father Chaucer.' Chaucer's Italian experience, the Schism included, might have led him to imagine English politics and poetics in

proto-humanistic terms, but his engagement with Roman discourse, "tempore Roberti Gibbonensis," suggests that whatever vision of poetry Chaucer embraced, he figured that embrace in hegemonic, paternalistic terms destined to haunt English literary history as long as Chaucer remained its 'Father,' the ancient example to whom all future poets would claim allegiance.

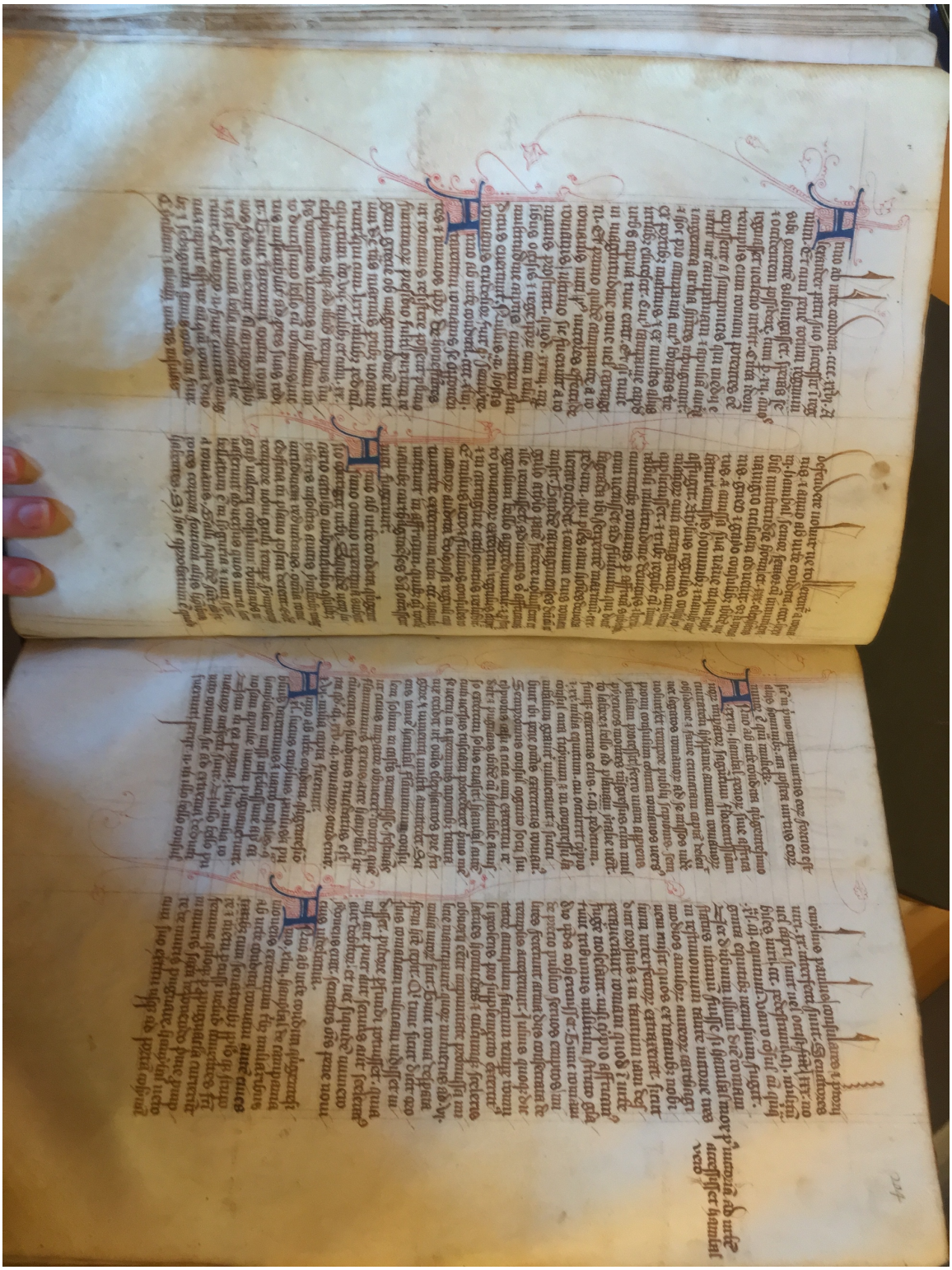
Appendix 1: Images[521]

1.1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 712, ff. 234v/5r

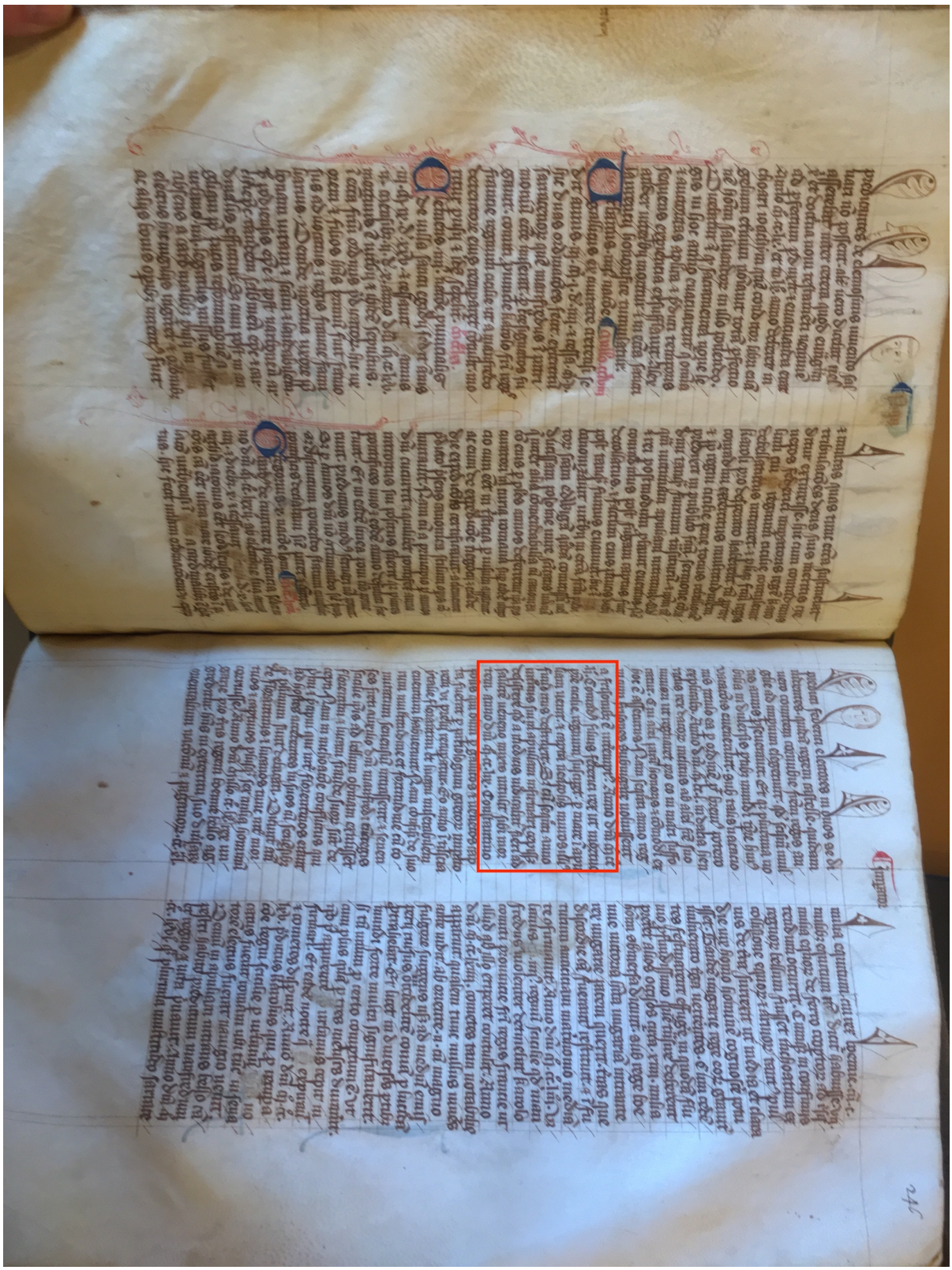


[521] Thank you to Lily Armstrong for providing photos of B.

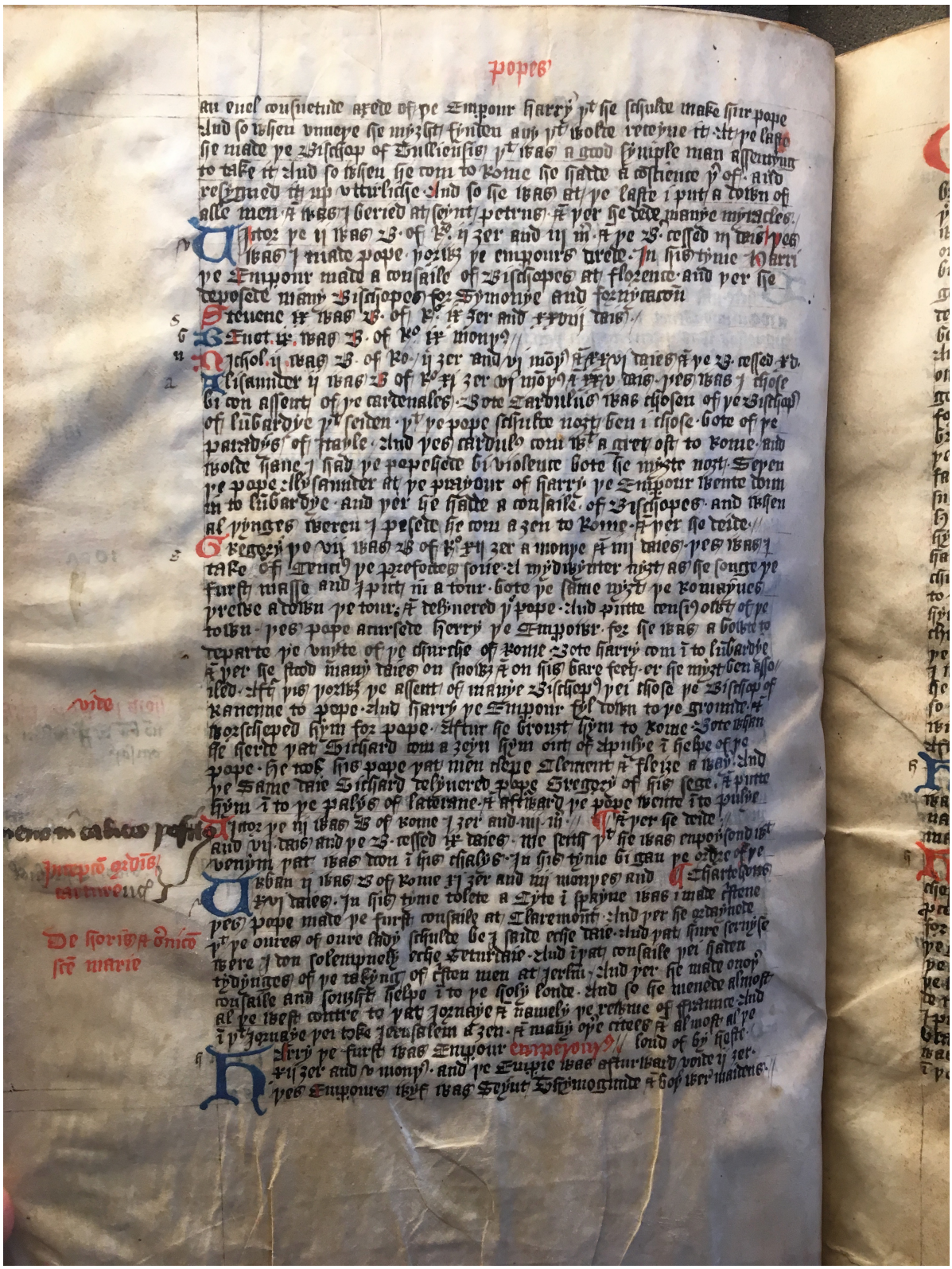
1.2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 712, ff. 203v/4r



1.3: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 712, ff. 245v/6r, Conrad highlighted.

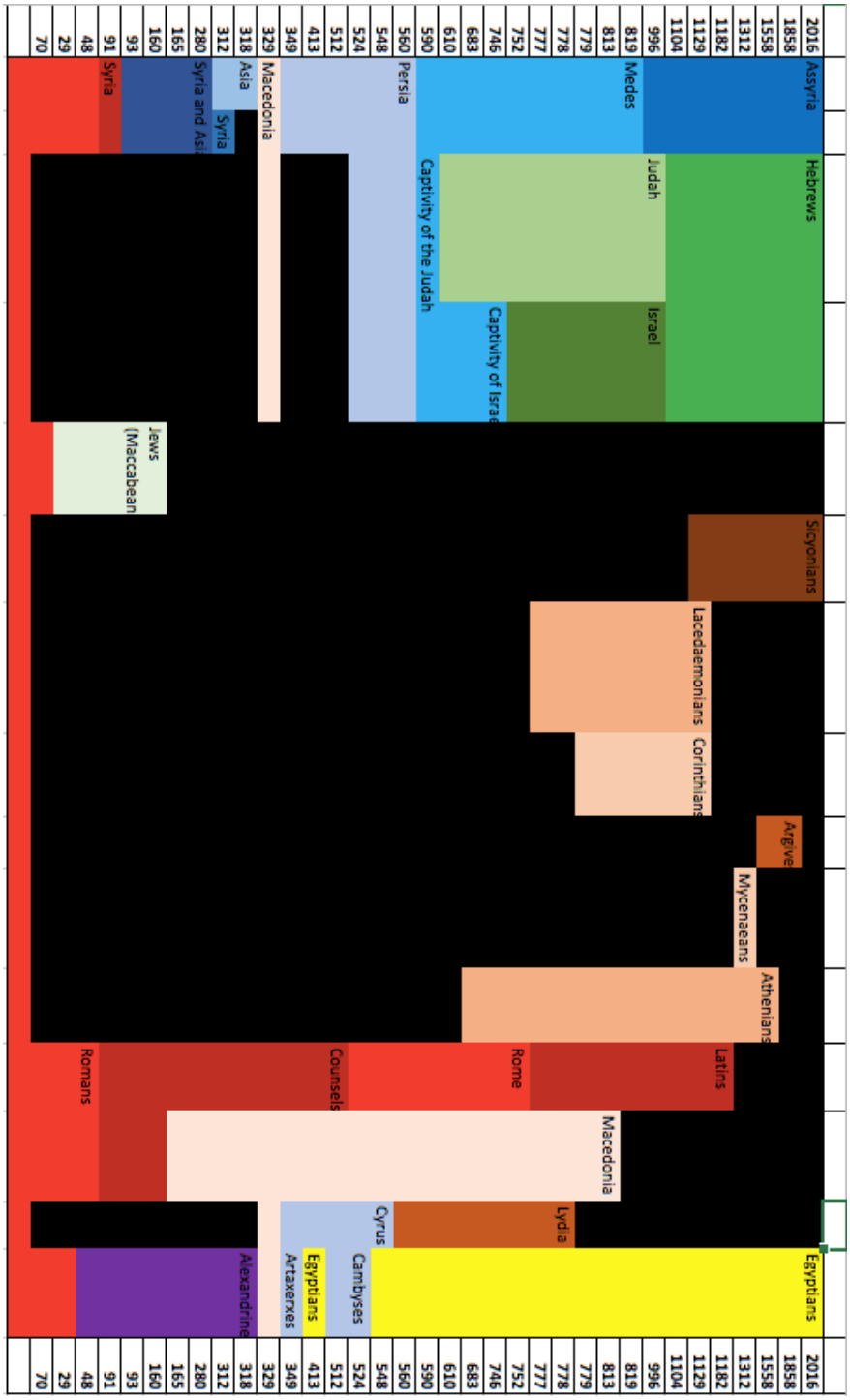


1.4: D, f. 3v



Appendix 2: Charts

2.1: The *Canones cronici* of Eusebius-Jerome



2.2: B, ff. 207v-10r

B	Pope	Years	Emperor	Years
ff. 207v-8r	Jesus (and the Apostles)	c. 1-67 CE	Octavian	1-14 CE
			Tiberius	14-37
ff. 208v-9r				
			Caligula	37-41
			Claudius	41-54
			Nero	54-68
ff. 209v-10r				
	Linus	c. 67-76	Galba	68-9
	Cletus	c. 76-92	Vespasian	69-79
	Clement	c. 88-99	Titus	79-81
			Domitian	81-96

2.3: P, ff. 1r-2v

P	**Biography**	**Years**	***CR* lines**
1r	Jesus	1-67 CE	29.1-31.111
1v	(and the Apostles)		
	Octavian	1-14 CE	32.112-33.155
2r			
	Tiberius	14-37	33.156-73
	Caligula	37-41	33.174-78
	Linus	67-76	33.179-34.194
	Cletus	76-92	34.195-203
	Clement	88-99	34.204-26
	Claudius	41-54	35.227-38
2v			
	Nero	54-68	35.239-61
	Galba	68-9	35.262-3
	Vespasian	69-79	36.264-9
	Titus	79-81	36.270-83

2.4: Running Titles in D

Folio	Running Title	First Rubricated Biography	Intermediate Title
1r	Emperoures	Emperor Otto II	Popes
1v	Popes	Pope Boniface VI	
2r	Popes	Pope Leo VI	
2v	Popes	Pope John XIV	
3r	Popes	Pope John XX	
3v	Popes	Pope Victor II	Emperoures*
4r	Emperoures	Emperor Conrad II	
4v	Emperoures	Emperor Henry V	Popes
5r	Popes	Pope Honorius II	Emperoures
5v	Popes	Pope Eugene III	
6r	Popes	Pope Innocent III	Emperoures
6v	Popes	Pope Gregory IX*	Popes*
7r	Popes	Pope Innocent V	

*NB***:** asterisks (*) signify marginal titles added in a different hand

2.5: Imperial titles in the *Chronicles*

Name	**Reign**	***CR*, ll.**	**Type 1**	**Type 2**	**Type 3**	**N/A**
Octavian	23 BCE-14 CE	p. 32.112	1			
Tiberius	14-37	p. 33.156			1	
Gaius	37-41	p. 33.174		1		
Claudius I	41-54	p. 35.227		1		
Nero	54-68	p. 35.239		1		
Galba and Vitellius	68-9	p. 35.262				1
Vespasian	69-79	p. 36.264		1		
Titus	79-81	p. 36.270		1		
Domitian	81-96	p. 37.318		1		
Nerva	96-8	p. 38.342		1		
Trajan	98-117	p. 38.345			1	
Hadrian	117-38	p. 39.382		1		
Antoninus	138-61	p. 41.459		1		
Marcus Antonius	161-80	p. 41.477			1	
Commodus	176-92	p. 42.493		1		
Publius Helvius Pertinax	193	p. 43.543			1	
Severus	193-211	p. 43.548			1	
Caracalla	211-17	p. 44.561			1	
Macrinus	217-18	p. 45.616			1	
Elegabalus	218-22	p. 45.617			1	
Severus Alexander	222-35	p. 45.623			1	
Maximus	235-8	p. 46.640		1		
Gordian I-III	238-44	p. 46.645		1		
Philip	248-9	p. 46.650			1	
Decius	259-51	p. 46.662		1		
Trebonianus Gallus and	251-3	p. 46.667			1	

Veldumianus Volusianus						
Valerianus	253-60	p. 47.668		1		
Claudius II	268-70	p. 50.784		1		
Aurelianus	270-5	p. 50.786			1	
Tacitus	275-6	p. 50.800			1	
Probus	276-82	p. 50.803			1	
Florianus	276	p. 50.810			1	
Clarus	282-3	p. 51.813			1	
Diocletian and Maximian	284-305, 286-305	p. 52.867			1	
Gelarius and Constantinus I	305-311, 305-6	p. 53.891			1	
Constantine I	306-337	p. 53.901	1			
Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans I	337-340, 337-61, 337-50	p. 55.992			1	
Julian the Apostate	360-3	p. 56.938			1	
Jovian	363-4	p. 57.1040			1	
Valentinian I and Valens	364-75, 364-78	p. 57.1042			1	
Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II	364-78, 367-83, 375-92	p. 59.1116			1	
Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I	367-83, 375-92, 379-95	p. 59.1123			1	
Theodisus I and Valentinian II	379-95, 375-92	p. 59.1132			1	
Arcadius and Honorius	383-408, 393-423	p. 60.1150			1	
Honorious and Theodosius II	393-423, 408-50	p. 62.1249			1	
Theodosius II and Valentinian III	408-50, 425-55	p. 63.1268			1	
Marcian and Valentinian III	450-7, 425-55	p. 65.1342			1	
Leo I	457-74	p. 65.1351			1	
Zeno	474-91	p. 65.1356			1	
Justin I	518-27	p. 67.1439			1	

Justinian I	527-65	p. 69.1482			1	
Justin II	565-78	p. 69.1505			1	
Tiberius II	578-82	p.69.1513		1		
Maurice	582-602	p.72.1619			1	
Phocus	602-10	p. 73.1636		1		
Heraculius and Constantine III	610-41, 613-41	p. 73.1640			1	
Constantine III and Heraclonas	641-68, 638-41	p. 75.1720			1	
Constantine IV and Justinian II	654-85, 685-95 & 705-11	p. 77.1798			1	
Justianian II	685-95, 705-11	p. 79.1868			1	
Leontius	695-98	p. 80.1878			1	
Tiberius II	698-705	p. 80.1885			1	
Justinian II	685-95, 705-11	p. 80.1891			1	
Philippicus	711-13	p. 80.1902			1	
Anastasius II	713-15	p. 80.1905			1	
Theodosius III	715-17	p. 80.1909			1	
Leo III	717-41	p. 81.1935			1	
Constanitine V	741-75	p. 82.1956			1	
Leo IV	775-80	p. 82.1977			1	
Constantine VI	780-97	p. 82.1981			1	
Niceforus	802-1	p. 83.1988			1	
Michael	820-29	p. 83.1990			1	
Charles I, "Charlemagne"	800-14	p. 84.2057	1			
Louis I "the Pious"	814-40	p. 86.2121			1	
Lothar I	840-55	p. 87.2140			1	
Louis II	855-75	p. 87.2154		1		
Charles II "the Bald"	875-77	p. 89.2208			1	
Charles III "the Fat"	881-87	p. 89.2221			1	
Alnulphus	896-99	p. 89.2233			1	

Louis III "the Blind"	901-5	p. 90.2240			1	
Berengar I	915-24	p. 90.2249			1	
Conrad I*	*911-8	p. 91.2274			1	
Berenger II*	*950-63	p. 91.2281			1	
Henry I* "the Fowler"	*919-36	p. 91.2282				1
Lothar II*	*948-50	p. 91.2286			1	
Berenger III*	*950-63	p. 91.2289		1		
Otto I	962-73	p. 97.2475		1		
Otto II	973-83	p. 97.2488	1			
Otto III	983-1002	p. 97.2498	1			
Henry II*	1002-24	p. 98,2516		1		
Conrad II*	1027-39	p. 100.2594		1		
Henry III*	1039-56	p. 103.2713	1			
Henry IV*	1056-1106	p. 103.2719		1		
Henry V*	1106-1125	p. 105.2769		1		
Lothar III*	1133-7	p. 106.2832		1		
Conrad III*	1138-52	p. 108.2879	1			
Frederick I	1152-90	p. 108.2887		1		
Henry VI	1191-97	p. 108.2931		1		
Otto IV	1209-18	p. 110.2968				1
Frederick II	1220-50	p. 111.3008	1			
Vacancy		p. 112.3033				
Totals (Excl. Vacency)			8	27	61	3

Blue: Type 1
Green: Type 2
Yellow: Type 3
Red: Other

2.6: 'Underfongen' in the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*

Biography	***CR* ll.**	**Context**
Sixtus I	p. 39.411	Episcopal visits *ad limina*
Steven IV,	p. 85.2086	Louis I's reception of Steven IV prior to Louis' coronation in Rheims
Berenger II*	p. 91.2294	Otto I recieves Berengar II into his grace
Berenger II*	p. 91. 2301	Otto I is received by the Roman populace and the Pope prior to his coronation
Otto I	p. 97.2479	Roman cardinals receive Otto I' "worshipfully" when he comes to Rome to discipline Pope John XII prior to Otto's coronation
Otto II	p. 97.2491	Sailors fail to receive Otto II "as emperoure"
Otto II	p. 97.2495	Otto II, with the help of a bishop, defeats sailors and is joyfully received in Rome
Conrad II*	p. 100.2603	Conrad to is hosted by the previously hosile Earl Lupold. The *Chronicles* presents this visit is a foundational moment for the Salian dynasty
Paschal II*	p. 105.2796	Paschal II's reconcilliation with Henry V leads to the pope's acceptence by the Roman people
Innocent II	p. 106.2823	Innocent II flees to and is received by Lothar III who crowns emperor.
Frederick I	p. 108.2889	Frederick I's Roman coronation
Otto IV	p.110.2974	Frederick II's defeat of Otto IV and subsequent coronation

2.7: Pl vs. Em

Italics = non-papal entry

Blue=	**"ordeynede"**	**Yellow=**	**other**
Name	**Date**	**Pl**	**Em**
Alexander I	109-16	p. 115.1-2	
Sixtus I	116-25	p. 115.3-5	
Telesophorus I	125-136	p. 115.6-7	
Victor I	189-98	p. 115.8	
Zephyrinus	198-218	p. 115.9-10	
Callistus I	217-22	p. 115.111	
Urban I	222-230	p. 115.12-3	
Fabian	236-50	p. 115.14-15	
Hilarius	461-68	p. 115.16-17	
Cornelius	251-3	p. 115.18-20	
Stephen I	254-7	p. 115.21-22	
Sixtus II	257-8	p. 116.23-4	p. 116.1-2
Gaius	283-96	p. 116.25-7	p. 116.3-5
Dionysius			p. 116.6-6-7
Marcellinus	296-304	p. 116.28-9	p. 116.8-9
Silvester I	314-31	p. 116.30	
Damasus I	366-84	p. 116.31-3	p. 116.10-11
Anastasius I	399-401	p. 116.34-5	p. 116.12-3
Constantine	*306-337*		*p. 117.14-26*
Liberius	352-66		p. 117.27.37
Miltiades*	311-14		p. 117.38-9
Innocent I	401-17	p. 117.36-7	p. 117.40-2
Zosimus	417-18	p. 117.37-118.40	p. 117.43-118.46
Felix III	483-92	p. 118.41-3	p. 118.47-8

Gelasius I	492-96	p. 118.44-5	p. 118.49-50
Symmachus	498-514	p. 118.46-8	p. 118.51-3
Felix IV	526-530	p. 118.49-50	p. 118.54-5
Boniface II	530-2	p. 118.51-2	p. 118.56-7
Agapitus I	535-6	p. 119.53-4	p. 119.58
Pelagius I	556-561	p. 119.55-6	p. 119.59-60
Sergius I	687-701	p. 119.56-8	p. 119.61-2
Urban II	1088-99	p. 119.59-61	p. 119.63-5
Leo I	440-461	p. 119.62-66	p. 119.66-9
Marcellinus	296-304	p. 119.67-8	p. 119.70
Novatian (antipope)	251-8	p. 120.69-70	p.120.71-2
John X*	914-928	p. 120.71-3	
Benedict IX	1032-44, 47-8	p. 120.74-84	
Liberius	352-66	p. 120.85-6	
Constantine II	767-68	p. 120.87-90	p. 120.73-6
Silvester II	999-1003	p. 120.91-96	
Formosus	891-96	p. 121.97-p. 122.123	p. 121.77-122.101
Symmachus			p. 122.102-111
*St. Benedict**			*p. 122.112-3*
Gregory I	590-604	p. 122.124-134	p. 122.114-123.124
Gregory X	1271-76	p. 123.135-40	

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