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SPACE, ECONOMICS, AND THE POETIC IMAGINATION IN ENGLAND'S LITERARY LANDSCAPES, 1125-1590

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ABSTRACT

Post-conquest English writing focused in significant measure on historical and geographical accounts that identified and legitimated a new political order. Twelfth-century historical writers used the techniques of chronicle and genealogy to argue simultaneously for the continuity and distinctness of post-conquest national identity. A significant body of critical writing has shown the importance of these historical documents. Less apparent but equally important are the techniques of religious writing to the project of reformulating English identity. Religious writers give an extraordinary prominence to landscape as a foundation on which to build institutions, narratives, and national memories.

This dissertation investigates the strategies and techniques of representing landscape in texts from the twelfth through the sixteenth century. I examine a series of texts that provide key moments in which the portrayal of landscape does both elegiac and political work. The landscape is an object of attention and even celebration, but it also serves ideological aims in establishing continuities over time, framing exemplary narratives, and structuring social memory. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* appropriates the funerary landscape of Anglo-Saxon England in order to establish and regulate a national memory that combines native and foreign conceits. The *South English Legendary* uses the language of cartography to resituate Worcester as the center of Christian geographical consciousness. The landscape of Chaucer's pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales* represents a new sphere of civic and economic movement within established space. And finally, Langland and Spenser devise new ways of turning political landscapes back into the imagination. Without losing political resonance, they emphasize

landscape as a domain of exploration and discovery that serves at the same time as a figure for art and authorship.

My approach combines the formal and historical methods of literary analysis with the interpretive tools of cultural geography. Each text is a carefully crafted artifact fully conscious of its tradition, rhetorical claims, and literary genre. Each is specifically situated in a historical context as propaganda, devotion, satire, or allegory. The uses made of space across these works become fully visible, however, through the interpretive resources of modern cultural geography. Landscape is not simply local or topical but invested with social, political, and imaginative significance. It is the medium on which memory is recorded and recovered in narrative, ceremony, and lived experience. It is also the domain in which imagination can push back against history in order to forge new possibilities for understanding identity.

The primary texts in the dissertation represent key moments in a narrative of English identity, sustained through religious writing rather than secular history or panegyric. Together, these texts outline a narrative of landscape's use in early religious writing. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, physical landscapes functioned as spaces on which to consolidate national and regional identity, spheres of political and economic movement, and finally domains for the poetic imagination. My examination of this narrative reverses the traditional claim that history dictates how people read the landscape, and suggests instead that poetic manifestations of physical landscapes dictate how people read and write identity.

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Introduction

As early as the eighth century, the English were preoccupied with identifying the world and their place within it. Central to this project was the use of landscapes to regulate national memory in legal charters, *mappaemundi*, literature, and other media. This dissertation considers how literary representations of physical space informed English identity in the medieval and early modern periods. Specifically, I trace three types of literary landscapes that developed from the twelfth through the sixteenth century to demonstrate that landscapes served national, regional, economic and imaginative purposes in England by establishing continuities over time, framing exemplary narratives, and structuring social memory.

Space has long been recognized as an important category in explorations of medieval literature and culture. The publication of Henri Lefebvre's *La production de l'espace* (1974), and the philosophies of Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, and Pierre Bourdieu, have encouraged literary scholars to read space as a structure imbued with political, social, and economic meaning. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka write, for example, "space is thoroughly imbued with quantities and qualities marking the presence of bodies, signs, and thoughts that had disappeared from view."[1] Cartographical concerns have also captured the modern imagination. Studies by Daniel Birkholz, Evelyn Edson, and Alfred Hiatt all consider how *mappaemundi* inform our understanding of medieval culture.[2] This project moves beyond spatial theory and cartography to consider how physical landscapes were used to define nascent communities in medieval and early modern England. According to leading cultural geographers James and Nancy Duncan, "Identities are performed in and through landscapes."[3] By observing England's literary landscapes, I expose a fundamental aspect of medieval and early modern identity-building.

Scholarly approaches to early-period landscapes often suffer from one of two omissions: they disregard historical circumstances, or they disregard the literary imagination. In the first case, scholars focus on the forms and features of landscapes without considering the historical climates that generated them. Studies by E.R. Curtius, Niels Bugge Hansen, and Paul Piehler, for example, all focus exclusively on the aesthetics of medieval landscapes, while others discuss landscape types without positioning their discussion within a larger historical narrative of spatial theory.[4] Catherine Clarke considers the *locus amoenus* in literature from the fifth to the fifteenth century, but because she fails to theorize medieval approaches to landscape, her study merely chronicles literary representations of this *topoi*, rather than demonstrating how the *topoi* contributes to historical understandings of space and identity.[5]

Studies that do consider the historicity of physical landscapes are often historical to a fault. In Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing's collection, essays consider the influence of history on the Bewcastle monument and Bede's Jarrow, for example.[6] In each case, historical moments are recovered through literature, but historical verity is assumed without taking into account the literary artifacts that inform this history. As a consequence, these studies fail to realize literary strategies of historical and geographical representation. Landscapes replace literature as texts, rendering irretrievable spaces the sole authority on historical conditions. Lefebvre critiques such approaches to spatial studies, arguing,

> Does it make sense to speak of a "reading" of space? Yes and no. Yes, inasmuch as it is possible to envisage a "reader" who deciphers or decodes and a "speaker" who expresses himself by translating his progression into a discourse. But no, in that social space can in no way be compared to a blank page upon which a specific message as been inscribed…. Both natural and urban spaces are, if

> anything, "over-inscribed": everything therein resembles a rough draft, jumbled and self-contradictory. Rather than signs, what one encounters here are directions—multifarious and overlapping instructions. If there is indeed a text, inscription of writing is to be found here, it is in a context of conventions, intentions and order. (2.12)[7]

Space alone is untenable as a historical record because it is not just a producer but also *a product* of history. In Lefebvre's idiom, it is a "*stake*, the locus of projects and actions deployed as part of specific strategies" (2.12). Interpretation comes later, in literature, cartography, and other geo-political media.

This study attempts to ameliorate these problems by fusing historical, literary, and geographical approaches to landscape in order to narrate an evolution of landscape theory and demonstrate how literary representations of landscapes informed medieval and early modern histories. In so doing, it reverses the traditional claim that history dictates how people read the landscape, and suggests instead that poetic manifestations of physical space dictate how people read and write historical identities. This methodology is influenced by the work of Chris Fitter, who argues that rather than studying landscapes themselves, early-period scholars must concentrate on perceived and poetic landscapes. Fitter writes, "mindful of the primacy of cultural horizons, we must seek to demonstrate that 'landscape consciousness' with its apparent 'immediacies' of perception always in fact subsists within broader, historically local structures of 'nature-sensibility' that condition, direct, and limit it."[8] Here, "nature-sensibility" is defined as the product of a period's socio-economic condition and its relationship with the earth. Fitter's approach therefore reads the landscape as a middle term between history and literature: history is

written onto the landscape, where poets then view it according to socio-economic and ecological norms.

Following Fitter, this study combines the formal and historical methods of literary analysis with the interpretive tools of cultural geography. Each of the texts I examine is a carefully-crafted artifact, fully conscious of its tradition, rhetorical claims, and historical context. Mediated by historical conditions and ideologies, these texts perceive and interpret landscapes to national, regional, and imaginative ends. Landscapes are therefore not confined to the "tangible, measurable, ensemble of material forms in a given geographical area."[9] Instead, they are connected with sight and seeing; the term "landscape" denotes not just physical space, but also the way space is witnessed, imaged and imagined. In a study of vantage-points, Jay Appleton argues that viewers are privileged "in selecting, framing, *composing* what is seen; in other words, the viewer exercises an imaginative power in turning material space into landscape."[10] I contend that modern understandings of early-period landscapes depend on these imaginative compositions of perceived space.

Consequently, this study aligns landscapes with the imagination and reason. Because the imagination depends on an individual's ability to fashion images that do not already exist in the material world—a visual phenomenon performed by sensing bodies—landscapes, defined as "ways of seeing," are linked with this process.[11]Moreover, according to Western philosophers including Aristotle and Descartes, vision is the channel through which intellectual reason and the "reason" (or order) of the sensible world can be mapped onto one another. As Denis Cosgrove observes,

> Geographical study today embraces various expressions of relative space, defined by culturally diverse coordinates of human experience and intention. Similarly,

> sight, vision and seeing—as such varied words imply—involve much more than a simple sense response: the passive, neutral imprint of images formed by light on the retina of the eye. Human sight is individual, intentional and culturally conditioned. The lover sees only the loveliness of the loved.[12]

Landscape is therefore not simply local or topical, but invested with social, political, and imaginative significance. It is the medium on which memory is recorded and recovered in narrative, ceremony, and lived experience. It is also the domain in which imagination can push back against history in order to forge new possibilities for understanding identity.

This approach to landscapes depends on an understanding of social spaces—a concept that is famously articulated by Lefebvre, who categorizes space according to three designations: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. These three categories pose a dialectical relationship between material, mental, and social space. The first category, spatial practice, concerns *material space* that is generated and used. Lefebvre writes, "The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (1.17). The second category, representations of space, concerns *imagined space*, or space as a mental construct. According to Lefebvre, this dominant space belongs to knowledge and logic, social engineers and urban planners, and navigators and explorers, "all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (1.17). Finally, representational spaces are *real-and-imagined spaces* that are produced and modified over time. This final spatial category is the purview of historians and artists. Lefebvre writes, "This is the dominated—and hence passively experienced—space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (1.17).

This study is primarily concerned with representational spaces, since literature falls into this category, but it also depends on the dialectical relationship between all three categories. Medieval and early modern literary landscapes cannot be separated from the imagination, especially since representational media of the period were derived from images created in the mind (through mnemonic processes, for example); and in the twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries, the insistence on material space was central to authors' ideological aims (as demonstrated in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and the anonymous *South English Legendary*). David Harvey writes, "the strength of the Lefebvrian construction… is precisely that it refuses to see materiality, representation and imagination as separate worlds."[13] I employ this dialectical approach throughout the present study, while demonstrating that different spatial categories were prioritized at different times as a consequence of historical contexts and ideological aims.[14]

Lefebvre's categorization of space according to levels of abstraction also informs this study. His distinction between absolute, historical, and abstract space suggests an evolutionary approach to spatial systems that plays out in medieval and early modern literary landscapes. Absolute space is defined by its natural qualities. It begins as a sacred space, identified by its intrinsic qualities (caves, mountaintops, rivers, etc.), but it is quickly obliterated by human constructions and interventions.[15] Historical space follows from these processes. Lefebvre writes, "Absolute space, religious and political in character, was a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and *historical*. Not that absolute space disappeared in the process; rather it survived as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces" (1.18). These historical spaces are valued because they are the object of accumulated human habitation and events. Finally, abstract

spaces emerge when humans quantify territory, assigning value to it through capitalist and bureaucratic organizations. This is a process rather than an end point, which depends on the definition of space according to measurable value.

In this study, I demonstrate that these spatial categories can be located in historical moments between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Specifically, I show a correlation between 1. the relatively stable communities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and historical space; 2. the mobile communities of the late-fourteenth century and abstract spaces dependent on economics; and 3. the disrupted communities of the sixteenth century and abstract spaces dependent on mnemonic processes (a form of abstract space that pushes the idea of "representational space" to the extreme). In so doing, I develop an additive model of literary landscapes in the medieval and early modern period. I identify three landscape types—stable landscapes based on national/regional models, mobile landscapes, and mnemonic landscapes—and show that, although these landscape types appear in literature throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, each dominates the literary imagination at a specific historical moment. They therefore function as points on a matrix that interact with one another while enjoying fluctuating periods of attention and accaim.

Following this matrix, Chapters One and Two consider historical space in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and the anonymous *South English Legendary*, while Chapters Three, Four, and Five look at abstract spaces brought about through economic mobilities (in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *Piers Plowman*), and the valuation of mental space (a "representation of space," in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*). I have chosen these five texts because they epitomize literary appropriations of historical, socio-political, and geographical conditions in the medieval and early modern periods. William of Malmesbury,

Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, and Edmund Spenser are universally recognized as literary masters whose texts offer profound registers of early-period life. Moreover, their *magna opera* are largely religious in nature, establishing a common ground from which to examine evolving landscape theories, and eliminating the need to foreground generic concerns. By tracing the development of spatial categories in these texts, I show that landscape theory and identity evolved simultaneously. Moreover, by prioritizing literature as a vehicle for these evolutionary processes, I demonstrate that the greatest medieval and early modern literature chronicles the human production of space and landscapes, and the ideologies related to them.

Historical Space: National and Regional Landscapes in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

The first two chapters consider how, in the early medieval period, emerging communities like "nations" and "regions" were identified according to physical landscapes. In Chapter One, I argue that William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* uses chorographical techniques to regulate national memory following the Norman Invasion. Despite its historiographical register, this text relies on the rhetoric of travelogues, perambulation, and visual description to identify England. Specifically, William of Malmesbury uses grave sites and embodiment to write an ecclesiastical history of England that reconciles cultural difference, and regulates national identity by fusing it with the land, one of the key tropes of Anglo-Norman hagiography.

In Chapter Two, I argue that the *South English Legendary* uses the rhetoric of cartography to map regional identity. By graphically interpreting and manifesting space, medieval maps allowed viewers to envision where they were situated and who they were as a

people. The *South English Legendary*'s "Legend of Saint Kenelm" adapts this artistry in its first seventy-five lines to represent a map of England poetically. The resulting formulation, like most maps in thirteenth-century England, is not an accurate geographical representation, but an artistic, cultural, and political expression of subjective identity that locates Worcestershire as England's spiritual and cultural center.

These chapters depend on an understanding of national and regional categories—nascent concepts that writers fused with the physical landscape through the fourteenth century. We must therefore consider the resonances of terms like "nation" and "region," both of which pose unique problems when applied to a pre-modern world.[16] The question of medieval nationalism has challenged scholars since the 1940s, when Hans Kohn insisted that there could be no such thing as nationalism in the medieval period. Kohn argues that, because the Christian church was so dominant in the medieval west, all other social forms were powerless.[17] Benedict Anderson—one of the more influential writers on nationalism in the past decades—agrees, writing that "in Western Europe the eighteenth century marks not only the dawn of the age of nationalism but the dusk of religious modes of thought."[18] While Anderson does not exclude religion entirely from the growth of a nation, he insists that religion *preceded* it as one of the cultural systems "out of which—as well as against which—[the nation] came into being."[19] Likewise, Kathleen Davis writes, "the medieval period is necessarily prior to the idea of the nation and at the same time is the homogenous material out of and against which the modern nation imagines itself."[20] These scholars agree that the medieval period established a foundation for national growth, but they insist that nationalism was not realized until the eighteenth century, when the Church was subordinated to other socio-cultural systems (the state, for example).[21]

Yet dissenting voices have challenged this notion, and in the past decade there has been a growing consensus on the presence of national feeling in medieval England. Johan Huizinga was one of the first to insist on the emergence of nationalism in the late Middle Ages, arguing, "the forces of patriotism and nationalism were winning more and more ground in Church and state alike, and no less so in popular life and culture."[22] Anthony D. Smith, who defines the nation as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members," tempers Huizinga's claim slightly.[23] He finds that when he applies this definition to the fourteenth century, he cannot claim "an English nation had come into existence… only that some of the processes that help to form nations had become discernible."[24] Nonetheless, Smith agrees that these processes allowed for the growth of national feeling in medieval England, even if the English nation would not blossom until shortly thereafter.

Most recently, Thorlac Turville-Petre argues that English nationalism emerged along ethno-linguistic lines in the early-fourteenth century, when it was important for writers "to represent an image of a whole nation of English speakers, because their language was the living witness to the people's Anglo-Saxon ancestry."[25] Here, Turville-Petre relies on the work of Michael Ignatieff, who writes that in nations defined by ethnicity, "what gave unity to the nation, what made it a home, a place of passionate attachment, was not the cold contrivance of shared rights, but the people's pre-existing ethnic characteristics: their language, religion, customs, and traditions."[26] Latching on to the linguistic component of Ignatieff's "ethnic nation," Turville-Petre writes,

> the sense of national identity in the mid-thirteenth century expressed itself in a rich diversity of forms. The nation had a territory, a history, a set of cultural

> traditions, a body of legal practices expressed in the Common Law, a single economy with a common coinage and taxation, and some concept of shared rights, even if that did not extend very far down the social scale. However, it did not, or so it would seem, have a language.[27]

Although Turville-Petre recognizes the nation's beginnings in the late-thirteenth century (hence his 1290 start date), he suggests that the English vernacular did not become a standard vehicle for expressing national identity until the early-fourteenth century, and the majority of his discussion focuses on that period.

In Chapter One, I argue against these chronologies, suggesting instead that nationalistic feelings can be located in the twelfth century, when the English *landscape* provided the foundation for an English nation. Huizinga, Smith, and Turville-Petre all adopt modern criteria to describe medieval nations (including territory, language, race, ethnicity, civic engagement, etc.), but it seems unreasonable to apply all of these principles to nationalism in the Middle Ages. Different communities imagined nations differently, according to criteria that varied depending on the historical moment. In the twelfth century, national feelings were just emerging, and the criteria would have been far less stringent than those outlined above by A.D. Smith. Moreover, the Normans had to prove their participation in an unbroken community of Englishmen, making the birth of an English nation something of a necessity.[28] In a period of such ethnic and racial diversity, when inclusion was critical, many eighteenth-century criteria were irrelevant. I therefore reject modern definitions of "nation" in favor of a definition based on two criteria: (1) territory and (2) memory, where the latter requires one's prescription to mythological and literary doctrine that posits a continuous English history. These two criteria fuse synchronic and diachronic concerns of the period to produce a notion of "homeland" that suggested individuals

who held land in England and participated in that land's history could be considered part of the English community.

This definition of nationhood depends largely on landscapes. Homi Bhaba writes that "Nations, like narratives… only fully realize their horizon in the mind's eye."[29] Employing a geographical idiom, Bhaba suggests that nations are realized according to spatial designations—the concretization of their "horizons" lends them power. He also prioritizes sight as a fundamental means by which to comprehend nations, arguing that nations are born when individuals can sense and experience them. Similarly, when I suggest "territory" as one of the two criteria for twelfth-century nationalism, I do not simply mean the borders drawn on early medieval maps. I refer also to the soil on which Englishmen carried out their daily lives. This land was contained within specific territorial boundaries, but because these boundaries were fictional impositions on lived space, they provided a weak foundation on which to build national feeling, especially compared to the soil on which monuments were built and graves were dug. As a consequence, nationalism in the twelfth century depended on lived space—an experience of and association with the physical landscape.

We see this emphasis on land over theoretical space in Henry III's proclamation to the people of Huntingdonshire, regarding the Provisions of Oxford (October, 1258). In this proclamation, Henry is declared "Godes fultume King on Engleneloande, Lhoauerd on Yrloande, Duk on Normandi, on Aquitaine, and Eorl on Aniow," and he addresses his audience as "loandes folk on vre kuneriche."[30] First, by addressing his listeners/readers as "loandes folk," Henry identifies his people with the soil—they belong to the land, and as such they belong to "vre kuneriche." The use of prepositions also belies an interest in the physicality of landscape. Henry is God's King *on* Engleneloande, *on* Yrloande, *on* Normandi, *on* Aquitaine, and *on* Aniow. His

kingship is not defined by the extent of his disembodied influence, but by his bodily occupation of places including Englene*loande* and Yr*loande*, whose names themselves depend on landed/*loanded*-ness. The English "kuneriche" under Henry III is therefore defined according to spatial categories, written into the soil on which the monarch performs his duties.

Holding English land also allowed individuals to participate in the reading and writing of a common history. Because landscapes contain markers of identity, living on English soil exposed individuals to England's past, and allowed them to participate in the writing of its present. The land already contained residue from Anglo-Saxon lives, and it could be inscribed with Anglo-Norman lives, resulting in a palimpsest that documented the activities of an ethnically and racially diverse community. As such, land was particularly important following the Norman Invasion, when inclusion was critical to bourgeoning ideas of nationhood. It served as an equalizer, allowing Britons and Normans alike to participate in the construction of English history.

Doing so is the second component of early-period nationalism, and, in the twelfth century, the perpetuation of inclusive histories is manifest in both landscapes and literature. The dedication of English histories to Norman aristocracy who held land in England is one example of the growing desire to define an English community along territorial/memorial lines. Both William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated their work to Robert earl of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I, and Wace presented his *Brut* (~1155) to Queen Eleanor.[31] Histories of England also increasingly contained accounts of Norman kings, suggesting that the Normans were an integral part of English history despite their racial and ethnic difference. In addition to William's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (discussed in Chapter One), and Wace's *Brut*, Gaimar expanded Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in the

L'Estoire des Engleis (1136-7) to include the Norman monarchs through William II. These expansions and dedications suggest a desire to reconcile cultural difference and encourage Normans to participate in England's history.

Of course, it is important to acknowledge that these histories are *fictions*, the product of twelfth-century imaginations rather than an ontological reality. This distinction has become increasingly important to scholarly treatments of nationhood. Benedict Anderson argues, "[the nation] is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion," and Turville-Petre writes of medieval nations, "The construction of the nation was, indeed, founded on a series of myths and loaded interpretations of the past."[32] Even Ranulf Higden was aware of this phenomenon in the fourteenth century, writing in the *Polychronicon* (~1327-60) of King Arthur's improbability,

> Sed fortassis mos est cuique nationi aliquem de suis laudibus attollere excessivis ut quemadmodum Gracei suum Alexandrum, Romani suum Ocatavianum, Angli suum Ricardum, Franci suum Karolum sic Britones suum Arthurum praeconantur. Quod saepe contingit, sicut dicit Josephus, aut propter historiae decorem, aut propter legentium delectiationem, aut ad proprii sanguinis exaltationem.[33]
>
> (But perhaps it is the manner of every nation to extol in excessive praise some one from their members, as the Greeks do their Alexander, the Romans their Octavian, the English their Richard, the French their Charles; and thus it follows that the Britons overly extol their Arthur. That happens often, as Josephus says, for beauty of the story, for the pleasure of the readers, or to praise their own blood.)

Here Higden imagines the idea of nationalism growing out of a fictional past; he understands that history provides fantasies on which communities can build nations. These fantasies became tangible when fused with the landscape, though, providing residents a means by which to interact with and partake in England's fantastic history.[34] The fusion of synchronic (territorial) and diachronic (memorial) criteria therefore allowed for the growth of an inclusive English community, united behind the material witness of national memory in the landscape, where national memory is perpetuated through literary histories and mythologies. The history of England's people therefore became inextricable from the history of the land, so that national identity was defined according to one's interaction with and prescription to the physical landscape and the histories it contained.

In Chapter Two, I demonstrate how regional identities grew out of and against these national feelings. Certainly nationalism and regionalism co-existed. Turville-Petre writes,

> The region recognizes the dangers of its isolation. It takes pride in commemorating its own history, myths, and customs. Yet local affiliations and interests all have to be interpreted against the image that the nation as a whole has constructed of itself, because the region has a strong urge to identify with the nation that confers on it cultural significance, military and political power, a framework of legal rights, and international prestige.[35]

Yet regionalism seems to have flourished beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, when the Norman *ethnie* was no longer perceived as a threat to the English nation. Many scholars have documented the fact that national feeling emerges during times of fear. David Matthews writes, "Medieval English nationalism is based, much of the time, on fear: fear of the other," and Adrian Hastings argues that "[the nation] arises chiefly where and when a particular… nation feels itself

threatened in regard to its own proper character, extent or importance, either by external attack or by the state system of which it has hitherto formed part."[36] When the fear of Norman infringement on English identity subsided, then, questions of nationalism became less pressing, and communities could reassert their place within the recently-defined English nation.

Abstract Space: English Mobilities in the Fourteenth Century

Chapters Three and Four consider how the idea of grounded identities evolved as mercantilism rendered England's landscape mobile. In Chapter Three, I argue that Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* destabilizes national and regional identities by foregrounding the pilgrims' movement through economic fields of power and meaning. Although their quest is spiritual, they move through a distinctly urban world that depends on processes of economic exchange. In Chapter Four, I argue that Langland's *Piers Plowman* repositions landscapes in the poetic imagination after national and regional categories were disrupted. In this poem, Langland infuses literal descriptions with figurative significance to foreground the representational nature of his work and suggest a method of reading to his audience. In so doing, he creates allegorical dreamscapes that are invested with social and political meaning, but also serve as a figure for his own art and authorship.

In their respective texts, then, both Chaucer and Langland contended with economic mobilities that introduced disorder to an otherwise ordered system. As Lee Patterson observes, the circulation of capital and commodities resulted in a "studied retreat from the sphere of

history into a socially undetermined subjectivity, a realm of private value defined by its apartness from the public world of event."[37] Because movement allowed for this separation of private identities from established public categories (including national and regional classifications), it has long been categorized as dysfunctional. Humanistic geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, for example, argues that place "is an organized world of meaning. It is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we would not be able to develop any sense of place."[38] Geographer Edward Relph then magnifies the value of these ordered and fixed spatial categories, arguing that "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place."[39] He continues, "To have roots in a place is to have a secure point from which to look out on the world, a firm grasp of one's own position in the order of things, and a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular."[40] According to these conceits, understanding one's place in the world is a necessary product of the human condition; to be placeless is to be separated from the spiritual and psychological perspectives that allow humans to self-identify within established, stable systems. Because mobility threatens emplacement, it undermines mankind's sense of self, and is therefore rendered dangerous.

Anthropologist Liisa Malkki traces the suspicion of mobility to what she terms "sedentarist metaphysics," a metaphysics that depends on the assumption that spatial fixity is morally and logically superior to mobility. This assumption is frequently manifested in early-medieval literature. Catherine Clarke observes of twelfth-century religious literature, "Celebrations of monastic landscapes exploit the symbolic associations between cloister, island *locus amoenus* and the heavenly city of Jerusalem. In all these examples, the city is a mirror for the delightful beauty, order and enclosure of the pastoral *locus amoenus* landscape."[41] In twelfth-

century urban encomia, the city is significant as an enclosed space, immaculately preserved and separate from the surrounding countryside. The importance of spatial distinction in early medieval representations of the city is evident in William Fitz Stephens's *Descriptio Londoniæ*, wherein he writes,

> Hæc etiam similiter illi regionibus est distincta; habet annuos pro consulibus vicecomites; habet senatoriam dignitatem; et magistratus minores; eluviones et a aquæductus in vices; ad genera causarum, deliberativæ, demonstrativæ, judicialis, loca sua, fora singula; habet sua diebus statutis comitia.[42]
>
> ([London like Rome] is divided into wards. In place of consuls it has sheriffs every year; its senatorial order and lesser magistrates; sewers and conduits in its streets, and for the pleading of diverse causes, deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial, it has proper places; its separate courts. It has also its assemblies on appointed days.)

In this passage, London conforms to a strict Roman precedent of spatial order that ensures socio-political superiority. Fitz Stephens's use of the phrase "loca sua, fora singula," for example, demonstrates the importance of designating specific spaces for various government functions. These designations enable civic order, but they are rendered ineffective if they are not scrupulously maintained. The one mobile element of Fitz Stephens's *Descriptio*—the movement of waste and water—is closely regulated by sewers and conduits, disallowing unnecessary movement. Here London's urban superiority is defined by the careful containment of mobility, which allows for an unchallenged spatial order.

While urban encomia lauded cities like London for their perfect spatial fixity, other medieval genres prioritized order by representing the dysfunctional nature of movement. This is

particularly common in fourteenth-century literature, most likely in response to the threat that mobility presented to regional and urban identities. The *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, for example, represents the dysfunctional nature of mobility in the giant of Mont Saint Michel. In describing the giant, the Duchess of Brittany's foster mother exclaims,

> "both lands and lythes full little by he settes;
> Of rentes ne of red gold reckes he never,
> For he will lenge out of law, as himself thinkes,
> Withouten license of lede, as lord in his owen."[43]

The giant is threatening in large part because he exists apart from the land and the national/regional identities inscribed thereon. He also refuses to recognize "rentes" (properties yielding revenue), a feudal designation that demanded spatial fixity and allegiance to a landlord.[44] This devaluation of land is further manifest in the giant's preference for Arthur's beard over Burgandy or Great Britain. The foster mother tells Arthur, "'If thou have brought the berde he bes more blithe / Than thou gave him Borgoine or Britain the More'" (1017-8). Even before we are introduced to his ritual cannibalism of baptized youth and his gown made of kings' beards, the giant's monstrosity is represented by his refusal to conform to spatial designations and the socio-political systems that depend on them.

This representation of placelessness is particularly relevant to fourteenth-century pilgrimage (and its representation in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *Piers Plowman*), since Arthur's quest to avenge the Duchess of Brittany is described as a pilgrimage. After a Templar knight describes the giant's transgressions, Arthur declares "'I will pass *in pilgrimage* privily hereafter, / In the time of souper, when lords are served, / For to seeken a saint by yon salt stremes, / In Saint Michel mount, there miracles are shewed'" (896-9, my emphasis).

This pilgrimage—a movement to eradicate the ever-mobile giant—is itself bastardized. Arthur's claim to seek a saint, for example, is challenged by his failure to designate who the saint is that he seeks. Readers are meant to assume that the saint is the Duchess of Brittany (whose canonization is almost guaranteed by her martyrdom), but even Arthur's companions are uncertain of this fact. Bedivere, for example, interprets the giant as Arthur's sought-after saint. He exclaims, "Now certes… it seems, by my Lord, / He seekes saintes but selden the sorer he grippes, / That thus clekes this corsaint out of thir high cliffs, / To carry forth such a carl at close him in silver" (1162-5). The implication here is that Arthur rarely grips saints as severely as he did the saint atop Mont Saint Michel. Because he had no contact with the Duchess of Brittany, but *was* embraced by the giant in battle, the giant is the only suitable recipient of Arthur's *grippe*, and therefore the only subject that merits the designation of saint (at least, according to Bedivere's interpretation).[45] Bedivere's misrepresentation of the giant as a saint is further manifest in his apposition of *corsaint* (holy body) with *carl* (churl). The *corsaint*/*carl* is brought down from the Mount, and is destined to be enclosed in silver, indicating the preservation of his dead body as a relic. This corruption of saintliness, and Arthur's pilgrimage in pursuit of a confused ideal, challenges even the most orthodox movement. In other words, the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* stages a bastardization of the traditional holy quest, rendering movement of all sorts—even movement in service of Christian order—monstrous, as threatening as a cannibalistic giant.

Even when movement is accepted as socially viable, the space through which a body moves is subordinated to the point of departure and the destination. Traditional theories of mobility focus on these two points and their push and pull factors. The different ways that people move and the socio-political effects of their movement are rendered inconsequential. One of the

only theoretical studies dedicated to understanding movement in the field of cultural geography, Lowe and Moryadas's *The Geography of Movement,* is guilty of focusing exclusively on push and pull factors. Lowe and Moryadas write, "Movement occurs to the extent that people have the ability to satisfy their desires with respect to goods, services, information, or experience at some location rather than their present one, and to the extent that these other locations are capable of satisfying such desires."[46] Here, what certain locations offer moving bodies is far more important than the moving bodies themselves, or the effect of these bodies on a given spatial field. Likewise, Abler, Adams, and Gould write, "We can think of each migrant assigning one value to his present location and other values to places where he could be. He compares his present status with potential status elsewhere. Then he weighs the different alternatives according to their distances and how risky he thinks each of them is. Finally he picks a strategy he thinks will be best for him."[47] Again, movement itself is ignored in favor of socio-political conditions that stimulate movement.

These theories—grouped by cultural geographers under "spatial interaction theory"—all depend on a series of basic assumptions: that movement is dysfunctional, that it is a product of rational thought, and that it is secondary to spatial arrangements and the quality of locations. Because of these restrictive assumptions, theories of mobility have failed to recognize different types of movement and the effect that movement has on social, political, and cultural conditions. Tim Cresswell is one of the first scholars to acknowledge these limitations. In his influential book *On the Move,* he writes,

> In much of humanistic geography… mobility is suspicious because it threatens the quite explicit moral character of place—threatening to undo it. Once again, human geography's construction of mobility is deeply marked by a sedentarist

> metaphysics. What is evident in both spatial science and humanistic geography is a very strong moral geography that marginalizes mobility ontologically, epistemologically, and normatively.[48]

By acknowledging the biased nature of mobility studies and eschewing sedentarist metaphysics, Cresswell paves the way for an approach to mobility that considers movement's intrinsic value. To a degree, Chaucer and Langland assume a similar approach toward mobility. They accept movement as a necessary product of England's evolving identity, and incorporate it into their world views by writing mobility into the English landscape, and returning landscapes to the poetic imagination.

Abstract Space: Returning Landscapes to the Subjective Imagination

Chapter Five represents a final stage in the evolution of English landscapes, where physical landscapes are subordinated by mental space. In this chapter, I argue that in Book Two of *The Faerie Queene,* Spenser shows how spatial instability derives from man's cognitive interactions with the world. Landscapes are appropriated by the subjective imagination, where they commingle with an individual's memories to create a unique space that emblematizes man's microcosmic relationship with God (both are capable of creating space in their own image). This process, manifest most clearly in the Cave of Mammon and Castle of Alma episodes, allows for the glorification of man as a creative being in God's likeness.

Lefebvre disparages mental space in *La production de l'espace,* suggesting that twentieth-century epistemology is a detriment to practicality. He writes,

> The scientific attitude, understood as the application of "epistemological" thinking to acquired knowledge, is assumed to be "structurally" linked to the spatial sphere. This connection, presumed to be self-evident from the point of view of scientific discourse, is never conceptualized. Blithely indifferent to the charge of circular thinking, that discourse sets up an opposition between the status of space and the status of the "subject," between the thinking "I" and the object thought about it. It thus rejoins the positions of the Cartesian/Western Logos, which some of its exponents indeed claim to have "closed" (1.3).

But Lefebvre speaks from a time and place over three-hundred years removed from the period in which Cartesian thought was radical. He speaks to the problem of epistemology in a postmodern world, not to its innovation in sixteenth-century England or its contribution to the evolution of spatial categories in the early modern period.

Lefebvre also overlooks the fact that representations of space have material consequences. Beyond the fact that fears and desires are expressed in actual behavior, an individual's mental images are capable of being projected onto material space. In other words, physical landscapes can be overwritten by an individual's impression of those landscapes. This collision of mental and material space is enabled by mnemonic processes, which are the subject of this study's final chapter. Memory has become increasingly significant to early-period studies, as the recent publication of Mary Carruthers' two book-length studies, *The Book of Memory* and *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, indicates.[49] In these books, Carruthers shows that memory is a locational process. She writes, "the memory *conspectus*, or gaze, is fundamentally a spatial concept.... that recollection is about recovering a number of previously stored images from mental places."[50] While scholars have applied this concept to early-period methods of reading

(i.e., mentally parsing and arranging texts), the relationship between mental and material space remains relatively unexplored.[51] Yet, as the Duncans have shown in two influential articles, "Landscape as a signifying system" and "(Re)reading the Landscape," the landscape can be acted upon by the mind.[52] James Duncan writes, "The landscape... is one of the central elements in a cultural system, for as an ordered assemblage of objects… it acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored."[53] By approaching the landscape as a signifying text, this study uses a familiar idiom to suggest that space underwent the same memorial processes as written texts in the early modern period. As a consequence, literary landscapes became representative not of national/regional identities, nor of economic mobilities, but of individual subjectivities. In the early modern period, a final evolution of spatial categories served to celebrate the subject.

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[1] Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, "Introduction," *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2000), xi.

[2] Daniel Birkholz, *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in 13th Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: British Library, 1999); Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2008). See also P.D.A. Harvey, *Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: British Library, 2006); Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2008); Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001); Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2006).

[3] James and Nancy Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege*: *The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 7.

[4] E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1991); Niels Bugge Hansen, *That Pleasant Place: The Representation of Ideal Landscape in English Literature from the 14th to the 17th Century* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1973); Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).

[5] Catherine Cubitt, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006).

[6] Fred Orton, "At the Bewcastle Monument, in Place," *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, eds. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2006), 29-66; Ian Wood, "Bede's Jarrow," same collection, 67-84. See also Stephen Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village: The Diversification of Landscape Character in Southern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008); *Estate Landscapes: Design, Improvement, and Power in the Post-Medieval Landscape*, eds. Jonathan Finch and Kate Giles (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007); Susan Oosthuizen, *Landscapes Decoded: The Origins and Developments of Cambridgeshire's Medieval Fields* (Hatfield: U of Hertfordshire P, 2006); Mark Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007); Leonard Martin Candor, *The English Medieval Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

[7] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 142. All future quotations will cite this text by book number and section number.

[8] Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 9.

[9] Denis Cosgrove, "Landscape and the European Sense of Sight—Eyeing Nature," *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, eds. Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 249.

[10] Ibid., 254, my emphasis. See Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape* (New York: Wiley, 1996).

[11] The term "way of seeing" was coined by art critic John Berger, who argued that seeing is a learned ability. See Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972).

[12] Cosgrove, 250.

[13] David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity," *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. Jon Bird et. al. (New York: Routledge, 1993): 3-29, esp. 22-3.

[14] For example, William of Malmesbury (Chapter One) emphasizes the *materiality* of space, or spatial practice, while Edmund Spenser (Chapter Five) emphasizes *imagined* space, or representations of space.

[15] Lefebvre writes, "Typically, architecture picked a site in nature and transferred it to the political realm by means of a symbolic mediation; one thinks, for example, of the statues of local gods or goddesses in Greek temples, or of the Shintoist's sanctuary, empty or else containing nothing but a mirror. A sanctified inwardness set itself up in opposition to the outwardness in nature, yet at the same time it echoed and restored that outwardness" (1.18).

[16] From this point forward, I will not put the words "nation" or "region" in quotation marks unless I am referring to them as terms.

[17] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

[18] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 11.

[19] Ibid., 12. Anderson identifies three evolutions that enabled the growth of nationalism: the evolution from 1. divine language to vernacular language, 2. vertical to horizontal power relationships (where the former is exemplified by the Church), and 3. simultaneous time to a distinction between cosmology and history (i.e., the origins of man and the world). In each case, the evolution represents a move away from the Church and Christian doctrine.

[20] Kathleen Davis, "National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998): 611-37, esp. 613.

[21] For a discussion of the relationship between states and nations, see Hagen Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. William E. Yuill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), esp. Chapters 1, 5.

[22] Johan Huizinga, "Patriotism and Nationalism in European History," *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, trans. James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (London: Eye & Spottiswoorde, 1960), 97-155, esp. 117. See also Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Marc Bloch, "Medieval National Consciousness," *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*, ed. Leon C. Tipton (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 25-9; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957); Gaines Post, "Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 281-320; Vivian Gailbraith, "Nationality and Language in Medieval England," *Transactions of the Royal*

Historical Society 23 (1941): 113-28; Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927).

[23] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 14.

[24] Ibid., 56.

[25] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 20.

[26] Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993), 3.

[27] Turville-Petre, 8.

[28] Not all Anglo-Norman literature prescribes to this practice. Some literature attempted to maintain regional distinctions between "English" and "Norman" communities. I discuss these regional tendencies in Chapter Two.

[29] Homi Bhaba, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 1.

[30] Bruce Dickens and R.M. Wilson, eds., *Early Middle English Texts* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1951), 8-9.

[31] According to La3amon. See R.H.C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), esp. 126-31.

[32] Anderson, 6; Turville-Petre, 6. Anderson's argument recalls Ernest Renan's insistence that "Or l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses" ("Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" *Oeuvres Complétes*, vol. 1 [Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1947-61], 892). See also Kathy Lavezzo, ed., *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2004).

[33] Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon, together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Churchill Babington and Joseph Lumby, 9 vols., Rolls Series 41 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1865-6), 5.336.

[34] Visiting King Arthur's grave in Glastonbury, for example.

[35] Turville-Petre, 142.

[36] David Matthews, *Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship, and Literature in England 1250-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 26-7; Hastings, 4.

[37] Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1991), 322.

[38] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 1977), 183.

[39] Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 1.

[40] Ibid., 38.

[41] Clarke, 91.

[42] F.M. Stenton, "Norman London, An Essay by Professor F.M. Stenton with a Translation of William Fitz Stephen's Description by Professor H.E. Butler, M.A. and A Map of London Under Henry II by Marjorie B. Honeybourne, M.A., annotated by E. Jeffries Davis, M.A., F.S.A.," *Historical Association Leaflets*, nos. 93, 94 (London, 1934), 8.

[43] *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1972), lines 994-7.

[44] The only landlord that the giant recognizes is himself, and the land over which he reigns is a disorderly wilderness, described in lines 920-32 of the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.

[45] The author of the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* describes the embrace as follows: "On the crest of the crag [the giant] caught [Arthur] in armes, / And encloses him clenly to crushen his ribbes; / So hard holdes he that hende that ner his herte bristes!" (1133-5).

[46] J. Lowe and S. Moryadas, *The Geography of Movement* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 2.

[47] Ron Abler, John Adams, and Peter Gould, *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971), 251.

[48] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 32.

[49] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992); *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia, U of Pennsylvania P, 2002).

[50] Carruthers, *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, 12-3.

[51] For further studies on memory see Matthew Innes, "Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society," *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 158 (1998): 3-36; Faith Wallis, "The Ambiguities of Medieval 'Memoria,'" *Canadian Journal of History* 20 (1995): 77-83; Beryl Rowland, "The Artificial Memory, Chaucer, and Modern Scholars," *Poetica* 37 (1993): 1-14; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993); Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992); Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. T. Butler (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989), 97-113.

[52] James and Nancy Duncan, "(Re)reading the Landscape," *Space and Society* 6 (1988): 117-126; James Duncan "Landscape as a Signifying System," *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape and Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990): 11-23.

[53] Duncan, "Landscape as a Signifying System," 17.

Chapter One

The Soil's Holy Bodies: Chorography and Nation in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*

Chorography is the twelfth century's hidden art. By most accounts, the genre emerged in the sixteenth century, but chorography was instrumental to national and regional identities in the century following the Norman Invasion.[1] This chapter shows that William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* functions within post-Conquest historiographical projects as a chorographical text that relies on the rhetoric of travelogues, perambulation, and visual description to identify England.[2] This analysis pays special attention to how William used grave sites and embodiment to write an ecclesiastical history of England that reconciled cultural difference in the early twelfth century, and regulated national memory by fusing it with the land, one of the key tropes of Anglo-Norman hagiography.

The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (hereafter *GPA*) is the second of two histories that William completed by 1125. His goal in writing the *GPA*, as stated in his prologue, is to

> De huius urbis archiepiscopis et eius suffraganeis dicere successit animo quicquid nostram attigit memoriam. Nec puto a ratione dissidere, ut qui quondam regum Anglorum gesta perstrinxi nunc Anglorum pontificum nomina transcurram, ut pollicitam dudum operam iam tandem Domino adiuuante compleam. (Pro.2-3)[3]
>
> (tell whatever has come to my notice of the archbishops of [Canterbury] and its suffragans. And I think it entirely reasonable for me now to run over the names of the English bishops, seeing that earlier I sketched the history of the English kings

[in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*]. In this way I may, with the Lord's aid, at last bring to a conclusion a work to which I committed myself long since.)

Here William maintains that the *GPA* completes his two-part historical project by supplementing the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (hereafter *GRA*, c. 1120), which records England's regal dynasties chronologically from AD 449. William's division of these projects was unprecedented. His contemporaries—including Eadmer, Oderic, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon—fused political and ecclesiastical concerns into histories that indiscriminately treated England's kings and the Christian church, yet William insisted that a nation's political and religious institutions warranted separate consideration.

This radical separation of church and state histories was most likely a consequence of the Norman invasion of 1066. As a particularly astute historian, William was aware of the cultural and political turmoil that followed William the Conqueror's ascension to the throne. By 1125 the effects of the Norman Invasion had scarred the English landscape: massive amounts of land exchanged hands after William the Conqueror's coronation (recorded by the *Domesday Book*), and Old English yielded to a confusion of French, early Middle English, and Latin. Although William of Malmesbury would have been writing during a period of relative peace, twelfth-century England was far from stable, and any claims Henry I (1100-35) made to national sovereignty were volatile. Moreover, because the Normans (1066-1154) were defined in opposition to Anglo-Saxon England, a rift endured through the twelfth century between the English people and their political institution. By separating his historical project into independent considerations of England's kings and bishops, William acknowledges this divide and demonstrates its effect on national identity. The *Gesta Regum Anglorum* provides a top-down

view of national identity that perpetuates regal history and Norman claims to the throne, while the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* prioritizes indigenous English identity in the twelfth century.

William's *GRA* transmits a view of national identity that was embraced by the Norman Empire. This politico-centric history hurtles toward the reigns of William I, William II, and Henry I, whose histories compose three of the *Gesta*'s five books. By allowing these Norman monarchs—all part of the same nuclear family—to dominate the work, and by discontinuing his historical record after Henry I, William enables the notion of a perpetual Norman Empire. He does not narrate the conclusion of Henry's reign or the problematic succession that followed the drowning of Henry's two sons in the White Ship, and thereby leaves his audience with the sense that Henry I's England is experiencing an unending renaissance defined by incorruptible saints and noble, generous politicians. According to the *GRA*'s narrative trajectory, Henry and the Norman political institution have defined England as a powerful nation and will continue to do so in perpetuity.

The influence of Norman hierarchies on the *GRA* is evident as early as the volume's opening letters. In a letter to Empress Matilda, William admits that his historical project was begun at her mother's behest (Matilda of Scotland, wife to Henry I). This patronage required William to promulgate the Norman myth, a fiction that distinguished the Normans from the Anglo Saxons while confirming the two peoples' common ancestral bonds and applauding the Normans' time-honored skill of assimilating cultures.[4] In a letter addressed to David I of Scotland, William praises David for adopting the Normans' superior warlike temperament. He writes, "Hic enim cognoscetis… quam emulo gestu diuinae mentes uestrae illorum sectatae sint uestigia, priusquam cognoscerent nomina" (Ep.1.3; here you will learn… how well judged was the rivalry [between yourself and King Stephen of England], how percipient the intentions of you

both).[5] David was of Scottish descent, but he was indebted to Henry I for his inheritance, and he readily adopted Norman politics and customs when he inherited the Scottish crown.[6] When Henry I's daughter Matilda contested Stephen's claims to the English crown, David backed Matilda militantly and thrived on his wholesome antagonism with Stephen. By drawing attention to and praising David I's militant defense of Norman claims to England, William perpetuates the myth of Norman martial supremacy.

Beyond the front matter, William's propagation of Norman superiority in the *GRA* is increasingly evident. For instance, William famously writes that as a result of England's connection with the Franks, the nation "eatenus barbara ad unas consuetudines confederata siluestres animos in dies exuere et ad leniores mores declinare" (1.9.2; hitherto barbarous and now united in one way of life daily unlearnt its woodland wildness and turned to more civilized ways). He also narrates King Egbert's time in France (c. 789), a noteworthy addition to his source text, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[7] In this narrative, William insists that Egbert's time in France taught him intellectual and political acumen, good manners, and other talents that were unknown to the "barbarity" of the Anglo Saxons (2.106.2). In both cases, the civility of the Normans is paramount. To this end, Andrew Galloway remarks that William's treatment of Anglo-Saxon history and culture in the *GRA* denigrated pre-Norman England.[8] He writes, "William often omitted the names of Saxon lineages or English counties 'because of the barbarism of the language'; he daintily gallicized *Æ*thelweard's name to 'Elwardus.'"[9] Both the *GRA*'s narrative and style, then, appeal to Norman sensibilities by constructing a political history that at once distinguishes the Normans from the Anglo Saxons and supports their assimilation of England.

To further perpetuate the Norman myth, William writes francocentric continuity into English history. By including Norman histories in Books One and Two (regarding pre-conquest England), he suggests that the Normans were ever-present in England, and advocates their claim to the English throne. As Kristen Fenton notes, William's incorporation of Norman history in the *GRA* underscores his desire to avoid presenting the English conquest as "a hiatus in his account of English history."[10] In Book One, for example, William includes a section on Frankish kings and their descendents. He writes, "uolo de linea regum Francorum, de qua multa fabulatur antiquitas, ueritatem subtexere; nec multum a proposito elongabor, quia progeniem eorum nescire dampnum duco scientiae… ad eos maxime Christianum spectet imperium" (1.67.1; I should like to add a true account of the lineage of the Frankish kings, the subject of so many hoary myths; nor will it take me far from my intended course, for I regard ignorance of their descent as a serious gap in knowledge, seeing that they are… mainly responsible for the Christian empire). Here, William fuses French and English histories, and emphasizes the importance of closing both cultural and intellectual gaps. Likewise, in Book Two he synthesizes French and English narratives by including a record of Normandy's origins and a collection of Norman stories. These interludes remind William's audience that the Battle of Hastings did not necessarily fracture pre-Conquest English identity. Instead, by accentuating English and Norman interface before 1066, William demonstrates that by claiming the English throne, William the Conqueror was merely promising civility to a country with which his ancestors had an intimate relationship.

Despite his praise of the Norman Empire in the *GRA*, William does acknowledge the complications of writing about contemporary political institutions. Specifically, as an astute historian he laments the fact that he cannot critique the ruling body if he so desires, writing,

"quippe presentium mala periculose, bona plausibiliter dicunter…. Scriptor obuia mala propter metum pretereat et bona, si non sunt, propter plausum confingat" (4.Pr.1; In writing of contemporaries it is dangerous to criticize, while praise is sure of a welcome…. An author will pass over the evils that meet him on every hand, to be on the safe side, and as for good actions, if he cannot find any, he will invent them to secure a good reputation). William believed accuracy was the most important element of historical composition, and as this subversive statement implies, he was bothered by his inability to critique his contemporaries (King Stephen, for example).[11] In fact, the limitations imposed on William by royal patronage and compulsory censorship prohibited him from recording anything following Henry I.

The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* offered a solution to this problem. Because this text provided a history of the English church rather than a regal history that necessarily condoned the Norman ascension, William was able to turn away from the Norman myth and compose a relatively unprejudiced history of the English nation. In so doing, he aligns himself with Bede and Eusebius: writers of ecclesiastical histories who embarked on memorial projects to recover what a nation had lost.[12] He also joins the ranks of scholars and ecclesiasts who wrote church histories in the twelfth century, when the genre flourished because of the Norman Conquest's threat to historical and cultural continuity. In *Historical Writing in England*, Antonia Gransden observes that after 1066,

> There were direct attacks on existing institutions and traditions, and everywhere was the fear of such attacks. The monasteries responded by writing down the lives of the saints associated with them. These works were much more than edificatory hagiographies. To some extent they were local histories. The hagiographer tried to discover the origin of the monastery of which his saint was patron. He tried to

> trace the monastery's history through the saint's cult…. Thus hagiography resulted in historical research and the historical interpretation of evidence.[13]

Gransden's emphasis on *local* history is particularly noteworthy here, because the church histories composed after William the Conqueror's accession were concerned primarily with *English* sanctity. Hermann of Bury St. Edmunds, Eadmer, and Goscelin of St. Bertin were among those who employed local history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to prioritize the continuity of English customs over Norman hierarchies.[14] In the *GPA,* William of Malmesbury also subscribes to this practice. He had already written an element of continuity into the *GRA* by incorporating Norman histories, but the *GPA*'s continuum depends on native *auctoritas*, prioritizing English literary, historical, and ecclesiastical systems.

William goes one step further than his contemporaries by providing a history of the English church that depends first and foremost on England's ecclesiastical landscape. In the *Life of St. Dunstan*, Eadmer regarded Christ Church as a microcosm of England, and Anselm as a personification of the Church, but these equivalencies buckled under the pressure of competing Anglo-Norman church biographies. During the Anglo-Saxon period there was no conflict between a saint, his monastery, and the English nation, but as Norman thought permeated the church, monks grew increasingly critical of English saints and their relationship to national identity. Consequently, a rift formed between English saints and increasingly Normanized religious and political institutions. To these ends, John Gillingham observes, "The devastating experience of 1066 had meant that the correspondence between a kingdom and a people, a community of tradition, custom, law and descent… no longer applied in England."[15] Because of this division between people and their institutions, aggravated by the Church's criticism of English saints, the composition of English national identity depended on alternative continuities.

William depended on the land to provide this continuity, fusing the English church and its saints to the soil and thereby circumventing the problem of institutionalized thinking that favored Norman hierarchy.

Unlike regal and ecclesiastical institutions in England, both of which were being rapidly absorbed by the Normans, the landscape offered William a continuum that was capable of withstanding the Norman myth. Despite the socio-political tumult that followed the Norman invasion, geographical space remained constant. Royal houses, language, and even land ownership fluctuated in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century, but the land resisted change, operating as a palimpsest whose *scriptio inferior* could never be fully erased.[16] William therefore made a significant move by fusing his narrative with the land in the *GPA*. Instead of writing a standard ecclesiastical history that would necessarily concede to Norman thought (just as the *GRA* conceded to Norman regal history), he used chorographical methods to write Anglo-Saxon church history into the English landscape. In so doing, William reverses the Norman project of assimilation. He demonstrates that by insisting on the continuity of geographical space, which is inscribed with centuries of Anglo-Saxon history, the English are capable of becoming the assimilators rather than the assimilatees. Thus the *GPA* offers an altogether new approach to England's post-conquest identity. It provides a description of England's landscape—with a focus on English saints and their preservation in the land—which amounts to a history of the English Church; and this history of the Church in turn amounts to a history of the English nation, asserting Bede's historical methods over Norman regal histories. As a consequence of these substitutions (land → church → nation), Norman hierarchies are subordinated to the continuity of a distinctly English landscape.

William's use of the word *Gesta* in his title is the first indication that his project differs from traditional ecclesiastical histories. In his edition of the *Gesta Episcoporum Gesta Abbatum*, Michel Sot defines the genre:

> Les *gesta* s'organisent autor de la série chronologique continue des évêques ou des abbés depuis les origines de l'église ou de monastére concerné jusqu'au temps de la rédaction. A propos de chaque prélat, les auteurs s'efforcent de préciser la durée, voire les dates de son régne, et d'intégrer dans sa notice toutes sortes d'éléments, historiques, juridiques, hagiographiques at topographiques.[17]
>
> (The *gesta* organize themselves around a continuous chronological series of bishops or abbots sequentially from the origins of a church or monastery to the present moment. With respect to each prelate, the authors attempt to specify the length and dates of his reign, and integrate in his records all sorts of historical, legal, hagiographical, and topographical elements.)

William's *GPA* matches this definition closely. It records the history of the English church, and in so doing pays careful attention to the dates and lengths of bishops' terms. Moreover, the *GPA* incorporates a number of additional narrative forms and techniques ranging from legal charters to saints' lives to geographies. It is the *Gesta*'s use of geographies that concerns us here. Specifically, through using geographical rhetoric and chorographical techniques, the *GPA* provides a history of the nation that prioritizes native English identity.

Existing narratives of early-period history tend to overlook geography's influence on historical conceits in the early-medieval period, locating the synthesis of geography and history in the late-sixteenth century. In the words of Richard Helgerson, 1579 marked "the first time [Englishmen] took effective visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which

they lived."[18] He locates this movement in chorographies, which he loosely defines as representational texts devoted to place. This imprecise definition of chorography is a symptom of the genre's versatility.[19] Chorography contains and confuses the medieval and early modern practices of itineration, perambulation, and mapping, each of which warrants separate consideration here. By carefully examining these three practices and disentangling them from one another, this study defines chorography with increased precision, and traces the genre's emergence at an earlier point in the narrative of English national identity. Specifically, it shows that William's *Gesta* adopts techniques from itineraries, perambulations, and *mappaemundi* to subordinate Norman regal history. After examining each of these media in turn, I will examine how the *GPA* appropriates them in support of an Anglo-centric narrative.

According to modern conceits, itineraries were utilitarian records of a prescribed route that prioritized distances and places/objects of interest. *The Itineraries of William Wey* (1456-8), for example, offers practical travel advice to prospective pilgrims, recording distances between towns along the route to Jerusalem, and information regarding local currency, conduct, and language. This text manifests the systematic nature of itineraries in a long list of cities that Wey encountered on his journey to Rome, subtitled "*iste sunt civitates et ville ad magnam Civitatem Romæ*."[20] Unlike uniform descriptions of a region's topography, the itinerary insisted on itself as a record of *one individual's* experience. The path that readers followed depended entirely upon the traveler. Even in Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Cambriae* (1191), which ostensibly records the path of Archbishop Baldwin, the observations are Gerald's—his subjectivity subordinates the itinerary's intended documentation of Baldwin's mission. In the first chapter, Gerald acknowledges the subjective nature of his text, writing in response to a sermon that "I myself, *who have written these words*, was the first to stand up…. I acted of *my own free will*."[21] Rather

than being constrained by the Archbishop's mission, he is free to record his own experiences and assert himself as the text's principal traveler and narrative focal point.

Like itineraries, perambulations record an individual's journey, but subordinate the journey itself to the sites/landmarks recorded on that journey and the history behind them. According to the *OED*, perambulation literally meant "The action or ceremony of officially walking round a territory… to determine and record its boundaries, to preserve rights of possession, etc., or to confer a blessing."[22] Thus perambulations narrated a person's action, but the purpose of this action was primarily legal: to determine property boundaries and confirm genealogical landholdings. Perambulations were particularly necessary in the early medieval period because property maps were rare, and landholdings had to be described in written documents. Moreover, the textual nature of perambulations allowed families to record genealogies and thereby confirm a family's claim to land.[23]

Before Leland published the *Perambulation of Kent* (1570) and set a precedent for using the word "perambulation" to designate a generic category, Anglo-Saxon charters did the job of perambulation.[24] In these charters, individuals would identify a piece of property to be given away and state the purpose of their gift. The act of property identification was often satisfied by surveys or boundary clauses, which described property boundaries using landscape features and other visual details. A more objective approach to the landscape is evident in these clauses, which deal dispassionately with the landscape and list only objective facts about the land, effectively erasing the presence of a traveling subject. Appended to the extant charters of Malmesbury Abbey, for example, are fourteen detached boundary clauses. One of these, regarding the bounds of Rodbourne, reads as follows:

> Hii sunt termini de Rodburne. Inprimis a loco qui appellatur Rodburne usque fegeran þorne; et ab eadem spina directe per la riþe per sceorte leye; et sic per la forches usque sandweye; et ab eadem uia usque sceorte graue; et per sceorte graue usque le wiþybedde; et ab eodem usque le heðene burieles, uel buriwelle; et sic super Rowedone; et ab eodem monte usque le leuer bedde in beuedone; et ab eodem loco usque Coresbrok; et per Coresbrok usque in Auene; et per Auene usque henne pole; et ab henne pole usque le riþe burne; et ab eodem usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet fegeram þorne.[25]
>
> (These are the bounds of Rodbourne. First from the place which is called Rodbourne to fair thorn-tree. And from that thorn straight along the stream by short wood, and thus by the crossways to sand way. And from that way to short grove, and along short grove to the willow-bed, and form there to the heathen burial, and from there on to Rowden. And thus over Rowden, and from that hill to the wild-iris bed on down, and from that place to Gauze Brook. And along Gauze Brook to the Avon, and along the Avon to water-fowl pool, and from water-fowl pool to Rodbourne, and from that to the starting-place, that is, fair thorn.)

In this passage, historical details and evaluative remarks are notably absent; instead the text is focused exclusively on landscape features and their legal function as boundary markers. The journey is still present insofar as the narrative takes us in a continuous circle around Rodbourne, but the individual walking the territory is mute.

Subjectivity was not completely impossible in medieval charters, though, because they often contained statements of purpose, which added a subjective element to the act of perambulation. In Æthelred's charter (681), which would have accompanied the boundary clause

of Redbourne, we find, "ego Ethelredus, rex Mertiorum, rogatus a patricio meo ac propinquo Cenfritho, pro remedio animae meae… triginta cassatos ab occidentali parte stratae publicae, et non longe in alio loco quindecim prope Tettan monasterium, Aldelmo abbati et successoribus eius in libertatem terrenarum seruitutum perpetualiter, libenter largitus sum" (5.202.2; I, Æthelred, king of the Mercians, at the request of my patrician and relative Cenfrith, for the salvation of my soul… have gladly granted to Abbot Aldhelm and his successors, free of earthly servitudes and for ever, thirty hides to the west of the public way, and, not far off, in another place, fifteen near the monastery of Tetbury). In this passage, it becomes clear that the boundary clause cited above is not an end in itself. Æthelred is interested in exchanging land for eternal reward, and because he is allowed to interject here, the survey becomes subordinate to its ostensible purpose (i.e., the exchange of land). A description of property boundaries is necessary to the proposed exchange, but unlike itineraries—which value description as an intellectual pursuit—charters highlight the practical application of geographical description.

Charters are also noteworthy for their interest in possession over time. Æthelred's charter shares this proclivity, using the rhetoric of genealogies to control the tenure of his lands. He calls Cenfrith his relative (*propinquo*), and identifies him as a dynastic corroborator in his decision to give away his land. He then qualifies his gift by insisting that the Church respect its own operational genealogy: the succession of abbots. Anticipating the long-lasting effect of his charter, Æthelred closes by threatening those who would usurp the abbot's property: "si quis, tirannica potestate fretus, demere sategerit, sciat se coram Christo nouemque angelorum ordinibus rationem redditurum" (5.202.3; if any man, relying on a tyrant's power, makes it his concern to take anything away, let him know that he will answer for it before Christ and the nine

orders of angels). According to these conceits, perambulations—and their early manifestation in medieval charters—transcended time.

While narrative representations of space were most common in pre-modern England, maps were also critical to early formulations of the world. Medieval *mappaemundi* were particularly significant because they were the first spatial genre to transfer images from physical to representative landscapes. On medieval maps, cities and important sites were represented by detailed *picturae* rather than geometric points. Rome and Jerusalem, for example, are represented by city walls and soaring turrets on the Anglo-Saxon world map and contemporary *mappaemundi*. These and other illustrations of the physical world (informed by literary authority, regional subjectivities, and personal experience) substituted for abstract geometric figures and transformed maps into representative landscapes. Consequently, *mappaemundi* perpetuated experiential approaches to land. Like itineraries and perambulations, maps at this time suggested that visible or imagined components of the landscape were crucial to identifying and understanding a place.

The prioritizing of *picturae* implies that early-period cartography valued regional identities over spatial continuity and uniformity. While *mappaemundi* generally conformed to traditions of cartographical representation (an amalgam of topological geography and biblical history), they largely disregarded spatial and mathematical continuities in favor of representative landscapes. In other words, the presence of buildings and landmarks in a given region was more important than a region's geographical location. This is largely because buildings and landmarks on *mappaemundi* had cultural significance, and by representing these landscape features medieval mapmakers could fuse culture with the land.[26] As Evelyn Edson notes, "[medieval maps] serve to establish the location of actions and the routes of armies, and to show the passage

of time as events worked their changes on the countryside."[27] Significantly, by fusing cartography and culture, medieval mapmakers challenged the material determination of geographical space and suggested that land was subject to interpretation and inscription. By carefully selecting which landscape features to represent, mapmakers could perpetuate a particular view of history and culture. The Psalter world map, for instance, perpetuates a biblical view of history by centering the map on Jerusalem, and including graphical representations of Noah's Ark, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and Moses crossing the Red Sea. This interpretation of history is further manifest in the map's borders, which show Christ giving a blessing with his right hand and holding a T-O representation of the world in his left. As a spatial genre, then, maps insisted on the visual and experiential nature of space, and demonstrated the degree to which space could be manipulated to particular historical/cultural ends.

While these parameters theoretically distinguished itineraries, perambulations, and maps from one another, in practice the three genres were frequently confused (as indicated by the title of Tristram Risdon's seventeenth-century *Chorographical Description or Survey of the County of Devon*, which suggests that the terms "description" and "survey" are interchangeable). Itineraries contained graphical maps, and perambulations contained personalized reflections on specific locations. In his *Survey of London* (1598), which, as a self-identified survey, should ostensibly serve the same purpose as a boundary clause, Stow writes, "I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, someone scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down."[28] Despite the dispassionate, objective approach to space that defines surveys and boundary clauses, Stow

inserts himself into his narrative and offers a personal antidote regarding academic debates in Smithfield. Because of this generic confusion, the modern use of "chorography" circumscribes all of the above genres. The term has essentially become a catch-all: a means by which to refer to any and all of the practices contained within itineraries, perambulations, and maps. By failing to distinguish between each of the genres implicated in the term "chorograpy," though, scholars overlook the nuances of spatial narratives and oversimplify their theoretical conceits. In discussing the use of chorographical techniques in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, I intend to disentangle these genres. In so doing, we can see that William of Malmesbury's *Gesta* adopts techniques from each of the three genres, and thereby meets the generic qualifications of chorography.

Reading the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* as an Itinerary

William's interest in space is demonstrated most obviously in the *GPA*'s ordering structure. Most ecclesiastical histories, including Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, depend on *time* to organize their narratives, but William divides the *GPA* into five books according to English regions. He writes, "hic per singula uolumina episcopatus prouintiarum distinguam…. Hic ergo primus liber habebit gesta archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium et episcoporum Rofensium, apud quos primum excreuit regnum. Ceteri quique suo sequentur ordine" (Pr.5; Here, the various books will mark off different bishoprics…. This first book, then, will contain the story of the archbishops of Canterbury and the bishops of Rochester, who ruled when the first kingdom grew up. The rest will follow in their proper order). William cites temporal constraints in this passage, suggesting that his *Gesta* will address the early growth of the English nation, but his primary concern is

place: Canterbury and Rochester are the first installment in an "ordering" of English bishoprics. William's order proceeds as follows: 1. Kent (Canterbury/Rochester), 2. Essex, East Anglia, Wessex, and Sussex, 3. Northumbria, 4. Mercia, 5. Malmesbury. This five-part division is important for two reasons. First, William's spatial division is heavily influenced by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which also divides history into five parts. By imitating Bede, William aligns himself with the author he deemed a solitary light in a dark nation, and sets himself up as the inheritor of English historicism.[29] William prioritizes place over time, though, and thereby revises Bede's history in order to meet the needs of a post-conquest nation.

Second, William's spatial division follows two loops through England. The first is a counter-clockwise loop beginning in Canterbury and ending in Sussex, and the second is a clockwise loop beginning in Northumbria and ending in Malmesbury. By ordering his narrative in this way, William aligns his *Gesta* with medieval itineraries: contiguous paths define his text's trajectory. William himself was a prolific traveler. We know very little about his life, but the landscapes he describes and the inscriptions and manuscripts that he cites suggest that he traveled as far north as Carlisle and Hexham, and extensively in southern England. This personal travel experience is omnipresent in the *GPA*. For example, in the prologue to his fourth book, William writes that Litchfield is "propositum executuro cursum tale se offert dicendi auspitium" (4.Pr.3; the obvious starting point for the journey I have planned). The Latin word *cursum* here insists on a physical journey through space that belongs exclusively to William. Translated alternatively as "movement" or "direction," this word allows William's journey to transcend narrative.[30]

Later in the same book, William writes, "Veruntamen, quid de his postea cognitioni meae accesserit, cum ad locum uenero, non tacebo" (4.155.5; when I come to the right place, I shall

not suppress what has come to my notice on this point [i.e., the location of Oswald's arms] since then). While *locum* can refer to a passage in a book, context suggests that William is referring to a physical location in England. Immediately preceding this line he questions whether Oswald's arms are preserved at Bamburgh, as he once claimed.[31] The issue of interest to William here is not rhetorical; he is concerned with the location of an artifact in the physical world and its cultural significance. When he returns to the question of Oswald's arms in his examination of Peterborough, he reports that Oswald's arm "ibi… haberi dicunt, nerius cute carne integrum, ab antiqua requietionis sede furtim allatum" (4.180.3; is said to be kept there, brought in secret from its old resting place, with sinews, skin, and flesh intact). But William refuses to rely on hearsay, and insists that "fides dictorum uacillat ubi nichil auditor uisu explorat. Hoc uero non ideo dixerim quod de integritate Sancti sim dubius, sed utrum eo loci contineatur nolo esse affirmator preproperus" (ibid.; the truth of words is in doubt where the hearer cannot use sight to test them. I say this not because I am in any doubt as to the saint's incorruption, but because I do not want to assert his presence in the place too hastily). This statement insists on the integrity of place and subordinates reportage to experience. The claims a geographical location can make to particular artifacts are too important to be trusted to rumor.

William's emphasis on eyewitness reinforces the experiential nature of the *GPA* and further aligns it with medieval itineraries; secondhand stories do not suffice in a text that depends on William's personal experience of his native country. To these ends, William repeatedly writes himself into the *GPA.* In discussing the miracles of Swithun he writes, "Vidi ego, quod mirum dictu sit, hominem, cui uiolentia raptorum effodisset lumina, oculis uel illis uel aliis (nam illi longiuscule proiecti fuerant) receptis, serenam lucem per Swithuni merita recepisse" (2.75.43; Remarkably enough, I have myself seen a man, whose eyes had been gouged out by violent

attackers, win back perfect sight by the merits of Swithhun, receiving his previous eyes or another pair, his having been flung some way off). Here William reasserts his authority over the journey, insisting that his readers accept his personal eyewitness as they follow him through England. In this way, he prioritizes the experiential nature of his narrative and underscores the fact that his text functions as an itinerary rather than a mere history.

The *GPA*'s itinerant nature is further perpetuated by William's use of topographical and cultural description to introduce each bishopric. Before listing the bishops of Rochester he writes, "Cantuariensem aeclesiam sequitur Rofensis, uicinitate loci, non auctoritate priuilegii proxima, quae et olim illa lactante fidem inbiberit…. Rofa est oppidum situ nimium angustum, sed, quia in edito locatum fluuio uiolentissimo alluitur, hostibus sine periculo non accessibile" (2.72.1; On the church of Canterbury follows that of Rochester, very near geographically, though not in prestige, for it was from Canterbury's breasts that it imbibed the milk of the faith long ago…. Rochester is a town on a very restricted site, but being on a hill and washed by a rushing river it cannot safely be approached by an enemy). William's geographical and topographical description of Rochester here imitates descriptions in medieval itineraries; the sequence of his narrative depends on geographical proximity, *not* cultural significance. William describes London in a similar way:

> Haud longe a Rofa, quasi uiginti quinque miliariis, est Lundonia ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitiis, constipata negotiatorum ex omni terra et maxime ex Germania uenientium commertiis…. Peregrinas inuehit merces ciuitatis sinibus Tamensis fluuius famosus, qui, citra urbem ad octoginta miliaria fonticulo fusus, ultra plus septuaginta nomen perfert; apud Doferam enim pelago conditur. (2.73.1)

> (Not far from Rochester, perhaps twenty-five miles away, is the grand city of London, abounding in the wealth of its citizens and crammed with the wares of traders from every land, especially Germany…. Foreign goods are brought into the heart of the city by the famous river Thames, which has its slender source about eighty miles this side of the city and goes on bearing the same name for more than seventy miles further; for it merges with the sea at Dover.)

The use of mileage to indicate the distance between Rochester and London is a quintessential element of itineraries. Like the systematized list of distances in *The Itineraries of William Wey*, this detail establishes spatial relations between English cities, and prioritizes the journey over general description. London is not just a city in southeast England; it is a city approximately twenty-five miles away from Rochester, William's most recent destination. This passage also provides cultural detail pertinent to the place in question. Landscape features are less important here than details regarding local conduct and commerce.

Finally, the *GPA* aligns itself with medieval itineraries because it is a product of William's desire for knowledge. In the prologue, he writes that he is inspired (*allectus*) by "dignae cognitionis… studio" (Pr.3; the impulse to know something worth knowing). As John Adrian notes, many chorographic projects "valued knowledge as an inherent good."[32] Because itineraries do not have a specific legal or political goal in mind, they depend entirely on the intellectual satisfaction offered by the quest; the acquisition of knowledge trumps the eventual application of that knowledge.

Reading the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* as a Perambulation

In addition to its emphasis on William's itinerary, the *GPA* demonstrates elements of perambulation, the second genre to shape modern uses of the term chorography. When William's journey excludes a specific site, he turns to objective reports to fill out his narrative. Because William was suspicious of hearsay, these reports are generally authenticated by multiple eyewitnesses, and value objective observation over evaluative insights. Regarding the miraculous preservation of Cuthbert's body William writes, "Extulit ergo eius famam sacri corporis elatio, quod e mausoleo leuatum cunctis uolentibus fecit conspicuum….et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibusdam uenisset in dubium utrum olim uulgatum adhuc de integritate compaginis duraret miraculum" (3.134.4; So [Ranulf's] fame was heightened by the elevation of [Cuthbert's] body, which he took up from its tomb and put on view *for all who wished to see it*…. and he exhibited it in its incorrupt state, for some people had doubted if the long vaunted miracle of the wholeness of the body was still persisting). Here William reports the presence of an artifact in Durham that he trusts exists because it has been witnessed by *many people*. Cuthbert's incorrupt body, like a stream or cluster of trees, is an indisputable element of the landscape that visitors have experienced communally and can continue to experience in the future.

William's attention to universal experience is also emphasized in Book Five, where he writes:

> fidem tamen ueri secura promissione astringo. Erut enim ista quae illaturus sum sola quae fauor uniuersitatis exsequitur, iam inde ab antiquis ductus temporibus…. Non ergo uideri debent de nichilo, quae per succiduas generationes ab omni predicantur populo. (5.212.1-2)

> (I give my solemn word and pledge myself to tell the truth. I shall adduce only what is universally believed and has come down all the way from antiquity: things supported by the *general agreement of local people*, handed down to posterity in an unbroken succession…. What through successive generations every one has proclaimed is not to be thought of no importance.)

Here William values authenticated observation without undermining his previous emphasis on experience. He asserts that, while personal observation remains the most reliable means by which to transmit information, a secondhand report can satisfy narrative requirements if it is verified by multiple eyewitnesses. This move away from the itinerary's emphasis on firsthand experience indicates William's interest in the societal implications of spatial description. While firsthand accounts (i.e., itineraries) provide experiential approaches to the land that emphasize the journey and the pursuit of knowledge, narrative accounts have the potential to be recognized by socio-political institutions. These accounts, so long as they are verified by multiple eyewitnesses, offer truths about the English landscape that William believes warrant inclusion in the *GPA* despite his skepticism regarding the "fides dictorum" (4.180.3; truth of words).

Continuity is a second element of objective observation that William values. In addition to emphasizing the visual and experiential nature of landscape features, in the above passage he suggests that landscapes accrue meaning over time. Throughout his narrative, he stresses the currency of built structures, granting them authority by insisting that they still stand as markers of history and culture. He writes, "Stat ibi adhuc, et uicit diuturnitate sua tot secula, aecclesia ab eo in honorem sancti Iohannis baptistae constructa" (5.198.1; To this day, victorious over so many centuries, an aged church stands [by the River Frome], built by Aldhelm in honour of St. John the Baptist). And later in the same chapter, "Et est ad hunc diem eo loci aecclesiola, quam

ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii fecisse predicatur" (5.198.2; To this day, indeed, a small church is to be found [at Bradford], which he is said to have been built in the name of St. Laurence). In both cases William links spatial import with time. This detail connects the *GPA* with the political aims of perambulation. In a study regarding later appropriations of medieval perambulatory techniques, Andrew Gordon observes,

> the viewing—or perambulation as it was sometimes termed—was performed in the company of the tenants, functioning simultaneously as an investigation of the land and an occasion for re-inscribing the bounds of each portion of the estate in the communal memory. Navigating the land in the company of both young and old estate residents allowed both the transmission of local knowledge across the generations and the opportunity for immediate examination of points of contention.[33]

The immediate aims of perambulation are therefore to identify boundary markers for socio-political purposes, and to allow families to inscribe their property with local and ancestral knowledge. When successive generations drew up charters describing their land, they could confirm genealogical ownership by appealing to this timeless knowledge. Such charters also regularly listed family members and their relationships. This further emphasized the continuity of a bloodline over time, which served an important authorizing function by granting the current generation absolute claims to family land.[34]

William achieves the same effect in the *GPA* by emphasizing monastic continuity. Churches that have been "victorious over so many centuries" (5.198.1), and miraculous artifacts that have been witnessed repeatedly make a greater contribution to English national identity than ruins and singular reports regarding an artifact's existence. In the *GPA*, time therefore

authenticates a monastery's inscription of the landscape and its ability to influence national identity, just as it authenticates a family's claim to land. This preference for historical continuity is much more in line with perambulations than itineraries, since it depends on the description of relatively permanent and universally accessible landscape features. Unlike itineraries, which manifest an element of subjectivity discussed above, perambulations and the charters they produced had to be verifiable for social and political reasons. By valuing the authority of time and communal observation, then, William aligns the *GPA* with perambulatory practices.

William's commitment to perambulation and the type of spatial description it engenders is confirmed by his inclusion of charters in the *GPA*. Twenty-two pre-conquest charters appear in the text, each highlighting the importance of land to regional identity. Before introducing the first of these (the original charter granting land to Malmesbury Abbey) William writes,

> enim utraque monasteria From et Bradeford, morem mortalium emulantia, in nichilum defecere…. Solum Meldunense idemque Malmesberiense uiget adhuc habitatorum frequentia, habitaculorum decore. Quod pietate Sancti dispensari, qui se corpusque suum ibidem deuouit, arbitror, ut tot euadat erumnas, tot calamitates duret, umbramque iam tenuem iam pridem amissae libertatis suspiret. (5.198.2-3)
>
> (the monasteries of both Frome and Bradford have imitated mortal men by relapsing into nothing…. Only the monastery of *Meldnum*, that is Malmesbury, is still full of monks, dwelling in handsome habitations. I think it is the doing of our merciful saint [Aldhelm], who gave himself body and soul to its service, ensuring that it might escape so many disasters, and last out so many troubles, still breathing some faint trace of liberty long lost ago.)

By making Malmesbury Abbey the subject of his sentence, William highlights the landscape's dynamic role in identifying social, political and religious systems. Because the monastery itself (a feature of Malmesbury's landscape) has escaped disaster, the religious practice it contains thrives. The monastery's good condition, evidenced by the monastics' *habitaculorum decore*, confirms that both the physical landscape and the traditions built upon it remain intact.

Here, William emphasizes the fact that landscapes are capable of withstanding invading forces: the monastery's material preservation allows for its unfettered religious practice. Liberty is therefore tied to the landscape's condition (i.e., the physical condition of the monastic building). In the *Gesta*, this fusion of landscapes and liberty is central to William's treatment of Malmesbury's charters. He first establishes exigence by stressing the world's fragility. Because of his concern with the corrosive nature of time, William takes special care to record currents of apocalypticism in Malmesbury's charters. For instance, he transcribes the charter-grant of Leutherius to Aldhelm (675), in which Leutherius expresses fear regarding the deterioration of mankind:

> Ita nimirum prostrata mundi pompulenta gloria, iamque appropinquante eiusdem termino, fluctuantes seculi turbines incumbere experimento euidenti uidentur, ut reuera et absque ullo ancipiti scrupulo illa Domini presagmina nostris tandem temporibus comprobentur impleri, quibus ita celesti oraculo effatus est: "Videte ficulneam et omnes arbores" et cetera. (5.199.2)
>
> (In just such a way, now that the ostentatious glory of the world has been brought low, and its end approaches, the eddying storms of the world are clearly seen from our own experience to be upon us, so that in very fact and with no shadow of doubt the forecast of our Lord is in our days at least proved to be finding

> fulfillment, when he said with heavenly prescience: "See the fig tree, and all the trees" and the rest.)

According to this excerpt, the world's decline is inevitable. Yet William records Leutherius's biblical reference to highlight the enduring quality of landscapes. In Luke's gospel, God tells the people of Jerusalem that the apocalypse is drawing near, but comforts them by offering a parable: "Look at the fig tree, and all the trees; as soon as they come out in leaf, you see for yourselves and know that the summer is near. So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that the kingdom of God is near."[35] In this passage, God offers a landscape feature as evidence of his timelessness: the fig tree is an emblem of divine protection in troubling times. Even as history itself draws to an end, the land remains permanent. This permanence is particularly reassuring because the land has been inscribed with meaning that time cannot erase; even if a landscape changes, remnants of past landscapes (e.g., ruins, barrows, post holes) will produce a palimpsest accessible to generation after generation. Because William believed that stable landscapes ensured liberty, the fig trees' fortitude in Luke 21 would certainly have resonated with his chorographical project.

After establishing the need for enduring landscapes, William then insists on the longevity of Malmesbury's land by appropriating a convention of the cartulary genre: the tendency for charters to insist on their own permanence. The charter of Berhtwald (685), for example, threatens "Si quis contra hanc donationem uenire temptauerit, aut tirannica fretus potestate inuaserit, sciat se in tremendo cunctorum examine coram Christo rationem redditurum" (5.204.3; But if anyone should try to oppose this gift, or rely on a tyrant's power to assault it, let him know that he will answer for it before Christ at the terrible judgment of all men). A similar passage appears in the Charter of King Centwine (688), which reads, "Ita ergo firmiter et immobiliter

haec largitio in futuram progeniem permaneat, ut nullus frangere huius donationis priuilegium presumat. Si quis uero contra hanc munificentiam, tirannica potestate inflatus, uenire temptauerit, sciat se obstaculum irae Dei incurrere, et in ultimo examine coram Christo et angelis eius rationem reddere" (5.206.3; Let this grant therefore endure firm and unshaken into the future, so that none presumes to infringe the privilege of this gift. But if anyone, puffed up by a tyrant's power, tries to oppose this munificence, let him know that he is running up against the obstacle of God's wrath, and will answer for it at the last judgment before Christ and his angels). In fact, an insistence on divine endorsement is a commonplace in each of the charters William transcribes: the omnipresent God will confirm the eternal maintenance of Malmesbury's land grants. By appropriating this generic convention, then, William ensures that his town's landscape has the necessary longevity to sustain the socio-political and religious systems built thereupon. His confirmation of this fact was critical. S.A. Kelly observes,

> it seems almost certain that William's presentation of the early history of Malmesbury was influenced by the situation of the abbey during his own day, when its cherished independence was eclipsed. There would have been a focus on documentary evidence for the community's freedom from outside control… [including] documents such as the charters of Leuthere, Ine and Aldhelm, and perhaps also for Æthelwulf's 'decimation' charters. It would have been important to the community to demonstrate continuity from these early times.[36]

By recording Malmesbury's charters in the *Gesta*, William therefore liberates his town's infrastructure. Malmesbury's stable landscapes (including the monastics' *habitaculorum decore*), which are marked out by perambulation and confirmed by a divine seal of approval, free the town from forces that challenge its independence.

The charters in William's *GPA* also reflect his interest in objective and verifiable reportage. The charter of Berhtwald states, "Ea quae secundum timorem et amorem Domini, religiosa largitionis deuotione, diffiniuntur quanuis solus sermo sufficeret promulgare, tamen, pro incerta futurorum temporum conditione, scriptis publicis et documentorum gestis sunt confirmanda" (5.204.1; It would be enough to announce by word of mouth alone acts of generosity decided upon with religious devotion in the fear and love of the Lord. But the future is uncertain, and they had best be confirmed by public writings and formal documents). Here, public record is an important aspect of verification and preservation. While God will oversee the maintenance of land grants, the written documents must themselves be confirmed using more mundane methods. In many cases, the veracity of charters was established by signatures or a written confirmation that the charter was read publicly. For instance, the charter of Leutherius closes with the affirmation that it was "Actum publicae iuxta flumen Bladon, septimo kalendas Septembris, anno incarnationis Christi sexcentesimo septuagesimo quinto" (5.199.6; Delivered in public by the River Bladon, on 26 August in the year of our Lord 675). And the charter of Berhtwald concludes with the statement: "Actum publice in sinodo, iuxta uadum Bregford, mense Iulio, tricesima die mensis eiusdem, indictione tertia decima, anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo octogesimo quinto" (5.204.2; Delivered in public at a council at the ford called Burford, 30 July, the thirteenth indiction, in the year of our Lord 685).[37] Like William, the authors of these charters understood that reports are untrustworthy unless they can be confirmed by multiple witnesses. Public announcements of the charters exposed them to a community's collective memory, and thereby guaranteed that the documents could be verified by that community.

Finally, the charters William transcribes acknowledge the authenticating function of place. Rather than simply appending a list of signatures to their texts, the authors of Anglo-Saxon charters grounded their documents in specific locales, associating the charters' proclamation with specific landscape features (the River Bladon and the Burford Ford, for example). In so doing, they inserted their charters into the narrative that defined a given landscape and effectively published their documents in physical space, since inscribing topographies with cartulary data ensured the perpetuation of that data. Moreover, by linking charters with the land, authors guaranteed the twofold verification and perpetuation of their texts: first, the charters would be disseminated by communal memory and the generational transmission of local knowledge; and second, a continued tradition of perambulation would produce a series of documents interested in the links between historical events—like the proclamation of an historical land grant—and landscape features.

Ultimately, by including charters in his narrative William authorizes his criteria for describing England's diocese. Throughout the *GPA* he insists on the importance of verifiable eyewitness and material continuity: two elements that grant third-person accounts objective truth. If he is incapable of verifying a fact himself, the data he turns to must meet these two criteria. His inclusion of charters, which emphasize and depend on these two criteria, demonstrates the authority and longevity that verifiable eyewitness and material continuity give to a document. Many of the charters he transcribes are over 200 years old by the time he fuses them with the *GPA*, and their authority has not diminished with time. Moreover, William's use of charters empowers his own authorial decisions. If charters were (and continue to be) acknowledged by families and socio-political systems, and his own text adheres to the generic elements of medieval charters, then his own text must warrant the same recognition. He enters a symbiotic

relationship with medieval charters, wherein he perpetuates and authenticates Malmesbury's charters, and these charters in turn draw attention to the potential social and political implications of his own text. By including charters, the *GPA* therefore draws attention to and demonstrates the effectiveness of its own techniques.[38]

Reading the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* as a *Mappamundi*

William also values non-narrative methods of chorography in the *GPA*. Throughout the text, and partly as a consequence of his attention to the traditions of itineraries and perambulations, he constructs a *vision* of England. He expects his readers to both consume and process his narrative, and to convert the narrative into a collection of images that can be stored in the mind's eye. Nancy Partner addresses this visual component of historical description, suggesting that an historian's use of visual detail can transport readers "to private rooms and bits of landscape, evoked in suggestive detail, [where] intriguing objects and furnishings appear."[39] In other words, Partner suggests that historians are capable of recreating physical spaces and populating these spaces with meaningful objects. This practice is remarkably similar to medieval cartography. As discussed above, early period maps functioned as representative landscapes, using *picturae* to transfer landscape features and built structures to a two-dimensional medium. In the same way, a chorographical narrative could build representative landscapes and mark these landscapes with distinguishing objects. By emphasizing visual components of the English landscape in the *GPA*, William does just this, offering his readers a veritable map of the English nation.

That William subscribed to this theory is evident in his praise of Eadmer, who (according to William) effectively exploited narrative's visual potential. In discussing Anselm's early years,

he writes, "Quanquam non seriatim uerba sed summatim facta exsecuturus sim, prono fauore domno Edmero cedens, qui omnia ita lucide exposuit ut ea quodammodo subiecisse oculis nostris uideatur" (1.45.1; I shall summarize the facts without going into every verbal detail, for I am happy to yield place to the respected Eadmer, who has set everything down so clearly that he might be thought to have put it before our very eyes). In this passage, William suggests that a model narrative allows readers to *visualize* its components, and it is this ideal toward which he strives. In the prologue to the *GPA*, William writes, "crassas ignorantiae tenebras palpo, nec ulla lucerna historiae preuia semitam dirigo. Aderit tamen, ut spero, Lux mentium, ut et integra non uacillet ueritas et instituta conseruetur breuitas" (Pr.4; I grope my way through a dense fog of ignorance, and no lantern of history goes before to direct my path. But, as I hope, the Light of minds will not fail me, ensuring that the truth in its fullness does not waver and that the principle of concision is preserved). Although William uses the modesty topos here to suggest his failings as a writer, he clearly intends to write the best possible narrative, informed by the "Light of minds" that have preceded him. Given the textual criteria he establishes in his praise of Eadmer, we can assume that William will strive to include visual descriptions in his *Gesta* that will bring the English landscape to life.

William is successful in his attempt to follow Eadmer's footsteps. He spends a considerable amount of time inscribing the English landscape with culturally significant sites, providing his readers with a cache of images that represent the nation. The most striking landscape features in the *GPA* are gravesites; William is fascinated by tombs and the bodies they contain. His attention to these sites associates William with a scholarly community that was interested in the symbolic relationship between bodies and England's institutions in the early twelfth century.[40] The New Testament engendered this interest in the human body as sacred

space. Unlike the rhetoric of the Old Testament, which focused largely on the temple as a site of worship,[41] the New Testament set a precedent for reading the body as a temple. In I Corinthians 3:16-17, for instance, Paul writes "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you? If any one destroys God's temple, God will destroy him. For God's temple is holy, and that temple you are." William's interest in this New Testament doctrine is evident in Book One, where he writes,

> Felix qui unitatem pacis fraterno amore conseruare studet. Sed ille multo felitior qui ab aliis disrupta caritatis uiscera pio labore ad unius compagem corporis reformare nititur. Igitur nunc, gratia operante diuina, membrorum unitas adheret capiti proprio, et sacerdotalis dignitas antiquo gratulatur honore. (1.10.2)
>
> (Happy is the man who strives to preserve the unity of peace in brotherly love; but much happier he who by devoted effort labours to bring back into the form of a single body bowels of charity that have been sundered by others. Now therefore, by the agency of divine grace, limbs are joined in unity to their proper head, and the dignity of the priesthood rejoices in its old honor.)

In this highly metaphorical passage, the body William refers to is the English church and the limbs are bishoprics (Mercia and Canterbury) that competed for the archbishopric under Offa and Jænberht. By casting the church as a body William demonstrates his willingness to use the relationship between human bodies and English institutions for his own narrative purposes.[42] Moreover, because the English church serves as an analogue for the English nation in the *GPA*, this passage suggests that the nation is a body that must be recovered after having been sundered by others (*aliis*). Given the *Gesta*'s post-conquest composition, this is very likely a call to mend

England's fractured identity, which was a consequence of the Norman Invasion (despite historiographical protestations to the contrary).

William's attention to gravesites and bodies also confirms his interest in visualizing landscapes. Both graves and bodies are physical artifacts that are fused with the land. Like landscape features, they served as visual manifestations of a place's history that could be described chorographically or mapped cartographically. Tombs, headstones, and bodies transmit local knowledge and identity just as the River Bladon transmitted knowledge of Leutherius's charter. Unlike the River Bladon, though, these artifacts *augmented* the natural landscape. Like Noah's Ark and Gog and Magog's enclosure on *mappaemundi*, tombs, headstones, and bodies could inscribe the land with additional layers of meaning and speak to the presence and influence of mankind. William's attention to these artifacts, then, demonstrates his interest in not only recording a journey, but also using his journey to construct a map of England that is marked with culturally significant landscape features and built structures. With medieval maps as his example, William models his visual descriptions on real landscape features that he either witnesses personally, or knows of through verifiable and continuous reports.

Because of William's interest in the relationship between bodies and the church, the gravesites that interest him the most are those containing saintly bodies or bodies of noteworthy churchmen. He also prioritizes Anglo-Saxon saints and churchmen over contemporary persons. He writes, "quanuis hoc opere non omnia per Angliam enumeranda susceperim, nisi quae sint pro indigenarum sanctorum corporibus maioris famae, altioris gloriae" (3.116.3; I have not in any case undertaken to list all the English monastic houses in this book, only those that are especially well known because of the bodies of native saints buried there). Here, William articulates his use of *native saints*' gravesites to mark the English landscape and thereby identify

the English nation. In the *Gesta*, he describes approximately seventy-five such burial sites—a remarkable number given that there are only 278 chapters in the book. In a *Gesta* that is ostensibly devoted to recording the history of the English church, charting William's personal journey, and providing a detailed topographical description of the nation, it is extraordinary that there is still space for nearly one-third of the *GPA*'s chapters to discuss burial. Additionally, these discussions almost always provide visual and historical details regarding a specific burial site. William does not subscribe to a series of methodical statements regarding the locations of graves. Instead, he devotes time and energy to thoroughly describing the site itself. In describing Wulfstan's grave, for example, William observes that Wulfstan's body "Iacet inter duas piramides, arcu lapideo pulchre superuoluto. Lignum, in superiori prominet, quod casses ferreos, quos uocant araneas, infixos habet" (4.148.4; lies between two pyramids, under a beautiful stone arch. There is a wooden projection above, carrying attached to it the iron grilles they call spiders' webs). William's use of descriptive detail in this passage is striking. He says the stone arch above Wulfstan's grave is "beautiful" (*pulchre*), and he recasts the tomb's iron grilles as "spiders' webs" (*araneas*). This description is then followed by the report of a fire and a revised description of the tomb, which "non solum a furore flammae immune, sed nec fuligine tinctum nec fauilla opertum fuit. Et ut augeretur miraculum, natta, qua orantes accubitare solebant, ante mausoleum incolumis reperta. Lignum etiam, quod superne prominere dixi, quantum extra lapides extabat, inuentum integrum" (4.149.1-2; remained untouched by the furious flames, neither discolored by the smuts nor covered in ash. To increase the marvel of it, the rush mat on which worshippers used to kneel was found unharmed in front of the tomb. As for the timber, which, as I said, protruded above, what was clear of the stone was found to be untouched). Here

William follows his description of the tomb's splendor with evidence of its continuity. Even when Wulfstan's tomb endures a natural disaster, it remains beautiful in all of its exquisite detail.

William also devotes a great deal of time describing the bodies contained at gravesites. In his description of Cuthbert's tomb and cadaver he writes:

> Extulit ergo eius famam sacri corporis elatio, quod e mausoleo leuatum cunctis uolentibus fecit conspicuum. Tractauit illud ausu felici Radulfus, tunc Sagiensis abbas, postea Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibusdam uenisset in copus, et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibasdam uenisset in dubium utrum olim uulgatum adhuc de integritate compaginis duraret miraculum. Vestes quoque omnes recenti splendore nitentes, calix super pectus, cuius superior pars aurea, inferior onichina esset. Faties tam stricte obuoluta sudario ut nullo abbatis nisu dissotiari posset. Caput Oswaldi regis et martiris inter brachia eius inuentum. Ossa sanctorum Bedae et regis Celuulfi, qui apud Lindisfarnum monachus et sanctus fuerat, in singulis saccis lineis reperta. Erat spectaculum ingens in cimiterio, sereno aere, nulla pendente nubium crassitudine, monachis omnibus sollemnibus indutis uestibus. Longa pompa euntium et redeuntium, magnaque constipatio se ingerentium, dum semel uisum iuuat iterum iterumque uidere. (3.134.4-6)
>
> (So [Ranulf's] fame was heightened by the elevation of the holy body, which he took up from its tomb and put on view for all who wishes to see it…. he exhibited it in its incorrupt state, for some people had doubted if the long vaunted miracle of the wholeness of the body was still persisting. All the clothes, what is more, shone as though new. On the breast was a chalice, the upper part of gold, the lower of

> onyx. The face was so tightly wrapped that no force the abbot applied could get the napkin off. The head of Oswald king and martyr was found between the arms. The bones of the saints Bede and King Ceolwulf, who had been monk and saint at Lindisfarne, were discovered in separate linen bags. What a sight it was in the churchyard!—the weather fine, no heavy clouds in the sky, the monks all clad in solemn habits. There was a long queue of people going and coming back, and a great press of those jostling each other at the door, for they took delight in seeing over and over again what they had already seen once.)

This lengthy passage details physical objects and then stages the conditions of spectatorship. William takes pains to describe Cuthbert's shining clothes, compound chalice, and embalmed head, providing his readers with embellishments that allow them to "witness" Cuthbert's tomb vicariously. He encourages his readers to feel as if they too are queuing up in anticipation of seeing Cuthbert's body a second time, appealing to man's sense of sight, sound (the jostling of bodies in line), and touch (the warmth of the sun on your skin) to bring the scene to life.

These visual descriptions demonstrate William's rhetorical proficiency, but they are also relevant to the chorographical and cartographical nature of the *GPA*. Although William is constrained by the narrative form of his text, he uses language to create the textual equivalent of *picturae*, which liberally mark his English landscape. As Robert M. Stein notes, "The selection of saints in William's narrative traverses England and constitutes its geography. Northumbria, Kent, Mercia, East Anglia—the space fills with miracle working bodies and fragments of bodies in which the divine is experienced not as sign or as promise or as longing but as presence."[43] The physicality of saints' bodies endows the English landscape with a verifiable presence of the divine that is linked indefinitely with the land. Stein's exclusive focus on the divine may be

restrictive, though. Because saints' bodies were capable of performing miracles, the presence of one such body could certainly provide evidence of divine powers at work, but it also memorialized the life and deeds of a *man*—a man whose miracles were confined to a specific place, which he likely spent his life laboring to protect and nourish. We certainly cannot deny the divine element of a saintly body, but we should also beware glossing too quickly over the historical in favor of the hagiographical. Miracles *do* speak to the presence of an omnipresent God, but the body committing these miracles belonged to a geographical place, and its presence serves as a reminder not only of the divine, but also of how that body contributed to a place's history and identity.

William's focus on *dead* bodies is especially important here, because it affixes individual lives and histories to distinct places. This story of a saint's posthumous miracles could spread throughout the English nation, but the body itself—a memorial saturated with historical and cultural significance—belonged to a single place. Barring grave thefts and competing claims to saintly bodies, issues that greatly concern William, cadavers were not likely to relocate. William's anxiety regarding these potentialities is clear in the *GPA*. In Chapter 255, for example, he documents King Edgar's fear that Aldhelm's bones will be removed from Malmesbury Abbey as a consequence of the Danish invasions. William writes,

> Iamque animo uolutans Danorum auaram seuitiam et seuam auaritiam, mente imaginabatur monasterium cupiditate pecuniarum predatum iri. Tum ne aliquis, splendore metalli raptatus, scrinium abriperet, auideque pretiosas crustas sinibus ingerens lignum nudatum cum ossibus aliquorsum proiceret, id uero maximo horrori et timori erat. Quocirca, diu multumque perpenso consilio, reuerentissimas reliquias ereptas scrinio lapideo composuit tumulo. (5.255.4-5)

> (He pondered on the savage greed and greedy savagery of the Danes, and pictured in his mind's eye the monastery falling prey to money. He shuddered with fright at the thought that someone might be tempted by the gleam of metal to remove the shrine bodily, thrust the valuable outer casing beneath his clothing to satisfy his greed, and casually throw away the bones and exposed wood. So, after long and deep thought, he took the precious remains out of the shrine, and laid them in a stone tomb.)

Edgar's primary concern upon hearing of the Danish invasions (prophesied to him by Archbishop Dunstan) is the preservation and location of Aldhelm's bones. First, he fears their destruction because the Danish would not recognize them as valuable relics and cast them away unceremoniously. Second, he fears the relocation of Aldhelm's bones, given their significance to Malmesbury Abbey. Rather than remove the bones from Malmesbury entirely, Edgar simply moves them to a different spot in the Abbey: a less ostentatious stone tomb that the Danes would be apt to overlook. In this passage, William therefore draws attention both to the importance of preserving saintly bodies and keeping them in one place, establishing a type of spatial fixity associated with medieval *mappaemundi*.

William was also critically concerned with the burial of bodies in their *proper* places. Because saints' bodies were monuments to regional histories and lives, their cultural significance was diminished if they were divorced from the place where they belonged.[44] In Chapter 86 William provides a narrative that underscores the significance of locating saints' bodies in their rightful places. He writes of Saint Edward "Et prima quidem sepultura illi apud Werham fuit, quod non longe a loco in quo occisus fuit, qui Corf uocatur, imminet mari. Iacuit ergo ibi triennio, inuidentibus inimicis mortuo cespitem ecclesiasticum cui uiuo inuiderant decus regium.

Sed affuit diuina potentia qui insontem signorum leuaret gloria" (2.86.4; His first place of burial was Wareham, close to the sea not far from Corfe, where he was murdered. He lay there for three years, the enemies who had grudged him his royal privileges while he lived grudging him church burial in death. But God in His power was at hand to raise the innocent man by means of His glorious miracles). After Edward's stepmother, his murderer, attempted to move his body but failed (God prevented her from accessing the body), she agreed to let others move it, and "sacrae reliquiae de ignobili tumulo leuatae Sceftoniam cum magna deferrentur gloria... uirtutum gratia… coruscat, locusque ille" (ibid.; the holy relics were raised from their humble tomb and taken with great ceremony to Shaftesbury… where he shines bright thanks to his own miracles). The resolution in this narrative comes only when Edward is returned to Shaftsbury and given a proper burial. While lights shone above Edward's grave in Wareham, the source of these lights was God rather than Edward himself (they signaled God's displeasure with the murderess's treatment of Edward's body). Only in Shaftsbury can Edward shine brightly (*corusco*) on his own accord.

By including the narrative of St. Edward in the *GPA,* William demonstrates how place can infuse material artifacts with demonstrable power. The transfer of power goes both ways, though. Edward's body recovers its power as a relic and cultural artifact because it is returned to its proper location in Shaftesbury, but the body also inscribes Shaftesbury with additional levels of meaning. After narrating Edward's translation, William notes, "ab eo cognomen sortitus, uulgo per metonomiam ad sanctum Eduardum dicitur" (2.86.6; The place [Shaftesbury] has received a nickname from him, being commonly called St. Edwards by metonymy). By adopting this metonymical name, Shaftesbury becomes affiliated with St. Edward's divine and terrestrial

power. Geographical place and saintly body become fused to such an extent that one substitutes for the other. Shaftesbury *becomes* St. Edward(s) as a result of Edward's physical presence there.

William's anxiety regarding the proper location of saintly bodies, and his efforts to resolve any challenges posed by competing claims to a body or improper burials, demonstrates his interest in the narrative security and continuity that dead bodies offered. As we have already seen, William was hugely concerned with verifiable witness and material continuity in others' narratives. He was no less concerned with meeting these criteria himself. The properly located saint's body provided him with the perfect chorographical detail. First, the body's presence could be visually verified; like topographical details, tombs and bodies could be witnessed in the material landscape. Second, the presence of bodies could be verified over time. This was one of the natural benefits of describing dead bodies. Unlike living ones, they were not likely to move on their own accord. Finally, saints' bodies and their gravesites were incredibly meaningful. By associating saints' bodies with distinct geographical sites, William did for these places what *picturae* did for medieval *mappaemundi*: he marked geographical space with monuments that convey significant historical and cultural detail, making these spaces more than printed names or points on a map.

William's focus on saint's bodies also undoubtedly appealed to his poetic nature. Dead bodies were quite literally entrenched in the ground, and as they deteriorated they became one with the English soil. In a poetically satisfying way, then, saint's bodies not only metaphorically and metonymically fused with the land, they *literally* fused with the land. Saints became the soil, and in this process the meaning affixed to saints' bodies leached into the English land, indelibly fusing the two entities. As Fenton observes, "the cults of English saints… provided a link with England and Englishness through cultural and physical means that helped reinforce the sense of

England as a place and the English as a people."[45] Here it is the *physical* linking of saints with England and Englishness that is of primary import. The nation's identity is shaped by physical manifestations of its history and culture, and William exploits this representative process in the *GPA* by using one category of artifacts—gravesites and saints' bodies—to dictate the contents of England's identity. William of Malmesbury therefore brings England to life by infusing it with the history of English death.

William's use of visual description is a final example of how the *GPA* manifests chorographical techniques. Following the medieval *mappaemundi* tradition, William uses visual description (a substitute for *picturae*) to transfer physical landscapes to the representative narrative of his *Gesta*. When considered alongside William's emphasis on the subjective journey, his use of perambulatory observations, and his transcription of medieval charters, this technique confirms William's commitment to a spatial description of England. Moreover, his attention to stability and continuity in the context of national place reinforces the *GPA*'s contribution to post-conquest historiography. By inscribing the land with native artifacts and insisting that their longevity validates their contribution to national identity, William lauds Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history over and above Norman regal history. Monasteries and graves predating the Norman Conquest that have been witnessed by countless people over multiple generations (including William himself) are central to his definition of the English nation. In the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, then, William uses chorography to sidestep the problem of Norman hierarchy and write a history of England that recovers the nation's pre-conquest identity. In the twelfth century, land liberates England's sovereign voice.

[1] Regarding the emergence of chorography in the sixteenth century, see, for instance: John M. Adrian, "Itineraries, Perambulations, and Surveys: The Intersections of Chorography and Cartography in the Sixteenth Century*," Images of Matter: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yvonne Bruce (Newark, U of Delaware P, 2005), 29.

[2] Historiography has long been recognized as a means for consolidating post-Conquest identity. See, for example, Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC: Catholic U of America P, 1997).

[3] All quotations taken from William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), cited by book, chapter, and paragraph.

[4] See Majorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000); G.A. Loud, "The 'Gens Normannorum'—Myth or Reality?' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981): 104-16; R.H.C. Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1976). The common ancestral bonds promulgated by the Norman myth are Trojan. According to this myth, Normandy was founded by Antenor's progeny.

[5] All quotations taken from William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), cited by book, chapter, and paragraph.

[6] The term "Davidian Revolution" refers to the changes that took place in Scotland following David I's ascension, most notably the Normanization of the kingdom, which included the distribution of feudal lordships to Norman military leaders who defended his claim to the throne.

[7] According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, King Egbert was exiled to France by Beorhtric and Offa, who contested his claims to the throne following Cynewulf's death (c. 786).

[8] Andrew Galloway, "Writing History in England," *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999).

[9] Galloway, 264.

[10] Kristen A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2008), 25.

[11] William's attention to historical accuracy is evident in his praise of Bede, whose *veritas* he confirms by guaranteeing his *auctoritas* (a fusion of antiquity, tradition, learning, orthodoxy, and intellectual importance). See *GRA* 1.Pr.1, 5.3, 47.1, 54.1-6, etc.

[12] William's sense of loss is evident throughout the *GPA*, but is first expressed in the Prologue: "as to the site of the archbishopric in the time of the Britons, knowledge falters" (Pr.3)

[13] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithica: Cornell U. Press, 1974), 106.

[14] Cf. Hermann's *De Miraculis Sancti Edmundi*; Eadmer's *Life of St. Anselm*, *Life of St. Dunstan*, *Life of St. Breguwine*, *Life of St. Oda*, etc.; Goscelin's *Life of St. Edith*, *Life of St. Ives*, *Life of St. Werberg*, *Life of St. Milburg*, etc. Gransden discusses each of these authors in chapter seven of *Historical Writing in England*.

[15] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 128.

[16] Landscapes could certainly be overwritten—new structures could be built, burials could alter the visible topography, and so on. As modern excavations have proven, though, these acts of overwriting could never fully eradicate past landscapes. Archaeologists have even recovered wooden post holes at Stonehenge, offering modern viewers a glimpse into Salisbury Plain's ancient landscape.

[17] Michel Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum, Gesta Abbatum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 7.

[18] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1992), 107.

[19] The imprecision I refer to here plagues *all* critical definitions of chorography, not Helgerson's alone (in fact, Helgerson's definition remains fundamental to literary, cultural, and geographical criticism).

[20] See pages 79-81 in: William Wey, *The itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, a.d. 1458 and a.d. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostelle, a.d. 1456* (London: J. B. Nichols and sons, 1857).

[21] Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin, 1978), 75 (my emphasis).

[22] "Perambulation, n.1a" *OED Online,* Sept. 2009, Oxford U. Press, 2 Feb. 2010, <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50175038>.

[23] Scott Thompson Smith discusses the importance of boundary clauses as a means by which to establish territorial claims in "Marking Boundaries: Charters and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. Alice Jorgenson (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 167-85. He observes that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "uses a textual practice most evident in royal diplomas: the writing of territorial bounds as a means of articulating and maintaining the legitimate possession of land" (168).

[24] For authoritative discussions on Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses see Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008); Kathryn A. Lowe, "The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause," *Nomina* 21 (1998): 63-100; Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Leicester UP,

1998); Michael Reed, "Anglo-Saxon Chater Boundaries," *Discovering Past Landscapes*, ed. Michael Reed (New York: Routledge, 1984), 261-306.

[25] This boundary clause would most likely have been appended to Aethelred's charters, one of which William reproduces in chapter 202 of the *GPA*. Text and translation are provided by S.E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey* (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2005), 261-2.

[26] I use the term "culture" to imply social, political, and historical identities.

[27] Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1997): 18.

[28] Stow, 101.

[29] Regarding William's respect for Bede, see the Prologue of William's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (the second of his two major historical projects). In the *GPA*, William praises Bede as the "teacher of the English" (1.29.1)

[30] J.F. Niermeyer, ed., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), s.v. "cursum."

[31] In *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* 1.49.

[32] Adrian, 33.

[33] Andrew Gordon, "John Stow and the Surveying of the City," *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* eds. Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: The British Library, 2004), 86.

[34] Patricia H. Coulstock writes, "A possibility of royal families establishing by charters hereditary claims to their lands and religious foundations, was important to seventh- and eighth-century kings like Offa of Mercia or Ine of Wessex" (*The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* [Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993], 56). The genealogical preface to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which asserts that the kingship of Wessex was open to anyone descended from

Cerdic, is one example. See Bruce Dickens, *The Genealogical Preface to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Cambridge: Museum of Archaeology Occasional Papers, 1952); Kenneth Sisam, "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953): 287–348.

[35] Luke 21: 29-31.

[36] Kelly, 33.

[37] This document also contains a list of those who subscribed to the documents delivered at Burford, including "Archbishop Theodore, Aethelred king of the Mercians, Berhtwald the sub-king, Cenfrith the patrician, Seaxwulf bishop of Lichfield, and Bosel bishop of Worcester" (5.204.4).

[38] In arguing for the authenticity of William's charters due to their use of verifiable eyewitness and material continuity, I contradict Julia Barrow, who argues that the charters William uses are forgeries (in "William of Malmesbury's Use of Charters," *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, eds. E. Tyler and R. Balzaretti [Turnhout: Brepols, 2006], 67-89). Barrow argues that "William, in quoting the charters he has selected, is deliberately pulling his reader's leg…. The main reason was to provide additional detail to back up his narrative, particularly dates to provide a clear chronology" (75-6). The charters William transcribes, though, do not contain lengthy narratives, contradicting Barrow's assertion that they appeal to William precisely *because of* their narratives. For further discussions of the authenticity of Malmesbury's charters, see F.M. Stenton, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995); Heather Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988).

[39] Nancy Partner, "Medieval Histories and Modern Realism: Yet Another Origin of the Novel," *MLN* 114.4 (1999), 866.

[40] Many scholars have examined the relationship between bodies and the church in the early medieval period, most notably Miri Rubin, Caroline Walker Bynam, and Dawn Marie Hayes. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991); Caroline Walker Bynam, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia UP, 1995); Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe 1100-1389* (New York, Routledge, 2003). Rubin, who argues that metaphors of the human body, the social body, and the body of Christ (in both its natural and Eucharistic forms) were central to medieval notions of spirituality, is particularly noteworthy in this line of inquiry.

[41] Cf. Psalm 5:7: "I through the abundance of thy steadfast love will enter thy house, I will worship toward thy holy temple in the fear of thee."

[42] William's interest in the relationship between bodies and the church is also evident in 1.6, where he tells the story of Frederic, bishop of Utrecht, who was "the holy dwelling of God Himself" (1.6.8).

[43] Robert M. Stein, "Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and La3amon's *Brut*," *Text and Territory*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 100. Here Stein is referring to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, but the point holds for the *GPA*.

[44] Consider the modern relocation of London Bridge to Lake Havasu City, Arizona; or the relocation of the stools/counter from the sit-in at Greensboro, North Carolina's Woolworth's Department Store to the Smithsonian Museum. These relocations divorce the cultural objects from the places that gave them significance. The London Bridge's cultural import was erased when it was placed in a planned community established in 1964. Likewise, London was robbed

of the history that London Bridge—both the structure itself and the individual stones—memorialized (robbed figuratively, at least; the City was paid $2.5 million for the Bridge).

[45] Fenton, 12, my emphasis.

Chapter Two

From Nation to Region: Mapping Worcestershire in the *South English Legendary*

In the thirteenth century, disparities between Anglo-Saxon and Norman identities in England lessened. Although Henry III (1216-1272) modeled his politics on the French monarchy and favored his French relatives when conferring titles, he demonstrated an equally fervent interest in the Anglo-Saxon king Edward the Confessor, who was featured in a mural in his bedchamber. Henry's identification with both French and Anglo-Saxon culture was largely a result of England's faltering relationship with the continent. By 1243 England had lost control over most of its Angevin territories, including Normandy in 1204, and the nation's residents were severed from their continental progenitors. As a consequence, thirteenth-century English writers and politicos began collapsing the distinction between Norman and Anglo-Saxon culture in an effort to appropriate French expatriates. This fused the two distinct ethoi that coexisted in England since the Norman Invasion into a single "English" culture, with which residents of the now-isolated island nation identified. Susan Crane observes, "Anglo-Norman, Angevin, and French inhabitants of England began to call themselves 'English,' abandoning such earlier formulae as '*rex Norm-Anglorum*,' '*francis et anglis*,' and 'the English and the Norman race.'"[1] Henry III's indiscriminate approach to politics, then, was less an attempt to demonstrate Anglo-Saxon and Norman sympathies than a product of the successful merging of these two cultures. His identification with Anglo-Saxon kings and French politics was itself distinctly "English."

One consequence of England's separation from the continent was the relatively secure definition of English national identity.[2] This rendered William of Malmesbury's attempts to negotiate between Anglo-Saxon and Norman identities irrelevant, and shifted the focus of

English writers and residents to regional rather than national matters. This chapter demonstrates how the narrative use of landscape evolved accordingly. Thirteenth-century poets had to confirm the emergence of a unified nation, which they did by embracing socio-economic diversity and addressing their diversified audiences in the English vernacular. This technique suggests that the nation was no longer a site of contestation, which allowed poets to consider individual regions within the integrated English nation. I will examine the application of this *modus tractandi* in three thirteenth-century texts: the *Cursor Mundi*, *Handlyng Synne*, and the *South English Legendary* (hereafter *SEL* or *Legendary*). I will then demonstrate how the anonymous poet of the *SEL* takes special advantage of this hermeneutic evolution, reveling in England's integrated identity while prioritizing one of the nation's regions above the rest. In a captivating move, he uses theories of time and space, and cartographical rhetoric to position the diocese of Worcester at the center of Christendom.

Moving From the Nation to the Region

In the thirteenth century, almost all writers contained their presentation of regional identity within a nationalistic frame. The *SEL* poet prioritized English identity by re-valuing the English language. From the Norman Invasion to the end of the twelfth century, political and religious institutions communicated almost exclusively in Anglo-Norman and Latin. It was not until the early-thirteenth century that English vernacular texts began to reemerge on the literary scene, and even then authors felt the need to justify their use of English. The anonymous poet of *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300) explains his use of the vernacular as follows:

> Þis ilk bok is es translate

In to Inglis tong to rede

For þe loue of Inglis lede,

Inglis lede of Ingland,

For the commun at understand. (232-6)[3]

In this expository passage, the poet attributes his English medium to patriotism, insisting that his love for the "Inglis lede of Ingland" motivated him to compose *Cursor Mundi*.[4] This affirmation depends on a bold premise: that the people of England should be addressed in their native language. Despite the fact that political and ecclesiastical transactions had been conducted in Anglo-Norman and Latin for over two centuries, the *Cursor Mundi* poet suggests that the people of England should revalue their native tongue and perpetuate the growth of a distinctly English culture. This recommendation recalls William of Malmesbury's nationalistic premise in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, where William appropriates the Norman myth for England's native population by fusing ecclesiastical history with the Anglo-Saxon landscape.[5] Like William, the *Cursor Mundi* poet champions the remnants of England's pre-conquest identity. Rather than focusing on land, though, he presents language as a site of cultural contestation, and posits that the English vernacular should surmount Anglo-Norman and Latin.

The *Cursor Mundi* poet's use of English also levels social and political hierarchies, emphasizing an all-inclusive approach to nationhood. When he identifies his audience as "the commun" (236), he demonstrates that texts written for the nation should address the political and ecclesiastical elite, and the laity. The fact that "commun" refers not only to the common man, but to a diverse group of men who share the English nation and its native language, becomes clear in the lines immediately following:

Frankis rimes here I redd,

Comunlik in ilk[a] sted,

Mast es it wroght for frankis man:

Quat is for him na frankis can….

Selden was for ani chance

Praised Inglis tong in france;

Giue we ilkan þare langage,

Me think we do þam non outrage. (237-40, 45-8, my emphasis)

Here the adverb "comunlik" (238) echoes the word "commun," directing our reading of "commun" away from *common man* to *community*. By defining this community in opposition to the French, the *Cursor Mundi* poet rewrites the terms of opposition, replacing the division between commons and elites with the division between English and French communities. Rather than excluding the political and ecclesiastical elite, then, the *Cursor Mundi* poet's use of the word "commun" binds people of different socio-economic backgrounds together based on their shared knowledge of English. Moreover, because the *Cursor Mundi* poet was a member of the literati, by inserting himself into this English community ("Giue *we* ilkan þare langage"), he confirms the fact that elites belong in the English *commun*.[6] Turville-Petre likewise observes that the *commun* of the *Cursor Mundi* is "one with a profound attachment to the national language and the values it represents. The language unites author and audience as a single community and one nation."[7] By writing in a language that is universally understood, the *Cursor Mundi* poet ensures that England's laity, royalty, and church officials alike will be able to read his poem, and includes these disparate classes in his definition of the English nation.

The *Cursor Mundi* poet also contributes to the fusion of disparate ethnicities in the lines 235-6, where he readies his audience for a qualification of the noun "Inglis lede" (235) and then

disrupts his audience's expectations by repeating the noun in question rather than providing an appositive clause. In so doing, the *Cursor Mundi* poet suggests that the people who constitute the "Inglis lede" do not require qualification. Rather than dissecting and categorizing the nation according to its many ethnicities or attributes, he insists that Englishness is an integrated concept that can be understood without fragmentation. This insistence on socio-economic and ethnic unity within the English nation justifies the *Cursor Mundi* poet's use of the vernacular. To deliver his message effectively to the "Inglis lede" he must communicate in English.

This method of justification was shared by a number of thirteenth-century instructional texts. As Anne B. Thompson and Thorlac Turville-Petre have demonstrated, an analysis of the prefatory materials in *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300), *Handlyng Synne* (1303), and the *SEL* suggests that literature began to address "lerned" and "lewed" alike in the thirteenth century in order to create a more inclusive English community.[8] Turville-Petre argues that it behooved authors to "emphasize that cleric and laity were members of the same community…. [Clerical] author and [lay] audience became united in their nationality, and the clerical writer was able to appeal to the laity through a sense of nationhood, through a perception of shared social values, and in a commonly understood language."[9] The introduction of *Handlyng Synne* justifies its use of English along such nationalistic lines, suggesting that the vernacular was an edificatory medium, and that the English nation would benefit from the laity's moral instruction. *Handlyng Synne*'s poet Robert Mannyng writes,

> For lewed men y vndyr toke
> On englyssh tonge to make þys boke,
> For many beyn of swyche manere
> Þat talys & ryymys wyle bleþly here

Yn gamys, yn fests, & at þe ale,

Loue men to lestene trotouale,

Þat may falle ofte to velanye

To dedly synne or outher folye.

For swyche men haye y made þys ryme

Þat þey may weyl dyspende here tyme

And þer yn sumwhat for to here

To leue al swyche foul manere. (43-54)[10]

While much of *Handlyng Synne* is derived from Mannyng's source, the *Manuel des Péchés*, this excerpt is original to Mannyng. In addition to establishing the text's vernacular medium, it demonstrates the circumstances under which the use of English became acceptable. By using the vernacular, authors could reach an audience that would succumb to drinking, storytelling, and sin without proper moral instruction. In other words, the English language offered hope for the nation's salvation. In *Cursor Mundi* and *Handlyng Synne*, the vernacular was a vehicle by which to unify a disparate nation—including the French community that was left stranded when England lost its Angevin territories—and to uphold the moral integrity of that nation.

The *SEL* also uses English to demonstrate the emergence of an ethnically and socio-politically unified nation in the late-thirteenth century, but the *Legendary* diverges from *Cursor Mundi* and *Handlyng Synne* by refusing to justify or explain its English medium. Rather than address the English language explicitly, the *SEL* poet emphasizes the presence and power of English throughout the *Legendary*, allowing the vernacular to stand unquestioned as the nation's default language. For example, in the "Legend of St. Edmund the King," Edmund's decapitated head calls out "Al *an Englisch*. her. her. her. as þe3 hit were alyue" (79; All in English, 'Here!

Here! Here!' as though it were alive); and in the "Legend of St. Edmund of Canterbury" the Archbishop "al la3inge *an Englisch* þuse words forþ bro3te" (574; All laughing, in English brought forth these words).[11] In both of these passages the emphasis on English is clear but subtle. Kings and archbishops alike speak in the vernacular, and as a result their declarations are universally accessible to England's diverse population. English also transcends physiological boundaries. As these passages indicate, both the living and the dead prefer the vernacular, making it a language that negotiates barriers, and constructs bridges between disparate socio-economic and physiological worlds.

The *SEL* poet's use of pronouns further demonstrates his commitment to a united English nation. By repeatedly using the pronouns "us" and "we," he identifies with his audience, and constructs an all-inclusive community that speaks in the vernacular and contributes actively to England's identity. As early as the Prologue, he writes, "Þis nywe frut of wan ich speke · is *oure* Cristendom" (3; This new fruit of which I speak is *our* Christendom), and "In þis manere *oure* swete Louerd · an eorþe was ibore / Forto byginne Cristendom" (32-3; In this manner *our* sweet Lord was born on Earth / In order to begin Christendom). Even though he is an educated clerk—and is therefore capable of communicating in both Latin and French—the *SEL* poet uses the English language to close the gap between himself and his diverse audience. He is part of the unified Christian nation, whose members share the ability to worship in the English vernacular.

As a member of this worshipping community, the *SEL* poet demonstrates an apt allegiance to England's native saints, devoting a majority of his narrative to the lives of Saint Wulfstan, Saint Thomas à Becket, and other English personages. The "Legend of St. Thomas à Becket" alone is 2444 lines long, which is remarkable considering that most of the *SEL*'s legends average between 100 and 300 lines. Moreover, although Thomas à Becket was of Norman

descent, the *SEL* poet casts him as a *de facto* Englishman, claiming one of England's great ecclesiastical figures for the English nation. In two separate extant manuscripts the *SEL* poet begins Becket's life with an overt emphasis on Englishness: in MS Ashmole 43 he writes, "Engelonde glad þou beo!" and in MS Laud 108 he writes "Wolle 3e nouþe iheore þis englische tale?" Both passages leave little question that the Life of St. Thomas à Becket belongs to England: it is written in the English vernacular, for the English people.

The *SEL* poet also emphasizes Becket's efforts to unite England's ethnically and economically disparate population into a single nation. He writes, "And euere he was for Holy Churche · and for pouere men also" (195; And always he was for Holy Church, and for poor men also). Moreover, when Becket returns from exile he is greeted not by a select population, but by the consolidated English nation. The *SEL* poet writes, "Þe contrei a3en com · wiþ ioie & blisse inou / Ech prest somnede is parissens · in eche ende / To be[o] 3are a3en him · wiþ procession to wende" (1886-8; The country came to him with joy and bliss enough. / Each priest summoned his parishioners from each end (of his parish) / to be there with him to make procession). The poet's use of the word "contrei" perpetuates the idea of England as a single socio-economic unit. Priests and parishioners are bound by their love for Becket; and because "kni3t[es]" and "þe kyng" also support his return (1879), this confederacy finally includes common folk, ecclesiasts, and the court. The *SEL* poet's commitment to a unified country is further manifest by the fact that a search for the headword "contrie" in the *MED* yields 103 results, 31 of which are from the *Legendary*, and seven of which are from the "Legend of St. Thomas à Becket." While this search is not comprehensive, the pattern of use it yields indicates that in the thirteenth-century *SEL*, the divide between English and Norman identity that troubled William of Malmesbury had been rendered comparatively inconsequential.

A second legend that demonstrates the *SEL* poet's commitment to England's native language and community is the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," which will be this chapter's primary focus. In this legend, the seven-year-old boy Kenelm is crowned King of Mercia when his father dies in AD 819. His elder sister Quendride envies his power, and hires Kenelm's traitorous warden Askeberd to kill him. Obediently, Askeberd beheads Kenelm and buries him beneath an ash tree, where his body is soon discovered through divine intervention. In this legend, as in the "Legend of St. Thomas à Becket," the *SEL* poet perpetuates the idea of a united English nation by demonstrating the importance of the vernacular. The search for Kenelm's body begins when a letter appears to the Pope (presumably sent by God):

> A coluore wittore þanne eni snou · com doun fram heuene fle[o]
> And leide upe þe weued a lite writ · & suþþe gan to heuene te[o]
> And flei up a3en anhei · as oure Louerd it wolde
> Þis writ [was] wi3t & ssinde bri3te · þe lettres al of golde
> Þe pope nom þis holi writ · þo þe masse was ido. (253-8)
> (A color whiter than any snow came down from heaven
> And laid upon the altar a small letter, and so returned to heaven
> And flew up again aloft, as our Lord willed it.
> This letter was white and shined brightly; the letters were all of gold.
> The pope took up this holy letter, when the mass was finished.)

The nature of this letter's arrival and its physical appearance suggest it is a dictum from God, which—we soon find out—reveals the location of Kenelm's body and commands that it be exhumed. By insisting on the letter's divine origin, the *SEL* poet lends a great deal of *gravitas* to its medium and message. More than any other discourse in the *Legendary*, this letter is likely to

contain the secrets of communicating with God. The poet then surprises his audience by insisting that the letter is written in English rather than one of the standard liturgical languages. Challenging centuries of Latin authority, he suggests that the divine Word is transmitted through the English vernacular. The *SEL* poet is explicit on this point, noting that the pope,

> nuste wat it was to segge · ne it wit neccuþe iwite
> For he ne couþe Engliss non · and an Engliss it was iwrite…
> Þo were þere men of Engelond · þat weste wat is sede
> And vnderstode wel þat writ · þo hi it hurde rede
> Þe writ was iwrite þur Engliss. (258-60, 263-65)
> (Knew not what [the letter] said, nor knew what it revealed.
> For he did not know any English, and in English it was written...
> But there were men of England there who knew what it said
> And understood that writ well when they heard it read.
> The letter was written in English.)

By rendering the Pope helpless in his ability to translate God's word, and reiterating the fact that the letter is accessible only to English speakers, the *SEL* poet definitively calls attention to the power and predominance of the vernacular. The traditional mouthpiece of the church is rendered speechless, replaced by the English language in a letter that is sent directly from God.

The fact that the *SEL* poet demonstrates the importance of English rather than addressing it directly in the Prologue, as do the *Cursor Mundi* poet and Robert Mannyng, is critical to his regional project. He demonstrates that the question of "Englishness" is no longer at issue by choosing not to address the subject directly, and suggests instead that cultural and economic diversity are established components of England's identity. The vernacular is presented as a

fully-integrated language in both England and the divine realm, and the *SEL* poet's attention to England's saints is understated so as to appear natural. In both cases, what it means to be "English," and the significance of this designation, is no longer contested.

By putting the question of nationhood behind him, the *SEL* poet can take his predecessors' emphases on English authority one step further and make an argument for *regional* supremacy. He establishes the nation's stability by using the vernacular and demonstrating England's acceptance and integration of socio-economic difference. He then explicitly identifies religious, political, and cultural centers, examining the geographic complexities of the newly-recognized English nation. Herein lies one of the *Legendary*'s major contributions to the evolution of geographical narratives in England: the *region* surpasses the *nation* as a point of literary interest, allowing the *SEL* poet to focus on the diocese of Worcester as a site of religious significance.

The Authorizing Function of Place in the *South English Legendary* and its Predecessors

The *Legendary*'s attention to Worcester is couched in a theoretical issue concerning the intersection of space and time. As the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* demonstrates, chronicle histories could not be divorced from spatial considerations. In early medieval Legendaries, time and space also intersect in complicated ways. In the *SEL*, the frame narrative—which arranges the saints' lives chronologically according to feast days—intersects with an emphasis on geographical place in the lives themselves. In his prologue, the *SEL* poet explains that he will "Telle… of [apostles and martirs] · as hare dai valþ in þe 3ere / Verst bygynneþ at 3eres day · for þat is þe uerset feste / And fram on to oþer so areng · þe wile þe 3er wol leste" (Pr.66-8; Tell of

apostles and martyrs in order, as their feast day falls in the year; / Beginning first at New Year's Day, for that is the first feast, / And from one to another in order, so long as the year lasts).[12] The poet describes the *SEL* as a product of the computus tradition, which from the eighth century on attempted to align divine and human time by identifying the date of Christ's resurrection and the number of years elapsed since His incarnation within a temporal system consisting of twenty-four-hour days, thirty-day months, and 365¼-day years (calculated arithmetically using measurements of the sun, moon, and stars).[13] Vocabulary related to the progression and demarcation of time dominates the passage quoted above, and the poet's inclusion of Easter in the *Legendary* confirms his interest in locating Christ's resurrection within the calendar year.

While time provides the *SEL*'s ordering structure, the *Legendary*'s alignment with the computus tradition suggests that place must also figure centrally, since a computus's geographical origin determines both its underlying arithmetic and its cultural influence. First, where computus manuscripts are calculated is significant because astrological observations, which provided the numerical values used to calculate time, are dictated by one's latitudinal location. Second, the manuscript itself is authorized by the site of its composition—any given embodiment of the church calendar's cultural influence depends on the socio-political power attributed to its geographical origin. Most texts regarding the calculation of time originated in Greece and Rome: the great centers, both figuratively and cartographically, of ancient civilization. Because the *SEL* poet was operating within the calendrical tradition, we might expect him to claim similar origins for the *Legendary*, but instead he challenges Roman authority by emphasizing the *SEL*'s composition in Worcestershire. By positioning the *SEL* within the calendrical tradition while disavowing European origins, the *SEL* poet suggests that an English

region rather than a continental empire can claim cultural and geographical authority in matters of divine and human time.

He begins by using the tradition of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter, *History*) as the dominant paradigm for writing about time and place in the Middle Ages, while denying Bede's emphasis on Rome. Presented as a history that instructs readers by encouraging them to imitate historical successes, the *History* demonstrates the importance of the liturgical calendar by devoting considerable space to the dating of Easter.[14] A letter from Abbot Ceolfrith to King Nechtan of the Picts in chapter V.21, the longest document in the *History*, contains an exhaustive excursus on the calculation and celebration of Easter; and chapter III.25 contains Bede's account of the Synod of Whitby (664), where the English pledged to follow the Roman Church's liturgical calendar. Bede further encourages readers to understand the *History* as embodying the ecclesiastical ordering and shaping of time by locating the Synod of Whitby at the very center of his text, suggesting that the Synod is a critical component of the *History*.

Narrative accounts of the Church's attempts to regulate Easter observances in Great Britain also occur regularly in the *History*. In Book II, for instance, Bede records Archbishop Laurence's attempt to standardize the date of Easter in Scotland. Having discovered that the Scots did not observe Christ's resurrection on the date prescribed by the Roman Church, Laurence tried to persuade the Scottish bishops to adopt Rome's liturgical calendar by criticizing the Scots' improper dating techniques. In a letter dated c. 605 he writes,

> Dum nos sedes apostolica more suo, sicut in uniuerso orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad praedicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quae Brittania nuncupatur, contigit introisse; antequam cognosceremus, credentes, quod iuxta morem uniuersalis ecclesiae ingrederentur, in magna

> reuerentia sanctitatis tam Brettones quam Scottos uenerati sumus; sed cognoscentes Brettones, Scottos meliores putauimus. Scottos uero per Daganum episcopum in hanc, quam superius memorauimus, insulam, et Columbanum abbatem in Gallis uenientem nihil discrepare a Brettonibus in eorum conuersatione didicimus (2.4)[15]
>
> (When, in accordance with its custom, which holds good throughout the world, the apostolic see sent us to the western lands to preach the Gospel to the heathen peoples, we came to this island of Britain. Until we realized the true situation, we had a high regard for the devotion of both the Britons and the Scots, believing that they followed the customs of the universal Church. On further acquaintance with the Britons, we imagined that the Scots must be better. We have now, however, learned through Bishop Dagan on his visit to this island, and through Abbot Columbanus in Gaul, that the Scots are no different from the Britons in their practices.)

Significantly, this criticism is based not on innate Scottish inferiority, but on the Scots' deviation from the norm. They fail as Christians not because they are Scots, but because they are *not* Romans. Laurence emphasizes custom twice in the opening two lines of his letter to underscore the importance of conformity in the church, and by demeaning the West while revering Rome he implies that a community cannot be designated Christian until it fully conforms to the traditions held by the Roman Church.

By recognizing cultural difference as the underlying problem in Laurence's letter, we can see how place comes to play a significant role in Bede's chronological project. In *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England*, Nicholas Howe writes, "the reason for setting [the date of Easter]

has everything to do with Christendom as a place occupied by believers who maintain themselves as a community through the simultaneous observance of the same set of liturgical practices across great distances of space."[16] Here, Howe pinpoints Bede's fundamental concern: the *History* is troubled more by spatial than temporal disjunction. The universal acceptance of a standard date for Easter is certainly a source of apprehension in Bede's text, but this problem is merely a symptom of regional failure to recognize the authority of Rome. Bede is not as concerned with the liturgical calendar as he is with the fact that the *same* calendar is recognized across geography.

Bede further establishes the significance of place in the *History* by beginning the text with a chapter on geography, describing Britain's topography, natural resources, and fortifications. Despite his focus on Britain, though, Bede's perspective is surprisingly *not* British. Instead, he describes the island in terms of its relationship to Rome. Britain lies "inter septentrionem et occidentem… multo interuallo" (1.1; toward the north west at a considerable distance), and the country's days and nights are elongated because of its location "prope sub ipso septentrionali uertice mundi" (ibid.; far north toward the pole). By describing Britain as a northern satellite, Bede's *History* grants Rome centrality: Rome and the Roman church endow Britain with value. By positioning the island under a Roman *umbra*, Bede grants Britain an identity based not on intrinsic British-ness, but on uniformity with a continental precedent.

While Alan Thacker, A.H. Merrils, Kathy Lavezzo, and Fabienne Michelet have all acknowledged this geographical component of the *History*, none have noted its influence on the early-medieval calendrical tradition.[17] Yet Bede's treatment of Britain's geographical and cultural status in the ecumene proved fundamental to later calendrical concerns, demonstrating how problems regarding the liturgical calendar were ultimately grounded in place. In the *History*,

Bede shows that the Church was invested in both the calendar's uniform observance across geography, and in designating Rome as the world's geographical and spiritual center. By comparing these elements of the *History* to the *SEL*'s treatment of time and place, we can see the *Legendary* adopting the *History's* attention to place, yet diverging radically from the *History* by identifying the diocese of Worcester rather than Rome as the center of both Christendom and the world. In a long tradition of texts and manuscripts concerned with place and time, the *Legendary* emerges as the first to present a model of English regional authority.

Like Bede, the *SEL* poet presents his audience with a chronologically-ordered document that is grounded in and authorized by place. The liturgical calendar and methods of calculating time are significant to the *Legendary*, but where the *Legendary* was calculated and composed is of greater import. The *SEL* poet makes his interest in geography immediately clear by beginning the *Legendary* with a passage that alerts his readers to the importance of place:

> Nou blouweþ þe niwe frut · þat late bygan to springe
> Þat to is kunde eritage · mankunne schal bringe
> Þis nywe frut of wan ich speke · is oure Cristendom
> Þat late was an eorþe ysouwe · & later forþ it com
> So hard and luþer was þe lond · on wan it ssolde sprynge
> Þat wel vnneþe eny more · me my3te þer on bringe
> God him was þe gardiner · þat gan ferst þe sed souwe
> Þat was Iesus Godes sone · þat þare fore aly3te louwe. (1-8)
> (Now blooms the new fruit that lately began to grow,
> The fruit that will bring mankind to its true inheritance;
> This new fruit that I speak of is our Christendom,

That was so lately sown on earth and afterwards came forth.

So hard and wicked was the ground on which it should spring up,

That scarcely could men bring it forth any longer.

God himself was the gardener who first sowed the seed,

That was Jesus, the son of God who therefore came down to earth.)

In these lines, the site that produces Christianity is presented as a place that we can physically experience, with topographical markers including fruit trees and rocky ground loosened by the blood of Christ and God's martyrs. This passage also casts God as a gardener, linking him intimately with the physical landscape. Rather than working from afar, the God of the *SEL* molds the soil on which mankind survives, investing it with the redemptive power of Christ.[18] Because the *SEL* grows from this setting, the *Legendary* is both literally and figuratively enabled by place: the text itself proceeds from these geocentric lines, and its "niwe frut" will blossom only if mankind is attentive to the soil in which it has been sown.

The *Legendary*'s interest in place also extends to its chronological project. In the "Legend of Saint Michael," for example, the poet grants place authority by emphasizing the relationship between astrology and *geography* over the relationship between astrology and *chronology*. This legend contains a lengthy digression on astrology that provides the *SEL* poet with an ideal opportunity to discuss astrology's role in the calculation of time, and we might expect him to embrace this prospect given the *Legendary*'s calendrical shaping. Yet instead of treating the heavens as bodies used to calculate time, the poet treats them as bodies used to designate place. In Part Two of the "Legend of Saint Michael," the *SEL* poet describes how St. Michael instructed Bishop Aubert to found St. Michael's church when he reached a site where "a bole þou... finde" (115; you find a bull). "Bole" is best translated as "bull" in the *SEL* poet's

dialect, and given the poet's reference to Gargan (whose wandering bull discovered a holy site in AD 492 that was converted to a church in honor of St. Michael) this translation seems appropriate. A gloss in the margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 145 reading "Taurus," however, suggests that a second interpretation of "bole" circulated with the *Legendary*. According to this interpretation, Aubert could expect to see Taurus *the constellation* when he reached the site designated by St. Michael for his church.[19] Taurus traditionally marked the vernal equinox, or the beginning of the lunar year, and thus played a critical role in the chronology of computus manuscripts. As Bede points out in *Historia ecclesiastica*, "Quae uero post aequinoctium, uel in ipso aequinoctio suum plenilunium habet, in hac absque ulla dubietate, quia primi mensis est, et antiquos pascha celebrare solitos, et nos, ubi dominica dies aduenerit, celebrare debere noscendum est" (5.21; But the full moon falling either on or after the [vernal] equinox itself certainly belongs to the first month; on it the ancients used to keep the Passover, and on it, when the Lord's day comes, we should keep Easter). The *SEL* poet, however, supplants the importance of Taurus as a constellation used to calculate the date of Easter. In the "Legend of Saint Michael" no reference is made to Easter or the vernal equinox, and Taurus gives Aubert an idea of *where* to build St. Michael's church rather than *when* to build it: "*Þere* as þou vinst þis bole ihud · mi churche þou sselt rere" (117; Where you find this concealed bull, you shall found my church). This attention to place is further emphasized when the narrator draws attention to the topographical features defining the site of St. Michael's Church, one of two churches in the "Legend of Saint Michael" located on a hill (the church Aubert founded was located on the Mount of Tombe, better known as Mont Saint-Michel):

> Ope hulles boþe þis churchen were · & boþe of sein Michel
> Heymon me þincþ he wolde be[o] · he louede hulles so wel…

In þe grete se of occean · þe hul of Tombe is

Þat geþ al aboute þe world · in þe on ende iwis

Þe se geþ al aboute þe hul. (121-2, 133-5)

(Both of these churches were upon hills, and both churches of Saint Michael.

It seems to me he would be a highly esteemed man, he loved hills so much....

The hill of Tomb is found in the great sea of the ocean

That, certainly, travels all around one end of the world;

This sea surrounds the hill.)

From the topographical detail in this passage, it is clear that the *SEL* poet is primarily concerned with where St. Michael's Church is located. Despite the opportunities that both the "bole" and the lengthy discourse on astrology in the "Legend of Saint Michael" offer, the poet abstains from discussing the liturgical calendar, focusing instead on geographical detail and the means by which place authorizes Aubert's construction of Saint Michael's Church.

The *SEL*'s emphasis on place recalls Bede's insistence on geographical and cultural similitude in the *History*, but it differs significantly from the *History* by defining England as a geocultural entity separate from Rome. The *SEL* poet refocuses his attention on Worcester, making the *SEL* the first calendrically-based text to grant an English diocese authorizing power. Many scholars have acknowledged the *Legendary*'s Anglo-centric focus.[20] Klaus Jankofsky argues that the *SEL* was written for a popular English audience by identifying its national characteristics, including references to the existence of Christianity before Saint Augustine's arrival, the English-Danish conflicts, and national customs.[21] Jill Frederick likewise suggests that the *SEL* served a national agenda by venerating Anglo-Saxon saints at a time when "Englishness" challenged Anglo-Norman linguistic and cultural authority.[22] These studies have

contributed significantly to modern understandings of the *Legendary*, but they tend to value nationalism over regionalism despite the *SEL* poet's focused emphasis on the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire region. Moreover, scholarship has not yet recognized cartography's contribution to the emergent regionalism of the *Legendary*. Only by examining the poet's cartographical treatment of place in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm" can we fully realize his intent to grant the diocese of Worcester geographical and cultural authority over its continental predecessors.

Geographical Place in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm"

As demonstrated above, the category of "nation" had become relatively stable by the early thirteenth century. Helen Fulton writes, "If there is one century we can point to as the time when the idea of England began to take on its modern form, it would be the thirteenth…. Developments such as [the rise of parliament] helped to create the idea of England as a single nation, geographically, politically, and cognitively."[23] This allowed disparate regions to begin considering their place within the emergent nation, and to distinguish themselves according to ethnic, geographic, or linguistic difference. This process of regional identification depended on the concretization of English national identity; the latter served as a platform on which regional identities could be formed. Turville-Petre notes, "local affiliations and interests *all* have to be interpreted against the image that the nation as a whole has constructed of itself, because the region has a strong urge to identify with the nation that confers on it cultural significance, military and political power, a framework of legal rights, and international prestige."[24]

The growth of regional interest in the thirteenth century is evident in both historical and literary documents of the period. In legal records, customary law far surpassed common law (*ius commune*), suggesting the triumph of regional practices over national norms.[25] Likewise, many thirteenth-century religious texts began to demonstrate regional concerns. Henry of Avranches' hagiographies, written in the service of Henry III, often prioritized regional identities.[26] The "Legend of St. Birin," for example, was mired in regional conflict, written in 1255 when Dorchester and Winchester were competing for the saint's relics; and the "Legend of St. Edmund" contains a catalog of miracles that occur at Edmund's grave in Beadoriceworth (modern Bury St. Edmunds), including the following: "Contractum, mutum cecus surdus uidet, audit / ire, loqui: nouitas est utrobique duplex" (The blind and deaf behold and hear the lame, / And mute both walk and speak, a strange exchange).[27]

The *SEL* is noteworthy insofar as it is a religious text in the computus tradition that appropriates theories of regionalism for the purpose of establishing ecclesiastical authority. As the examples above demonstrate, the *SEL* as hagiography was not alone in its attention to regional concerns. But unlike the lives of Sts. Birin or Edmund, which circulated in isolation or in miscellanies, the *SEL* operated under a temporal rubric (the liturgical calendar)—a fact that the *SEL* poet chose to disregard. For comparison, we can look to a variety of thirteenth-century texts concerned with time, including annals, chronicles, and computus. The most telling comparison is with Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, which was the source for many of the *SEL*'s lives. Like the *Legendary*, the *Legenda Aurea* was organized according to the liturgical calendar, but it adhered to generic constraints by prioritizing temporal concerns.[28] Whereas the *SEL* begins with a description of Christianity as a garden and God as a gardener, the *Legenda Aurea* begins with a description of fourfold divisions, including the seasons and the hours of the

day, which Jacobus then applies to the chief divisions of the liturgical year. This discussion is followed by the decision to "deal first with the feast days that fall within the time of renewal [i.e., Advent]."[29] Throughout the prologue, then, Jacobus emphasizes the calendar and its feast days, demonstrating loyalty to the Roman Church's calendar (by beginning his narrative with Advent, for example), and commitment to the Legendary genre. Geographical concerns—let alone regional concerns—are entirely absent in the *Legenda Aurea*.[30]

This pattern holds in other genres concerned with time: thirteenth-century annals and chronicles typically demonstrate an allegiance to temporal over geographical concerns. The *Ramsey Chronicle*, for example, describes places within its chronological frame but does so systematically. Book One includes the following description of Ramsey:

> Nunc vero longiare temporis tractu nemoribus ex parte demolitis, terra ubere gleba arabilis cernitur et opima, fructibus et frugibus jocunda, hortis consita, pascuis opulenta, nonnullis adhuc arboribus nemorosa, et pratorum gratia verno tempore spectantibus et arridente velut depicta floribus tota insula vario coloratura colore.
>
> (Now after a long period of time, the woods are mostly gone. The land is fit for the plough with its rich, fertile earth; it is pleasant with crops and fruits, filled with gardens, rich with pastures, and still leafy with many trees. In springtime the meadows are delightful to behold, and the whole island seems to smile, as if embroidered with many flowers.)

This passage is almost entirely devoid of evaluative remarks. Scattered adjectives give readers the sense that Ramsey is a pleasant place—akin to a *locus amoenus*—that brings pleasure to those who witness it, but the *Chronicle*'s description lacks social, political, and religious

character. Here land is just land, and the qualities that made regions culturally significant in the thirteenth century are erased. Classifying what the *Chronicle* describes here as a "region" rather than a mere "space" would be to undervalue the nuances of regions as socially-invested places.[31]

Turville-Petre argues against this evidence, suggesting that regional concerns *did* demand attention in secular chronicles of the thirteenth century. He offers *Havelok the Dane* (c. 1280-90) as an example, in which the poet carefully positions Lincolnshire—whose inhabitants are largely of Scandinavian descent—as a powerful component of the English nation. Two factors complicate Turville-Petre's reading, though. First, his classification of *Havelok* as a chronicle is worth challenging. *Havelok* is more Romance than History. Its plotline depends on the restoration of hereditary lines through marriage, and major themes include hidden identity (Havelok's, miraculously revealed by a birthmark on his shoulder), contests of strength, and adventuring—all common fare for the medieval Romance genre. Second, at the conclusion of *Havelok*, the poet's attention to Lincoln has less to do with the geographical region and more to do with the Scandinavian people's place in the English nation. The *Havelok* poet emphasizes Lincolnshire in order to present a revisionist view of the Vikings. Turville-Petre writes, "The poet of *Havelok* addresses the Anglo-Danish descendents of this [the Scandinavian] population. The chronicles tell only of pagan bands raping and pillaging; *Havelok*… [brings] justice, peace, and social integration. It is an alternative version, indeed, of the story of Edric's treachery towards his king Edmund Ironside and the wrongful accession of the Danish Cnut."[32] As this quotation makes clear, *Havelok* is finally more concerned with including Danes in the *national ethnie* than the Lincolnshire region's inherent significance. In comparison, the *SEL*'s emphasis on regional place is a radical new approach to identity.

The inclusion of Kenelm's life in the *SEL* is crucial as a means of identifying the significance of regional place in the Legendary's model of ecclesiastical time. In the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," the *SEL* poet replaces Bede's Rome with Worcester, transferring Rome's monopoly on liturgical matters (including the liturgical calendar) to an English diocese. The poet carefully justifies his focus. As Catherine Cubitt notes, he begins by asserting the authenticity of Kenelm's story.[33] More important, though, he includes a remarkably long description of England that uses cartographical language to construct a map with Worcestershire and Gloucestershire at its center. The centers of *mappaemundi* were generally occupied by either Rome or Jerusalem, and so by re-drawing the world map in this way, the *SEL* poet positions the diocese of Worcester as the world's spiritual model, and thereby grants the diocese of Worcester the authorizing function once reserved for Rome.

In a seventy-five line digression that does not appear in either of the "Legend of Saint Kenelm's" Anglo-Latin sources (*Vita et miracula* and *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*) the *SEL* poet describes England's ninth-century geopolitical division in terms similar to those found on contemporary list maps. First, the poet establishes cartography's relevance to his tale by using the word "drou" on multiple occasions, suggesting that he is *drawing* a map for his audience rather than simply recording a tale. He writes, "Gret cite was þo Winchecombe · and mest of inou / Of al þulke half of Engelond · as uer as is lond *drou*" (8-9; Winchcombe was a great city, and the very best / of all that half of England, as ever land is drawn).[34] The contextual meaning of the term is confirmed when the poet uses the word "drou" a second time in reference to the geographical placement of cultural centers: "And Somersete þat to Wellis · þulke tyme *drou* / Nou it is þe bissopriche of Baþe" (55-6; And from Somerset to Wells, as it was drawn at that time. / Now it is the bishopric of Bath). By suggesting that his text transcends textual media, the

SEL poet demands that his geographical division of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the opening seventy-five lines be read both rhetorically and diagrammatically; it functions as both a textual description and a pictorial representation of geographical place.[35]

Having aligned his text with cartographic media, the *SEL* poet proceeds to describe the Anglo-Saxon geopolitical division of England according to directional details and measurements. He begins by describing the size of England: "Engelond was god and long · & somdel brod þerto / Aboute ei3te hondred mile · Engelond long is / Fram þe souþ into þe norþ · and to hundred brod iwis / Fram þe est into þe west" (10-13; England was good and long, and somewhat wide as well. / England is about eight hundred miles long / From the south into the north, and two hundred miles wide / From the east into the west). This passage is then followed by a description of the country's three major rivers, including the direction in which they flow:

> þere inne beoþ
>
> Manie wateres god inou · as 3e alday iseoþ
>
> Ac þreo wateres principals · þer beoþ of alle iwis
>
> Homber and Temese · Seuerne þe þridde is
>
> To þe norþ se Homber geþ · þat is on of þe beste
>
> And Temese into þe est se · and Seuerne bi weste. (13-18)
>
> (There are in [England]
>
> Many good waters as you can see every day,
>
> But there are three principal waters, certainly:
>
> The Humber and the Thames; the third is the Severn.
>
> The Humber, which is one of the best, flows to the north,
>
> And the Thames flows into the eastern sea, and the Severn flows west.)

This sequence is particularly relevant to medieval cartographical practices, as even the earliest maps noted the world's major bodies of water. On T-O maps the continents were divided by rivers/seas (typically the Nile, Mediterranean, and Don), and more detailed maps almost always featured the four rivers of paradise (Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, and Ganges). In addition to following cartographical convention, the *SEL* poet may be suggesting here that England's rivers are analogous to the rivers of paradise. In so doing, he promptly redirects the reader's gaze from continental Europe to England.

The *SEL* poet also describes the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in terms of their geographical location. In a passage that will be quoted at length below, the poet describes the location of the March of Wales, followed by a description of the many shires that it contains: "Þe kyng þat was king of þe March · hadde þo þe beste / Muchedel he hadde of Engelond · þe on half al by *weste*" (21-2; The King that was king of the March held the best lands. / He possessed much of England, the Western half). Specific cities are also located geographically on the poet's linguistic map. The poet explains that, relative to Canterbury, the bishopric of Rochester is "in þe west side... next" (61-2; the next bishopric to the west). Here, the *SEL* poet maintains his allegiance to geography, accurately describing the relative location of two religious sites. By making a point of including such accurate details in his description of place, the poet suggests that although his analysis of place is partially subjective, as any geographical analysis was in the early medieval period, it is not entirely devoid of geographical observation. He intends to reposition the world's spiritual and cartographical center, but he still locates the remaining cities/shires accurately with respect to one another. In other words, the map he is *drau*ing is not a subjective fantasy, it is a restructured and reinterpreted reality.

The seventy-five line narrative digression in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm" also adheres to medieval mapmaking constructs by emphasizing history. As Evelyn Edson notes, "[Maps] serve to establish the location of actions and the routes of armies, and to show the passage of time as events worked their changes on the countryside…. In fact, the great Hereford Cathedral map describes itself as an *estorie*, whose modern descendant is the word 'history,' and its lengthy inscriptions, which blanket its 2.23 square meters, tell a story indeed."[36] In the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," history is manifest in the transformation of place names. The clearest example of this concerns the evolution of Somerset to Bath: "3ute hadde þe king of Westsex… Somersete þat to Wellis · þulke tyme drou / Nou it is þe bissopriche of Baþe · 3e witeþ wel inou" (51, 55-6; The King of Wessex possessed land... from Somerset to Wells, as it was drawn at that time. / Now this region is the bishopric of Bath, as you know well enough). By acknowledging this transformation of the ecclesiastical landscape the poet distinctly sets his legend in the past, while acknowledging the effect that the past has had on the present. Moreover, he engages the historical function of maps, offering his audience an image of England in the ninth century while pointing to regions that have evolved since then—a practice particularly common in list maps of the period.

One of the most interesting ways the poet engages cartographical language occurs outside of the opening seventy-five line description of place. In the tale itself, the *SEL* poet mentions a number of landmarks that came to define the spiritual landscape of Worcestershire. For instance, the tale recounts how, when Kenelm's body was discovered following his martyrdom, a well emerged at the site of his exhumation:

> Anon so hi nome up þis holi bodi · a welle spreng up þer stod
> Of þe stude þat he lai on · þat 3ute is cler and god

For þer is a welle fair inou · and euere eft haþ ibe[o]

In þe stude þat he lay on · as me mai þere ise[o]. (293-6)[37]

(As soon as they exhumed this holy body, a well sprang up in that place—

The place where he lay, which is yet clear and good.

For in that place is a fair well, and ever afterward it has been

In the place where he lay, as one may still see there.)

The well is not just a textual fabrication alluded to in the legend to make Kenelm's exhumation more fantastic. Instead, it is a topographical feature that the poet insists can still be seen in the late-thirteenth century: "as me mai þere ise[o]." In fact, regional placelore contends that the well is still visible today at the Romsley church, where wall paintings of Kenelm's martyrdom also survive. The ash tree that marks the location of Kenelm's murder also serves as a landmark. The poet recalls, "And a gret ass bicom suþþe · & 3ute stont in þulke place / To ssewi þe mi3te of seint Kenelm · & oure Louerdes grace" (171-3; And a great ash appeared afterwards, and yet stands in that place, / to demonstrate the might of St. Kenelm and our Lord's grace). On the map constructed in the opening seventy-five lines of St. Kenelm's life, these landmarks would be illustrated and briefly annotated in the same way that Gog and Magog's enclosure, the Tower of Babel, and Scylla and Charybdis were on contemporary maps. The presence of such landmarks/legends on medieval maps served to emphasize a map's historical function while also mapping a culture's influence on the physical landscape. Both the well and ash tree in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," then, serve as examples of Worcestershire's spiritual reshaping of geographical reality.[38]

While the poet spends a great deal of time integrating the rhetoric of a non-literary medium and adhering to conventions of medieval map making, he also problematizes many

common features on medieval maps. On most medieval maps, Jerusalem—the world's spiritual hub—was located at the center (in T-O and list maps it was placed on the point where the vertical and horizontal lines of the T met). When Jerusalem did not occupy a central position, Rome did, thereby providing cartographical validation for Rome's authorizing function in computus and calendrical texts.[39] In the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," however, Worcestershire is given a position of dominance. The poet writes,

> Þe kyng þat was king of þe March · hadde þo þe beste
> Muchedel he hadde of Engelond · þe on half al by weste
> Wircetre ssire and Warwik ssire · and also of Gloucestre
> Þat is nei a bissopriche · þe bissops of Wircestre. (21-4)
> (The King that was king of the March held the best lands.
> He possessed much of England, the Western half:
> Worcestershire and Warwickshire, and also Gloucestershire,
> All of which is by a bishopric: the bishopric of Worcester.)

In this passage, Worcestershire is defined as the "beste" kingdom in England, and when Kenelm is introduced we are told "Kyng he was of Engelond · of þe March of Walis" (2; he was the King of England, of the March of Wales). Here, "Engelond" and "þe March of Walis" are working appositively, suggesting that the March of Wales is the locus of England's spiritual and cultural identity. The *SEL* poet also repeatedly emphasizes the ascendancy of Winchcombe, nowadays a small town that synecdochally represents the March of Wales. Following a laudatory description of the church where Kenelm is buried, we are told: "Gret cite was þo Winchecombe · and mest of inou / Of al þulke half of Engelond" (7-8; Winchcombe was a great city, and the very best / of all that half of England). In this passage Winchcombe is proclaimed to be a "gret cite," and the

partitive genitive "mest of inou" suggests that its greatness supersedes the combined force of half of England. Following a long summary of the bishoprics in the March of Wales we are also told:

> Al þis lond was wile icluped · þe March of Walis
> And of al was sein Kenelm and is fader · kyng iwis
> Non of al þe oþer is þing · a3en þis kynedom nas
> And Winchecombe of al þis lond · chef cite þo was. (39-42)
> (All this land was called the March of Wales,
> And it belonged to St. Kenelm and his father, the King.
> None of the other lands compared to this kingdom,
> And Winchcombe was the chief city of this land.)

Again Winchcombe's ascendancy is clear. It is the chief city in the March of Wales, and since "Non of al þe oþer is þing · a3en þis kynedom nas," no city in the remaining four kingdoms can even come close to Winchcombe's greatness. This description of Winchcombe suggests that the shire should be centrally featured on a cartographical representation of England.

The argument for this ascendancy is also substantiated by the status of the Worcester diocese in the thirteenth century. Beginning in AD 890 with the foundation of the burh, Worcester blossomed as a secular and religious site. One of the diocese's most distinctive features was its devotion to antiquarian pursuits. As the Cathedral Priory's extensive collection of Old English manuscripts suggests, Worcester was interested in preserving and studying Anglo-Saxon literature.[40] At a time when much of Britain had been subsumed by the Norman administration, Worcester distinguished itself as a place devoted to pre-Conquest English identity. This would have appealed to thirteenth-century sensibilities for a number of reasons. First, in the thirteenth century there was a continuing movement to reclaim Anglo-Saxon saints

who were removed from liturgical calendars following the Norman invasion. Both Worcester's extant manuscripts and its landscape were marked by the presence of these saints. Second, in the centuries following the conquest there was a strong push for monastic reform. As a conservative Benedictine diocese, Worcester would have served as a model for reformers.[41] The Cathedral Priory's collection was markedly Benedictine, and the monks' literary studies demonstrated their commitment to St. Benedict's insistence that "idleness is the enemy of the soul; the brethren, therefore, must be occupied at stated hours... in sacred reading."[42] The extensive record of glossing that survives from medieval Worcester, including the Tremulous Hand's famous glosses, is evidence for this commitment.[43] Because of Worcester's dedication to Benedictine reform and Anglo-Saxon sanctity, the diocese would undoubtedly have stood out as a religious site worthy of cartographical and literary acclaim in the thirteenth century.

Worcester's physical landscape was also quite remarkable. Located atop a bluff in between the Severn and Frog Brook, the city was a prominent settlement in Midwestern England. In addition to being militarily and commercially viable given its location on one of England's three major rivers, the city was distinguished by its many churches and cathedrals. A cathedral dedicated to St. Peter was built as early as AD 680, and between the seventh and thirteenth centuries more than fifteen additional churches were constructed. St. Mary's Cathedral was a particularly notable element of the landscape, featured prominently on John Speed's 1610 map of Worcester.[44] This Benedictine cathedral defined the landscape by providing visual confirmation of the diocese's commitment to the *Rule of St. Benedict* and pre-conquest sanctity. Worcester's religious priorities were further confirmed by the fact that at least nine of the ten parish churches depended on the bishop as a patron. This was unusual in the centuries following the Norman invasion, since the Crown patronized the majority of England's churches (in Gloucester, for

example, the Crown patronized at least four of the parish churches). Because of Worcester's unconventional allegiance to what was in the thirteenth century an outdated patronage system, St. Mary's Cathedral was a significant example of pre-Conquest patronage in Worcester that dominated the landscape.

From these examples, it is clear that the *SEL* poet presents his readers with both a rhetorical and illustrative depiction of the world that locates the diocese of Worcester as its spiritual and diagrammatic center. Including the "Legend of Saint Kenelm" in the *Legendary* is thus a significant move. The *SEL* grants Worcester centrality and suggests that the diocese rivals Rome as a site capable of producing authoritative liturgical calendars. Unlike previous interpretations of calendrical time, the thirteenth-century *Legendary* grants geographical and cultural authority to an English region over a continental empire. By narrowing his geographical focus, and including cartographical detail in the *SEL* that could be corroborated by corporeal experience, the *SEL* poet guarantees that his audience will recognize the *precise* center of Christendom. The hub of the *Legendary*'s spiritual world is not located on an island "far north toward the pole"; it is located in the diocese of Worcester, where one can still see the well and the ash tree of Kenelm's legend. This use of place to regional ends finally takes precedence over the *Legendary*'s temporal ordering structure. The cartographical detail in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," then, is a key to understanding the *SEL*'s complexity. The *South English Legendary* is not a liturgical calendar operating under the auspices of Rome; it is a keystone to English regional and spiritual identity that considers time, place, religion, and the relationship between all three.

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[1] Susan Crane, "Anglo-Norman cultures in England," *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 43. See also Michael

T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell 1993); Ian Short, "Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1991): 229-49; R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990); Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art, and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988); Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); G.G. Coulton, "Nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 5 (1935-7): 15-40.

[2] Thorlac Turville-Petre locates this shift in the mid-thirteenth century, when political and cultural leaders began to recognize the importance of language as a unifying force (a topic that will be discussed further below). Using Henry III's confirmation of the Provisions of Oxford in 1258 as an example (wherein Henry promises to accept the decisions of his advisors "þæt beoþ ichosen þur3 us and þur3 þæt loandes folk on vre kuneriche"), he demonstrates that "both sides [English and French] recognized the value in the propaganda of patriotism of reaching beyond the constituency of royal officials and appropriating (however speciously) the language of the 'loandes folk' in order to involve a wider section of the population in the political programme of reform" (*England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity 1290-1340* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996], 8-10).

[3] *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Richard Morris, vols. 1-3, EETS I OS 57, 99, 101; II OS 59, 62; III OS 66, 68 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1932-42).

[4] The *Cursor Mundi* poet's love for the English nation also denotes his loyal service to the nation. As Gregory Sadlek notes in "John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Ideology, and the 'Labor' of 'Love's Labor,'" *Re-visioning Gower*, ed. R F. Yeager [Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998]),

love was considered a labor in the medieval period. As such, it had to produce results in order to be considered a worthwhile pursuit. The *Cursor Mundi* itself is a testament to the poet's successful and meaningful service to the English nation, functioning as a tangible product of his love.

[5] For a discussion of the Norman myth, see R.H.C. Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

[6] On the *Cursor Mundi* poet's socio-economic status see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1983), 26-7.

[7] Turville-Petre, 40.

[8] Anne B. Thompson, *Everday Saints and the Art of Narrative in the* South English Legendary (Burlinton, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 21-57; Turville-Petre, 27-70.

[9] Turville-Petre, 27.

[10] Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, MRTS 14 (Binghamton, NY: MRTS, 1983).

[11] *The South English Legendary*, eds Charlotte D'evelyn and Anna J. Mill, vols. 1 and 2, EETS OS 235-6 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1956), 515. Henceforth quoted in the text by line number from this edition. In the "Legend of St. Edmund of Canterbury" Edmund uses Latin to purposefully exclude a woman from his conversation: "when a man ded is / To his clerkes he seide a Latyn þat heo hit no3t vnderstod / Me þin3þ hit is a liþer lawe & noþer ri3t ne god" (476). The *SEL* poet immediately condemns this action by sympathizing with the excluded woman, writing "Þis gode wyf haþ forlore hire louerd þat hire god forþ drou3 / & to leose after hire beste best me þin3þ hit were wou3" (479-80). By siding with the "good wife" here, the *SEL* poet demonstrates his allegiance to an all-inclusive English community.

[12] For a discussion of alternate prologue traditions, see Thomas R. Liszka, "The First 'A' Redaction of the *South English Legendary*: Information from the 'Prologue,'" *Modern Philology* 82.4 (1985): 407-13.

[13] For a discussion of these calculations and their evolution in the classical and medieval periods, see D. O'Croinin and Immo Warntjes, *Computus and its Cultural Context in the Latin West, AD 300-1200* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008); Faith Wallis, "'Number Mistique' in Early Medieval Computus Texts," *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*, ed. T. Koetsier and Luc Bergmans (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), 179-200; Arno Bost, *The Ordering of Time: from the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer*, trans. Andrew Winnard (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993).

[14] Bede's exemplary computus text is *De temporum ratione*, but his concern with the ecclesiastical calendar carries over into the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. See Faith Wallis, *Bede, The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999); Charles W. Jones, *Bede, the Schools and the Computus*, ed. Wesley Stevens (Ashgate: Variorum, 1994), 261–85.

[15] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People*, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). Henceforth quoted by book and chapter number from this edition. With respect to the present quotation, Pope John echoes Laurence's sentiment fifteen chapters later when, in a letter to the Scots (640), he writes, "certain persons in your province are attempting to revive a new heresy from an old one, contrary to the orthodox faith, and that in the dark cloud of their ignorance they refused to observe our Easter on which Christ was sacrificed, arguing that it should be observed with the Hebrew Passover on the fourteenth day of the moon" (II.19).

[16] Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), 126.

[17] Alan Thacker, "Loca Sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints," *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 1-44; A.H. Merrils, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005); Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2006); Fabienne Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).

[18] This fourteenth-century comparison between God and gardeners is unique; the association did not become more common until the mid-fifteenth century. For example, we find God compared to a gardener in the *Holy Book Gratia Dia* (1425), wherein the poet writes, "He [God] reues syne vp by þe rotes os a gardiner dose" (*Richard Rolle and the Holy Boke Gratia Dei*, ed. M.L. Arntz [1981], 81.14).

[19] Representations of the zodiac abounded in medieval art/architecture, including carvings on church portals and stained glass windows. Given the popularity of such images, it is unlikely the word "Taurus" could be used without evoking the constellation of the zodiac. To read the gloss as a mere translation of the English 'bull' would be to take the gloss out of context.

[20] For studies of nationalism in the *SEL* see R. Hamelinck, "St. Kenelm and the Legends of the English Saints in the *South English Legendary*," *Companion to Early Middle English Literature*, eds. N.H.G.E. Veldhoen and H. Aertsen (Amsterdam: Free UP, 1988), 53-67; Catherine Cubitt, "Sites and Sanctity: revisiting the cult of murdered and martyred Anglo-Saxon royal saints," *Early Medieval Europe* 9.1 (2000): 53-83.

[21] Klaus Jankofsky, "National Characteristics in the Portrayal of English Saints in the *South English Legendary*," *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, eds. R. Blumenfield-Kosinski and T. Szell (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991), 85; see also Klaus Jankofsky, "Entertainment, Edification, and Popular Education in the *South English Legendary*," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11.3 (1977): 706-17.

[22] Jill Frederick, "The *South English Legendary*: Anglo-Saxon saints and national identity," *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, eds. Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 57-73.

[23] Helen Fulton, "Regions and Communities," *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval English Literature*, eds. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 515-6.

[24] Turville-Petre, 142 (emphasis mine).

[25] Anthony Musson, *Boundaries of the Law: Geography, Gender, and Jurisdiction in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 118-19.

[26] All but two of the Lives that Henry of Avranches wrote deal with English saints. These include Sts. Oswald, Guthlac, Birin, Edmund, Fremund, Hugh of Lincoln, and Becket.

[27] Quoted in A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 182.

[28] For a discussion of the *SEL*'s comparatively few references to time, see O.S. Pickering, "The *Temporale* Narratives of the *South English Legendary*," *Anglia* 91 (1973): 425-55; O.S. Pickering, "The Expository *Temporale* Poems of the *South English Legendary*," *Leeds Studies in English* 10 (1978): 1-10.

[29] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Georg Theodor Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), 1.4.

[30] Thompson notes the differences between the *SEL* and the *Legenda Aurea* in her discussion of the *SEL*'s treatment of All Souls. In this narrative, the *LA* lacks the narrative complexity of the *SEL*, demonstrating its absolute commitment to unembellished Church doctrine (the liturgical calendar included). She writes, "Jacobus's All Souls bristles with numbers and subdivisions throughout: there are three different kinds of places where purgatory may take place, four kinds of sacrifices that may be offered, and so on. Despite the multiplicity of illustrative *exempla*… the overall impression is emphastically nonnarrative and essentially unreadable" (126).

[31] The same holds true in other chronicles of the period; Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, for example.

[32] Turville-Petre, 152.

[33] Cubitt, "Sites and Sanctity," 68-9.

[34] While translating *drou* as "draw" is unconventional in standard ME, the dialect of the *SEL* lends itself to this translation, as the word *drou* implies 'to draw' repeatedly throughout the text. In the "Legend of St. Edmund of Canterbury," for instance, Edmund is described as *drou*ing figures all day in powder: "to aresmetrike he drou3 / & arsmetrike radde in cours. In Oxenford wel faste / & his figures drou3 aldai" (224-6).

[35] This duality was common among early medieval maps. While today the word "map" refers primarily to a pictorial/geographical representation of the world or a region, in the early thirteenth century there was not a word that exclusively meant "map." The word *mappa* meant cloth, and *carta* meant document. The most common word attached to what we now consider maps was *descriptio*, which could mean either a map or a textual description, and *picture* and *figura* could mean any diagram or drawing. The distinction between what we now call maps and textual descriptions of the world, then, were not so distinct in the medieval period. The *SEL* poet

can conceivably present his audience with a textual description of place and expect them to read it as a pictoral representation of that place. (For further discussion, see Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* [London: The British Library, 1997].)

[36] Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 18.

[37] The present-day location of the well is explored in Mike Smith and David Taylor, "The Crown and the Well, The divine king and the re-discovery of a 'lost' well," *Mercian Mysteries* 25 (1995).

[38] Cubitt notes the topographical elements in the "Legend of Saint Kenelm," arguing, "the cults were rooted in the local landscape and not only practiced at their ecclesiastical shrines" (54).

[39] On the Anglo-Saxon world map, for instance, Rome and the Aegean islands are located centrally. For an image and brief discussion of the Anglo-Saxon world map, see *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. P D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 4-8.

[40] For discussions of Worcester's intellectual pursuits, see John Frankis, "Toward a Regional Context for Lawman's *Brut*: literary activity in the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford in the twelfth century," *La3amon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, eds. Rosamund Allen, Lucy Perry, and Jane Roberts (London: King's College London, 2002), 53-78; Seth Lerer, "Old English and its Afterlife," *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 7-34, esp. 22-32; Antonia Gransden, "Cultural Transition at Worcester in the Anglo-Norman Period," *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral: The British Archeological Association Conference Precedings for the Year 1975* 1 (1978): 1-14; Elizabeth McIntyre, "Early Twelfth-century Worcetser Cathedral Priory,"

unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford (1978); E.G. Stanley, "La3amon's Antiquarian Sentiments," *Medium Aevum* 38 (1969): 23-37.

[41] See *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Justin McCann (London: Burns and Oats, 1952).

[42] *Ibid*., 110-11. For a detailed account of the Cathedral Priory's holdings, see Glenys Popper, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (London: British Archeological Association, 1978).

[43] See Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[44] Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), plate 11. Just as the "Legend of Saint Kenelm" inscribed the landscape with Kenelm's well and ash tree, Speed inscribed Worcester with a manifestation of culture that best defined the city: a Benedictine cathedral.

Chapter Three

Economic Mobilities in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

In the late-fourteenth century, economic forces destabilized national and regional identities defined by geographical fixity. The period is remarkable instead for the importance of mobility; the idea that identity could be unambiguously expressed in space was challenged by tumultuous socio-political conditions and an increase in movement brought about by the rise of mercantilism. This is perhaps most evident in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century representations of London. While twelfth-century texts represented the city as a coherent meaningful and symbolic space, by the fourteenth century the city had become multiplicitous, contested, and the product of rhetorical performance and representation.[1] David Wallace writes of late-medieval London, "There is no idea of a city for all the inhabitants of a space called London to pay allegiance to; there are only conflicts of associational, hierarchical, and anti-associational discourses, acted out within and across the boundaries of a city wall or the fragments of a text."[2] Wallace proceeds to examine these discourses and their influence on associational polities, concluding that urban identity is rendered impossible by the clashing of vertical (feudal) and horizontal (associational) bonds, but he never dwells on the collapse of physical boundaries implied by his theory. According to Wallace, the movement of discourses across boundaries—like city walls—defines the cityscape of fourteenth-century England, but the nature of these discourses is far more important to him than their *movement*.

In this chapter, I reprioritize movement by showing that Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is a register of fourteenth-century England's mobile landscape. In particular, the *Miller's Tale*, *Reeve's Tale*, and frame narrative convey a desire to understand the nation in familiar terms despite the radical growth of economic mobility, a new spatial category. The threatening

consequences of this mobility are staged in the *Cook's Tale* and the *Canon Yeoman's Tale*. In these fictions, London and its suburbs succumb to unregulated social and spatial mobility, resulting in a fragmented and dissolute placelessness that stood in marked contrast to the grounded identities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *Miller's Tale*, *Reeve's Tale*, and frame narrative temper these threats, though, by locating mobility in physical landscapes. In the Miller's and Reeve's tales, economic exchange (i.e., the movement of goods and services) plays out in clearly-defined spaces; the tales' settings—Oxford and Trumpington—and the domestic spaces they describe are regulated in order to ensure just and ordered exchange. In the frame narrative, bodily movement is similarly contained by the physical landscape; the pilgrims' movement and the economic implications of their pilgrimage are grounded in three cities that endorsed movement toward Canterbury for fiscal gain: Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Harbledown.

Chaucer's London

Increasing mobility in the fourteenth-century transformed London into a space defined by unstable relations and difference rather than ordered geographies. Marion Turner writes, "London, for Chaucer and his contemporaries, was not a contained, culturally unified city. Instead, it was a more complicated and expansive location, encompassing court and suburbs as well as the City itself, a place of fluctuating, unfixed boundaries."[3] Turner challenges Wallace's contention that London is absent, arguing instead that it simply follows a different paradigm: if readers seek a coherent urban space in the *Canterbury Tales* they will find absence, but when they accept the city as "a place of cultural conflict, jostling rivalries, and incompatible interests,"

they find London.[4] This new perspective on urbanity is a product of fourteenth-century culture. In the 1380s, fighting between aldermen reached unprecedented levels, and mayoral elections were won by force.[5] London's Mayor John Northampton fell to Nicholas Brembre in 1382, putting an even greater strain on the fragile relationship between craft guilds and merchants, and the value of "felaweschipes" and "compaignyes" became suspect.[6] Hierarchical and associational bonds were subject to scrutiny, and these complications rendered London socially and politically fragmented, and geographically incoherent.

Other forces also disallowed a cohesive image of London. David Raybin, for example, identifies London's fragmentation as a consequence of the Black Death. He writes of fourteenth-century London, "This city is in constant flux, a place where a man's death opened a spot for his replacement… and it was in the emergent gaps and spaces that […Chaucer] located the niches he would so brilliantly furnish."[7] John Scattergood blames the money economy instead, arguing that it brought corruption and inflation to the city; and C. David Benson argues that moral decay fragmented urban space, observing that, in the *Canterbury Tales*, London "is not the aristocratic and mercantile world we might expect because it was so well known to Chaucer, but rather an underworld of immorality, fraud, misrule, and other threats to decency and the good order of the city."[8] Nearly all scholarly treatments of the city in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* agree: Chaucer's London is fractured, regardless of the cause.

From a geographical perspective, too, fourteenth-century London was remarkably porous. By Chaucer's time, most writers and residents no longer thought of London as a place bound by Roman walls. It was an ill-defined city, variously containing the Square Mile, Westminster, Southwark, and surrounding suburbs. In a late-fourteenth century poem entitled "The Stores of the Cities," an anonymous poet describes London as follows:

Hec sunt Londonis: pira, pomusque, regia, thronus,

Chepp, stupha, Coklana, dolium, leo verbaque vana,

Lancea cum scutis—hec sunt staura ciuitatis. [9]

(These are London's: pear and apple [scepter and orb], a palace, throne,

Cheapside, the Stews, Cock Lane, the "Tunne," the "Lion" and empty words,

Lance and shields—these are the stores of the city.)

Here London includes Westminster (the throne), Southwark (the Stews), Smithfield (the suburb where Cock Lane was located), and a variety of locations within the walled city, including Cheapside, the "Tunne" (a prison in Cornhill), and the "Lion" (either a reference to the lions in the Tower, or a public house). As it is formulated in this poem, the city is a geographically and culturally diverse site. In *La production de l'espace*, Henri Lefebvre also takes note of medieval London's boundlessness. He writes, "The medieval revolution brought commerce inside the town and lodged it at the centre of a transformed urban space. The marketplace… opened up on every side onto the surrounding territory—the territory the town dominated and exploited—and onto the countryside's network of roads and lanes."[10] In large part due to the growth of mercantilism, Lefebvre argues, London's gates were opened wide to its suburbs, and access was readily granted to roads that led even further into the English countryside. The Roman walls that were once imposing barriers were rendered dysfunctional remnants of a long-lost past.

These unstable definitions of the city's boundaries were then compounded by mobile bodies. The open gates and accessible roads were quickly taken advantage of by individuals throughout England and abroad. Michael Hanrahan writes, "Medieval London… did not exist in isolation. The rebel's invasion of the city in 1381 establishes its accessibility and significance to agrarian workers and rural townspeople."[11] The influx of foreigners was also remarkable.

According to Sylvia Thrupp, the majority of London inhabitants were non-citizens, known as either foreigners (if they were born in England), or aliens (if they were born overseas).[12] The city had become unidentifiable according to early-medieval standards.

The London of the *Cook's Tale* and the *Canon's Yeoman*'s *Tale* reflects this remarkable change in urban systems. Both the Cook and Canon's Yeoman represent unstable craft-spaces in London to demonstrate the potentially deleterious effect of economic movement on familiar spatial categories in the fourteenth century. In the *Cook's Tale*, which Wallace calls "Chaucer's solitary attempt at pure London fiction,"[13] the narrative and its representation of "oure cite" (I.4343, 4365) deteriorates to such an extent that it is suspended after only 58 lines.[14] After a slow depreciation in geographical place throughout Fragment One (Athens → Oxford → Trumpington), we reach a city that is marked by taverns, whorehouses, and gambling-filled streets.[15] The moral disintegration of London in the *Cook's Tale* has been discussed at length, so I will not belabor the issue here, but the deterioration of social relations in economically-bounded space is a matter of consequence.[16] In particular, the scrutiny that guilds and fellowships were subject to in the fourteenth century is fictionalized by Chaucer in the relationship between Perkyn Revelour and his master. What Perkyn's master finds troubling is not Perkyn's disreputable amusements, but his ability to spoil a craft-bound space by challenging the social and hierarchical relationships between master and apprentice. The master tells Perkyn,

> "Wel bet is roten appul out of hoord
> Than that it rotie al the remenaunt."
> So fareth it by a riotous servaunt;
> It is ful lasse harm to lete hym pace,
> Than he shende alle the servantz in the place. (I.4406-10)

Here Perkyn is evaluated as "riotous" based on his social position *as a servant*. His deeds themselves are not riotous, but his behavior is because it affects his ability to serve his master properly. As Chaucer notes, "For sikerly a prentys revelour / That haunteth dys, riot, or paramour, / His maister shal it in his shoppe abye" (I.4391-3). The titles "prentys" and "maister" are central to this judgment, and out of concern for the maintenance of his shop, Perkyn's master insists that Perkyn leave before disabling the rest of his servants. In both of these quotations, there is also a pointed attention to space. Chaucer includes the prepositional phrase "in the place" to specify the proverb's application to a specific locale, and in his earlier judgment of Perkyn he uses a similar designation: "in his [the master's] shop." The master's shop should be defined by stable, hierarchical associations, but Perkyn's riotous nature threatens the social relationships that define the *space* of the victuallers' craft.

The *Cook's Tale* also represents the potential threat of socially (rather than topographically) defined craft-spaces by demonstrating how they can be replicated to serve licentious purposes. In his rejection of the victuallers' fellowship, Perkyn builds his own counter-fellowship. Chaucer tells us that he

> gadered hym a meynee of his sort
> To hoppe and synge and maken swich disport;
> And ther they setten stevene for to meete,
> To pleyen at the dys in swich a streete. (I.4381-2)

Here, Perkyn builds a company that is defined by a craft and bound by the "streete" (however indeterminate this designation). It meets the criteria that define his master's business, even if the craft and the craft-space are morally and categorically suspect. Perkyn's ability to produce counter-fellowships is then reiterated at the tale's close. The Cook narrates,

Anon he sente his bed and his array
Unto a compeer of his owene sort,
That lovede dys, and revel, and disport,
And hadde a wyf that heeld for contenance
A shoppe, and swyved for hir sustenance. (I.4418-22)

The decency of Perkyn's craft remains uncertain, but he nevertheless partakes in a business that provides him and his companions ("compeer") with sustenance. Like his first counter-fellowship, this guild is also questionably confined: the "shoppe" serves only as a front for disreputable business, representing the untenable nature of social geographies. Nevertheless, based on a simple understanding of London crafts, Perkyn is able to replicate craft-space and claim mastery over a fellowship that in no way contributes to the socio-economic growth of the city (at least, not above-ground). This development demonstrates that socially-defined spaces, in contrast to spaces firmly grounded in the landscape, are susceptible to disorder and corruption. By leaving the master's shop and establishing a counter-fellowship at a new locale within the city, Perkyn rewrites the urban landscape, taking possession of civic space and redefining that space's function.

Finally, the Cook himself threatens systems of geographical order. We learn in the *Cook's Prologue* that he is from Ware (I.4336), making him a resident of London's suburbs. His reference to London as "oure citee," though, indicates that he considers himself a resident of London *despite* his geographical distance from the Square Mile. This dissolution of the city walls in favor of a more inclusive definition of London is echoed in the conflict between the Cook and Harry Bailey. As Turner notes, "Their barbed words show that they see each other as trade rivals, and that the geographical separation between Southwark [the Host's tavern] and London [the

Cook's place of employment] lessens neither their intimate knowledge of each other's reputations, nor their sense of competition (they are both in the same service industry)."[17] The teller himself threatens geographical boundaries that traditionally defined London.

The *Cook's Prologue* and *Tale*, then, represent a dissolute space subject to constantly shifting and corruptible social relationships. Perkyn Revelour is an "antitype, a character who breaks every precept, who resists being incorporated into the ethos and uses what opportunities his lifestyle affords him for personal pleasures of an immoral and sometimes criminal sort," and the spaces in which he operates represent the "blighting of an ideal." [18] In this tale, London is a space defined not by order, but by disorderly relations and difference, with craft-spaces at the center of its re-/(dis-)oriented landscape.

The *Canon Yeoman's Tale* also demonstrates the instability of craft-space as a consequence of social mobilities. The Canon and Yeoman are particularly disruptive characters because they not only represent the disintegrating social relationships that challenged new urban identities, but they also threaten to destabilize the established company of the pilgrimage. In the *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue* we are told that the Canon and the Yeoman come from

> the suburbes of a toun…
> Lurkynge in hernes and in lanes blynde,
> Whereas thise robbours and thise theves by kynde
> Holden hir pryvee fereful residence,
> As they that dar nat shewen hir presence. (VIII.657-61)

Like the Cook, they undermine geographical boundaries by residing outside of the city walls (presumably London's), while working within them.[19] Turner argues of the *Canon Yeoman's Tale*, "there is no sense of division between suburban and urban locations. One can live in one

location and work in another, and the term 'London' here might cover a much broader area than the walled city."[20] This passage also demonstrates how London's expanding and increasingly-porous boundaries amplify its exposure to corruption. The spaces that define the Canon's and Yeoman's suburb are "hernes" (hiding places) and "lanes blynde"—spaces that cannot be mapped because they escape the naked eye—and these spaces provide room for "pryvee" behaviors, where people can essentially disappear who "dar nat shewen hir presence." Such spaces refuse easy categorization, and their existence challenges the conceit that a city can *ever* be cartographically or poetically represented. They render attempts to signify London deficient, drawing attention to their presence while at the same time refusing to be explicated.

The *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue* also stages the deleterious effects of dissolved social hierarchies on spatial order. Just as Perkyn's abdication threatened the craft-space of the victuallers, the Yeoman's denunciation of his master threatens the craft-space of alchemists. After the Canon flees, fearing the Yeoman will continue to "sclaunder" him (VIII.695), the Yeoman declares, "nevere heerafter wol I with hym meete / For peny ne for pound, I yow biheete" (VIII.706-7). This disavowal dramatizes the danger of social geographies. Without having been grounded in physical space, the place defined by the Yeoman's relationship to his Canon (i.e., the place of their craft) can be obliterated.

This obliteration is made very tangible in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. In a description of their alchemical experiments, the Yeoman explains,

> Thise metals been of so greet violence
> Oure walles mowe nat make hem resistence,
> But if they weren wroght of lym and stoon;
> They percen so, and thurgh the wal they goon.

And somme of hem synken into the ground…

And somme are scatered al the floor aboute;

Somme lepe into the roof. (VIII.908-12, 14-15)

A physical landscape in London—one of very few Chaucer details in either the *Cook's Tale* or the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*—is utterly destroyed in this passage. The metals used in alchemy, itself a science of change, dissolve walls, floors, and ceilings, rendering even the most solid materials ("lym and stoon") porous. By classifying this moment as one of "violence," the Yeoman renders the destruction of space unnatural, and literalizes the threat that social mobilities posed to familiar spatial categories.

This destruction of ordered spaces continues in Canon's Yeoman's tale proper. From the beginning, this fiction (so the Yeoman claims, VIII.1087ff.), is focused on the deterioration of space. The Yeoman begins, "There is a chanoun… wolde infecte al a toun, / Thogh it as greet were as was Nynyvee, / Rome, Alisaundre, Troye, and othere three" (VIII.972-5). Here the corrupt Canon—who entirely disregards social hierarchies and operates outside of accepted socio-economic circles—is figured as a plague on London. Even worse, he has the potential to destroy the world's greatest cities, including Nineveh, Rome, Alexandria, and Troy. Given the fortitude of Rome in Chaucer's other Canterbury fictions, the Canon's threat to this space is a particularly powerful indication of his menace: a city that is praised throughout the *Canterbury Tales* can conceivably be ruined by the Canon's disregard for social order.[21]

Both the *Cook's Tale* and the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, then, demonstrate that landscapes and topographical features were threatened by constantly shifting social relationships and the introduction of craft-spaces to the city. Economic mobilities produced an urban landscape of guilds and fellowships, but the very mobility that founded this landscape enabled the social

mobilities that toppled it. As the Cook and Canon Yeoman tell it, this has drastic consequences on the moral and geographical stability of English space; economic mobilities inevitability lead to the deterioration of familiar spatial orders.

Rewriting Domesticity in the *Miller's Tale* and the *Reeve's Tale*

If the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* and the *Cook's Tale* depict the threat of economic mobilities, the *Miller's Tale*, *Reeve's Tale*, and frame narrative demonstrate how new orders can be contained within a familiar idiom of English landscapes. They do this by grounding movement in space—evoking familiar places, and rewriting those places to accommodate new mobilities. In the Miller's and Reeve's tales, the exchange of goods and services is grounded in Oxford, Trumpington, and the domestic space; and in the frame narrative, the Canterbury pilgrims are located in an English landscape that accommodates pilgrimage's economic components, defined by Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Harbledown. In each case, the familiar idiom of grounded identity perseveres, but it evolves to accommodate economic mobilities.

This evolution necessitates the dissolution of old models, which Christopher Cannon sees playing out in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. He writes,

> inherent in the Canon's Yeoman's exuberant declaration of independence is the much sadder knowledge that any process of inclusion [i.e., the Yeoman's inclusion in the Canterbury pilgrimage]… is necessarily equivalent to a social dissolution, that in order for "diverse men" to come together to say "diverse things" the unities from which each of these different men and women come must be disjoined.[22]

According to this argument, the growth of new systems depends on the practice of exclusion. Just as the Yeoman had to renounce the Canon in order to become part of the Canterbury pilgrimage, old unities—social and geographical alike—must be dissolved to make way for new orders. This allows for the dissolution of familiar spaces in the Cook's and Canon's Yeoman's tales to be read as productive rather than disintegrative. The confusion of London's boundaries and the "violent" destruction of the Canon's craft-space can be perceived as a positive step toward the rewriting of English space. According to Lefebvre's *La production de l'espace*, this evolution indicates the transformation of historical space to abstract space. London is valued not because it is the object of accumulated human habitation and events, but because it operates according to capitalist ideals. Lefebvre writes, "The dominant form of space, that of the centers of wealth and power, endeavors to mould the spaces it dominates… and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there" (1.18). This violence, though, produces a new landscape that "carries within itself the seeds of a new kind of space" (1.18); the introduction of economic mobilities, in other words, brings new criteria to bear on England's landscape.

The Miller and the Reeve seem to appropriate this optimistic model, un-writing familiar spaces and then rewriting them to bring economic mobilities under the purview of an evolved English landscape. The *Miller's Tale* begins this process by using local details to ground processes of exchange (here, the circulation of bodies and retribution) in Oxford. Helen Cooper writes of the Tale, "Chaucer is… unique in the fullness of local detail that he provides. It is a tale that relies on particularities, and almost every one can be given a firm Oxford context."[23] Beyond establishing the Oxford setting in the opening lines—"Whilom ther was dwellynge at Oxenford, / a riche gnof" (I.3187-8)—the Miller enriches Oxford with cultural detail, explaining that

Absolon dances "After the scole of Oxenforde" (I.3329), and that local craftsmen could find work in nearby Osney (I.3274, 3400). He also saturates his tale with detailed accounts of the town's daily activities and observances—for example, the observation of a holy day specifically for women, as when Alysoun attends the parish church with the local wives (I.3307ff.). Within this cultural geography, Nicholas invokes local saints to protect his house against the impending flood (Sts. Frideswyde, Neot, and Thomas), and all of the characters speak a highly localized dialect. The word "kymelyn" (I.3548), for example, has special resonance with brewers and scholars, Oxford's defining population. After examining a Merton bursar's accounts, J.A.W. Bennett concludes, "kimlins must be trays or troughs used in the college hall or kitchen…. Other records indicate that kimlins were also used in brew-houses; Oxford had a whole street of brewers."[24] These local details add narrative stability to a story that is, like most fabliaux, exaggerated and improbable, but more importantly they ground the unregulated exchange of sexualized bodies and bawdy retaliations in a recognizable space.

While Oxford serves as a familiar geographical space in which to contain economic mobilities, a second spatial category is rendered volatile by circulation and exchange: the domestic space. Signified by John's house, domestic space is at the center of the *Miller's Tale*. Linda Tarte Holley writes, "Once we get past the portraits of the principals, the Miller's narrative moves inward to the carpenter's richly and profoundly limited dwelling. Even Absalon's and John's 'business' trips are understood specifically in terms of their return to the activity in John's house… like the space of the ark, whose one window opened out onto the new world."[25] Throughout the tale, this space is idealized as a private space belonging specifically to John.[26] Variations on the word "pryvee" occur twelve times, and the Miller emphasizes John's ownership when he explains how Absolon, "cam to the *carpenteres* house… / And dressed hym

up by a shot-wyndowe / That was upon the *carpenteris* wal" (I.3356-9, my emphasis). John, house builder and homeowner, is the supposed authority over this domestic space.

Of course, John is also ultimately to blame for opening his house to the community, dissolving the barriers that distinguish public from private, inside from outside. He invites the scholar Nicholas into his home as a tenant, and his desperate attempts to confine Alysoun within a private space, holding her "narwe in cage," finally drive her into Nicholas's arms (I.3224). He also abandons the domestic space regularly, traveling to Osney for business. As a consequence, he fails to keep his house in order—i.e., to maintain the inviolability of domestic "pryvetee"—and enables a series of exchanges that finally obliterate domestic boundaries. His use of the domestic space as a commodity (by leasing rooms to "poure scoler[s]") and his physical absence allow both Nicholas and Absolon to penetrate the home, resulting in the transfer of Alysoun to Nicholas, the exchange of a hairy kiss for a "brende… toute" (I.3812), and the breaking of arms that once held a "wylde and yong" woman too tightly (I.3225).

These exchanges depend largely on the circulation of bodies and the exacting of revenge, which are economic processes themselves.[27] The economic nature of exchange in the *Miller's Tale* is amplified even further, though, by the comparison between Alysoun and coinage. In the center of a thirty-seven-line description of Alysoun (I.3233-70), the Miller describes Alysoun's purse as follows:

> And by hir girdel heeng a purs of lether,
> Tasseled with silk and perled with latoun.
> In al this world, to seken up and doun,
> There nys no man so wys that koude thenche
> So gay a popelote or swich a wenche.

Ful brighter was the shynyng of hir hewe

Than in the Tour the noble yforged newe. (I.3250-6)

This passage clearly equates Alysoun with her purse; both are described according to their remarkably similar ornaments. Just as the leather purse is "tasseled," Alysoun is "barred al" of silk, wearing a silk smock and headband (I.3235). The passage also associates Alysoun with the nobles forged in the Tower of London. This comparison is especially resonant because the Tower doubled as a forge and a prison, and Alysoun is likened to both a coin and a prisoner, held "in cage" in John's home. By investing the primary exchange (i.e., the exchange of Alysoun from John to Nicholas) with such fiscal resonance, the Miller conspicuously locates his story in a fourteenth-century mercantile milieu.[28] Already, then, the domestic space is being rewritten to accommodate economic mobilities. Alysoun, a "wyf" (I.3221), has been refigured as a coin, and she is held in a space whose walls are succumbing to public bodies (here, scholars and clerks).

The rewriting of domestic space continues with the transfer of goods/services at the shot window, a particularly important architectural feature in the *Miller's Tale* that marks the intersection between public and private space. As Carloyn Dinshaw and David Wallace observe, the "regulation of orifices, particularly eyes and windows, consumes much imaginative energy… in accounts of feminine occupation of domestic space."[29] To these ends, Sarah Salih notes that the Seventh Day of Boccaccio's *Decameron* is sustained by the gendered battle for control over domestic openings, specifically windows and doors; and in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, the window scenes are "full of erotic disturbance."[30] In Lydgate's retelling of this story, too, windows admit outsiders into the domestic space and expose women to the public sphere.[31] In a critique of inconstant women, Lydgate writes,

Lat no man trust but cache whan he may;

The faire of chaunge lasteth over yere,

But it is foly for to byen to dere

Thilke tresour, whiche harde is to possede

But fleeth aweye whan men therof most nede.

And yif it hap that no chapman be

(As seith Guydo), yit al day men may se

It shewed oute at large fenestrallis,

On chaumbres highe, and lowe down in hallis,

And in wyndowes eke in euery strete. (3.4316-25)[32]

Here, in a passage saturated with mercantile language, windows dissolve barriers between inside and outside, exposing women to the public who ought to be contained "prively" within domestic spaces. Even individuals who are not merchants, and who are therefore unfamiliar with the caprice of the market (the "faire of change"), can see the impossibility of domestic space and female constancy through "large fenestrallis."

Such is the case in the *Miller's Tale,* where the window that should stand as a barrier between public and private space is instead a conduit for exchange. Kisses, farts, and hot pokers pass through it without regulation; the architectural features that should protect the domestic space from public invasion have been thrown open, mixing domestic "privetee" with economic mobilities. This collapse of barriers is also literalized when John's knave, Robyn, breaks down the door to Nicholas's chamber. The Miller explains, "[John's] knave was a strong carl for the nones, / And by the haspe he haaf it of atones; / Into the floor the dore fil anon" (I.3469-71). Similarly, Nicholas predicts the destruction of John's roof, when he tells the gullible carpenter,

Whan that the water comth, that we may go

And breke an hole an heigh, upon the gable,

Unto the gardyn-ward, over the stable,

That we may frely passen forth oure way. (I.3570-4)

In both cases, the sanctity of the domestic space—John's home—is literally ruined. The "foure halves of the hous… [and] the thresshfold of the dore" (I.3481-2) that ought to stand as barriers against public living is riddled with holes, and windows are flung open to facilitate the circulation of goods and services. As William Woods observes, "the sheltering individual world is transformed into communal entertainment. Private fantasy yields to public discernment, as the walls of the personal and domestic ideal fall away."[33]

In the *Miller's Tale*, then, domestic space is deconstructed and rewritten to reflect the undeniable presence of economic mobilities. Unlike the *Cook's Tale* and the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, though, the end result is not destructive. Instead, opening the domestic space up to exchange and removing the barriers between public and private allows for just revenge. In a domestic space that is rewritten to accommodate the passage of goods/services through shot windows, Absolon receives a humiliating kiss in exchange for his improper pursuit of a married woman, Nicholas gets a "brende… toute" for deceiving Absolon, and John's arms are broken for holding Alysoun too closely.[34] In contrast to the Cook and Yeoman, the Miller therefore demonstrates how exchange can be contained within familiar spatial categories. By grounding his tale in a categorical space in Oxford, he restricts mobility's transformative effects to spaces his audience would recognize; and although the domestic space evolves to permit exchange (a manifestation of economic mobility), it never entirely dissolves. Moreover, by confining exchange to John's house, the Miller is better able to control variables and ensure a just outcome.

As one would expect in a game of narrative "quyting," the *Reeve's Tale* offers a second, more explicit example of how rewriting domestic space could ensure ordered exchange. Here, the spatial arrangement of Symkyn's home must be physically rearranged in order for the miller to be brought to justice. First, the Reeve imitates the *Miller's Tale* by setting his story in a recognizable and clearly-articulated English landscape. He begins,

> At Trumpyngtoun, nat fer fro Cantebrigge,
> Ther gooth a brook, and over that a brigge,
> Upon the whiche brook ther stant a melle;
> And this is verray sooth that I yow telle:
> A millere was ther dwellynge many a day. (I.3921-5)

Beyond simply naming Trumpington, the Reeve imbues the landscape with topographical features, and—imitating early period travel narratives—insists on the verity of his report. He also includes details that position the Trumpington mill within its community, articulating the relationship that the mill has with Cambridge University:

> Greet sokene hath this millere, out of doute,
> With whete and malt of al the land aboute;
> And nameliche ther was a greet collegge
> Men clepen the Soler Halle at Cantebregge;
> Ther was hir whete and eek hir malt ygrounde. (I.3987-91)

The fact that the mill grinds both wheat and malt links it closely with the university, since, as J.A.W. Bennett observes, "Colleges were large enough institutions to follow the usual monastic practice, and brew their own ale…. Brewing meant buying malt, or barley for making into malt, which had to be ground before the process could begin."[35] This passage also corroborates the

Reeve's claim to geographical realism in his opening lines, insisting on narrative veracity "out of doute," and naming a specific college with which the Trumpington mill could have had an agreement. Cooper writes of this realism, "As in the *Miller's Tale*… the local detail serves to transform the sparse narrative of the fabliau into something infinitely richer, and to give an illusion of realism to an outrageously implausible story."[36]

Amidst these topographical details, the Reeve also constructs a fixed domestic space in his tale, and poses the manipulation of this space as a sort of challenge. In a moment of faux courtesy, Symkyn tells John and Aleyn,

> If ther be eny [herberwe],
> Swich as it is, yet shal ye have youre part.
> Myn hous is streit, but ye han lerned art;
> Ye konne by argumentes make a place
> A myle brood of twenty foot of space.
> Lat se now if this place may suffise,
> Or make it rowm with speche, as is youre gise. (I.4120-6)

Here Symkyn not only insists on the order of his household, which is "streit" (meaning both narrow and unyielding); [37] he also sets up a stark contrast between his practical wit and that of the scholars, whose creative potential ("mak[ing]") depends on "arguments." In so doing, he seems to challenge the scholars to use their "gise" to solve a spatial problem (i.e., to enlarge a room that already sleeps four in a 12 x 12 space).[38] He establishes the order of his domestic space—recalling the domestic ideal of the *Miller's Tale*—and then suggests that it will be difficult to disrupt this ideal, lending gravity to the act of spatial disintegration.[39] Peter Brown writes,

> the interconnection of space and the trial of wit that forms the substance of Symkyn's speech on "herbergage" suggest that the bedchamber episode, in which… space is constructed with such care, can be read as an image of the struggle for supremacy. The bed chamber scene epitomizes in concrete terms the involved and convoluted psychological game which the miller and the clerks have been playing.[40]

In this game of wits, the scholars' loss seems certain; arguments cannot enlarge a room. Yet the scholars outwit Symkyn by playing the game on his terms, abandoning the power of words and logic to play with physical space instead.

Their desire to do so is based largely on their need for revenge; they have been duped, and they must respond in kind to ensure cosmic balance. Aleyn tells John, "ther is a lawe that says thus: / That gif a man in a point be agreved, / That in another he sal be releved" (I.4180-2). Likewise, the Reeve concludes his story with a proverb that insists, "'Hym thar nat wene wel that yvele dooth.' / A gylour shal hymself bigyled be" (I.4320-1). As in the Miller's tale, the equal exchange of goods and services is supremely important. In the *Reeve's Tale*, though, this exchange is more explicitly mercantile, supercharging the story with the implications of economic mobility (and perhaps contributing to the Reeve's "quyting" of the Miller in the frame narrative). After telling John about the importance of retribution, Aleyn explains that they are avenging an economic wrong: "Oure corn is stoln… An syn I sal have neen amendement / Agayn my los, I will have esement" (I.4183-6). The scholars have been victimized in a bad business deal, and in order to regulate the economic system—composed of Trumpington Mill and Cambridge University—they must make up for their fiscal losses.

To return order to this economic system, the scholars must rearrange domestic space, moving Symkyn's baby's cradle to the foot of John's bed in order to lure Symkyn's wife into John's arms. In other words, they must un-write the "streit" space that Symkyn has built and rewrite it to ensure proper exchange. Unlike the Miller's tale—wherein this process occurs less deliberately—the Reeve's tale draws special attention to the economics of vengeance, making much of the fact that the scholars are enforcing retribution. They literally take matters into their own hands, as when John "up… roos, and softely he wente / Unto the cradel, and *in his hand* it hente, / And baar it softe unto his beddes feet" (I.4211-3, my emphasis). Here, the very familiar space of the bedroom is rearranged to allow for payback. In one respect, this payback defies medieval principles of justice, since "esement" did not justify the bedding of Symkyn's wife and daughter. Yet the rearranging of domestic space also allows for an exchange between Aleyn and Symkyn's daughter (Malyne) that restores the scholars' lost grain. After sleeping with Aleyn, Malyne tells him,

> "But er thow go, o thyng I wol thee telle:
> Whan that thou wendest homward by the melle,
> Right at the entree of the dore bihynde
> Thou shalt a cake of half a busshel fynde
> That was ymaked of thyn owene mele,
> Which that I heelp my sire for to stele.
> And, goode lemman, God thee save and kepe!" (I.4241-7)

This is an act of rectificatory justice that forecloses the possibility of future vendettas and prevents the conflict between Symkyn and the scholars from spilling over into the mill and college. The domestic space perseveres (although it is threatened, Symkyn's chamber remains in-

tact), but minor adjustments are made to ensure that proper economic exchange occurs, and that it is confined to a designated space.

In this way, the Reeve grounds economic mobilities in the physical landscape of Cambridge and Trumpington, and contains them within familiar idioms (i.e., the idiom of domestic space). Like the *Miller's Tale*, and in contrast to the *Cook's Tale* and *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, the *Reeve's Tale* shows that economic mobilities need not deteriorate into shady alleys, prostitution dens, and blown-up workshops. Instead, familiar spaces like the home can contain this new spatial category. The domestic space might have to evolve slightly to regulate economic mobilities—the window of John's house must remain opened, and the cradle in Symkyn's bedroom must be relocated—but the space itself remains present, and the action remains relatively grounded. Placelessness and the utter dissolution of recognizable space can be avoided.

Grounding Mobility in Chaucer's Frame Narrative

Ordered mobilities such as these are also manifest in the frame narrative of the *Canterbury Tales*. Here, the movement of the Canterbury pilgrims threatens spatial stability. In the *General Prologue* and frame narrative, though, Chaucer accepts pilgrimage as a regulated expression of movement, and grounds this movement in the English landscape. In so doing, Chaucer acknowledges mobility as a necessary component of late-medieval England. He accepts that the incoherence of urban spaces cannot be entirely reversed, and demonstrates instead how movement can be regulated according to familiar spatial designations. In this way, he finds a middle ground between spatial fixity and the placeless potential of economic mobilities.

To do this, Chaucer begins by establishing the economic parameters of pilgrimage. This is done primarily through his introduction of Harry Bailey and the conditions Bailey establishes as the pilgrims' leader. Besides his commitment to mobility—"confort ne myrthe is noon / To ride by the weye doumb as a stoon…. Tomorwe, whan ye riden by the weye… / But ye be myrie, I wol yeve yow myn heed!" (I.773-4, 780-2)—Bailey represents the rewriting of spatial categories according to fields of economic power. First, Bailey is unmistakably identified as a city man: a "byrgeys" of Cheapside.[41] Yet, like all of Chaucer's pilgrims, Bailey is not inhibited by assumptions regarding his social or geographical positioning. Despite the fact that he is a city resident who owns an establishment in Southwark, he leaves on a whim. Moreover, he does so based on the promise of future economic gain. His movement, and his potentially disruptive abandonment of his hostelry, is based on the assumption that he will bring more business to his Southwark tavern and thereby position the tavern in a sphere of economic surplus, one that was traditionally reserved for establishments on the North side of the Thames.

In many ways, Harry Bailey serves as a microcosm of new spatial orders in the fourteenth century. He is associated with urban space, but this connection is immediately problematized by his mobility. As the only clear representative of London, Bailey offers an unreliable characterization of the city. In addition to readily leaving his home and business—thereby suspending his proximal relationship with London—Bailey's connection to the city depends less on the physical landscape than on the economic gain that can come from luring outsiders into the city. London is only important, then, as a space capable of being invested with monetary power that comes from *outside* of the city's ostensible boundaries. Like the city he represents, Harry Bailey lacks a distinct center or margins. The space traditionally reserved for Rome or Jerusalem—or controversially given to Worcester in the *South English Legendary*—is rendered

vacant on his *mappaecorpora*, and the standards of medieval mapping are eliminated in favor of a mobile and changeable body. In the end, the concept of mobile space regulated by economics is fully realized in the Host of the Canterbury pilgrimage.

These principles also apply to the space of the pilgrimage itself, which is defined by economic rather than mapped/geopolitical space. In the frame narrative of the *Canterbury Tales*, London and Canterbury are replaced by Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Harbledown—three towns whose economies flourished as a consequence of pilgrimage toward Canterbury. By rewriting the landscape of the Canterbury pilgrimage according to economic parameters, Chaucer transforms the familiar space of Southeast England to accommodate a potentially threatening manifestation of placelessness (i.e., the pilgrims' mobility). In so doing, he contains mobility within a familiar spatial category, and demonstrates the effect of rewriting space on lived experience. More than the *Miller's Tale* and *Reeve's Tale*, the frame narrative of the *Canterbury Tales* stages a radical new way of interpreting Chaucer's England, defining the nation by economic fields of power rather than religious, political, or topographical designations. Although Englishmen were reluctant to accept the uncertainty that movement produced (manifest in the *Cook's Tale* and *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*), the frame narrative demonstrates how landscapes defined by economic mobilities could better define the evolving English nation.

In the *Canterbury Tales*, theories of mobility intersect with standard geographical thought as a consequence of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage, after all, was more than a religious vocation. It was movement through space (or *travel*), and as such became intertwined with an economic system all its own—the precursor to today's tourism industry. The cost of pilgrimage affected more than just the pilgrims themselves. In many cases, guild members were forced to share the cost of a member's pilgrimage, with the expectation that they would share in the benefits of the pilgrim's

journey.[42] Moreover, money exchanged hands in order for pilgrims to purchase the medieval equivalent of tour books, guides, and souvenirs. Like travelers today, travelers in medieval England picked up souvenirs as proof of their own travels; badges, secondary relics, and ampullae filled with water or oil, for example. This desire for physical evidence of a successful journey even resulted in the multiplication of relics based on consumer demand.[43] Pilgrimage thus became a market of sorts, dependent on supply, demand, circulation, and exchange. This nascent tourism industry became so valuable that the loss of English coin to the Continent became a major concern. As a consequence, starting in the fourteenth century pilgrims were often required to apply for licenses that limited how much money they could bring with them (especially on journeys across the English channel).

In many ways, then, pilgrimage subjected mobility to quantitative values. A mobile English landscape could be measured by the number of bodies in motion and the amount of money these bodies spent. This new spatial category, a form of economic mobility, is clearly manifest on the pilgrims' road to Canterbury. While many scholars have considered London's place in the *Canterbury Tales* (as discussed above), previous studies have almost universally ignored the additional destinations Chaucer refers to along Pilgrims' Way. In fact, many scholars dismiss these references entirely. James Dean writes, "We hear little about the pilgrimage itself after the *General Prologue*—a few place names along the way and perhaps an allusion to the breeches of St. Thomas in the *Pardoner's Tale*."[44]And Dyas observes, "In the most commonly accepted plan of the tales, the geographical progression of the pilgrims towards the shrine of Becket is only sketchily indicated."[45] The sketch that Chaucer *does* provide is important, though.

In the frame narrative of the *Canterbury Tales*, Rochester, Sittingbourne, and Harbledown are physical manifestations of the relationship between economics and movement.

At the time Chaucer was writing, these locations were making drastic improvements to attract visitors (thereby increasing their revenue) and simplify movement through the physical landscape. Their success depended on mobile bodies, and by drawing attention to these three sites, Chaucer defines a new English landscape that at once grounds mobilities (especially pilgrimage) in physical space, and invests this space with economic power. The act of spatial reconfiguration that is fictionalized in the *Miller's Tale* and *Reeve's Tale* (in John's and Symkyn's homes, respectively), is realized in the landscape of fourteenth-century England.

Sittingbourne, a center of economic growth in the fourteenth century, is the first town Chaucer mentions in the frame narrative.[46] Chaucer's reference to Sittingbourne occurs in the "Wife of Bath's Prologue." In an argument between the Summoner and the Friar, the Summoner exclaims:

> "Now elles, Frere, I bishrewe thy face,"
> Quod this Sumonour, "and I bishrewe me,
> But if I telle tales two or thre
> Of freres er I come to Sidyngborne
> That I shal make thyn herte for to morne,
> For wel I woot thy pacience is gon" (III.844-9)

By mentioning Sittingbourne here, Chaucer brings to mind a city that depended on tourism—an economic center that encouraged and supported mobility. It is not mentioned in the Domesday Book (1086) because it was attached to Milton at the time, but as pilgrimage increased to Canterbury following Thomas Becket's murder, Sittingbourne and Milton were divided. Local historian Alan Abbey believes that the city was given away by the crown (who personally owned Milton) in order to encourage the place's economic development and pilgrimage as a trade.[47]

Regardless, the separation of Sittingbourne from Milton produced a city that bound the English landscape with fourteenth-century industry and tourism.

Perhaps more than any other city along Pilgrims' Way, Sittingbourne became an industrial hub. The city and surrounding regions produced London stock bricks, cattle, cherries, and more.[48] Sittingbourne also became a center for the hospitality industry. The city grew rapidly around Watling Street after its separation from Milton, and served as a staging post for travelers to change horses between London, Canterbury, and Dover. When Thomas Becket's martyrdom increased foot traffic to Canterbury, Sittingbourne immediately responded by building many hermitages to support pilgrims, including Schamel (attached to the chapel of St. Thomas Becket) and the chapel of Swanstree. St. Michael's Church was also built in the thirteenth century, and in what may have been an effort to appeal to pilgrims, it was built on a spring rather than atop a hill (e.g., on the raised ground across Watling Street), making it an integral part of the holy well and spring route. Whether because of this association or not, graffiti suggests that St. Michael's *did* become a popular pilgrim destination. On a column just through the main door, one can still see a drawing that survived the fire of 1762: one large circle above a line of smaller interlinked circles, meant to represent St. Catherine's wheel. This is particularly significant given that St. Catherine was the patron saint of travelers (similar drawings can be seen in a number of churches along the Roman Watling Street).

These building projects are noteworthy because they were encouraged by a desire to promote tourism and increase the city's economic viability. Sittingbourne flourished precisely because it embraced the mobility of England's pilgrims and merchants, and responded to the growing exchange of bodies, services, and money. In fact, scholars have mused that Sittingbourne was not devastated by the Black Death because it housed such a fluctuating

population. On a tour of the city, historian Peter Morgan suggested, "Sittingbourne escaped the Black Death because people were always passing through, decreasing the likelihood of infection."[49] The city even made efforts to simplify mobility, making pilgrimage and economic movement more viable. Among other things, Sittingbourne was known for building flat-bottomed boats that made it easier to maneuver through shallow creeks. A statue on High Street now commemorates this practice, featuring a ship captain and his dog (which every boat had, since many of these flat-bottomed boats were used to carry rubbish out of London and attracted a large number of rats). In many ways, then, fourteenth-century Sittingbourne made important contributions to England's economy. In so doing, it promoted the ascendency of economic mobility over national and regional identities, and became a key feature of the physical landscape through which Chaucer's pilgrims pass.

The second city Chaucer mentions in the frame narrative of the *Canterbury Tales* is Rochester. This reference occurs in the Monk's Prologue, when the Host tells the Monk, "'My lord, the Monk… be myrie of cheere, / For ye shul telle a tale trewely. / Loo Rochestre stant heer faste by!'" (VII.1924-6). Like Sittingbourne, Rochester was a place committed to mobility. It boasted a large number of inns and hermitages, one of which—the Crown Inn—Chaucer is purported to have stayed in.[50] It also had a number of additional structures that would have attracted visitors, most notably Temple Manor, Rochester Castle, and Rochester Cathedral (all of which still stand today). The latter was particularly important because it housed William of Perth's shrine, which attracted thousands of pilgrims after William was canonized in 1256. So many pilgrims visited Rochester Cathedral, in fact, that the steps leading to St. William's shrine were worn down and had to be replaced with wooden stairs.[51] The Cathedral's participation in the pilgrimage industry is further evident in its architectural details. On the doorway to the south

Quire Transept (1340), for example, a Jewish figure is depicted carrying an upside-down book and broken scrip. A modern eye is ignorant to the import of this carving, but travelers in the fourteenth century would have immediately recognized it as a comment on Jewish pilgrims, whose failure to successfully participate in pilgrimage is represented by the broken scrip (scrips were given to pilgrims to mark their successful completion of a pilgrimage). Both the Cathedral's stones and the bodies they enclosed, then, were emblematic of movement's growing impact on the English landscape.

These structures alone demonstrate the importance of movement to Rochester, but the city's most important contribution to Chaucer's England is the Rochester Bridge. One of the most striking landscape features in Rochester is the Medway. From Roman times, people were forced to figure out how to cross this river, since doing so was necessary to travel from London to Canterbury and Dover. The bridge was originally a timber roadway supported by nine stone piers (build soon after the Roman conquest in AD 43). This iteration of the Rochester Bridge lacked balustrades and barriers, making it an incredibly perilous bridge to cross. In the Anglo-Norman poem "The Harper at Rochester," a minstrel recalls how a gust of wind blew him off of the bridge, and extant coroners' inquests often identify the bridge as having caused death.[52] In February 1381, though, the perils of the bridge were rendered inconsequential when large sections of the bridge were carried down river, presumably because of the combined pressure of flood water and ice. Exactly one year later (February 1382) Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John de Cobham, and architect Henry Yevele petitioned Richard II for a charter that would assign responsibility for funding bridge repairs. This produced a trust that still exists today, and sparked the construction of a new stone bridge that all of southern England would know about.

The construction of this bridge is significant because the end product stands as a physical manifestation of how Rochester contributed to fourteenth-century movement; the 1382 bridge was the most frequently used Medway crossing for nearly 500 years. Like Sittingbourne, Rochester was aware that its prominence depended not on hierarchies established by the Church or State (geographical or otherwise), but on the continuous flow of bodies through its streets. The Rochester Bridge would also have been especially important to Chaucer, given his appointment as controller under Richard II. In this position, Chaucer was responsible for monitoring the export tax on wool, sheepskins, leather, and other goods. Although he worked primarily with collectors rather than merchants, he would certainly have been familiar with major innovations that affected the flow of goods in and out of London's port. The Rochester Bridge would have caused a stir, and by mentioning this city in the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer grounds the movement of his pilgrims in a second physical space that both regulates and represents fourteenth-century mobilities.

The last site Chaucer mentions in the frame narrative is Harbledown. In the "Manciple's Prologue" he writes,

> Woot ye nat where ther stant a litel toun
> Which that ycleped is Bobbe-up-and-doun [Harbledown],
> Under the Blee, in Caunterbury Weye?
> There gan oure Hooste for to jape and pleye. (IX.1-4)

Unlike Sittingbourne and Rochester, Harbledown was a very small town that remains largely rural to this day. On a trip through the town one is more likely to see apple orchards than paper mills. Harbledown remains significant to Chaucer's English landscape, though, because despite its small size, it is the location of two sites that attracted considerable pilgrim traffic. The first is

St. Nicholas's Hospital, purported to have held one of Thomas Becket's slippers (a crystal from this shoe is still on display today). Travelers were allowed to kiss this shoe, and were expected to give alms in return.[53] The second landmark is the Black Prince's Well, another component of the holy well and spring route. This well commemorates the valiant deeds of Edward III's eldest son, whose emblem (three ostrich feathers) is featured on the well's keystone. The Black Prince's Well attracted pilgrims not only because of its political significance, but also because people believe its water was holy, and pilgrims wanted desperately to wash their hands at the well before entering Canterbury. As home to these two sites, Harbledown functioned as a third way-station on the path to Thomas Becket's shrine—another locale that Chaucer could use to ground the pilgrims' movement in his poem.

The fact that Harbledown serves as the narrative's endpoint is also significant. By removing Canterbury from the English landscape, Chaucer erases the pull factors of the pilgrims' destination, and the one feature that would unquestionably ground the text: Thomas Becket's shrine. Thomas Becket's tomb would have lent spatial stability the pilgrims' journey. Its permanence would erase the rich movement embodied by the pilgrims, and its presence would overshadow references to Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Harbledown. By stopping his narrative before the pilgrims reach Canterbury, Chaucer sustains his focus on mobility, and a shifting/relational England. He renders tombs and destinations inconsequential, making the *Canterbury Tales* pilgrimage one that exists almost entirely on the road: an interim space defined by economic fields of power grounded in three specific places along Pilgrims' Way.

As a result, the *Canterbury Tales* is the first pilgrimage narrative to focus on the potential value of movement to defining fourteenth-century England. The *Cook's Tale* and the *Canon Yeoman's Tale* demonstrate the potentially deleterious consequences of destabilized space, but in

the *Miller's Tale*, *Reeve's Tale*, and frame narrative, recognizable landscapes and familiar spatial categories (especially domestic space) contain economic mobilities and represent them as constructive rather than destructive. The Miller and the Reeve demonstrate how domestic space can evolve to ensure the proper exchange of goods/services, and Chaucer demonstrates in the frame narrative how fourteenth-century England could evolve to reflect the growth of mobility. In so doing, he shows that the systems traditionally used to identify England were obsolete in the fourteenth century, and that movement had come to define the English landscape. He also demonstrates that this movement can be regulated to prevent the corrupt, incoherent urbanities represented in the *Cook's Tale* and *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* by rewriting England's landscape to accommodate economic fields of power. In the frame narrative, Chaucer embarks on this revisionary process—replacing capitals, tombs, and destinations with economically-minded cities that simultaneously embrace and regulate fourteenth-century England's mobile landscape.

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[1] For an in-depth discussion of the evolution from twelfth-century urban encomia to fourteenth-century texts aware of their own rhetorical performances and representations, see Catherine A.M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400* (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2006).

[2] David Wallace, "Chaucer and the Absent City," *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997), 184.

[3] Marion Turner, "Greater London," *Chaucer and the City,* ed. Ardis Butterfield (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 25. See also Sheila Lindenbaum, "London Texts and Literate Practice," *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 284-312. Lindenbaum writes, "London's citizenry was composed primarily of immigrants from other parts of the kingdom, and… it shared its urban space with hundreds of

civil servants and clergy and an incessant stream of visitors ranging from great magnates to the vagrant London poor" (285).

[4] Turner, 25.

[5] For studies regarding discord in fourteenth-century London, see Paul Strohm, "Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial," *Theory and the Premodern* Text (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2000), 112-31; Ruth Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London: Longmans, 1949).

[6] Marion Turner discusses *compaignyes* at length in "Conflicted *Compaignyes*: The Canterbury Fellowship and Urban Associational Form," *Chaucerian Conflict: Languages of Antagonism in Late Fourteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 127-66.

[7] David Raybin, "Chaucer as a London Poet: A Review Essay," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 24 (2007): 21-9, esp. 25.

[8] John Scattergood, "Chaucer's *Complaint to his Purse*," *Chaucer and the City*, ed. Ardis Butterfield (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 162-76; C. David Benson, "Literary Contests and London Records in the *Canterbruy Tales*," same collection, 129-44, esp. 129.

[9] Text and Translation from A.G. Rigg, "The Stores of the Cities," *Anglia* 85 (1967), 127-37.

[10] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991), 265. All future quotations will cite this text by book number and section number.

[11] Michael Hanrahan, "London," *A Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Peter Brown (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 267. On London's permeable boundaries see also Shelia Lindenbaum, "London texts and literate practices," *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 284-309.

[12] Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948), 2-3.

[13] Wallace, 156.

[14] All quotations taken from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1987). Quotations will be cited by fragment and line number.

[15] For a discussion of this geographical depreciation, see Helen Cooper, *The Canterbury Tales*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), esp. 118-21.

[16] See, for example, Kathryn L. Lynch, "From Tavern to Pie Shop: The Raw, the Cooked, and the Rotten in Fragment 1 of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," *Exemplaria* 19 (2007): 117-38; Helen Fulton, "Cheapside in the Age of Chaucer," *Medieval Cultural Studies: Essays in Honour of Stephen Knight*, eds. Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton, and David Matthews (Cardiff: U of Wales P, 2006), 138-51; Thomas Carney Forki, "'Oure Citee': Illegality and Criminality in Fourteenth-Century London," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 24 (2007): 31-41; Craig E. Bertolet, "'Wel Bet is Roten Appul Out of Hoord': Chaucer's Cook, Commerce, and Civic Order," *Studes in Philology* 99 (2002): 229-46; Daniel J. Pinti, "Governing the 'Cook's Tale' in Bodley 686," *Chaucer Review* 30 (1996): 379-88; William F. Woods, "Society and Nature in the 'Cook's Tale,'" *Papers on Language and Literature* 32 (1996): 189-205; Paul Strohm, "'Lad with Revel to Newegate': Chaucerian Narrative and Historical Meta-Narrative," *Art and Context in Late Medieval English Narrative: Essays in Honor of Robert Worth Frank, Jr.*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 163-76.

[17] Turner, "Greater London," 30.

[18] John Scattergood, "The *Cook's Tale*," *Sources and Analogues of the* Canterbury Tales, ed. Robert Correale, vol. 1 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 85; Christopher Cannon, "Chaucer and

the Language of London," *Chaucer and the City*, ed. Ardis Butterfield (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 79-94.

[19] The identification of the Canon Yeoman's residence as London is slightly problematic, since he joins the pilgrims so late in their journey. Following the Ellesmere order, by the time the Canon's Yeoman tells his tale the pilgrims have already reached Harbledown. Yet critics agree that he was likely following the pilgrims for some time (from his home in the suburbs of London), and catches up to them in the Blean Forest. This explains Chaucer's use of the verb "gan atake" to describe the Canon's Yeoman's coming (VIII.556). See Benson, 142-4; Cannon, 91-4; Hanrahan, 271-3; Turner, "Greater London," 29-30.

[20] Turner, "Greater London," 30. See also Scattergood, "Chaucer in the Suburbs," *Medieval Literature and Antiquities: Studies in Honor of Basil Cottle*, eds. Myra Stokes and T.L. Burton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), 145-62.

[21] See, for example, the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Second Nun's Tale*, and the *Monk's Tale*.

[22] Cannon, 92.

[23] Cooper, 98.

[24] J.A.W. Bennett, *Chaucer at Oxford and at Cambridge* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1974), 4-5.

[25] Linda Tarte Holley, *Chaucer's Measuring Eye* (Houston, TX: Rice UP, 1990), 98.

[26] See E.D. Blodgett, "Chaucerian Pryvetee and the Opposition to Time," *Speculum* 51 (1976): 477-93, wherein Blodgett writes, "Pryvetee… is a function of the carpenter's house: it contains it; it constructs it" (483).

[27] See Elizabeth Edwards, "The Economics of Justice in Chaucer's Miller's and Reeve's Tales," *Dalhousie Review* 82.1 (2002): 91-112; Gerhard Joseph, "Chaucer's Coinage: Foreign Exchange and the Puns of the *Shipman's Tale*," *Chaucer Review* 17.4 (1983): 341-57; Sheila Delany,

"Sexual Economics, Chaucer's Wife of Bath and The Book of Margery Kempe," *Minnesota Review* 5 (1975): 104-1. See also Linda Woodbridge's *English Revenge Drama: Money, Resistance, Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), which deals with Renaissance drama, but contains a discussion of just revenge remains exemplary.

[28] For a discussion of the relationship between sexual loyalty and commercial value, see Viginia Schaefer Carroll, "Women and Money in *The Miller's Tale* and *The Reeve's Tale," Medieval Perspectives* 3 (1988): 76-88.

[29] Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace, "Introduction," *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, eds. Dinshaw and Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 6.

[30] See Sarah Salih, "At Home; Out of the House," *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, eds. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 124-40.

[31] Ibid., 132.

[32] John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998).

[33] William F. Woods, *Chaucerian Spaces: Spatial Poetics in Chaucer's Opening Tales* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 39.

[34] The fact that Alysoun doesn't face retribution is a cause for concern, and the ridicule that John faces may be a bit harsh, but for the most part characters get what they deserve in this tale. See Cooper, 101-2.

[35] Bennett, 6.

[36] Cooper, 112.

[37] *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "streit" 2.a, 5.b.

[38] The Reeve explains that the bed Symkyn makes for John and Aleyn is "Noght from [Symkyn's] bed ten foot or twelve" (I.4141), giving an approximate sense of his chamber's size.

[39] The order of Symkyn's house is reinforced by abundant spatial detail. For example, in lines 4138ff., the Reeve explains, "And in his owene chambre hem made a bed, / With sheetes and with chalons faire yspred / Noght from his owene bed ten foot or twelve. / His doghter hadde a bed, al by hirselve, / Right in the same chambre by and by. / It myghte be no bet, and cause why? / Ther was no roumer herberwe in the place."

[40] Peter Brown, "The Containment of Symkyn: The Function of Space in the 'Reeve's Tale,'" *Chaucer Review* 14.3 (1980): 225-36, esp. 233.

[41] Chaucer's decision to make the Host a man of Cheapside is especially interesting given a later reference to Cheapside in the "Pardoner's Tale." In the beginning of his tale, the Pardoner tells his companions about the dangers of gluttony: "Now kepe yow fro the white and fro the rede, / And namely fro the white wyn of Lepe / That is to selle in Fysshstrete of in Chepe. / This wyn of Spaigne crepeth subtilly / In othere wynes, growynge faste by, / Of which ther ryseth swich fumositee / That whan a man hath dronken draughtes thre, / And weneth that he be at hoom in Chepe, / He is in Spaigne, right at the toune of Lepe—/ Nat at the Rochele, ne at Burdeux toun" (VI.562-71). In this passage, someone who is drunk in Cheapside becomes *transported* to another place altogether (Lepe, Spain). Cheapside is a space capable of being identified in radically different ways, connected alternatively with an English market or a Spanish wine district. As a product of Cheapside, the Host is equally unstable.

[42] See Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700-1500* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), esp. 137.

[43] See Rosalind and Christopher Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000-1300* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984); Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: The Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978).

[44] James Dean, "Chaucer's Repentance: A Likely Story," *Chaucer Review* 24.1 (1989): 64-76, esp. 71-2.

[45] Dyas, 172.

[46] I am deeply grateful to Peter Morgan, Founder of the Sittingbourne Historical Society, and his wife June for giving me a place to stay and showing me around Sittingbourne. They were gracious hosts and taught me a great deal about the city. I would also like to thank Michael Baldwin, Alan Abbey, and Helen Allinson for their many helpful emails and conversations.

[47] Alan Abbey, email, 19 June 2010. Supporting evidence comes from the fact that the new owners spent a considerably large sum of money to drain the land around Bayford, the principal manor of Sittingbourne, and create a major moat and stone house there.

[48] The Historical Research Group of Sittingbourne has transcribed Canon W.A. Scott Robertson's papers (nineteenth century), which include an in-depth discussion of Sittingbourne's economic growth in the fourteenth century. I have excerpted the most relevant data here: "In 1308 we hear of Hamon, a flourishing baker, of Sittingbourne, who then invested some of his capital in the purchase of three acres of land at Bapchild, for which he paid 100s. (Equal to nearly as many pounds of our money). Two years later we find another trader, named Adam le Taverner, of Sidíngburne, buying a house and two acres of land here, for which he paid 20 marks. Another symptom of flourishing trade is the fact that in 1367, six beds for use in the Castle of Leeds were carried thither from Sittingbourne. The steward of the King's Manor of Leeds enters amongst his payments for that year, '*Item.* For conducting one cart carrying six

beds from the town of Sidingborne to Leeds Castle, 12d.' During the same year, one cart carried armour from King's Ferry to Leeds Castle, and its 'conductor' was paid 16d.; six carts carried materials for making armour from Milton to the Castle, and 6s. was paid for conducting them; also, one cart carried 50 jacks and 50 doublets from Milton to the Castle, and the conductor received 12d. The portage of all these cost 6d." (W.A. Scott Robertson, *Histories of Sittingbourne and Milton Regis* [Sittingbourne: HRGS, forthcoming], 26-7).

[49] Peter Morgan, interview, 27 July 2010. The city's resistance to the plague could also be a consequence of the fact that high mobility prompted an antigen-antibody reaction.

[50] See S. Gordon Wilson, *With the Pilgrims to Canterbury* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934), 3. This is also the inn featured in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*.

[51] The same is the case at Canterbury Cathedral, though the Pilgrims' Steps in Canterbury have not been covered by wooden steps. Some sources indicate that Rochester was second only to Canterbury in the number of pilgrims it drew.

[52] See James M. Gibson, *The Rochester Bridge Trust* (Rochester, Kent: AntidoteFM, 2005).

[53] Records indicate that Colet and Erasmus visited this shrine in 1513. For more information on the hospital see Derek Ingram Hill, *The Ancient Hospitals and Almshouses of Canterbury* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2004).

Chapter Four

Poetic Geographies in Langland's *Piers Plowman*

Like Chaucer, Langland was forced to contend with increasing mobilities that resulted from fourteenth-century England's socio-political milieu. Derek Pearsall writes,

> *Piers Plowman* is a poem of crisis. It records in the minutest detail the conflict which racked late medieval society, as the feudal order and the Church of the West moved into their last stages of institutionalized decay, and as the antagonistic forces over which they had presided moved into the open arena. The strains and pressures between the shifting strata of society—between government and people, lords and commoners, clergy and laity, possessioners and mendicants—had built up during a long period of apparent stability, but the later fourteenth century saw the first release of tension, the first open fracture in the fabric of the traditional order.[1]

Langland's *Piers Plowman* simultaneously chronicles this tension and attempts to regulate social and geographical movement in order to maintain morally-sound hierarchies. Like the *Canterbury Tales*, in which Chaucer's pilgrims move through an English landscape that regulates economic mobility, *Piers Plowman* endeavors to contain threatening mobilities. Rather than grounding mobility in physical space, though, Langland uses allegorical dreamscapes and poetry to perform what was once topography's work. In both the *Visio* and the *Vita* he returns landscapes to the poetic imagination, infusing literal descriptions with figurative significance to foreground the representational nature of his poem and suggest a method of reading to his audience. Moreover, Langland demonstrates that the poetic form is not subject to historical forces, making poetry an ideal (and relatively stable) space for socio-political and geographical critique.

Langland's stabilizing project depends on the assumption that traditional ideologies (including Christian and feudal ideologies) are represented figuratively by fixed landscapes.[2] To these ends, David Aers observes that "Langland remains committed to the 'utopia of an idealized feudalism,' or… to the 'coherence, stability and certainties' of traditional ideology."[3] This is not to say that Langland disallows movement entirely. He permits (and even condones) regulated circulation in his allegory, but his criticism of vagrants is resolute. This chapter identifies three stages in Langland's critique of fourteenth-century mobility. First, Langland insists that traditional ideologies were threatened more by the corruptibility of monetary transactions than by the transactions themselves. This perspective then informs his criticism of mobile bodies, which unfolds in his use of the word "lollare" and his expanded treatment of hermits/vagrants in the C-text. Finally, Langland attempts to contain threatening mobilities by providing models of stable landscapes in his own work (the Fair Feld Ful of Folk and Holy Chirche, for example). When these models fail he turns to art, where he finds stabilizing power in the landscape of his own poem. In the end, the poetic form—rather than the geographical spaces his poem represents—becomes the medium in which to reconcile destabilizing mobilities.

I will use the C-text (1381-8) of *Piers Plowman* to make this argument. As Pearsall argues in his annotated edition of the C-text, this final revision represents Langland's most mature thinking and, "*a priori*, what he is entitled to ask to be remembered by, unless it were marred by evident senility."[4] Moreover, the C-text is critical to a discussion of economics and mobility in *Piers Plowman* because Langland's revisions indicate the influence of the commons' petition of parliament (1376), and the Statute of Laborers (1349, rev. 1351 and 1381), which will be discussed at length below.

"vnfoldeth the feffament": Locating Corrupt Economics in the *Visio*

Langland's consideration of economics is perhaps most evident in Passus II-IV of *Piers Plowman*, wherein he stages Mede's trial and transfers real-world concerns regarding monetization to an allegorical space. This trial challenges Mede's marriage to Fals, the probity of which Theologie insists must be judged in London. In response to this protest, Fals travels toward Westminster with his colleagues—Fauel, Lyare, Gyle, Drede, and Fals Witnesse—where he will face Treuthe and Consience. When Fals and his colleagues discover that Consience intends to arrest them, they all disperse (save Mede), and the trial proceeds in their absence, albeit without conclusion (the dreamer awakes before a final judgment is passed).

In an allegorical reading of this scene, we see Langland challenging the value of Mede (Fee/Reward) in the context of fourteenth-century England's economic milieu. As James Simpson and David Aers have observed, Mede represents a new structuring of society based on monetary transactions rather than loyal service.[5] This is particularly evident when Mede attempts to bribe Pees on Wrong's behalf in Passus IV. In a disruption of her own trial, Mede bears witness to the complaint of Pees against Wrong, who has "rayeschede" (alternatively "raped" or "robbed") Pees's wife and horse without payment (C.IV.47). Mede, along with Wysdom and Wyt (who have themselves been bribed), takes pity on Wrong and attempts to win Pees over with coin:

> Then gan Mede to meken here and mercy she bisouhte
> And profrede Pees a present al of puyre golde.
> "Haue this, man, of me," quod she, "to amende thy scathe,
> For Y wol wage for Wrong he wol do so no mare." (C.IV.90-4)

This scene represents the incursion of a new social order in two ways. First, we see the devaluation of personal relationships in Pees's testimony. The rape of Pees's wife is no different from the theft of his horse, an equivalence that renders social relationships quantifiable according to economic systems of exchange. Pees takes Wrong to court not because he wants Wrong punished for rape or robbery, but because "baddelyche he payeth" (C.IV.55). What should be a matter of loyalty or love (according to traditional social systems) is instead a matter of exchange.

Second, the trial of Pees vs. Wrong dramatizes the means by which money challenges conventional justice in a legal court. Mede's solution to the conflict between Pees and Wrong lies in her ability to circulate coinage, and there is nothing to dissuade her from believing this method is effective, since Pees immediately retracts his accusation upon receiving reparations. Langland writes,

> Pitousliche Pees tho preyede the kyng
> To haue mercy on that man that many tymes hym greuede:
> "For he hath waged me wel as Wysdom him tauhte
> And Mede hath made my mendes, Y may no more asken,
> So alle my claymes ben quyt by so the kyng assente." (C.IV.94-8)

The influence of monetization on Pees's retraction is clear. His mercy is prompted by Mede's bribe, and his relationships with Mede and Wrong depend on a system of economic exchange rather than loyalty.[6] Regarding this evolution of social relationships, Simpson writes, "Meed's practice of buying loyalty through gifts represents a shift from the ties of loyalty, or 'truthe,' characteristic of feudal theory to a new structure of relations in which gifts are not given through grace, but constitute the social cement of a society."[7] In addition to describing the relationship between Mede and Pees according to this shift, Langland rewrites Pees and Wrong's relationship

to reflect the easy appropriation of social categories defined by economic exchange. Pees readily accepts that his relationship with Wrong depends not on loyalty, but on the quantifiable exchange of goods/services. Like the nascent, money-driven relationship between Mede and Pees, the transformation of Pees and Wrong's relationship represents the reordering of society that follows Mede's introduction into a system.

Mede herself is not the problem in this scene, though. The threat comes instead from the corruption that she (standing in for a money economy) promotes. Langland even praises Mede via Theologie, writing "For Mede is moilere, Amendes was here dame; / Althow Fals were here fader and Fikel-tonge her belsyre, / Amendes was here moder, by trewe menne lokynge" (C.II.123-5). Langland also suggests that economic principles are tenable, providing an incorrupt system. For example, he makes no objection to the moderate desire for profit, so long as profit is applied toward good deeds. In Truethe's pardon to Piers, Truethe commands that Piers,

> "bugge boldly what hem best likede
> And sethe sullen hit ayeyn and saue the wynnynges,
> Amende meson-dewes therwith and myseyse men fynde
> And wykkede wayes with here goed amende
> And brugges tobrokene by the heye ways
> Amende in som manere wyse and maydones helpe,
> Pore peple bedredene and prisones in stokes
> Fynde hem for godes loue and fauntkynes to scole,
> Releue religion and renten hem bettere." (C.IX.28-36)

"Wynnynges" are not inherently evil here, and they even offer Piers an opportunity to right social wrongs if he uses them according to Truethe's principles.

Langland also allows for monetary transactions. In a long passage added to the C-text Langland discusses Mede's two functions:

> there is mede and mercede, and bothe men demen
> A desert for som doynge, derne other elles.
> Mede many tymes men yeueth bifore the doynge
> And that is nother resoun ne ryhte ne in no rewme lawe
> That eny man mede toke but he hit myhte deserue….
> Harlotes and hoores and also fals leches
> They asken here huyre ar thei hit haue deserued,
> And gylours gyuen byfore and goode men at the ende
> When the dede is ydo and the day endit;
> And that is no mede but a mercede, a manere dewe dette. (C.III.291-305)

Here, Langland passes judgment on two types of payment: preemptive gifts ("mede") and rewards based on exact equivalence ("mercede"). The former, he argues, is subject to corruption, while the latter can operate justly as a "dewe dette."[8] Only love challenges this division. A lord who gives his loyal subjects an advance of land can escape the corrupting nature of "mede" as long as "loue is the cause" of his payment (C.III.317). These distinctions allow for economic exchange according to certain parameters, which are tailored to promote a pattern of feudal giving.[9] Because Langland endeavors to uphold traditional patterns of obligation in *Piers Plowman*, he applies these love- and loyalty-based patterns to a fourteenth-century economic system. In this way, he promotes gift-giving while criticizing its corrupting potential in a monetized world.

In criticizing Mede's potential to corrupt individuals and render social systems unstable, Langland also highlights her threat to the physical grounding of identities and inter-personal relationships. Myra Stokes argues that the "feffament" proclaiming Mede's dowry "[enfeofs] Mede and Fals in certain lands and tenements, complete with legal formulae" (C.II.75).[10] This deed legitimates illegality, though, and divorces Fals and Mede from the laws of the land. They are granted the ability "To bacbite and to boste and bere fals witnesse, / To skorne and to skolde and sklaundre to make, / Vnbuxum and bold to breke the ten hestes" (C.II.87-90). The deed also devalues Fals's dowry by dissociating his land from traditional feudal systems:

> The erldom of enuye and yre…
> With the chastel of cheste and chaterynge out of resoun.
> The counte of coueytise he consenteth to hem bothe,
> With vsurye and auaryce and other fals sleythus
> In bargaynes and brocages with the borw of thefte,
> With al the lordschip of leccherye in lenghe and in brede. (C.II.91-6)

The territory over which Fals and Mede will rule is groundless and impermanent. Despite the spatial rhetoric of the deed—for instance the "measuring" of lechery according to length and breadth (C.II.96)—the document disregards traditional structures of tenancy, and renders Fals and Mede landless. Stokes observes of Fals, "It grants him that dangerous liberty that is license, lack of constraint on his will."[11] In addition to threatening moral boundaries, this liberty jeopardizes identities bounded by the land.

By separating Fals and Mede from even an imaginary landscape, the *feffament* also discounts the inter-personal relationships that played out in regulated space, especially the feudal relationships that Langland values so highly in the *Visio*. Simpson observes, "in theory such a

charter is designed to make heritable, tenured relationships, whereas the relationships Meed makes are temporary and non-heritable."[12] Moreover, the *feffament* indicates that Mede's relationships will be corrupt, founded on the seven deadly sins. Kenneth McFarlane labels these short-term, monetized systems "bastard feudalisms." He writes,

> Feudalism, if it is to have any recognizable meaning, implies the organization of society upon a basis of tenure. In a feudal society the principal unit is the fief, "an estate in land (in England always a heritable estate) held on condition of homage and service to a superior lord." …But by the fourteenth century… the incidents of service were being commuted for money payments or rents…. Feudalism still existed formally intact, but was becoming for all practical purposes a complex network of marketable privileges and duties attached to the ownership of land, with little or no importance as a social force.[13]

The introduction of monetary reward ("mede") creates a "network" of economic exchange, rendering the fief relatively insignificant and erasing loyalty-driven hierarchies. Even if Mede's dowry *were* located in the physical landscape, her tenants do not demonstrate homage or service. In fact, her territory is one where "wille wolde and werkmanschip faileth" (C.II.99); nothing is accomplished because her tenants do nothing but "Al day to drynke at diuerse tauernes" (C.II.101). The system of tenure outlined in Mede and Fals's *feffament* is broken.

Lollares: The Problem of Mobile Bodies

By describing the corrupting effects of Mede's marriage on tenancy and traditional social systems, Langland critiques fourteenth-century England's money economy. He shows that

defining social systems according to fiscal categories uproots stable identities, and calls into question the loyalty and love that underwrote feudal relationships. This critique also informs Langland's treatment of beggars, hermits, and vagrants, whose dislocated bodies and far-reaching effects on feudal tradition are a source of anxiety in *Piers Plowman*. Concern over mobile bodies was widespread in late-fourteenth century England, largely because of the Black Death's fatal consequences. A devastating pandemic that peaked in Western Europe c. 1348, the Black Death (and a series of subsequent plagues that struck in the 1360s and 70s) reduced England's population by between 40-50%. The result was an increased supply of land and a demand for labor, which led to drastic wage-increases. As a consequence, peasants were able to demand higher wages and relocate in search of the best labor terms, producing a mobile peasantry that challenged traditional social and geographical orders.[14]

The 1349 Statute of Laborers (which was revised multiple times through the end of the fourteenth century) was an attempt to curtail this mobility.[15] First, this statute rewrote the terms of community, focusing on work rather than family units. Anne Middleton observes, "the primary representative relationship in the community [became] the one binding the individual directly to the reason of the state, and to its image as a totality, chiefly through the category of 'work.'"[16] In so doing, the Statute made labor issues that were once handled by local jurisdictions matters of national significance. Despite making labor a state matter, though, the Statute insisted on binding laborers to their local places of residence. For instance, in a 1351 revision, peasants were required to swear that they would remain at home for summer work. They were also forced to promise, "Two Times in the Year before Lords, Stewards, Bailiffs, and Constables of every Town, to hold and do these Ordinances; and that none of them go out of the Town, where he dwelleth in the Winter, to serve the Summer, if he may serve in the same

Town."[17] These ordinances labeled mobile peasants as threats to the nation's socio-economic order, producing what Middleton calls the "myth of vagrancy." This myth consists of two parts: 1. the intimidating force latent in mobile lay workers, and 2. the threat of social mobility to the ideal of a cohesive community dependent on fixed place. Middleton describes the second component in detail:

> The anonymity of the stranger, the permutability of social identity, the potential for dissimulation, and as a consequence the dissolution of "estates" proprieties and the collapse of "real" differentiation into a plangent rhetorical cacophony of professions in need—in short, the replacement of visible "real" structure and intent with universal hypocrisy—all these are seen to follow from the failure of local jurisdictions to control and restrain *within local boundaries* the laborer in search of better conditions.[18]

What Middleton details here is the consequence of Mede's introduction to social systems in *Piers Plowman*: grounded identities are divorced from the landscape and subject instead to shifting spheres of economic influence. Because this indicated an overhaul of feudal systems, and posed a threat to traditional inter-personal relationships, many fourteenth-century poets responded to the Statute of Laborers in their writing, Chaucer and Langland included.

The reality of these threats became evident less than two decades later, when the commons petitioned parliament in 1376. Their petition recognized the rebellious and even potentially seditious character of mobile laborers, and criticized the 1349 Statute for failing to restrain workers' mobility. In this petition, the commons asked that stocks be built to punish runaways and "stafstrikers" (C.IX.159), and that runaways be held until they provide their name, their place of origin, and the name of their master to local authorities. Upon providing this

information, runaways would then be forced to return to their own homes and pledge to "serve their neighbors."[19] Both of these commands are noteworthy for their insistence on geographical grounding. The commons' desire to build stocks, for example, represents their interest in forcefully binding individuals to a single location; and their desire to return laborers home indicates a deep-seated anxiety regarding regional boundaries.[20]

Perhaps the most important revision to the 1349 Statute of Laborers is the 1388 revision, which would have occurred while Langland was completing the C-text of *Piers Plowman*. More than any preceding revisions, the 1388 Statute of Laborers proposed the universal control of mobility.[21] Middleton observes that this legislation emphasized "the control, enforcement, and punishment of mobility as such, in the social *as well as spatial* sense, in a manner entirely foreign to any previous national regulation of labor and wages."[22] It was this revision that established a system of internal passports, which required traveling laborers to carry letters patent, stamped with a king's seal, authorizing their movement beyond local residences. Even religious men, approved hermits, and pilgrims were forced to carry passports or letters of testimonial. Moreover, the 1388 Statute went to great lengths to control agriculture. Under heading C.3 the Statute declares that all "artificers and craftsmen as well as servants and apprentices, who are not of great account and of whose craft or mistery men have no great need in time of harvest [will be] forced to serve in harvest at cutting, gathering and bringing in the corn"; and under C.5, "he or she who is employed in laboring at the plough and cart or other labor or service of husbandry until they be of the age of twelve years shall remain thenceforward at that labor without being put to any mistery or craft."[23]

Like the demands of the commons in 1376, these ordinances convey the period's anxiety regarding the separation of labor from the land. Unlike craft-work, agriculture weds bodies to the

physical landscape. By requiring nearly all Englishmen to work the land at some point, the 1388 Statute ensures at least the seasonal restoration of geographical order; and by insisting that laboring children who have not found another vocation by the age of twelve remain in the fields, it minimizes the potential for future mobility. The second directive is particularly striking in its consideration of the younger generation. By applying geographical fixity to England's youth, the 1388 Statute imagines a future devoid of wage increases, vagrancy, and lower-class agency—a restoration of thirteenth-century feudal systems—despite all evidence to the contrary.

In *Piers Plowman*, we see Langland responding to these Statutes, particularly in his treatment of beggars, hermits, and vagrants. Like the lawmakers of his time, Langland addresses the increased mobility that followed the Black Plague. His analysis of beggars has been well-documented by Miri Ruben and David Aers.[24] In the late-fourteenth century, attitudes toward beggars evolved from a passé Christian ethos that sanctified them, to a new ethos that dissociated beggars from Christian charity and voluntary poverty. Rubin writes,

> as hostile attitudes towards labourers, and subsequently towards those deemed to be shirkers—the able-bodied beggars—hardened, the polemic on religious poverty was increasingly couched in terms current in labour legislation. Thus, poverty was divorced from its association with voluntary renunciation of goods… it came to be seen as a form of begging, of living off the hard-won earnings of others.[25]

Even Pope John XXII recognized this shift, and he responded by declaring the value of possessions and property, and reminding the Christian populace that the incarnate Christ even held possessions (including Judas's bag).[26] In response to economic growth and increased

mobilities in fourteenth-century England, then, both the Church and the State vilified the dislocated, mobile poor.

Langland's appropriation of these contemporary attitudes is clear not only in his treatment of beggars (see, for example, C.XIV.214, 274), but also—and perhaps more poignantly—in his treatment of hermits and vagrants in the C-text revision. His valuation of these social types hinges on his use of the word "lollare."[27] At its most basic, "lollare" refers to individuals who beg for a living despite their ability to work. In Passus IX Langland criticizes these individuals at length:

> For they [wise fools] bereth none bagges ne boteles vnder clokes—
> The whiche is lollarne lyf and lewede ermytes—
> Loken louhliche to lache men almesse,
> In hope to sitte at euen by the hote coles…
> And whenne hym lyketh and luste, his leue is to ryse
> And when he is rysen, rometh out and right wel aspyeth
> Where he may rathest haue a repaest or a ronde of bacoun,
> Suluer or sode mete and sum tyme bothe,
> Loef other half-loef other a lompe of chese,
> And caryeth hit hoem to his cote and cast hym to lyuene
> In idelnesse and in ese and by otheres trauayle. (C.IX.139-42, 46-52)

Here a clear distinction is made between lollares' appearance and their actual conditions. They "loken" humble to collect alms, performing need for the sake of maintaining idleness and ease. This counterfeit lifestyle is denounced by its association with the seven deadly sins, to whom the readers of *Piers Plowman* were introduced only three passus earlier. By using the word "luste" to

indicate the lollare's pleasure, Langland associates him with Lecherye (146); and the lollare's lifestyle clearly echoes that of Gluttoun. After waking, the lollare eats and drinks to his heart's content—recalling Gluttoun's penchant for "pepur and pyonie and a pound of garlek" (C.VI.359)—and at the end of the day he carries himself and his spoils home, reaping the benefit of others' labor. Gluttoun likewise depends on others to return to his cottage, where he can indulge in idleness and ease. In his confession, he explains how, after a day in the tavern, he is carried home by Clement, who "cauhte hym by the myddel / For to lyfte hym aloft" (C.VI.409-10). Gluttoun's return home is quite literally the result of Clement's physical labor, and upon arriving home he "hadde an accidie aftur; / A sleep Saturday and Sonenday til the sonne yede to reste" (C.VI.417-8). Like Gluttoun, then, a lollare spends the day indebted to others, and upon his return home succumbs immediately to sloth.

Langland's criticism of lollares is established further in the allegory of Truth's pardon. Upon his receipt of the pardon, Piers the Ploughman suggests that lollares are condemned under God's law:

> And what freke on this folde fiscuth aboute
> With a bagge at his bak a begyneld wyse,
> And can eny craft in caes he wolde hit vse,
> Thorw which craft a couthe come to bred and to ale
> And ouer-more to an hater to hele with his bonis,
> And lyueth lyke a lollare, goddess lawe hym dampneth. (C.IX.153-8)

Here lollares are criticized for begging despite their ability to practice a lucrative craft, and for "frisking about" (153). In this condemnatory passage, concerns regarding mobility and poverty

are conflated. Beggars are dangerous not only because they are dissembling, but because they are not necessarily attached to a specific locale.[28]

This criticism links beggars to the two social classes that figure centrally in Langland's treatment of mobility: hermits and vagrants. [29] The relationship between these two categories and the basic lollare was a consequence of the *gyrovague* tradition. Defined as a "false religious whose apostasy from the rule was figured by his behavior of going from house to house in search of hospitality, when he should have stayed in the cloister," a *gyrovague* was essentially a counterfeit monk.[30] The term originates in Cassian's classification of monks, which forms the first chapter in Benedict's Rule. Here, four kinds of monks are identified: the *coenobite* (who followed monastic rule within a monastery), the *anchorite* (who lived in solitary contemplation), the *sarabaite* (who set up his own community and lived as he pleased), and the *gyrovague* (a solitary apostate apart from monastic life).[31] In later adaptations of this taxonomy—including Isidore's *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*—the *coenobite* and *anchorite* were lauded, while the *sarabaite* and *gyrovague* were disparaged. Even in the seventh century, a monk's dissociation from a monastery warranted criticism.

Linking lollares with the *gyrovagi* complicated Langland's treatment of mobility by associating the lollare category with anticlericalism. In the fourteenth century, literary representations of the two were nearly indistinguishable; like lollares, the *gyrovagi* were condemned for their vagrancy and their failure to live by traditional social codes (i.e., monastic law). In addition to feigning sickness (C.IX.169-72) and desiring easier and richer lives (C.IX.203-8), both the *gyrovagi* and lollares were dislocated. This final attribute seemed to generate the most controversy. Following from Augustine's *De Opere Monachorum*, Benedict of Aniane describes *gyrovagi* under the corresponding term *circellionum*: "Quintum genus est

circellionum, qui sub habitu monachorum usquequaque vagantur, venalem circumferentes hypocrisim, circumeuntes provincias: nusquam missi, nusquam fixi, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes" (The fifth kind is that of 'circelliones,' who roam about everywhere in monastic habits, circulating venal hypocrisy, going about the provinces: sent nowhere, attached nowhere, staying nowhere, resting nowhere).[32] The repetition of *nusquam* underscores the placelessness that characterized *gyrovagi*; they drifted about aimlessly, divorced from geographical and social categories. These landless monks were guilty of the same transgression that rendered beggars threatening, and they too become a focal point for Langland's criticism of mobility in *Piers Plowman*.

The criticism of *gyrovagi* is most pointed in Passus IX, where Langland establishes wandering monks as members of the lollare category (alternatively referred to in *Piers Plowman* as "hermits").[33] He writes,

> And alle holy eremytes haue shal the same [i.e. pardon];
> Ac ermytes that inhabiten by the heye weye
> And in borwes among brewesteres and beggen in churches—
> As rychesses and reuerences and ryche menne almesse—
> Thise lollares, lache-draweres, lewede ermytes
> Coueyten the contrarye, for as coterelles they libbeth. (C.IX.188-93)

In this long addition to the C-text (93 lines total, from 188-281), hermits are denied pardon based on the fact that they live in highways and taverns. Highways are problematic because they enable mobility, and taverns are repeatedly criticized in *Piers Plowman* as socially transgressive sites, where individuals from a variety of social classes can gather (see, for example, C.V.360ff.). Aers writes of pubs, "[Langland's] poetry includes the projection of a profane, popular counter-culture

in which the body, as Gloton's performance displays, is present and open. Here we find communal solidarities, play, and laughter involving men and women together…. This contrasts eloquently with the official culture's latinate 'evensong' and 'paternoster.'"[34] The criticism of hermits also extends to their classification as "lache-draweres" or lock-pickers, a characterization that reiterates Hunger's advice to Piers in Passus VIII: "And thouh lyares and lach-draweres and lollares knocke / Lat hem abyde til the bord be drawe" (C.VIII.286-7). This criticism is particularly relevant to Langland's disparagement of hermits based on their subversion of spatial categories, because it implies their invasion of domestic space.

The fact that hermits invade and occupy inappropriate spaces is reinforced a second time in the C-text addition, here with reference to the geographies that *should* define hermits:

> Loke now where this lollares and lewede ermites
> Yf they breke this obedience that beth so fer fram chirche!
> Where se we hem on Sonendayes the seruise to here,
> As matynes by the morwe til masse bygynne,
> Or Sonendayes at euensong? se we wel fewe!
> Or labory for here lyflode as the lawe wolde?
> Ac aboute midday at mele-tyme Y mette with hem ofte,
> Come in his cope as he a clerk were—
> A bacheler or a bew-pere beste hym bysemede,
> And for the cloth that keuereth hym ykald he is a frere—
> Wascheth and wypeth and with the furste sitteth. (C.IX.241-51)

A clear distinction is established here. According to Langland's classification, proper hermits should be found in church, particularly on Sundays, or laboring on the monastery's fields "as the

lawe wolde." Instead, hermits are found wandering beyond the geographical spaces that traditionally define them, dissociated from the physical landscapes they should occupy. Langland's emphasis on the visual nature of their absence, "se we wel fewe" (245), underscores the spatial nature of the hermits' transgressions. Like saints encased in tombs (see Chapter One), hermits should operate as stabilizing and authorizing bodies, fixed to a single locale that, at the very least, grants them access to their churches' Sunday services. This spatial ideal is emphasized in the trial of Mede, where Langland writes "no reuthe to haue / Til… religious outryderes be reclused in here cloistres / And be as Benet hem bad, Dominik and Fraunceys" (C.IV.108, 116-17). Here, Christian mercy is a consequence of geographical stability.

These criticisms of lollares even extend beyond lay beggars and hermits in *Piers Plowman*. Pilgrims, for example, are criticized numerous times throughout the allegory. In the Prologue, Langland writes,

> Pilgrymes and palmers plighten hem togyderes
> To seke seynt Iame and seyntes of Rome,
> Wenten forth on here way with many wyse tales
> And hadde leue to lye aftir, al here lyf-tyme. (C.Pr.47-50)

Like beggars and hermits, pilgrims are accused of being lazy (like Gluttoun in Passus VI), and failing to take their religious orders seriously. Rather than meditating on Christian conceits, pilgrims tell "many wyse tales" while traveling, an indictment that recalls the ribald companions of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrimage.[35] Langland also criticizes pilgrims' movement. In the trial of Mede, he writes, "And til saynt Iames be souhte there pore sykke lyggen, / In prisones and in pore cotes be pilgrimages to Rome / So that noon go to Galys but yf he go for euere" (C.IV.122-

4). Their journeys abroad, he suggests, merely distract them from the services they can provide at home.

Merchants, whose professional contributions to the bourgeoning economy *caused* the fourteenth-century increase in mobility, are also criticized at length. They are one of two social categories that are literally marginalized by Truth's pardon. Langland writes, "Marchauntes in the margine hadde many yeres / Ac no *a pena et a culpa* no Treuthe wolde hem graunte" (C.IX.22-3). By locating merchants in the margin, Langland relegates them to a space traditionally reserved for monsters in early-medieval literature and *mappaemundi*. Their mobility renders them monstrous, and as a consequence Langland eliminates them from an otherwise ordered society.[36] Alan Fletcher writes of merchants, they "are the people to whom Truth's pardon is least amenable…. On the pardon they have won at best half-hearted acceptance, and have not really succeeded in penetrating the charmed estates circle. Indeed, it is merchants and lawyers who stretch the pardon to (and perhaps beyond) its limits."[37] But the merchants' challenge to Truth's pardon is not restricted to their confusion of social orders. It depends, too, on their ability to destabilize geographical fixity. Like beggars, hermits, and pilgrims, they promote and depend on mobility.

Reconciling Mobility: Poetic Geographies and the Search for *Piers Plowman*

As Langland's treatment of lollares—including beggars, hermits, and vagrants—makes clear, mobile bodies were a source of anxiety in the late-fourteenth century. Piero Boitani observes, "*Piers Plowman* is, in form and substance, the expression of the crisis of the fourteenth-century English and European intellectual, the tormented search for rational systems that can no longer

be constructed."[38] The collapse of geographical systems may have been particularly troubling for Langland because he identified with lollare types. Following E. Talbot Donaldson, critics have read the dreamer's *apologia* (C.V.1-108, unique to the C-text) as autobiographical, rendering Langland an "itinerant handy man."[39] As such, Langland's anxiety regarding wandering bodies may be the consequence of ambiguity surrounding his own career. His own identity as a poet, as well as the traditional social and geographical systems by which he ordered his life, were all being uprooted by economic changes and mobility in fourteenth-century England.

The autobiographical nature of the dreamer's *apologia* has been discussed at length, and I do not want to belabor the relationship between Langland and the dreamer here.[40] Instead, I would like to focus on the dreamer's apprehension regarding his severance from the land (which, in turn, speaks to Langland's anxieties regarding fourteenth-century mobility). This separation is established through the dreamer's association with lollares. He is "yclothed as a lollare" (C.V.3), and he wanders about depending on alms for a living: "Now with hym, now with here: on this wyse Y begge" (C.V.51).[41] The dreamer attempts to qualify this association by claiming that he satirizes lollares for a living (C.V.5), and insisting that he does not carry a bag (C.V.52), but he nonetheless shares lollares' fundamental characteristics.[42] Reason's interrogation reinforces this association, disallowing the dreamer's qualifications and forcing him to reconcile the anarchic nature of his vocation.

The *apologia* begins by establishing a dichotomy between physical labor and intellectual pursuits, including poetry and preaching. Reason's critique is prompted by the dreamer's refusal to work the land. He asks,

> "Can thow… Mowen or mywen or make bond to sheues,
>
> Repe or been a rype-reue and aryse erly…

Heggen or harwen or swyn or gees dryue

Or eny other kynes craft that to the comune nedeth?" (C.V.12-20)

Because the dreamer does little more than "drynke and… slepe" (C.V.9), any number of vocations would make him a more productive member of society, but Reason focuses exclusively on the value of agricultural enterprises. In his opinion, the dreamer's failure to serve the "commune" can only be reconciled through prolonged contact with the land. In response to this harangue, the dreamer attempts to justify his occupation. He insists,

"Forthy rebuke me ryhte nauhte, Resoun, Y yow praye,

For in my consience Y knowe what Crist wolde Y wrouhte.

Preyeres of a parfit man and penaunce discrete

Is the leuest labour that oure lord pleseth.

Non de solo," Y sayde, "for sothe *viuit homo,*

Nec in pane et in pabulo; the *pater-noster* wittenesseth,

Fiat voluntas dei—that fynt vs alle thynges." (C.V.82-8)

As a poet who makes his living by singing for the souls of those who offer him sustenance, the dreamer predictably defends intellectual pursuits. The tools of his trade are not a rake and hoe, but the "*pater-noster* and my prymer, *placebo* and *dirige*, / And my sauter som tyme and my seuene psalmes" (C.V.46-7). In his response to Reason, he demonstrates the value of these literary tools by engaging in word play. His invocation of Matthew 4:4—translated as "not by the soil does man live, nor by bread and food" (86-7)—is a particularly powerful demonstration of his poetic aptitude. In its biblical iteration, the quotation reads *Non in pane solo vivit homo* (not in bread alone does man live), with *solo* functioning as the adjective "alone," but the dreamer cleverly puns on the word *solo*, using it as a noun meaning "soil." Here he displays his erudition

and demonstrates the power of language.[43] He may not be able to draw sustenance from the land (see C.V.23-5), but he can conjure new meaning from old books based on his knowledge of religion, literature, and philology.

For a moment it seems that the dreamer has successfully defended his vocation, proving that he can lead a meaningful life despite his separation from the land. Conscious declares, "By Crist, Y can nat se this lyeth" (C.V.89). But the dreamer's defense does not stand up to interrogation. First, his word play is contingent on the nuances of the word *solo*, which means (among other things) "soil." His attempt to divorce himself from the land by demonstrating the separate power of language ultimately fails. The dichotomy between agricultural labor and poetry collapses, and the dreamer must face the fact that even his linguistic pursuits bring him back to the land. Second, Reason's continued questioning shakes the dreamer's confidence, eventually leading him to a confession. The dreamer admits,

> "Y beknowe
> That Y haue ytynt tyme and tyme myspened;
> Ac yut Y hope, as he that ofte hath ychaffared
> And ay loste and loste and at the laste hym happed
> A bouhte suche a bargayn he was the bet euere
> And sette al his los at a leef at the laste ende,
> Suche a wynnyng hym warth thorw wyrdes of grace:
> *Simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro*." (C.V.92-8a)

The confession itself is telling: the dreamer finally recognizes that he is not so different from the lollares he satirizes. Even more powerful, though, is the dreamer's reference to Matthew 12:44, "The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field" (98a). In this passage, divine grace is

found in the landscape (*in agro*). By refusing to identify with or work the land, the dreamer has refused the foundation of his own vocation, and disallowed himself entrance into heaven. As Ralph Hanna observes, "[the dreamer's] status preempts his poetic claims, and the value of his 'makings' may only be construed logically as a corollary of, a pendant to, the value to be attached to his mode of living."[44] Because the dreamer is a vagrant, and both social and spiritual meaning is found in the soil, the value of his poetry (including his lollare satire) is negated.

By the *apologia*'s conclusion, then, the dreamer has failed to justify his vocation, and the dichotomy between physical labor and intellectual pursuits has collapsed—both ultimately depend on the land. This does not stop Langland from attempting to validate his art on a larger scale in *Piers Plowman*, though. Langland's validations are found in his repeated attempts to ground his poetry in the physical landscape. Unlike the dreamer, who insists on physical and intellectual separation from the land, Langland allies his poetry with the soil. In so doing, he attempts to contain threatening mobilities—including his own—and suggests a method of reading poetic and physical landscapes to his audience. He also offers a defense of poetry by dramatizing the power of poetic media in *Piers Plowman*'s closing passus. He may not be able to prohibit mobility, but he *can* propose the use of poetry to scrutinize and regulate England's evolving landscape.

Before analyzing the two scenes that best demonstrate Langland's approach to landscape—the Fair Feld Ful of Folk and Holy Chirche—we ought to consider the importance of the passus as an organizing scheme. In Classical Latin *passus* translates as "step" or "track."[45] As a literary unit in *Piers Plowman*, this is interpreted figuratively: each passus provides a "step" toward the text's final epiphany. Most critics focus exclusively on this interpretation, emphasizing the rhetorical function of Langland's passus as chapters, but the word's alternative

applications are of greater interest here.[46] In Medieval Latin, *passus* was often used to indicate a mountain pass.[47] This translation allows us to read *Piers Plowman* not simply as a rhetorical piece, but as a landscape in and of itself. The passus are not just literary units; they compose a mountainous terrain through which the reader must travel. By dividing *Piers Plowman* into a series of passus, then, Langland draws attention to the relationship between poetic form and the physical landscape. His poem is both an allegorical representation of the lived environment, and a topographical space through which readers must trek, using poetic signposts as guides. An informed reading of *Piers Plowman* will reveal not only allegorical meaning, but also a *method of reading* the poem and the physical landscapes it imitates (i.e., fourteenth-century London).

These two layers of interpretation are employed most powerfully in the first and last two passus of Langland's poem.[48] In each of these passus, Langland attempts to direct his readers toward a grounded reading of identity, fusing social types with landscape features in an attempt to stabilize mobile identities. This grounding begins with the physical demobilization of the dreamer. In the first sentence of *Piers Plowman*, Langland writes,

> In a somur sesoun whan softe was the sonne
> Y shope me into shroudes as Y a shep were;
> In abite as an heremite vnholy of werkes
> Wente forth in the world wondres to here,
> And say many selles and selkouthe thynges.
> Ac on a May mornyng on Maluerne hulles
> Me biful for to slepe, for werynesse of-walked
> And in a launde as Y lay, lened Y and slepte. (C.Pr.1-8)

In this passage, Langland uses alliteration to pass judgment on the dreamer's lifestyle.[49] Beyond openly criticizing the dreamer by comparing him to an "vnholy" hermit, Langland alliterates the consonant "s" across lines to affiliate the dreamer's "shroude" of line 2 with the "selles" and "selkouthe thynges" of line 5. In Middle English, "selli" (adj.) is most often used to characterize unnatural or monstrous circumstances.[50] For example, the *Ancrene Wisse* poet describes beasts as "sulliche," and in a thirteenth-century bestiary, mermen are described as "manie and sille."[51] Likewise, "selcouth" (adj.) refers to something "uncanny, weird, or monstrous."[52] The *Cursor Mundi* poet uses this word to describe Saracens as follows:

> O þair blac heu it was *selcuth*,
> And in þair breistes bar þair moth,
> Lang and side þair brues wern,
> And hinged all a-bout þair hern. (8077-80)[53]

In both cases, the adjectives that are alliterated with the dreamer's "shroude" render him as grotesque as a headless Saracen (an *anthropophagi*-type creature); and because the dreamer's clothing represents his itinerant lifestyle, the poetic association between "shroude," "selli" and "selcouth" equates the dreamer's mobility with monstrosity.

The monstrous nature of the dreamer's nomadic vocation is further elaborated by the biblical echoes of "shep." By clothing himself as a sheep, the dreamer emulates the false prophets of Matthew 7:15—wolves in sheep's clothing. This was a very familiar image in the fourteenth century, having been appropriated by anti-clericals and Lollards to represent hypocritical friars.[54] Wendy Scase writes, the "biblical image of the wolf in sheep's clothing in *Piers Plowman* [is] associated with those who do not claim to follow a religious rule, most notably, with the poet... 'yclothed as a lollare' (C.V.2) in Cornhill"[55] This allusion, then, casts

the dreamer as both a spatial and religious nomad. He threatens stable geographies *and* religious practice by refusing to associate with a single geographical place or holy order.

In addition to using alliteration and allusion to criticize the dreamer for his association with lollare types in this passage, Langland attempts to disable the dreamer's mobility. Specifically, he prevents the dreamer from walking any further by stabilizing him "in a launde" (8). Langland is even uncharacteristically clear regarding the landscape that confines the dreamer, identifying Malvern Hills, Worcestershire as the site of the dreamer's nap. This location recurs throughout the C-text (for example, at V.110 and IX.296), suggesting Langland's desire to locate the dreamer, if not his dream, by fixing his physical body to a specified location. Allan Bright even suggests that the opening passage of *Piers Plowman* identifies an *exact spot* on the Hertfordshire side of Malvern Hills, "whose topography corresponds to it detail for detail: the broad bank by the side of a stream, a onetime tower on a hilltop to the east, the moat of a ruined castle in the opposite direction, and between them a breathtaking sweep of land that might be described accurately enough as a 'faire felde.'"[56] This argument seems strained, though, and may miss the significance of Langland's locating impulses. The fact that the dreamer is in Malvern Hills seems less important here than the fact that he is "in a launde"—grounded in spite of his lollare tendencies. Identifying Malvern Hills allows Langland to play with local landscape features (for example, at C.VI.398, where he refers to a carving of two "gredy sows" on a choir stall in Little Malvern's priory church), but he seems less concerned with regionalism than with his ability impose spatial fixity on his poem's landscapes.[57]

After stabilizing the dreamer in the opening passage, Langland describes the first dreamscape of *Piers Plowman* in vivid detail to emphasize the spatial nature of his poem. Lines

14-18 are unique to the C-text in their immediate attention to the tower and dale in the Feld Ful of Folke (hereafter Fair Feld). The dreamer recalls,

> Estward Y beheld aftir the sonne
>
> And say a tour—as Y trowe, Treuthe was there-ynne.
>
> Westward Y waytede in a while aftir
>
> And seigh a depe dale—Deth, as Y leue,
>
> Woned in tho wones, and wikkede spiritus.
>
> A fair feld ful of folk fond Y ther bytwene
>
> Of alle manere men, the mene and the riche. (C.Pr.14-20)

In this didactic revision, we see Langland's continued desire to impose geographical boundaries on complex social spaces. Treuthe is contained by the tower, and Deth lives in the deep dale with his wicked companions. Langland's use of the word "wone" to describe Deth's confinement is particularly forceful, as it was often used to indicate a prison or dungeon in Middle English.[58]

This passage also draws a map of the Fair Feld—in part according to T-O map conventions—in order to impose graphical order on the dreamscape. Langland's use of the word "Estward" is not unique to the C-text, and in both the B- and C-revisions it suggests "toward God," a symbolic commonplace discussed at length in *Dives and Pauper* (ca. 1450).[59] In the C-text, though, Langland adds the word "Westward" and calls attention to the cartographical function of "Estward" as a compass direction. By adding this interpretative layer, he reminds audiences that Treuthe's eastern residence has further meaning, since Paradise occupied the same space on medieval *mappaemundi*. Moreover, if we read Langland's addition of "Westward" as a sign of this passage's cartographical function, it becomes clear that he is constructing the crossbar of a traditional T-O map, with the Eastern tower and the Western dale at either end.

Finally, beyond insisting on geographical boundaries and recalling conventional spatial categories, Langland demonstrates a continued emphasis on artistry in this passage. By imitating cartographical conventions, Langland calls to mind the representational nature of art. As discussed in Chapter Two, the *mappamundi* is a self-conscious art form—a *representation* of space according to regional subjectivities—and Langland's gesture toward the *mappamundi*'s artifice forces audiences to consider the artificial nature of his own poem.

A final passage in Langland's description of the Fair Feld serves to reinforce his artistic treatment (and attempted containment) of mobile landscapes. After observing the individuals who populate the Fair Feld, the dreamer notes,

> In preiers and penaunces potten hem mony,
> Al for loue of oure Lord lyueden swythe streyte
> In hope to haue a good ende and heuenriche blisse,
> As ankeres and eremites that holdeth hem in here selles,
> Coueyten noght in contreys to caryren aboute
> For no likerous liflode here lycame to plese. (C.Pr.27-32)

Like the opening passage that stabilizes the dreamer's physical body, this passage uses alliteration to emphasize the value of spatial fixity. The words "heuenriche" and "holdeth" are alliterated across lines 29-30, suggesting the divine nature of clearly-defined geographical boundaries, and foreshadowing the biblical allusion of C.V.98a (*Simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro*), which implies that spatial fixity allows for an individual's entrance into heaven. Langland also imperfectly alliterates the word "eremite" with "heuenriche" and "holdeth." In this clever maneuver, Langland represents his opinion on mobile bodies via poetics.[60] In their natural state (i.e., without qualification, as in 30a), hermits are threatening

because of their itinerant ways. The imperfect alliteration of "eremite" with "heuenriche" represents this threat, troubling the relationship between hermits and their heavenly duties with poetic dissonance.[61] But if hermits "holdeth hem in here selles," as in 30b, they can bring their divine potential to fruition. The repetition of hard "h" in the second half line carries the alliterative burden for 30a, and folds the imperfectly alliterated half-line into a clean two-line unit. The alliteration of "eremite" with "heuenriche," then, depends largely on the consonance in 30b, just as the heavenly nature of hermits depends on their ability to remain fixed to their cells. Here the words themselves convey Langland's anxiety regarding lollares in *Piers Plowman*'s dreamscape and the English landscape; the poem draws attention to its artifice in order to accentuate a *way of reading* literary and physical geographies.

In this passage, Langland also alliterates hard "c" to pass judgment on those who wander ("cayren aboute"). In line 31, he uses the phrase "Coueyten noght" to describe the anchorites and hermits who restrict their mobility, producing alliteration between "Coueyten," "contreys," and "cayren." His choice of the word "coueyten" seems particularly significant because it recalls one of the seven deadly sins that will be described in detail in Passus VI (196ff.), implying that those who wander do so because they are guilty of covetousness. Like the allegorical figure Couetyse, who travels "To Wy and to Wynchestre" and beyond to peddle his corrupt goods (C.VI.211), the Folk who refuse to identify with a single geographical location must repent for their sins.

In a final poetic flourish, Langland also puns on the words "potten" and "mony" to recall the circumstances that enabled rampant mobility in fourteenth-century England. The opening line of this passage is most often translated as "they busied themselves in prayers and penance," but the phrase "potten hem mony" contains verbal echoes that remind readers of the dreamscape's representational nature. The verb "poten" ("to put") echoes "potte" (n.), which means a pit or

hollow; and the word "mone" ("mind" or "intention") echoes "moneie" ("money").[62] These resonances produce a variety of meaning. First, the pun on "poten" recalls the significance of the land as a stabilizing structure, bringing to mind the physical placement of an item in the soil. Rather than simply busying themselves in prayers and penance, the individuals to whom Langland refers in line 27 literally entomb themselves in religious devotion. Second, the echo of "mone" and "moneie" brings to mind the bourgeoning economic conditions that produced mobile landscapes. As demonstrated above, Langland believed that money's corrupting influence produced the crisis of fixity in fourteenth-century England. By praising those who give their money to churches, he demonstrates how Christian love can inspire the proper circulation of money, and prevent the deterioration of spatial fixity. Together, these two instances of wordplay produce a second phrase entirely: "they *put* [buried?] their *money* in prayers and penance." The exemplary individuals on the Fair Feld deserve respect not only because they bury themselves in the practice of prayer and penance, but also because they donate their money to the church out of love for God.

These three passages in the Prologue—the dreamer's immobilization, the description of the Fair Feld, and the dreamer's praise of the Fair Feld's occupants—illustrate the layers of meaning that Langland weaves into his poetry. On the narrative level, he demonstrates a continued impulse to establish strict spatial boundaries. He then underscores this point on the poetic level, drawing attention to the representational nature of his poem, and encouraging his audience to read *Piers Plowman* actively—always keeping in mind poetic devices like alliteration and punning. He effectively produces a poetic map to guide his readers through the passsus of *Piers Plowman*, and encourages them to apply the message they glean from his poetry to their lived experience. Bernard Huppé observes that Langland's artistry reveals much about

"[his] method of enforcing the meaning of passages which he wished to emphasize and of securing economy of meaning through the levels of significance present in word play."[63] Only by reading with an awareness of this artistry will audiences come to understand the force of Langland's message, and its application to the landscape he allegorizes.

Nonetheless, historical forces demand that Langland's attempts to contain mobility fail; the Fair Feld is far too complex to be restricted by fixed geographical boundaries. This becomes clear through an extended analysis of the passages examined above. The dreamer's description of the Fair Feld perhaps best demonstrates the impossibility of spatial fixity. Immediately following his containment of Treuthe and Deth, and his description of the Fair Feld according to geographical convention, the dreamer observes that the Feld's inhabitants are "Worchyng *and wandryng* as this world ascuth" (C.Pr.21, my emphasis). After twenty lines of narrative grounding, Langland is forced to contend with the fact that even his dreamscape is subject to chaos. Despite his attempts to fuse *Piers Plowman* with the land using both aesthetic and narrative techniques, he cannot contain the "wandryng" folk. Even the *mappamundi* he begins to draw is destabilized. He has successfully designated East and West, but the center of his map—the defining space on medieval *mappaemundi*, traditionally reserved for Jerusalem—is occupied by a wandering miscellany of folk. Moreover, the world *requires* this movement ("as this world cuth"). The numerous itinerant vocations that the dreamer proceeds to list in the Prologue, most a consequence of economic growth and monetization, have fundamentally changed social and geographical standards. Langland's attempts to maintain cartographic and dramatic standards depend on outdated geographical models—an aesthetic of obsolescence.

The dreamer's description of the Feld's inhabitants underscores the futility of combating mobility. Following his discussion of the laudable residents who commit themselves to prayer and donate money to their church, the dreamer observes a strikingly different crowd:

> And summe chesen chaffare—thei cheueth the bettre,
> As it semeth to oure sighte that suche men ythryueth;
> And summe murthes to make as mynstrels conneth,
> Wolleth neyther swynke ne swete, bote sweren grete othes,
> Fyndeth out foule fantasyes and foles hem maketh
> And han wytt at wille to worche yf thei wolde. (C.Pr.33-8)

This crowd (and the subsequent descriptions of beggars, pilgrims, friars, preachers, and pardoners in lines 39ff.) recalls the lollares that are of such great interest to Langland throughout *Piers Plowman*. While the passage is certainly critical of them—they tell "foule fantasyes" and are categorized as "foles"—they remain very much a part of the Fair Feld. They are also quite accomplished. The alliteration of "chaffare" and "cheyeth" in line 33 highlights the success that a money-based vocation can bring to its practitioners, and the dreamer reports that folk working in trade "ythryueth." These individuals may corrupt the ideal space that Langland attempts to represent in his dreamscape, but they prosper nonetheless because they operate under a new social order that depends on monetization and the circulation of goods/services. Aers captures the nature of this radical change when he writes, "The participants… appear to be discrete members of a *mobile, fragmenting society* reveling in processes of consumption and production which are an end in themselves."[64] On the Fair Feld (as in fourteenth-century England), new economic forces confront dominant ideologies and replace the value of physical labor with market values. Moreover, tradesmen and itinerants overwhelm fixed class systems, and redefine

inter-personal relationships according to mobility and fragmentation. The traditional orders that Langland attempts to enforce, including the conventions of *mappaemundi*, are rendered obsolete. Even in a poetic space of his own design, he must face the deterioration of fixed social and geographical categories.[65]

This crisis of fixity plays out a second time in the penultimate passus, where Langland records the construction of Holy Chirche. Here, Langland's desire to ground his narrative continues as he uses poetic signposts to guide his readers through another allegorical landscape. He begins by employing words that highlight the land's contribution to stable communities. For example, Piers commands, "Harweth alle that conneth kynde wit bi consail of this doctors / And tulieth aftur here techynge the cardinal virtues" (C.XXI.315-6, my emphasis). Here, an agricultural idiom is used to articulate virtuous practice. This figurative application of "harwen" and "tulye" is unique to Langland, and—as if reveling its novelty—he uses "tulye" (fig.) a second time only fifteen lines later, writing, "[Grace] made presthoed hayward the while hymsulue wente / As wyde as the world is with Peres to tulye treuthe / And the londe of bileue, the lawe of holi churche" (C.XXI. 332-4, my emphasis). In this second passage, Langland even compounds the agricultural idiom with the word "hayward" and the alliteration of "londe" and "lawe" in line 334. "Hayward"—most often translated as "overseer"—literally means hedge-warden, suggesting that Grace has put priests in charge of maintaining hedges and fences. This resonates with Langland's geographical project because it fuses priests with the landscape, and suggests the strict maintenance of physical boundaries. The alliteration of "londe" and "lawe" also serves his purposes by suggesting that cultivating the land demonstrates an individual's obedience to God's law. Agricultural pursuits, in other words, maintain the integrity of religious communities and their statutes.

Langland's emphasis on physical landscapes is even more forceful in his description of Piers planting the four cardinal virtues, where agricultural rhetoric abounds. He writes,

> Thise foure sedes Peres sewe and sennes he dede hem harewe
> With olde lawe and newe lawe that loue myhte wexe
> Among thise foure vertues and vices destruye.
> "For cominliche in contrayes cammokes and wedes
> Fouleth the fruyt in the feld ther thei growe togyderes
> And so doth vices vertues; forthy," quod Peres,
> "Harweth alle that conneth kynde wit bi consail of this doctors
> And tulieth aftur here techynge the cardinal virtues." (C.XXI.309-16)

This passage further emphasizes the importance of harrowing the land by rhyming "harawe" with "lawe" in lines 309-10, recalling the alliteration of "londe" and "lawe" in line 334. On a narrative level the laws themselves are being planted (suggesting the soil will give rise to Christian law), but on a poetic level this rhyme suggests that harrowing is endorsed by both the Old and New Testament. The fact that such physical labor is associated with "olde" and "newe" is particularly significant because social and geographical systems in fourteenth-century London (and in the world of *Piers Plowman*) were facing a revolution. Even when new orders take over, Langland suggests, agricultural labor will be valued. The land cannot be rendered inconsequential by economic mobilities, even if its role in establishing geographical fixity is challenged.

In these lines, Langland amasses an army of linguistic support for the physical landscape; the building of Holy Chirche appears to be his strongest defense against a new social order defined by mobility and fragmentation. [66] As was the case in the Fair Feld, though, the fields that

Piers cultivates and the church that he builds come immediately under threat. Pryde insists that the cardinal virtues will be corrupted, declaring "Peres berne worth broke and thei that ben in Vnite / Shal come out" (C.XXI.344-5). Fletcher observes of this inevitable collapse, "Holy Church is revealed as a pristine ideal, one which can offer the faithful, in practice, only *the most temporary kind of refuge* once an actual institution… creeps in with all its institutionalized corruptions."[67] Consequently, the only method of reconciliation that *Piers Plowman* can offer is the poetic form itself. In Passus XXI, Langland therefore presents poetry as a creative space that warrants its own analysis. He does this by dramatizing his own project, placing an allegorical landscape within an allegorical landscape to call attention to his poem's artistry. In so doing, he returns landscapes to the poetic imagination, and demonstrates that the poetic form—unlike the physical landscape of fourteenth-century England—is capable of escaping the momentum of historical forces. He also demonstrates poetry's intrinsic power, thereby defending his vocation and remedying the dreamer's failure in the *apologia* of Passus V.

Langland readies us for this for this move by basing the construction of Holy Chirche on the work of four draught-horses: Austin, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome. These horses plant the fields that will sustain Holy Chirche's congregation. Because they are named after the four Church Fathers best known for their biblical commentary, they insist on the fundamental nature of exegesis. Just as sowing the fields will feed Holy Chirche's congregation, performing literary analysis will sustain *Piers Plowman*'s readers. By naming the draught-horses thus and assigning them such a critical role in the construction of Holy Chirche, Langland suggests that attempts to understand his poem depend first and foremost on a foundation of close reading.[68]

Readers are shown how to perform such a reading in the opening lines of Piers's speech to his congregation, which functions as a dramatization of Langland's own art (an allegorical

landscape within an allegorical landscape). Piers declares, "'cominliche in contrayes cammokes and wedes / Fouleth the fruyt in the feld ther thei growe togyderes / And so doth vices vertues'" (C.XXI.312-4). Here Piers offers the Folk an allegory that delights, instructs, and confirms the landscape's role in manifestations of poetic acumen and reflections on real-world conditions. Piers's words are remarkably artful; they make an important point regarding impeding threats to the four cardinal virtues (as line 314 makes clear), and they do so in a passage concerning the physical landscape. These are the very same tasks that Langland performs in *Piers Plowman*, and they embody his newly-conceived approach to English landscapes.[69] Like Piers's allegory, Langland's poem requires 1. literary analysis (how are poetic devices contributing to the poem's meaning?), 2. narrative analysis (what is happening in the poem?), and 3. allegorical analysis (how does this relate to historical circumstances?). Most importantly, Langland demonstrates that all of these analytical steps are best performed in a *landscape* of some sort: the landscape of his poem, the landscape of Holy Chirche, or the landscape of fourteenth-century England. Landscapes finally emerge as the keystone of Langland's work.

In the final passus, Langland demonstrates that the foundational layer of meaning lies in literary analysis, or the landscape of his poem. Nowhere is this clearer than in Pryde's challenge to Holy Chirche. This challenge is significant not only because it breaks down Langland's attempts to stabilize landscapes on the narrative level, but also because it is cast in terms of *artistry*. Specifically, in Passus XXI Langland relocates the battle between traditional social/spatial structures (the ideal of Holy Chirche) and an economically-driven, itinerant reality (represented here by Pryde) to the realm of poetry. This moment is crucial to Langland's conception of landscape because he very consciously demonstrates the power of poetry as a

medium in which to contend with real-world conflicts; the poetic landscape is as suitable a battlefield as physical landscapes (either real or allegorical) for the battle over spatial fixity.

Pryde's challenge to Holy Chirche depends entirely on his ability to employ artifice. He tells Consience,

> youre two caples,
> Confessioun and Contricioun, and youre carte the bileue
> Shal be coloured so queyntly and keuered vnder oure sophistrie
> That Consience shal nat knowe ho is cristene or hethene
> Ne no manere marchaunt that with moneye deleth
> Where he wynne with riht, with wrong, or with vsure!
> With such colours and queyntises cometh Pruyde y-armed. (C.XXI.345-51, my emphasis)

Rather than using weapons to destroy Holy Chirche, Pryde threatens to "colour" the Church's cart of faith "queyntly." The word "colouren" here translates as either "paint" or "gloss," referring to the modification of the cart or the reinterpretation of Langland's allegory. In both cases, it concerns the manipulation of craft; Pryde will call attention to and subvert the artificial landscapes that both Piers and Langland are attempting to construct (an allegorical and poetic landscape, respectively). Moreover, he will do so "queyntly" (artfully), suggesting that he possesses enough skill to legitimately challenge the work of Piers the Plowman and *Piers Plowman*. This fact is reiterated in line 351, where we are told Pryde is armed with "colours" and "queyntises." He is ready to fight a battle of words.

By casting the battle for Holy Chirche in this way, Langland brings his radically new approach to landscapes to fruition. Throughout *Piers Plowman* he has shown how literary

landscapes can imitate physical landscapes, and how poetic signposts can guide his readers through the complicated passus of *Piers Plowman*. In so doing, he demonstrates how to read his poetry, his allegory, and the physical landscape he allegorizes. In his penultimate passus, he compounds these theories by arguing that the poetic form is itself a space that requires analysis. This realization offers a stunning synthesis of Langland's myriad landscapes showing that *all* landscapes are ultimately the purview of the imagination. Like literature, they can be built, read, and interpreted according to individual subjectivities. Even the physical landscape of fourteenth-century England is a construct, produced by the emergence of new crafts and linguistic attempts to control these crafts (the Statute of Laborers, for example). By arming Pryde with "colours" and "queyntises," then, Langland saturates every level of his poem—poetic landscape, dreamscape, and allegorized landscape—with the significance of art, and demonstrates its pervasiveness as a medium that both delights and entertains its readers, and provides them a vehicle by which to consider current events. As Langland sees it, considerations of social and geographical space belong to the realm of artistry. The power to define English landscapes lies in ink and binder, not swords and plows.

In proposing this conceit, Langland demonstrates a new way of thinking about landscapes, and esteems the *poetic form*—the passus (or "steps") of his poem. Confining spatial concerns to the poetic sphere allows him to escape the historical forces that destabilized fourteenth-century England's landscape and the allegorical dreamscape of *Piers Plowman* (which registers the same destabilizing forces). By Passus XXI, then, Langland seems to have conceded the fact that he cannot enforce a landscape based on traditional feudal systems. Aers writes, "[Langland] wished to criticize and reform society and church within the framework of the traditional ideology and authority he often affirmed, yet his poet's intense imaginative and

intellectual engagement with his world embodies a vision whose total movement and minute particulars negate and subvert this ideology."[70] Langland makes up for his failure to control mobile landscapes, though, through poetic acumen. By calling attention to his poem's artificiality, he shows that on the most potent level he *can* control where lollares move, how they are perceived, and what their landscape looks like.

He also shows that regulated movement—specifically, movement contained and directed by poetic media—can be constructive. After claiming narrative control in the penultimate passus, he permits one act of vagrancy to go unchallenged: the pilgrimage for Piers the Plowman. The final lines of Langland's poem read,

> "By Crist," quod Consience tho, "Y wol bicome a pilgrime
> And wenden as wyde as the world renneth
> To seke Peres the plouhman, that Pruyde myhte destruye,
> And that freres hadde a fyndynge that for nede flateren
> And countrepledeth me, Consience. Now Kynde me avenge,
> And sende me hap and hele til Y haue Peres plouhman."
> And sethe he gradde aftur Grace tyl Y gan awake. (C.XXII.380-6)

In this passage Langland allows for the pursuit not only of Piers the Plowman, but also *Piers Plowman*. He suggests that mobility can be productive as long as it is driven by Christian doctrine (here, the search for Grace), and operates within the boundaries of poetic media. By permitting Consience to seek Piers, he even *encourages* figurative movement through the passus of a poem in pursuit of literary meaning.

Returning landscapes to the imagination, then, allows Langland to construct a landscape that simultaneously condemns lollares and the corrupting potential of money (Mede), and

promotes movement in pursuit of Truth, especially when this movement takes the form of literary interpretation or glossing. Whereas Chaucer contended with the crisis of fixity by representing an English landscape that defined and contained mobile bodies, Langland demonstrates an acute awareness of landscape's artificiality. He converts landscapes into poetic constructs, and scrutinizes them using complex allegories and poetic devices. In this way, he offers an escape from the historical momentum that disables spatial fixity. For Langland, Poetry is finally the vehicle of reconciliation.

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[1] Derek Pearsall, "Introduction," *Piers Plowman: A New Annotated Edition of the C-Text* (Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2008), 6. All quotations are taken from this edition, quoted by text, passus, and line.

[2] See the Introduction for a discussion of Catherine Clarke's *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400*. See also J.R. Ravensdale, who observes that in the Middle Ages, "stability seems the dominant note in the patterning of [villages]" (*Liable to Floods: Village Landscape on the Edge of the Fens, A.D. 450-1850* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974], 125).

[3] David Aers, *Chaucer, Langland, and the Creative Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 1980), 24, quoting John A. Yunk, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Publications in Medieval Studies 17, 1963).

[4] Pearsall, "Introduction," 3. See also J.A. Burrow, who argues that the C-text "cleans up the mess" left behind by B (*Langland's Fictions* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993]). Many scholars have argued against the value of the C-text based on its artistic inferiority, but these arguments have been alleviated by claims that its inferiorities are scribal errors.

[5] James Simpson, "Spirituality and Economics in Passus 1-7 of the B Text," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 1 (1987): 83-103; Aers, *Chaucer, Langland, and the Creative Imagination*.

[6] The word "waged" (C.IV.96) recalls this system of exchange. A variant on Medieval Latin *vadium*, Middle English *wagen* suggests the quantifiable exchange of goods/services. The Franciscan monk Bartholomeus de Glanvilla, for example, writes, "Creditur quandoque ex mutuo res aliqua sub Vadii positione, quod cum fit, quandoque res mobiles, ut catalla ponuntur in Vadium. Quandoque res immobiles, ut terræ et tenementa, et redditus, sive in denariis, sive in aliis rebus existents" (10.6). This quotation is particularly relevant since Glanvilla allows for monetized exchange (*denariis*), and reinforces the immutability of land and tenements. See Du Cange et. al., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887), s.v. "vadium."

[7] Simpson, 83.

[8] Even the value of *mercede* can be questioned in this passage, though, given that Langland's example of *mercede* is "goode men" paying prostitutes *after* they have performed their services.

[9] See James Simpson, "Spiritual and Earthly Nobility in *Piers Plowman*," *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 86 (1985): 467-81. The understanding of love-motivated exchange as a feudal concept is established in Passus One, where Langland writes of kings and knights that they should "halden with hym and with here that han trewe accion / And for no lordene loue leue the trewe partie" (C.I.94-5).

[10] Myra Stokes, *Justice and Mercy in* Piers Plowman: *A Reading of the B Text Visio* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 106. The passages Stokes addresses remain pertinent to a reading of the C-text because they have not been excised from Langland's revision.

[11] Stokes, 107, my emphasis.

[12] Simpson, "Spirituality and Economics in Passus 1-7 of the B Text," 85-6.

[13] Kenneth Bruce McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism," *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (Hambledon Press: London, 1981), 23-43, esp. 24.

[14] The fact that the Black Death caused a labor shortage is well known. See Anna P. Baldwin, "The Historical Context," *A Companion to* Piers Plowman, ed. John A. Alford (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1988), 67-87, esp. 70-3; J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500* (London: Dent, 1980), 207-21.

[15] For representative discussions of the Statutes see Bertha Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers during the First Decade After the Black Death, 1349-1359* (New York: Columbia UP, 1908); William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, vol. 2, 4th ed. (London: Methuen, 1936), 260-4; Rodney H. Hilton, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 32-43.

[16] Anne Middleton, "Acts of Vagrancy: The C Version 'Autobiography' and the Statute of 1388," *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship*, ed. Steven Justice and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1997), 217-47, esp. 231. For a discussion of evolving communities (specifically the household unit), see David Aers, *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360-1430* (New York: Routledge, 1988), esp. 52-72.

[17] Anno 25 Edwardi III, A.D. 1350-51, Stat. 2 c.2, *Statutes of the Realm* 1 (London: 1810-28), 311-12.

[18] Middleton, 241, my emphasis.

[19] Ibid., 236.

[20] The 1376 commons petition also demonstrates a change in the perceived cause of vagrancy. In the years following the Black Plague, vagrancy was viewed as a necessary consequence of lost

lives, but by 1376 it was seen as a means by which to express defiance. In two decades the "myth of vagrancy" came to disparage mobility as a power-play rather than the unavoidable result of market fluctuations. This evolution suggests that movement was equated with agency in the late-fourteenth century.

[21] For in-depth discussions of the 1388 Statute of Laborers see T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals*, vol. 3 (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1928), esp. 440; A.L. Beier, "Vagrants and Social Order in Elizabethan England," *Past and Present* 64 (1974): 3-29; May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), esp. 339.

[22] Middleton, 218, my emphasis.

[23] A.E. Bland, P.A. Brown, and R.H. Tawney, eds., *English Economic History: Selected Documents*, 2nd ed. (London: G. Bell, 1915), 171-6. See also J.A. Tuck, "The Cambridge Parliament, 1388," *English Historical Review* 84 (1969): 225-43; L.C. Hector and Barbara Harvey, eds., *the Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 355-69.

[24] Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987); Aers, *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity*.

[25] Rubin, 72.

[26] Aers, *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity*, 24, quoting J. Sbaraglia and C. Eubel, eds., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5 (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1898).

[27] Pearsall notes, "*Lollare* was clearly a word that Langland needed as he revised his poem" (25).

[28] The desire to contain beggars is clear in the 1388 Statute of Laborers, which includes the following directive: "beggars unable to serve [must] remain in the cities and towns where they

are dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this Statute, and… if the people of the said cities or towns will not or cannot suffice to find them [provide for them] the said beggars withdraw to the other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within forty days after the said proclamation be made, and dwell there continually for their lives" (C.7).

[29] On the distinction between beggars and hermits/vagrants, Barbara Hanawalt writes, "The movement of people around the countryside and into cities blurred the line between the deserving poor and the undeserving poor. Vagrants and beggars began to be lumped into one category as marginals and undesirables" ("Reading the Lives of the Illiterate: London's Poor," *Speculum* 80 [2005], 1984).

[30] Wendy Scase, *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 125-49, esp. 125. Langland defines the related verb *lollen* in Passus IX as follows: "As by the Engelisch of oure eldres, of olde mennes techynge, / He that lolleth is lame or his leg out of ioynte / Or ymaymed in som membre, for to mischief hit souneth" (C.IX.215-17).

[31] Benedict of Nursia, *Regula Benedicti*, eds. J. Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, vol. 1 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1972), 436-41.

[32] Benedict of Aniane, "Concordia Regularum," *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, series latina, ed. J.P. Migne, vol. 103 (Paris: Apud Garnier, 1844), col. 748.

[33] It is important to note that despite the association of the word "lollare" with religious orders, attempts to link Langland's use of "lollare" with Wycliff's Lollards are anachronistic, as the term was not applied to Wycliff's movement until the 1390s. Langland's use of the word "hermit" is also unique, as it refers not to social and geographical recluses (like the Desert Fathers, discussed

in C.XVII.6ff.), but to religious men who ought to maintain stable lives in a single locale, preferably one closely associated with their church.

[34] Aers, *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity*, 40.

[35] The tendency of pilgrims to lose sight of their spiritual purposes is reiterated in Passus VII, where a pilgrim himself declares, "I saw neuere palmere with pyk ne with scrippe / Axen aftur [Treuth], but now in this place" (C.VII.180-1).

[36] Orderly society is manifest in Langland's discussion of the three estates from lines C.IX.9-21.

[37] Alan J. Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late Medieval England* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 219.

[38] Piero Boitani, *English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), 83.

[39] E. Talbot Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The C-text and Its Poet* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1949), 199-226, esp. 208.

[40] For representative discussions regarding the autobiographical nature of the *apologia*, see Kathryn Kerby Fulton, "Langland and the Bibliographic Ego," *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship*, ed. Steven Justice and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1997), 67-143; J.A. Burrow, *Langland's Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Ralph Hanna, *William Langland, Authors of the Middle Ages, 3: English Writers of the Late Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993); George Kane, Piers Plowman: *The Evidence for Authorship* (London: Althone Press, 1965).

[41] The dreamer's placelessness is further established when he declares that he "leue in London and opelond bothe" (C.IX.44). He occupies a mercurial space that is simultaneously urban (London) and rural (opeland). This would be a boon under the 1388 Statute of Laborers, since

the dreamer's placelessness makes it impossible for lawmakers—here Reason—to send him "home."

[42] Langland identifies lollares by their bags, anticipating early-sixteenth century sumptuary laws that identified beggars and vagrants by a yellow letter "V" on their breast (See Hanwalt, 1085). In *Piers Plowman,* Langland calls lollares "beggares with bagges" (C.IX.98), and writes "what freke on this folde fiscuth aboute / With a bagge at his bak… lyueth lyke a lollare, goddess lawe hym dampneth" (C.IX.153-4, 158). See also C.Pr.42, C.IX.139-40.

[43] On Langland's punning here, see Pearsall, 114; J.A. Burrow, "*Piers Plowman* C V.86-7," *Notes and Queries* 37.1 (1990): 10-11. Burrow observes that Langland alters the Vulgate's "*non in solo pane vivit homo*" (Matthew 4:4) to separate *solo* from *in pane*—a move does not serve a metrical purpose, and therefore must be explained another way. He concludes, "The adaptation is to be understood as a stroke of clerkly word-play, triumphantly concluding Will's defence of his clerkly vocation. The play on *solus*/*solum* glances back at Reason's earlier suggestion that Will might be better employed in the fields (C.V.13-19)" (11).

[44] Ralph Hanna, "Will's Work," *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship,* ed. Steven Justice and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1997), 23-66, esp. 44.

[45] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "passus."

[46] For rhetorical interpretations of *passus,* see John A. Alford, who defines *passus* as "'steps' in the progress of the narrative" ("The Design of the Poem," *A Companion to* Piers Plowman, ed. John A. Alford [Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1988], 30).

[47] See J.F. Niermeyer, ed., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), s.v. "passus"; R.E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word List, From British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford UP, 1965). See, for example, "Gesta Federici I imperatoris in Lombardia,"

Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1878), 81.

[48] Langland's pronounced use of these two dimensions (literary and topographical) in the first and last two passus of *Piers Plowman* imposes a sense of balance on the poem. The two passus/steps into and out of *Piers Plowman* direct the audience's reading, and may therefore function as a heretofore unrecognized organizing principle.

[49] The nature of Langland's alliteration has been the topic of some debate. See Hoyt N. Duggan, "Notes toward a Theory of Langland's Meter," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 1 (1987): 41-70; Duggan, "The Shape of the B-Verse in Middle English Alliterative Poetry," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 564-92; Geoffrey Shepherd, "The Nature of Alliterative Poetry in Late Medieval England," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 56 (1970): 57-76; Elizabeth Salter, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1969); Bernard F. Huppé, "*Petrus id est Christus*: Word Play in *Piers Plowman*, the B-text" *Journal of Literary History* 17 (1950): 163-90.

[50] *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "selli" 1.b.

[51] In *Ancrene Wisse*, "I þe wildernesse þat ge gat in wid godes folc toward ierusalemes londe... beod *sulliche* bestes" ("Ancrene Wisse," *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130-1250*, ed. Jospeh Hall, vol. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920], 60). In the *Bestiary*, "ðis wunder wuneð in wankel stede, ðer ðe water sinkeð, sipes ge sinkeð, and scaðe ðus werkeð mirie ge singeð ðis mere, and haueð manie stefnes, manie and *sille*, oc it ben wel ille ("Bestiary," *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130-1250*, ed. J. Hall, vol. 2 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920], 449). Asa Simon Mittman discusses the connection between the marvelous and the monstrous in the Middle Ages in *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[52] *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "selcouth" 2.b.

[53] *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Richard Morris, vols. 1-3, EETS I OS 57, 99, 101; II OS 59, 62; III OS 66, 68 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1932-42).

[54] Langland also uses the image a second time in an extended metaphor. See C.IX.256-82, in which Langland suggests bishops are responsible for controlling the wolves (C.IX.265) that prey on their flocks.

[55] Scase, 121.

[56] R.E. Kaske, "*Piers Plowman* and Local Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 159-69, esp. 160. Kaske quotes from Allan Bright, *New Light on* Piers Plowman (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1950), 50-7. See also Brian S. Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1964), 89.

[57] Langland's reference to the local carving in Malvern Hills is important not because it identifies where or to whom Langland was writing, but because it offers an example of the relationship between space and place. "Malvern Hills" is a meaningless designation if it is not invested with lived experience, just as the dreamscapes of *Piers Plowman* would be worthless if they were not populated with allegorical figures and topographical features.

[58] For example, in *The Legend of St. Margaret*, where the poet writes, "[He] keasten hire i cwalm-hus… and wes as þah hit were þe seoueðe time of þe dei þet me droh hire þus in-to dorkest wan" (F.M. Mack, ed., *Seinte Marherete, from MS. Bodley 34 and British Museum MS. Royal 17 A.xxvii* EETS e.s. 193 [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co ., 1934], 18). Langland's use of the word "wone" is also significant because it accounts for a series of cuts made to the B-text, wherein Langland explicitly compares the dale to a dungeon. In the B-text Langland writes, "I seigh a toure on a toft, trielich ymaked; / A depe dale binethe, a dungeon þere-Inne, / With depe dyches & derke and dredful of sight" (B.Pr.14-16). In the C-text,

Langland uses a single word to convey the nuances of B.14b, demonstrating his continued attention to artistry.

[59] See P. H. Barnum, ed., *Dives and Pauper*, EETS e.s. 275, 280 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1976, 1980).

[60] While it is impossible to generalize about Langland's use of alliteration, most critics agree that he (and most alliterative poets of the fourteenth century) almost exclusively uses the following alliterative patterns: aa/ax, aa/aa. aax/ax, aax/aa, axa/ax, axa/aa, xaa/ax, xaa/aa, aaa/ax, and aaa/aa. In C.Pr.30, though, the pattern is xx(?)a/aa (or perhaps bba/aa). This contradicts traditional alliterative patterns *and* the minimum requirements of metricality, which claim that two full staves (defined as syllables bearing linguistic and metrical stress, and alliteration) must appear in the a-verse.

[61] It could be argued that "eremite" *does* alliterate cleanly with "heuenriche," but Langland almost exclusively uses "*h*eremite" throughout the Prologue, making his choice to drop the hard "h" at 30a conspicuous. See, for example, C.Pr.3, 55.

[62] *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "potte" 1.a, b; s.v. "moneie."

[63] Huppé, 168.

[64] Aers, *Chaucer, Langland and the Creative Imagination*, 5, my emphasis.

[65] In Passus I, Langland continues to fight for social and geographical stability. Holy Churche suggests Resoun and Kynde Witte can bring order to the threatening social practices and unstable relationships of the Prologue, but, as Aers observes, "presenting these activities as a manageable fixity disastrously simplifies the problems raised by the mobile, acquisitive society of the Prologue." Holy Churche may offer a solution, but "*Piers Plowman* has begun to make us uneasy with such solutions" (*Chaucer, Langland and the Creative Imagination*, 6).

[66] In the same twenty lines, other notable phrases include "herborwe [thy grayness] in thy cornes" (318) and "make a goode foundement" (325).

[67] Fletcher, 216, my emphasis.

[68] This is also emphasized only a few lines earlier, where Langland highlights the power of language. He writes, "Som wyes [Grace] yaf wyt with wordes to shewe, / To wynne with treuthe that the world asketh, / As prechours and prestes and prentises of lawe: / They leely to lyue bi labour of tonge / And bi wit to wissen othere as grace hem wolde teche" (C.XXI.229-33).

[69] Piers's allegory is particularly representative of the poetic layers that characterize Langland's *Piers Plowman* because it also alludes to the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares (Matthew 13:24-30), adding further complexity to an already rich passage. By alluding to this parable, in which God's enemies plant weeds in heaven's fields, Piers enhances the passage's meaning in two ways: 1. he augments the growing sense of importance attributed to agriculture in Passus XXI, and 2. he connects his discussion of virtue and vice to lollares, because in Latin versions of Matthew 13 "weeds/tares" is translated *lollium*, which closely resembles the root of "lollare."

[70] Aers, *Chaucer, Langland, and the Creative Imagination*, 10.

Chapter Five

Cognitive Landscapes in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Book Two

Spenser's world was defined by fluidity. In the late sixteenth-century, European nations including England, Spain, and France fought for colonial authority in the Americas, and the unity of the four British nations (England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland) was constantly threatened. In 1536, the Act of Union annexed Wales to England, initiating the relatively uncomplicated synthesis of the two countries (Wales was divided into shires, and administered by Members of Parliament), but this model of British identity proved untenable with respect to Ireland and Scotland. Although Henry VIII assumed the title "King of Ireland" in June 1541, the Irish militantly resisted English law and authority in the latter half of the century. Most notably, Hugh O'Neill led a revolution that sparked the Nine Years War (1594-1603) and posed the most serious threat to the English Crown since the Wars of the Roses. With the aid of Spanish and papal forces, O'Neill and people of Ireland undermined the concept of a unified Britain, and even threatened Protestantism by claiming to be champions of the Roman Catholic Church.[1] Scotland, in the meantime, posed a threat not only because of regular border skirmishes, but also because of the well-documented conflict between Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, and James VI's expected succession following Mary's execution. Despite his professed interest in establishing a united Britain, James was perceived as a threat because his Scottish ethnicity challenged Anglo-centric notions of Britain. Englishmen desired British unification, but they wanted *England*—not Scotland—to be the unifying force.[2]

Amidst this socio-political tumult, "England" and "Britain" became difficult to define. England's attempts to unify Wales, Ireland, and Scotland confused previously stable notions of English identity, demanding the constant redefinition of the country's geographical boundaries,

ethnic constitution, and international influence. Maps of the period reflect this confusion. In addition to providing increasingly accurate geographical representations of the world, early modern maps created fictions of political, social, and cultural space that often perpetuated false orders. This was especially true of maps that represented England's territorial claims and the British Empire in the sixteenth century. When compared to one another, the inconsistency of these cartographical "orders" reveals the volatility of designations like "England" and "Britain." George Lily, Laurence Nowell, and Christopher Saxton, for example, all produced maps that claimed to represent the geographical extent of Tudor control in the British Isles. Each of these maps prominently displays the crowned Tudor Arms, suggesting that they are graphic representations of Queen Elizabeth's territory.[3] The spaces their maps represent, though, are remarkably different. Lily's *Bitanniae Insulae* (1546) represents England, Wales, Scotland, and possibly Ireland as a single political unit, acknowledging only spatial separation between *Britanniæ Insvlæ* and Ireland in a Tudor Rose-embellished banner that reads, "*Britanniæ Insvlæ qvæ nvnc angliæ et scotia regna continet cvm Hibernia adiacente.*"[4] Similarly, Nowell's *General Description of England and Ireland* (1565) describes and maps a region he defines as "*regionem nostrum*" (our region), which includes all four British nations, and implies the comprehensive nature of Tudor influence.[5] Saxton's atlas (1579), on the other hand, includes only England and Wales on a map titled *Anglia*, relegating Scotland and Ireland to the margins of both cartographic space and English authority. These discrepancies reveal a fundamental lack of understanding regarding England's relationship to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and the distinction between England and Britain. Even in cartography—a graphic fiction—inconsistency ruled.

Edmund Spenser was one of many early modern writers who had to contend with England's mutability. He does so in *The Faerie Queene*, which is set in a geographically

inconsistent world that mirrors the instability of sixteenth-century England. Because such instability breeds conflict (as in Elizabethan and Jacobean England), many critics read discord into Spenser's allegorical landscape. In *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain*, for example, Andrew Hadfield argues that Spenser "saw the implications of English expansion within the British isles as a challenge to preconceived English ideas of political order and stability," and in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, Bernhard Klein argues that Spenser conceived of the nation as a "fragile figure."[6]

In the "Book of Temperance," though, Spenser demonstrates how discontinuous space can be constructive, rather than destructive (i.e., "challeng[ing]" or "fragile"). Under Lefebvre's rubric of evolving spatial categories (absolute → historical → abstract), *The Faerie Queene* accepts the fragmented nature of abstract space, and identifies it as symbol of man's creative prowess.[7] In so doing, Spenser rewrites the conditions of spatial evolution, ascribing it to creative forces rather than economic forces alone. Due to a bourgeoning interest in cognitive processes and the mind in the sixteenth century, he was uniquely positioned to show how the human imagination contributed to historical space's deterioration. For Spenser, geo-political and social landscapes become personal and cognitive in the final stage of spatial evolution.

He begins by allegorizing the instability that results when historical space evolves into abstract space, representing the disintegration of Faeryland's landscape. He then examines how man contributes to this disintegration both corporeally and cognitively, showing how the body exchanges humors with the land, and the mind appropriates landscapes for higher purposes, including self-realization and the creation of cognitive space (which I will discuss in detail below). Each of these interactions amplifies geographical instability by introducing new pressures to the historical landscape, but Spenser casts this instability as an emblem of creation

rather than a manifestation of violence. He does this by prioritizing the mind's interaction with space. Specifically, he dramatizes how, through mnemonic processes, the mind overwrites external space with cognitive landscapes that are inflected with individual belief and perception. By staging this creative process, Spenser demonstrates how man acts as a microcosm of God, since both are capable of creating space in their own image. Spenser's representation of England's volatile space in *The Faerie Queene* therefore serves an instructional purpose. Calling on early modern discourses of mind-body dualism and mnemonics, Spenser shows that spatial instability derives from man's cognitive interactions with the world, which allows for the glorification of man as a creative being in God's likeness.

The geographical instability of Faeryland has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in the past decade. Many critics discuss the ill-defined world of *The Faerie Queene* as a consequence of the period's anxiety regarding cartography. Klein argues, for example, that the sixteenth century was marked by an increasing awareness of cartography as "a conceptual impossibility."[8] In support of this claim, sixteenth-century surveyor Ralph Agas observes that, because "leuel and smooth" maps could never adequately capture the "great difference, in hill and dale, from al leuell superficies," many individuals began to "doubt whethere there be perfection in mapping of lands and tenements for surueigh."[9] Fellow surveyor Aaron Rathborne also accuses "plaine, plaine Tablemen" of converting "the highest mountains to plaine and leuel grounds, pressing them downe, and inforcing them on a plaine sheete of paper to lye leuell with the rest."[10] According to Klein, these criticisms of cartography are manifest in Spenser's poetry, where the impossibility of spatial representation transfers from cartographic to poetic media. Joanne Woolway Greenfell agrees, arguing that, given the period's tendency to print Bibles with Exodus maps in order to ground readings in geographical reality, one would expect *The Faerie*

Queene to contain maps. Yet Spenser refuses to provide either his readers or his characters with such visual guidance, which Greenfell suggests is a consequence of the fact that he was "charting a course through representational boundaries which had suddenly become fluid," and he was acutely aware of the fact that "the discovery of new territories has ramifications in terms of [cartographical] representation."[11]

Others argue that Faeryland is discontinuous because its function as an allegorical space is to represent abstract ideas of virtue necessary to its readers' education. In *Allegory, Space, and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser*, Christopher Burlinson argues that Spenser's landscapes are purposefully divorced from reality, contained entirely by the literary domain. He suggests that Malbecco's cave, for example, is significant not as a physical space in *The Faerie Queene*, but as an allusion to Ariosto's *Cinque Canti* ("lo scoglio ove 'l Sospetto fa soggiorno") and Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F.J.* Like Suspicion's promontory, Malbecco's cave emerges from the jealousy he embodies and ultimately becomes. While Burlinson admits that Spenser's Faeryland *does* achieve the status of a material world at times, he insists that its inconsistent materiality is itself a literary technique, used to "fashion a gentleman" by warning him of representational failures (the failure of allegory to represent physical space, for example).[12] John G. Demaray likewise argues that the space of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is significant only as instructional, literary allegory. He writes that, in the Proem to Book Two, Spenser "pretends through indirect statement and an appeal to both empirical and imaginary geographical-cosmographical 'evidence' that faeryland can literally be found; but in the rest of the poem and in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, he leaves no doubt that faeryland in its literal sense is a fiction."[13] Demaray continues to argue that, even as fictional space, Faeryland is meaningful only as a macrocosm of Spenser's readers, who he educates following

abstract ideas of virtue and order. According to Demaray's conceit, Faeryland is stripped of its significance as a fictional or literal space endowed with cultural, political, and social meaning, and converted into nothing more than a "beautiful lie."[14]

By focusing on representational media (cartography and allegory) rather than landscape itself, these approaches to Spenser's world often marginalize what we do know about Faeryland. A physical landscape *does* exist in the fiction of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, even if it is discontinuous and volatile. By looking past anxieties regarding contemporary maps and the function of allegory, one can identify the central role that this landscape plays in Spenser's representation of sixteenth-century England. Specifically, by rendering the stable, objective representation of landscapes impossible, Spenser challenges the land's ability to contain national and regional identities, reproducing the confusion that plagued the designations "England" and "Britain." In *The Faerie Queene*, this is primarily achieved through the construction of a fluid landscape that cannot be navigated or contained according to traditional methods.

The instability of Faeryland permeates the text. One manifestation of this instability is the physical transformation of the landscape. In the first canto of Book One, Una and Redcross become lost in the aptly-named Wandering Wood when the forest mutates. Spenser writes,

> When weening to returne, whence they did stray,
> They cannot finde that path, which first was showne,
> But wander too and fro in waies vnknowne,
> Furthest from end then, when they neerest weene,
> That makes them doubt, their wits be not their owne:
> So many pathes, so many turnings seene,
> That which of them to take, in diuerse doubt they been. (I.i.10.3-9)[15]

When Una and Red Cross first encounter the Wandering Wood, it appears unthreatening, marked by "pathes and alleies wide, / With footing worne, and leading inward farr" (7.7-8). These wide, worn paths indicate heavy foot passage through the woods, and imply that the Wandering Wood is safe for travelers. Accordingly, Una and Redcross judge the woods "Faire harbour," and take refuge beneath the trees' thick canopy (7.9). It is surprising, then, that such a welcoming landscape is capable of becoming so ominous, so quickly.[16] Well-worn paths disappear, and a space that "seemes" safe in Stanza Seven (ibid.) is instantaneously rendered "vnknowne and wilde" (12.3). This indicates the unpredictable and unidentifiable nature of space in *The Faerie Queene*. Moreover, the uniquely material nature of the Wandering Wood's mutation suggests that Faeryland's transformations play out in the experienced landscape. Topographical features, not just spatial constructs (i.e., socio-political or cultural boundaries) are subject to change in the world of *The Faerie Queene*. This is reinforced by the visual nature of Spenser's description: Una and Redcross were once "showne" safe passage, but countless labyrinthine paths are all that can be "seene" moments later. Spatial mutability is therefore physically and visually manifest, suggesting that change is not just theoretical or hypothetical in Faeryland; it is also written onto the landscape itself.

As a consequence of these changes, Una and Redcross are forced to "wander" aimlessly, subjected to a mode of transportation that defies intent and defines movement through Faeryland. This failure of navigation recalls the popular medieval trope of the errant knight, which Spenser certainly had in mind while writing *The Faerie Queeene*.[17] In medieval (particularly Arthurian) romances, knights wander the countryside in search of adventure, willfully partaking in directionless movement through ill-defined space. In Faeryland, however, un-navigable landscapes are thrust upon all of its inhabitants. In the third canto of Book One, for example,

Spenser describes how Una and the lion press on, "In waies vnknowne, her wandring knight to seeke" (I.iii.21.4). This moment suggests that wandering is not a choice, but a necessary condition in the world of *The Faerie Queene*. Redcross may be a traditional knight errant, but Una also wanders, compelled to move forward through indefinite space despite her pursuit of a single goal: revenge against the dragon that evicted her family.[18] In one respect, this can be read as a component of Spenser's allegory (Burlinson and Demaray would likely endorse this argument); Spenser's audiences are apt to learn more if they are forced to follow the missteps of his characters. Yet the nature of wandering is itself significant, and contributes significantly to Spenser's representation of English space in the sixteenth-century.

Because mobility entered England's national consciousness in the late-fourteenth century, at which time it was considered a threat to previously grounded national and regional identities (see Chapters Three and Four), the fact that Spenser's text is saturated with wandering bodies demands attention. Opinions toward movement had certainly changed in the decades since Chaucer and Langland were writing. In the late-sixteenth century, secularized travel narratives flourished.[19] Movement was lauded as a patriotic endeavor to pursue knowledge and achieve transatlantic influence (economic, political, and cultural). It also served as a means by which to reflect on the English condition. Hadfield writes,

> much early modern travel writing and colonial writing was written, in whole or in part, in order to participate in current pressing debates about the nature of society, the limitations of the existing constitution, the means of representing the populace at large, the relative distribution of power within the body politic, fear of foreign influences undermining English/British independence, the need to combat the

> success of other rival nations, religious toleration and persecution, and the protection of individual liberty.[20]

Travel was therefore very much an intellectual and imperial pursuit that allowed the English to learn about their world while simultaneously defining their place within it. Traveling for the purposes of discovery and world-making differed greatly, though, from mere wandering. The latter was both antiquated—a relic of medieval romance—and superfluous, since its futility contradicted the looming tenants of the Enlightenment (which stressed reason as the primary source of legitimacy). Among the countless travel narratives, itineraries, and chorographies published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, none claim to record "wanderings." Even Richard Hakluyt—who seems to use every available term to characterize movement in *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*—divorces his collection from the derogatory term, relying instead on terms that are clearly underwritten by a purpose: mathematics and cartography (*navigations*), adventure (*voiages*), economics (*traffiques*), and exploration (*discoueries*). The prevalence of wandering in *The Faerie Queene*, then, is a noteworthy inversion of the contemporary norm. By creating an un-navigable world that allegorically represents sixteenth-century England, Spenser challenges the period's obsession with categorizing and subjugating the world (especially prominent among antiquarians), and represents its futility by calling attention to the volatility of space. He suggests that those who claim to navigate new worlds are really only wandering through capricious landscapes.

Beyond characterizing Faeryland as intrinsically unstable, Spenser also demonstrates how man's interaction with the landscape amplifies geographical instability. Calling on sixteenth-century theories regarding the relationship between minds, bodies, and landscapes, he suggests

that when characters wander through space, they influence the environments through which they pass. Particularly in Book Two, the early modern subject poses a unique threat to the concept of geographical fixity and the landscape's ability to contain national/regional identities by corporeally and cognitively transforming Faeryland.[21] I will examine each of these transformations in turn, beginning with man's corporeal influence, since the body's interaction with and sensation of the physical world informed the mind's subsequent creation of cognitive landscapes.

Corporeal Landscapes

The body's relationship with space depended largely on Galenic theories (on which 590 treatises were published between 1500 and 1600), which proposed that physical health and mental disposition relied on the balance of four humoral fluids: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.[22] These fluids interacted reciprocally with the material world—their balance was affected by environmental qualities, and their liquidity allowed them to saturate the physical landscape. Spenser stages both of these interactions in *The Faerie Queene*, using the latter to demonstrate how human bodies affect spatial categories.[23] He also alerts audiences to the fact that bodily interactions with space depend largely on reflexive events rather than mindful action, suggesting that humoral exchange must be placed within a larger dialogue of cognition in order to realize man's agency and the power of the imagination.

The Bower of Bliss episode is one of the most notorious representations of humoral exchange in *The Faerie Queene*, wherein fluids pass from Verdant's body to the physical landscape. Verdant's "bedewed" lips, "humid" eyes, and cold, moist body leak into the "waters"

of the Bower (II.xii.73.6-7, 71.6, 7), expressing Verdant's porousness, "as moisture passes not only between Acrasia and himself, but also between his body and the environment."[24] Yet while Verdant's body *interacts with* the landscape, it does not consciously *act on* physical space. Spenser underscores this fact by characterizing the exchange in terms of liquids' unregulated passage across membranes. Although Verdant partakes in one of the six nonnaturals (sleep), which presumably indicates personal agency, Spenser repeatedly undermines his agency and demonstrates his inability to regulate the passage of liquids from his body to the landscape. Verdant's sleep is enforced, not chosen, and Acrasia has sucked his "spright" from his body (73.7), removing any possibility of thoughtful action from his hollow remains. Verdant's subjectivity has essentially been "ra'st" (80.4), like the markings on his shield that now stand as "old moniments" to his past life (80.3).

Similar interactions occur throughout Book Two. Three moments of liquidity in particular—the spilling of Amavia's blood (Canto One), the anonymous nymph's tears (Canto Two), and Belphoebe's sweat (Canto Three)—demonstrate how bodily excretions interact, unregulated, with the outside world to alter the physical landscape. To take one of these episodes as an example, Spenser writes of Amavia's death,

> From [her beast] forth gusht a stream of goreblood thick,
> That all her goodly garments staind arownd,
> And into a deepe sanguine dide the grassy grownd.
> Pitifull spectacle of deadly smart,
> Beside a bubling fountaine low she lay,
> Which shee increased with her bleeding hart,
> And the cleane waues with purple gore did ray. (II.i.39.7-40.4)

In this episode, Amavia's humors literally spill out of her body and stain the landscape a new color ("deepe sanguine" or "purple"). As a consequence of this liquefaction, her humors commingle with Faeryland's monuments, mixing with the "bubling fountain" nearby, whose waves her blood "increase[s]." Paster critiques this moment in detail, arguing that "Amavia, dissolving into death, dissolves into landscape, moves away from being a wife and mother, part of a human family, and is taken up into the ecological chain of natural analogies that Spenser has so carefully constructed for her and that he uses in order to place her death in a natural and cosmological paradigm."[25] Amavia's body, then, stains the landscape as part of the natural exchange between humoral bodies and geographical spaces; she cannot help but surrender to the ecological exchange in which her body partakes.[26]

These episodes represent bodies as reflexive entities, whose fluids pass indiscriminately from inside to outside. Rather than attributing agency to bodies, then, Spenser characterizes them in a way that positions them within a larger discourse of cognition: bodies are passive receivers and transmitters of humoral stimuli that initiate cognitive processes. In other words, bodies mediate between the material world and the mind—their interactions with the landscape trigger cognition by sending the mind environmental data. The following section demonstrates how this data is transformed into cognitive landscapes, which I argue are at the center of Spenser's "Book of Temperance."

Cognitive Landscapes

Studies of the relationship between minds, bodies, and the landscape tend to favor the body over the mind. Perhaps because it is so captivatingly foreign, and is therefore instinctively associated

with foreign places and times, Galenic and Hippocratic doctrine has dominated scholarship on the relationship between early modern subjects and space.[27] It is important not to lose sight of the mind's work on physical landscapes, though, and how this work produces a new type of landscape that serves as a testament to man's creative imagination, and his likeness to God.

Some scholarship has begun to acknowledge the role of the mind in defining the early modern world. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett Sullivan observe four ways in which the body interacts with space: similitude, exchange, counteractive, and dispersion/distribution, the last of which occurs when the passions "suffuse an environment and capture a number of subjects within a given field, forming… an 'affective landscape.'"[28] This model of interaction acknowledges the role of cognition in the relationship between subjects and their environments. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan write, "emotion *and thought* are fundamentally intersubjective, with both bodies and environment registering their effects in ways that stretch [body-environment] dualism to its limits," but the dispersion/distribution model remains committed to an *embodied* mind, subordinate to the humors and passions of the body.[29] While thought partakes in the exchange between bodies and their environments, the mind is disallowed agency.

John Sutton focuses more explicitly on the mind in his article "Spongy Brains and Material Memories," in which he argues that identity was naturally hybrid and volatile because the mind, body, and space interacted indiscriminately. As a consequence of this volatility, he suggests the mind tried to generate stability by interacting with the external world. He writes, "cognitive order and stability were not natural to the isolated brain, but were integrative achievements often distributed over tools and other people as well as the unstable nervous system. It's just *because* the humors and the animal spirits… are naturally fleeting and inconstant that we coopt exograms and other external props." [30] By identifying the mind's use of external

symbol systems to make sense of the world, Sutton comes closer than any of his colleagues to identifying the cognitive processes that informed poetic treatments of landscape in the early modern period.[31] But by suggesting that our bodies and minds are likewise "*contaminated* by the material supplements and cognitive prostheses which we incessantly internalize," he implies the mind's lack of control over these symbols.[32] Furthermore, in a discussion of symbols common to Renaissance cognition, Sutton identifies clothing as a material source of memory that "molded" the wearer's identity.[33] In so doing, he prioritizes the material world's influence on the embodied mind, rather than the mind's influence on the material world: the clothing "molds" the wearer. Like Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, he hesitates to grant the mind agency apart from the humoral body and the world it replicates (as microcosm).[34]

Yet early modern treatises on the mind suggest that, beginning in the fifteenth century and lasting through the seventeenth, scholars began to conceive of the mind as an entity *separate* from the body that was capable of interacting with and affecting its environment. Emily Michael writes that although contradicting attitudes surfaced regarding the mind-body link in the Renaissance, the story of the mind was ultimately "that of the progress from general agreement on the harmony of these two [entities] to a common preoccupation with their reputed conflict."[35] Descartes is notorious for examining the mind-body conflict in *Discours de la méthode* (1637) and *Principia philosophiae* (1644), but both Plato and Aristotle conceived of an incorporeal mind centuries earlier, and the fifteenth-century revival of their works engendered an interest in dualism that would radically affect theories on the interaction between the mind and its world.

Marsilio Ficino's (1433-99) translations of Plato were particularly influential to Renaissance theories of the mind. In his recovery of Plato's oeuvre, Ficino provides a history of the human mind that narrates its original perfection and its later imprisonment as a consequence

of man's desire for earthly things. This history depends on an original distinction between mind and body: the mind precedes the body, and is only entrapped by the body while it remains committed to material goods. According to Ficino's translation of and commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus,* this mind-body separation allowed for the mind to "fly back to heaven on two wings, the virtues of wisdom and justice, virtues which exemplify contemplation and moral conduct. The philosopher's mind can regain these wings, and through their recovery the soul is separated from the body."[36] This theory grants unprecedented agency to the mind; even when the mind is imprisoned by the body, it is a separate entity that struggles to escape its confines through moral contemplation. This action, which occurs independently of the body, is what will eventually free the mind from its bodily prison.

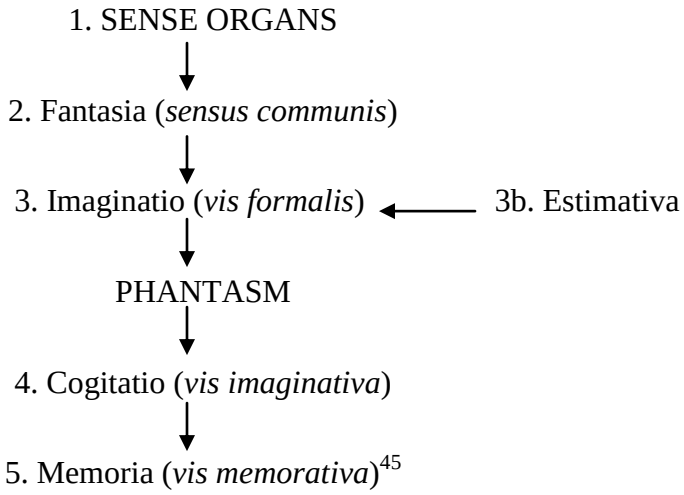
To achieve a level of understanding that will indefinitely divorce the mind from the body, early modern scholars insisted that the mind must contemplate God's creations. One of the most influential philosophers of the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa (1401-64, hereafter Cusanus), argues, "Since God cannot be grasped by a finite mind, human beings know about divine things only through symbols, metaphors, and enigmas. But even the best of these symbols and images… are mere likenesses or simulacra that bear no true proportion to their divine model."[37] He continues to suggest that, through contemplation, the mind is capable of recognizing these symbols as simulacra. This recognition then awakens the mind to the existence of an unknowable divinity—the creative force behind the simulacra—even if it must accept its ignorance of this divinity. Because the body is incapable of recognizing artifice or identifying the creative power behind it (especially if this power cannot be sensed), the mind's ability to perceive God's creations as shadows of divine nature distinguishes it from the body. Plato attributes this cognitive process to the mind's inherent knowledge of God. He writes, "we remember what we

knew before when we existed outside the prison of the body. The mind (*animus*) is fired by this memory and, shaking its wings, by degrees purges itself from contact with the body and its filth and becomes wholly possessed by divine frenzy."[38]

Although this knowledge ultimately divorces the mind from the physical world, it also depends on the interaction between these two entities. Plato writes, "the proper activities connected with knowledge, desire and practical action [were] directed at 'objects' beyond the self."[39] According to Ficino, Cusanus, and their contemporaries, the world was the most potent object with which man could interact. It stood as a symbol of God's divinity: an omnipresent reminder of his creation. By contemplating the landscape, man could recognize the existence God, even if he remained ignorant of Him. This contemplation also sparked a sequence of mnemonic processes that produced unique doubles of the physical landscape, which linked men to God as creators of symbolic space. I call such doubles "cognitive landscapes."

These mnemonic processes were first articulated by Aristotle, whose *Parva naturalia* informed theories of memory through the seventeenth century.[40] In the sixteenth century, for example, his *de Anima* was translated into numerous Latin editions and became required reading for university students.[41] This text posited that memory creation was a five-step process, represented below in diagrammatic form. As the diagram illustrates, memory creation begins with the *sense organs* (1), which sense or perceive impressions of the external world. The body is central to this step, since it accumulates sensations and internalizes the humors of its geographical space.[42] These bodily impressions are then sent from the sense organs to the *fantasia* (2), which receives and combines impressions received from independent organs.[43] In the third step the *imaginatio* (3) fuses these combined impressions into a single mental image relevant to the external object being sensed or received, and an individual's belief acts upon this

mental image (3b) to create *phantasms*: mental images composed of likeness (*formalis*) and belief (*estimativa*). These phantasms, the central elements of memory construction, are then acted upon by the *cogitatio* (4), which transforms the phantasms into concepts by fusing and separating assorted phantasms. Finally, the concepts are retained and recollected by *memoria* (5).[44]


[45]

Steps 3 and 3b are particularly relevant to the creation of cognitive landscapes in Spenser's *The Faeire Queene*. These steps insist that any object a subject perceives—including space—is acted upon by his belief (*estimativa*), which is a product of his individual life experiences. The object then becomes an affective representation of physical reality (or *phantasm*), the nature of which depends entirely on the viewing subject. These phantasms are the foundational units of Spenser's cognitive landscapes, particularly because when representing physical spaces, they can serve as frames (or *schemata*) for mnemonic devices—spaces in which memories of a certain type can be arranged. Early modern mnemonic theory substantiated this conversion of physical spaces into cognitive spaces that were capable of containing memories. Regarding memory-recall in the Renaissance, Garrett Sullivan writes,

> recollection… is often tied to and arises out of place; the contents of our memories are recalled not merely through an act of will, but also through the effects of both *physical locations* and our own actions, habitual or otherwise, on the operations of our minds…. More broadly, mind itself can be thought of as something that extends beyond "skin and skull"—as an engagement with the environment in which that environment plays an "active role… in driving cognitive processes."[46]

Space was therefore fundamental to memory-making processes.[47] Both ontological places and their cognitive counterparts provided templates in which to store memories, eroding the distinction between an individual's mind and the environment it inhabited. As the modern theorist Andy Clark writes, the mind "is a leaky organ, forever escaping its 'natural' confines and mingling shamelessly with body and world."[48]

While domestic and familiar schemata (a Roman villa, for example) were preferred sites for memory storage in antiquity, these were later replaced by more fantastic spaces, indicating an increased interest in the image-making potential of the mind. One such fantastic space was the allegorical landscape. In Hugh of St Victor's *De arca Noe mystica* (1125-30), for example, Hugh depicts Noah's ark as an element of the physical landscape in which memory can be stored.[49] This document is highly visual, depending on its readers to envision the diagram it describes in order to reach an understanding of the Christian Church. In this schema, the length of the Ark corresponds to the history of the Church since the beginning of time, the corners of the Ark correspond to states of vice, and ladders in each corner correspond to stages of ascent toward virtue. Hugh of St Victor writes,

> Now let us turn to the allegory of the ladders. For those ascending from the cold of the east the first ladder is fear; the second, grief; the third; love. For those ascending from the cold of the west the first ladder is thought; the second, meditation; the third, contemplation. For those ascending from the warmth of the west the first ladder is patience; the second, mercy; and the third, remorse…. For those ascending from the warmth of the east, the first ladder is moderation; the second, wisdom; the third, strength. These four virtues have been *drawn* in their places. I make the four corners correspond to the four parts of the world, from which the elect of God come to ascend to the prize of heavenly reward… the warmth of the east is spiritual fervor, the cold of the east is the swelling of pride. The warmth of the west is the lust of the flesh, the cold of the west is the blindness of ignorance. (8.21, my emphasis)[50]

In this passage, Hugh of St Victor emphasizes the visual nature of the schema he is creating. The four virtues are "drawn" in the four corners of the ark, represented by ladders that lead out of the four sins (fervor, pride, lust, and ignorance).[51] By visualizing Noah's Ark in this way, and describing what its architectural details represent, Hugh offers his readers a means by which to better comprehend and remember the steps they must take to reach eternal salvation. Without this mnemonic technique, it would be difficult to recall such meticulous tropological detail regarding the ascent from sin.

In addition to organizing Christian doctrine, this schema functions as a space in which individuals can locate themselves according to their moral condition, and determine how they must improve in order to reach heaven. The ark is therefore subject to the identities of countless viewers—it is a landscape feature into which individuals insert themselves to map their Christian

progress, the exact nature of which changes depending on the viewing subject. As individuals climb the ladders that represent their geographical climates (and therefore their bodies' humors), the schema reveals new doctrine and brings them closer to salvation. In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser dramatizes this function by demonstrating how personal identity can be contained by cognitive schemata, and then projected onto the physical spaces that originally inspired the schemata. Spenser's characters register Faeryland's landscape with their corporeal bodies, internalize and saturate it with their own beliefs to create a schema that reflects their identities, and then project that schema back onto the physical landscape—overwriting the land with a subjective view of space that depends more on the individual inhabiting it that the ontological space itself.[52]

Although Spenser certainly allows for the influence of leaky bodies on Faeryland, in Book Two he demonstrates that *leaky minds* are equally capable of affecting the landscape. This theory is articulated in the opening lines of Book Two, which I will quote at length here:

> Right well I wote most mighty Soueraine,
> That all this famous antique history,
> Of some th'aboundance of an *ydle braine*
> Will iudged be, and painted forgery,
> *Rather then matter of iust memory*,
> Sith none, that breatheth liuing aire, does know,
> Where is that happy land of Faery,
> Which I so much doe vaunt, yet no where show,
> But vouch antiquities, which *no body* can know.
> But let that man with better sence aduize,

That of the world least part to vs is *red*:

And daily how through hardy enterprize

Many great Regions are discouered,

Which to late age were neuer mentioned.

Who eyer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?

Or who in venturous vessell measured

The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?

Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew? (II.Pr.1-2, my emphasis)

This passage prefigures the volatile landscapes that define Guyon's and Arthur's journey through Faeryland, and lays the groundwork for a cognitive approach to physical space. First, offering Peru, the Nile, and Virginia as examples, Spenser suggests that the failure to know places does not preclude their existence. Many scholars have discussed this assertion in the context of sixteenth-century exploration/cartography, but Spenser's claim also echoes early modern cognitive theories.[53] Just as Cusanus argues that recognizing one's ignorance of God is the first step toward knowing God, Spenser posits that recognizing the existence of unknowable places is the first step toward understanding these places (including Faeryland). Following Cusanus, Spenser also locates this knowledge distinctly in the mind, insisting that "no *body* can know" the land of Faery. This specification divorces the mind from the body, and critiques the body's inability to comprehend objects that it has not sensed. To these ends, Spenser repeatedly disparages the artificial nature of corporeal sensations. He asks, "Why… should witlesse man so much misweene / That nothing is but that which he hath seene?" (II.Pr.3.4-5), and encourages man to "yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace" (4.4). In these passages, bodily knowledge is disregarded because it cannot comprehend the existence of things beyond its immediate frame of

reference. The multiplicity of material objects and the creative forces that they symbolize remain hidden to corporeal man.

Instead, Spenser locates knowledge of the unknown in the mind. First, he implicitly allows for cognitive agency by divorcing his work from idle brains; if *The Faerie Queene* is not the product of an "ydle brain," it must instead be the product of an active one. He then associates the mind's agency with "iust memory," which he uses to reify Faeryland for his sovereign audience (II.Pr.1.5). While Hamilton's gloss of "iust memory" as "true record" serves Spenser's intent—true records would presumably confirm Faeryland's existence—this interpretation overlooks the nuances of sixteenth-century mnemonics. For early modern readers, memory did not simply replicate and regurgitate facts about the physical world; it created innovative and subjective *concepts* by fusing symbols and individual belief. By suggesting that Faeryland is real because it is a matter of "iust memory," then, Spenser grants reality to these *concepts*—not necessarily to a tangible place—and suggests that they can affect our understanding of space in the same way as recorded exploration and sensation. Readers may not have experienced Faeryland themselves, but it remains a very real product of cognition: a concept that cannot be sensed but can nevertheless influence and instruct mankind.

By relocating Faeryland to the realm of cognition, Spenser allows us to read the landscapes of Book Two as projections of individual characters' minds. The Cave of Mammon is one such landscape. Prior to Guyon's tour, the Cave is rendered unstable through its interaction with physical bodies. Like the Bower of Bliss and the landscape saturated with Amavia's blood, Mammon's Cave interacts freely with the permeable bodies that inhabit it. Calling on discourses of spatial and bodily fluidity, Mammon declares,

> Riches, renowme, and principality,

Honour, estate, and all this worldes good,

For which men swinck and sweat incessantly,

Fro me do flow into an ample flood,

And in the hollow earth haue their eternall brood. (II.vii.8.5-9)

Here Mammon's body literally leaks into the hollow earth, inscribing it with the "eye-glutting gaine" that tempts the Cave's residents (II.vii.9.8). By suggesting that these floods witll then "haue their eternall brood," Mammon also invokes the rhetoric of birthing, infusing the passage with additional corporeal leakage. This liquidity catalyzes the mnemonic process, removing barriers between bodies and space, and thereby amplifying the body's ability to sense and appropriate geographical humors.

This passage also subtly prefigures Guyon's creation of a cognitive landscape in the Cave of Mammon episode. Throughout his exchange with Guyon, Mammon figures himself a god. He declares, "Hardy Elfe… / I read thee rash, and heedlesse of thy selfe, / To trouble my still seate, and heapes of pretious pelfe. / God of the world and worldlings I me call, / Great *Mammon*, greatest god below the sky" (II.vii.7.6-8.2). As a god, Mammon asks to be recognized as the creative force behind the physical landscape. Just as Earth's physical landscape symbolizes God (the unknown power behind its creation), Mammon insists that Faeryland's landscape symbolizes his own creative power. In so doing, he perverts the idea of landscapes as divine simulacra; his physical presence in the landscape renders symbolic representations of his being unnecessary. Nonetheless, by setting himself up as a divine creator (even if his creative process is the mere leakage of bodily humors into space), he anticipates Guyon's creation of a cognitive landscape—a creative process that becomes integral to Spenser's instruction of mankind in Book Two.

The meaningful nuances of Mammon's Cave as a cognitive space emerge when Guyon is introduced to the Cave. Just before Guyon crosses the threshold into Hell (Stanza 26) we are told, "th'Elfin knight with wonder all the way / Did feed his eyes, and *fild his inner thought*" (II.vii.24.3-4, my emphasis). Here Guyon internalizes the physical landscape (a liquefaction of Mammon himself), and subjects it to the mnemonic processes that convert physical landscapes to cognitive landscapes. The physical space that was transformed by Mammon's leaky body doubles, entering Guyon's mind and mingling with elements of his subjectivity. What Spenser presents us, as his audience, is a poetic representation of this affective space. In the idiom of mnemonic processes, it is a phantasm built from Guyon's bodily interaction with Mammon's Cave (his sensation of the physical environment) and his perceptions/belief, projected back onto physical space where it can be "read" (II.Pr.2.2) by Guyon and Spenserian audiences alike. On this subjective process, Judith Anderson writes, "in varying degrees… fairy landscapes begin to lose their objective status. Their truths become more subjective and more relative to one person than before."[54]

The registry of Mammon's Cave in Guyon's inner thought signifies his mind's conversion of the Cave into an *impression* of physical space. From this point forward, the Cave operates as a schema—a cognitive landscape that is saturated with Guyon's belief according to the operation of *estimativa* (step 3b in Aristotle's model). As a consequence of this saturation, one would expect the landscape to become less threatening; Guyon's temperance ought to dull the superfluity that defined Mammon's Cave in its original iteration (i.e., as a physical landscape preceding Guyon's cognition). Yet the Cave's dangers seem to be amplified in his mind. This is a consequence of Guyon's susceptibility to the temptations of wealth and avarice. We learn very early in the Cave of Mammon episode that—contrary to his proclaimed "great rule of

Temp'raunce" (II.Pr.5.9)—Guyon is actually vulnerable to the allure of riches. In Stanza Ten, Guyon tells Mammon,

> Me ill besits, that in derdoing armes,
> And honours suit my vowed daies do spend,
> Vnto they bounteous baytes, and pleasing charmes,
> With which weake men thou witchest, to attend:
> Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend,
> And low abase the high hoericke spright,
> That ioyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;
> Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight:
> Those be the riches fit for an aduent'rous knight. (II.vii.10)

Although he claims to hold no value in "worldly mucke," Guyon fights for crowns and kingdoms, and delights in knightly "riches" that are "faire," "gay," and "bright." In context, these three attributes are remarkably physical, suggesting that Guyon is inspired by the material qualities of knightly accoutrement. Moreover, in a later passage Guyon tempers his rejection of Mammon's riches, suggesting that he does not reject them because he is impervious to the allure of wealth, but instead because "Me list not… receaue / Thing offred, till I know it well be gott" (II.vii.19.1-2). At one point, Guyon even candidly admits his vulnerability to the Cave's bounty, declaring himself "fraile flesh and earthly wight" (50.3).

The Cave's temptations are therefore reified because Guyon has no internalized defense against them; he is not mentally prepared to combat avarice. In other words, because his mind perceives components of the physical landscape as threats, they manifest as such in the cognitive landscape (a product of his impressions and beliefs). Although Guyon's temperance protects him

from some sins, rendering certain spaces devoid of immoral enticements—the Bower of Bliss, for example—he is defenseless when faced with material reward.[55] Guyon's susceptibility to the magnetism of riches therefore defines the space of Mammon's Cave; his fear materializes as tangible threats in the cognitive landscape.

The most potent manifestation of this fear is the fiend that follows Guyon throughout his underground journey. Spenser describes the fiend's appearance as follows:

> Soone as [Guyon] entred was, the dore streight way
> Did shutt, and from behind it forth there lept
> An vgly feend, more fowle then dismall day,
> The which with monstrous stalke behind him stept,
> And euer as he went, dew watch vpon him kept. (II.vii.26.5-9)

The sudden appearance of this monster is suspicious—it does not appear to be a natural inhabitant of the Cave. Instead, it seems to materialize upon Guyon's introduction to the space, which suggests it is more likely a cognitive projection than a corporeal inhabitant of the physical world. Moreover, the fiend is indelibly linked to Guyon throughout the episode, following Guyon like a shadow as he explores the Cave's chambers. This constant proximity, paired with the fact that the fiend interacts exclusively with Guyon, allows the fiend to be read as a projection of what Guyon fears he could become. It is a sinister double, reified in the cognitive landscape as a consequence of *estimativa*; Guyon believes that he can fall to avarice, and that belief occupies his impression of Mammon's Cave.

A second instance in which Guyon's identity plays out in the cognitive landscape occurs when he witnesses and interacts with Tantalus. Many figures occupy Mammon's Cave, but Tantalus is the only character to whom Spenser devotes three full stanzas. This rigorous

treatment highlights the many ways in which Tantalus reflects Guyon. First, he is a corporeal manifestation of Guyon's physical condition, which deteriorates as a consequence of his descent into Mammon's Cave. In Stanza 58, Tantalus is described as "steru'd with hunger, and with drouth / he daily dyde, yet neuer throughly dyen couth" (II.vii.58.8-9). Only five stanzas later, we discover that this is precise condition of Guyon's body:

> And now he has so long remained [in Mammon's Cave],
> That vitall powres gan wexe both weake and wan,
> For want of food, and sleepe, which two vpbeare,
> Like mightie pillours, this frayle life of man,
> That none without the same enduren can. (65.1-3)

Tantalus's starvation therefore serves as a manifestation of Guyon's growing hunger. It is as if Guyon's consciousness populates the cognitive landscape with characters that exemplify substantive threats to Guyon's physical and mental condition. Moreover, Tantalus's "daily [death]" anticipates Guyon's eventual faint. Like Tantalus, Guyon experiences an indefinite death toward the close of his adventure in Mammon's Cave. Spenser writes, "The life did flit away out of her nest / And all his sences were with deadly fit opprest" (66.8-9), but the following canto confirms that Guyon has simply passed out. His near-death is therefore accurately represented by Tantalus's liminal state.

Second, Tantalus acts as a projection of Guyon's moral values. He lives in a constant state of starvation, unable to eat or drink despite his efforts to do so. Upon observing this, Guyon declares that Tantalus ought to "Ensample be of mind more temperate, / To teach them how to vse their present state" (II.vii.60.4-5). Here Guyon projects his own defining quality (temperance) into a body that ceaselessly *resists* being tempered. Tantalus "did often thinke / To

reach the fruit which grew vpon the brincke," and he deems himself "Most cursed of all creatures vnder skye" because he fails to reach the fruit (58.4-5, 59.4). Once Tantalus is appropriated by Guyon's cognitive landscape, though, his autonomy is overwhelmed by Guyon's character traits. He becomes a likeness of Guyon—conceived according to Guyon's beliefs and values, which reconfigure his wretchedness as a positive manifestation of temperate living.

Throughout the Cave of Mammon episode, then, elements of the landscape are exposed as projections of Guyon's identity. His bodily sensations of the Cave are appropriated by his mind, where mnemonic processes produce an entirely new and distinct space that depends on Guyon as the perceiving subject. As a consequence of this creative process, Mammon's Cave is transformed from an ontological reality to a subjective idea. Guyon's belief and perception cast subject-dependent meanings into the landscape, and litter it with bodies that reflect his greatest fears and temptations. The space that existed prior to Guyon's cognitive processes is therefore erased, replaced with a landscape created in Guyon's likeness.

This transformative process ultimately disallows objectivity, and amplifies the unstable condition of Faeryland's already fluid landscapes. It renders space entirely subject to individual thought, suggesting that how a subject sees and processes space is ultimately what defines it. By demonstrating the impossibility of stable, objective space, Spenser comments on the futility of sixteenth-century attempts to categorize England and Britain, suggesting that cartography and chorography were desperate attempts to contain landscapes according to science and mathematics. In Book Two, he also shows how early modern subjectivity—particularly cognitive invention—contributed significantly to this spatial instability, challenging the landscape's potential to contain national or regional identities (or, for that matter, any form of identity other than that of the individual).

While Spenser's representation of cognitive landscapes in *The Faerie Queene* made representing England/Britain impossible, he nonetheless demonstrates how recognizing the subject's influence on space could be instructive. As Spenser states in his letter to Raleigh, *The Faerie Queene*'s ultimate purpose was to instruct—to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceiued shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historicall fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, then for profite of the ensample."[56] In Book Two, man's ability to fashion cognitive landscapes is central to this "virtuous" instruction. Specifically, beyond establishing the existence of a subjective being capable of consciously interacting with his environment (rather than simply leaking bodily humors into it), Spenser instructs readers of mankind's relationship to God. By staging man's ability to build landscapes, he draws an explicit comparison between mankind and the Divine Creator, whose omnipresence was symbolized by the physical landscapes that he created (and which therefore served as simulacra of divinity). Man's ability to create symbolic space through cognition and mnemonic processes reveals man to be a microcosm not just of the world, but also of God.

For this reason, Spenser emphasizes the mind's interaction with space over the body's throughout Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*. While instructing mankind of his relationship to the world was important, the more virtuous form of instruction regarded his relationship with God. Moreover, because space was volatile—especially in sixteenth century England—man's relationship with God offered a more stable basis for identity than his relationship with the humored landscape. As Burlinson notes, "geographical confusion should encourage us to read the poem as 'a lesson on how to read the signs, not just of landscape, but also of *religion* and literary interpretation.'"[57] One of the most potent of these signs in Book Two is the cognitive

landscape, which—while still grounded in spatial conceits—reveals religious truths regarding mankind.

Nowhere is the importance of cognitive space emphasized more than in the Castle of Alma, a "core icon" of *The Faerie Queene*.[58] In this episode, Spenser literalizes the importance of cognitive space, allowing Guyon (accompanied by Arthur) to move past bodily functions in order to reach the treasures of the thoughtful mind. The sequence begins with an emphasis on the volatility of physical space. By way of introduction, Spenser compares the Castle of Alma to

> that *AEgyptian* slime,
> Whereof king *Nine* whilome build *Babell* tower,
> But O great pitty, that no lenger time
> So goodly workemanship should not endure:
> Soone it must turne to earth; *no earthly thing is sure*. (II.ix.21.5-9)

This passage establishes the temporality of physical landscapes: the Castle is built of slime, which will inevitably fall to ruin. At the outset, then, the physical structure of the Castle is dismissed as imperfect and mortal, suggesting man should not put stock in the material world.

Spenser then discusses the volatility of the material body, underscoring its humoral nature and subordinating it to the cognitive functions that define man as a microcosm of God. Of the many chambers through which Guyon passes, the kitchen and the parlor are treated in the greatest detail. In the allegory of Alma's Castle (where the Castle represents the human body), these two spaces represent the stomach and the heart. The kitchen/stomach is naturally filled with food and drink, resulting in a marked fluidity that culminates in purgation, one of the six nonnaturals. Spenser writes, "all the liquor, which was fowle and waste, / Not good nor seruiceable elles for ought, / They in another great rownd vessell plaste" (II.ix.32.1-3). Likewise,

the parlor/heart is capricious, described in terms of liquidity and the humors. The women that Arthur and Guyon encounter in the parlor are particularly representative of this: Praysdesire's beauty is "spill[ed]" with sadness (37.6); and Shamefastnes is a "fountain" who "too oft… chaung'd her natiue hew," which results in her being "straungely passioned" (43.8, 40.4, 41.9).

The tower, though, which represents the mind in the allegory of Alma's Castle, is separate from the instability of the material world. It is immediately divorced from the physical landscape when Spenser describes it as "lifted high aboue this earthly masse, / Which it suruewd, as hils doen lower ground; / But not on ground mote like to this be found" (II.ix.45.3-5). Beyond literally elevating the tower to a privileged position, this description separates the tower from humoral leakage, which is evoked later in the same stanza when Spenser recalls the "spil[lage]" of Hector's blood (45.8-9). After distinguishing the tower from bodily faculties, Spenser then explains the "wondrous power[s]" contained therein, which "all this other worldes worke doth excell" (47.2-3, again lauding the mind's faculties above those of the body). He describes three powers altogether, which correspond to youth/maturity/old age, future/present/past, and foresight/judgment/memory. The most important of these to the present discussion is memory.

Spenser's description of memory in the Castle of Alma achieves three goals: it continues the narrative of Guyon's projection of onto Faeryland's landscape, stages the creative faculties of memory, and reinforces the relationship between man's creation of cognitive space and God's creation of physical space. First, just as Guyon overwrites Mammon's Cave with a cognitive landscape defined by his personal beliefs, he impacts the memory chamber in Alma's Castle (alternatively called the "house of Temperance" [II.ix.Ar.1], which is itself a reflection of Guyon's defining characteristic). Although the chamber is described objectively as a cluttered space in which items are "lost, or laid amis" (II.ix.58.6), Guyon's entrance precipitates the

appearance of his own ancestors' history. Spenser writes, "Sir *Guyon* chaunst eke on another booke, / That hight, *Antiquitee* of *Faery* lond. / In which… Th'ofspring of Elues and Faryes there he fond" (II.ix.60.1-4). It is suspicious that Guyon "chaun[ces]" upon his personal history so quickly, especially because Eumnestes himself often has difficulty finding certain memories, but the sudden appearance of the *Antiquitee* can be attributed to mnemonic processes. After forming a mental impression of the chamber, Guyon is capable of transforming the space into a mnemonic schema defined by his personal history. In other words, his mind can create a phantasm of his ancestry, which then overwrites objective space so as to be literally "read" by Guyon and Spenser's audience (manifesting in this sequence as a physical book).

Beyond the fact that Guyon is standing in a chamber devoted to memory-making processes, this reading is substantiated by Spenser's emphasis on the transfer of sense impressions from the eye to the mind throughout Canto Nine. Spenser writes of the knights' experience, "with rare delight, / And gazing wonder they their mindes did fill; / For neuer had they seene so straunge a sight" (II.ix.33.2-4). Here, sight feeds the mind, transforming physical wonders into cognitive sustenance. Moreover, Spenser begins his discussion of the tower by describing man's eyes: "Two goodly Beacons, set in watches stead, / Therein gaue light, and flamd continually" (46.3-4). Because memory was considered a visual phenomenon, the eyes were central to memory storage and recollection. In Aristotelian treatises, for example, memories were likened to images (*phantasmata*), and the recollection of memories depended on an individual's ability to 'see' these images in his mind.[59] By emphasizing sight and the organs that allow it, then, Spenser opens the sequence in Eumnestes's chamber to a mnemonic interpretation.

The memory chamber in Alma's Castle also perpetuates memory's creative power. Beyond representing another instance in which Guyon builds a cognitive space, the narrative of

Eumnestes's chamber generates an entirely separate Canto in *The Faerie Queene*, devoted exclusively to the *Antiquitee* and *Briton Moniments* (which relays Arthur's history). Memory is therefore the seat of geographical, personal, and poetic creation; it produces cognitive landscapes, Guyon's identity, and Canto Ten, respectively. This abundance of creation—a true manifestation of agency—is attributed to cognitive processes. Man's potential to build worlds, rather than simply leak into the spaces that God has created, is located in the mind.

The mind therefore allows for comparisons between mankind and God; man imitates God by creating cognitive landscapes in his likeness. Because of this, the mind and the spaces it produces are important emblems for Spenser. Throughout *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser dramatizes the body's humoral interactions with space as a condition of being human, but favors the mind in an attempt to demonstrate how it bring us closer to God. As a function of the mind, mnemonic processes serve this end. Accordingly, Spenser emphasizes "iust memory['s]" power throughout Book Two (II.Pr.1.5). He is particularly explicit on this point in the Castle of Alma episode, writing that Eumnestes's chamber is "firme and strong," and insisting that a "Weake body well is chang'd for minds redoubled forse," where "liuely vigour rest[s]" (II.ix.55.4, 9, 7). He even suggests that subjective memory is more valuable than objective truth. When surveying the memory chamber's contents he describes "old records from auncient times deriud, / Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls, / That were all worm-eaten, and full of canker holes" (57.7-9). These historical records recall the chorographies and travel narratives of the sixteenth century that attempted to make sense of the world. Along with the walls "hangd about with rolls" (57.6), they reproduce the image of an early modern map room, described by Gerogrio Vasari (1511-74) as a spectacle "of all things relating to heaven and earth in one place, without error, so that one could see and measure them together and by themselves."[60] This image

of perfect knowledge is significantly perverted in *The Faerie Queene*, though, by the fact that the documents it contains are "worm-eaten" or "full of holes." The scientific and mathematical order they impose on geography is rendered useless in an unstable and capricious world.

The unstable space that defines Faeryland and reflects sixteenth-century conditions in England is therefore recast as productive space in Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*; the spatial disorder that characterizes the Wandering Wood, and the constant fluctuation between humoral bodies and their environments in Spenser's allegory are shown to be the consequence of man's creative power over the physical spaces he inhabits. By refiguring volatile landscapes as a matter of mnemonic projection—dependent on individual subjects who act in the likeness of God—Spenser realizes man as God's microcosm. Cognitive landscapes are finally the vehicle for this virtuous instruction.

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[1] For more information regarding tense Anglo-Irish relations in the sixteenth century, see John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995); Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: the Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); Art Cosgrove, ed., *A New History of Ireland: Vol. 2, Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

[2] See Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: the Making of the British State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: the Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100*-1300 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990); Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: the Apocalypse, the Union*

and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979); Randald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1974).

[3] See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992), 107-47 for a discussion of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps as representations of royal influence.

[4] It is unclear whether "*cvm*" in the banner indicates the geographical *and political* separation of Ireland from "*Britanniæ Insvlæ*", or just its geographical separation. Separate banners that describe "*Britannia*" and "*Hibernia*" in detail suggest that Ireland may *not* have been considered part of Britain according to Lily. Note, however, that the inclusion of Scotland is not at issue.

[5] Sir Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Camden Society, 1843), 21-3.

[6] Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Matter of Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 599; Bernhard Klein, "Imaginary Journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the Poetics of National Space," *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Fordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 204-223, esp. 219.

[7] Here Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* diverges from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *Piers Plowman*, which attempt to reconcile the evolution from historical to abstract space by finding stability in the physical landscape and poetry, respectively.

[8] Klein, "Imaginary Journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the Poetics of National Space," 218.

[9] Radolph Agas, *A Preparative to Platting of Landes and Tenements for Surueigh* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1596), 6.

[10] Aaron Rathborne, *The Surveyor* (London: W. Burre, 1616), 168.

[11] Joanne Woolway Greenfell, "Do Real Knights Need Maps? Charting Moral, Geographical and Representational Uncertainty in *The Faerie Queene*," *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Fordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 230.

[12] Christopher Burlinson, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 11 (quoting Spenser's *Letter to Raleigh*).

[13] John G. Demaray, *Cosmos and Epic Representation: Dante, Spenser, Milton and the Transformation of Renaissance Heroic Poetry* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne UP, 1991), 91.

[14] Ibid., 89. See also Ronald Horton, *The Unity of* The Faerie Queene (Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 1978); Wayne Erickson, *Mapping* The Faerie Queene: *Quest Structures and the World of the Poem* (New York: Garland, 1996); Clifford Amos, "'Certaine signes' of Faeryland: Spenser's Eden of Thanksgiving on the Defeat of the 'Monstrous Dragon' of Albion's North," *Viator* 32 (2001): 371-415.

[15] All quotations taken from Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), cited by book, canto, stanza, and line.

[16] I will address *why* Faeryland's landscapes are so volatile later in this chapter.

[17] See, for example, his reference to Arthurian legend in the *Letter to Raleigh* (11ff.).

[18] One could argue that Redcross is also committed to this single goal, but he is motivated by a desire to win Gloriana's grace, "Which of all earthly things he most did craue" (I.i.3.5), rather than revenge. The text never implies that Redcross must defeat the dragon in order to achieve this goal, and the conclusion of Book One actually implies just the opposite; immediately after he defeats the dragon and becomes engaged to Una, Redcross must leave to serve Gloriana. Spenser writes, "Yet swimming in that sea of blisfull ioy, / He nought forgot, how he whilome

had sworne, / In case he could that monstrous beast destroy, / Vnto his Faery Queene backe to retourne: / The which he shortly did, and Vna left to mourne" (I.xii.41.5-9).

[19] Through the fifteenth century, travel narratives focused primarily on pilgrimage and the desire to define England's place in a distinctly Christian world (see, for example, Mandeville's *Travels*). In the sixteenth century, travel was secularized, resulting in narratives that considered the culture, politics, and economic value of foreign spaces rather than their religious practice.

[20] Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 12.

[21] For a discussion of the early modern subject, see Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1999); Cynthia Marshall, *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity, and Early Modern Texts* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002); and Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning: From Moore to Shakespeare* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2005).

[22] Andrew Wear, "Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700," in *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BD to AD 1800*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 253. See also Oswei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithica, NY: Cornell UP, 1973); Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990).

[23] The former is notoriously manifest in the Bower of Bliss episode. The rituals that define the Bower all depend on the exchange of fluids. Agdistes (the gatekeeper) welcomes individuals to the Bower with "a mighty Mazer bowle of wine," which looks "As if it had to him bene sacrifide" (II.xii.49.3-4, where line 4 suggests blood sacrifice, thereby adding to the fluidity of the scene); and Excesse greets strangers with "sappy liquor, that with fulnesse sweld" (56.2-3).

These fluids—the wine and the liquor—not only feed the rituals that define the space of the Bower; they also commingle with the landscape, spilling from their containers and "stain[ing] all the lond" (57.5), imbuing the supposedly temperate climate with a distinct moistness. This environmental moisture is then reflected by Verdant, Acrasia's lover, who exhibits phlegmatic characteristics in the Bower. Though we know little of Verdant's natural humor, in the Bower he is lifeless, content with social, heroic, and even physical stasis. He is so motionless, in fact, that his sleeping body is figured as part of the landscape, hairs growing on his lip like "silken blossoms" in the Bower (79.8-9).

[24] Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., "Introduction," *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 2.

[25] Gail Kern Paster, "Becoming the Landscape: The Ecology of the Passions in the Legend of Temperance," *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 143.

[26] The leaky bodies of Verdant and Amavia captivatingly prefigure the fluid landscape of Book Four, in which the anthropomorphized Thames and Medway marry, and the relocation of their embodied wedding guests destabilizes traditional landscapes. By anthropomorphizing the rivers, Spenser literalizes the liquidity of the exchange between embodied subjects and physical environments. The rivers—*literal* bodies of water—are moved to Rochester, where they influence the city's physical landscape and its place in the unification of Britain. They contribute a new narrative of English identity that depends on the interaction between English, Irish, and Scottish entities, which collectively saturate a single plot of land.

[27] See, for example, Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*; David Hillman, "Visceral Knowledge," *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge 1997); Gail Kern Paster, "Nervous Tension," *The Body in Parts*. For arguments that unite physiological and psychological functions (a relationship that will be explored further below), see Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York: Harper, 2005); Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979); Wallace I. Matson, "Why Isn't the Mind-Body Problem Ancient?" *Mind, Matter, and Method*, ed. Paul Feyerabend and Grover Maxwell (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 1966), 92-102.

[28] Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, 6. See also Sullivan, "Romance, Sleep, and the Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Old Arcadia*," *ELH* 74 (2004): 735-57. In his 2004 article, Sullivan argues that "the passions can be seen as generating fields of affective energy that both envelop and *re-or de-constitute* the individual subject" (735). This reading de-prioritizes the human mind and disallows for the presence of an independently-thinking subject (contrary to early modern theories that argue the mind is an agent distinct from the body). While Sullivan's arguments regarding the *body* hold, he overlooks important discourses regarding the cognitive mind—including those of Ficino and Cusanus—and their relevance to the interaction between early modern subjects physical landscapes.

[29] Ibid., 6, my emphasis.

[30] John Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories," *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 16.

[31] In a discussion of allegory Maureen Quilligan argues that characters and actions in allegorical narratives often display aspects of the protagonists' psychological state, but characters' cognitive influence on *the landscape* is largely unexplored. See *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre*, (Ithica, NY: Cornell UP, 1992).

[32] John Sutton, "Porous Memory and the Cognitive Life of Things," *Prefiguring Cyberculture: An Intellectual History*, eds. Darren Tofts, AnneMarie Jonson, and Alessio Cavallaro (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), my emphasis.

[33] Sutton, "Spongy Brains and Material Memories," 24.

[34] Gail Kern Paster likewise argues that "Psychological self-sameness presupposes disembodied consciousness, not the humoral subject's full immersion in and continuous interaction with a constantly changing natural and cultural environment" (*Humoring the Body*, 60). See also Caterina Albano, "Visible Bodies: Cartography and Anatomy," *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Fordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 89-106. Even Mary Thomas Crane, who articulates the absence of cognitive studies in early modern studies, focuses on an *embodied* mind. She writes, "It is this failure to think about the brain that prevents most contemporary accounts of subject formation in the body from noting that just as surely as discourse shapes bodily experience and social interactions shape the material structures of the brain, the *embodied* brain shapes discourse." (*Shakespeare's Brain*: *Reading with Cognitivie Theory* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001], 7, my emphasis).

[35] Emily Michael, "Renaissance Theories of Body, Soul, and Mind," *Psyche and Soma: Physicians and Metaphysisicians on the Mind-Body Problem from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, eds. John Wright and Paul Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 147.

[36] Paul S. Macdonald, *History of the Concept of the Mind*: *Speculations about Soul, Mind and Spirit from Homer to Hume*, vol. 1 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 220.

[37] Nicolai de Cusa, "Apologia doctae ignorantiae," *Opera Omnia*, ed. Raymond Klibansky (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1932). English translation provided by Macdonald, 215.

[38] Macdonald, 220.

[39] Ibid., 221.

[40] Paul Oskar Kristeller observes the continuity of mnemonic theory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance in *Renaissance Concepts of Man and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 115.

[41] Brian Copenhaver and Chalres Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), 77-92.

[42] The environment's effects on the body depend on the influence of air, one of the six "nonnaturals," on humoral balances. According to Hippocratic theory, the air an individual breathed was capable of altering his humors. Specifically, the quality of the atmosphere would define whether one's humors were primarily wet or dry, hot or cold. Hippocrates observes of the Scythians, who lived in a cold and wet environment, "The body cannot become hardened where there are such small variations in climate; the mind, too, becomes sluggish… their bodies are heavy and fleshy… they are watery and relaxed. The cavities of their body are extremely moist… under such climactic conditions, the bowels cannot be dry" (Hippocrates, "Air, Waters, and Places," *Hippocratic Writings*, trans. J. Chadwick and W.N. Mann, ed. G.E.R. Loyd [New York: Penguin, 1978], 165). Similarly, in *The Examination of Men's Wits* (1584), Spenser's contemporary Jean Huarte writes of the Egyptians, "in this region [Egypt], the sunne yeeldeth a feruent heat: and therefore the inhabitants have their brain dried, and choler adust… the much

heat of the country rosteth the substance of these members and wrieth them, as it draweth together a peece of leather set by the fire; and for the same cause, their haire curleth, and themselves also are wily" (Jean Huarte, *The Examinaion of Men's Wits*, trans. Richard Carew [Gainesville, FL: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1959], 188). In both cases, the nature of the environment is appropriated by the bodies that inhabit it. Where the body is located geographically directly influences that body's humoral condition.

[43] At this point in the mnemonic process, the landscape becomes a cognitive construct separate from the sense organs and the physical world: immaterial and disembodied. In this form, the landscape is acted upon exclusively by the mind—distinct from the body, humors, and passions—resulting in the creation of schema that represents the thinking subject.

[44] This explanation is adopted from Breckenridge, "Cognitive Discoveries and Constructed Mindscapes: Reading the Grail Castle as a Mnemonic Device," *MLR* 106.4 (2011): 1034-53, esp. 1036. For a more nuanced discussion of the memory-making process see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 60-8.

[45] In this diagram, the parenthetical terms serve to emphasize the *active* nature of the receptors involved in memory construction. Each receptor simultaneously retains impressions and acts upon them to create memories.

[46] Garrett Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 8. Here Sullivan calls on Andy Clark and David J. Chalmners, "The Extended Mind," *Analysis* 58 (1998): 10-23.

[47] The Dominican friar Albertus Magnus (~1193-1280) articulated the significance of space to memory construction in *De bono*, writing that place "is something the soul itself makes for

laying up images" (Albertus Magnus, "De Bono Tractatus 4, Q.I2, art.2, resp.6," *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, trans. Mary Carruthers [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008], 356). This assertion, which was augmented by the writings of other memory theorists including Augustine, Martianus Capella, and Hugh of St Victor, standardized the belief that place was a crucial element of memory construction, storage, and recall.

[48] Andy Clark, *Being There: Putting Brain, Body, and the World Together Again* (Boston: MIT Press, 1998), 53.

[49] Noah's ark was one of many imaginary biblical sites used as mnemonic devices; others include the Tabernacle in Exodus 25 ff., Solomon's Temple in I Kings 6, the Temple and its platform in Ezekiel's vision (Ezekiel 40 ff.), and the Heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation 20.

[50] High of St Victor, "A Little Book About Constructing Noah's Ark," *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, trans. Jessica Weiss (Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003), 41-70. In the interest of space I will not quote the Latin original here; see Hugo De Sancto Victore, *De Archa Noe*, ed. Patricii Sicard (Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 141-2.

[51] See Chapter Two for a discussion of how the *South English Legendary* poet uses the Middle English "drou" in a similar fashion.

[52] James Turner acknowledges the relationship between identity and space in *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979). He writes, "'Land' and 'place' are equivalent to 'propriety'—meaning in seventeenth-century English both *property* and *knowing one's place.*" In an analysis of this passage, Sullivan argues, "'Propriety,' then, requires 'knowing one's place,' a process connected to the ownership of property; it entails the physical and social placement of the individual…. Propriety assumes a relational conception of identity based on the individual's location in a

larger social network. In fact, the 'individual' only emerges out of and in relation to that network. To forget oneself by violating propriety—by no longer performing the actions inherent in occupying a specific place in a (largely land-based) social order—is to become dislodged from such a network, disengaged from that which determines your identity" (Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting*, 15). As I will discuss further below, both Turner and Sullivan emphasize the environment's influence on the individual, not the individual's influence on his environment. In so doing, they fail to recognize Spenser's radical prioritization of the early modern subject over the physical landscape. In Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*, the *subject* invents the *landscape*, rather than the other way around.

[53] On the Proem to Book Two, see Burlinson, *Allegory, Space, and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser*, esp. 34 ff.; Anthony Miller, "The Proem to *The Faerie Queene*, Book II: Spenser, Pliny, and Undiscovered Worlds," *Classical and Modern Literature* 25.2 (2005): 1-7; Klein, "Imaginary Journeys"; Greenfell "Do Real Knights Need Maps?" esp. 231 ff.; Demaray, *Cosmos and Epic Representation*, esp. 91-6.

[54] Judith Anderson, *The Growth of a Personal Voice*: Piers Plowman *and* The Faerie Queene (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), 4.

[55] Upon Guyon's entrance into the Bower of Bliss, the Bower collapses. He experiences the landscape as a space devoid of threat, hence the ties that bound Verdant "he soone vntyde" (II.xii.82.8). Spenser writes, "all those plesaunt bowres and Pallace braue, / *Guyon* broke downe, with rigour pittilesse; / Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue / Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse, / But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse: / Their goues he feld, their gardins did deface, / Their arbers spoyle, their Cabinets suppresse, / Their banket houses burne, their buildings race, / And of the fayrest late, now made the fowlest place" (83.1-9).

[56] Edmund Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 7-10.

[57] Burlinson, 24-5, my emphasis. Quoting Greenfell, 234. On Spenser's education of man, Demaray writes, "Following eclectic Renaissance neo-Platonic and neo-Aristotelian views intermeshed with medieval iconography, Spenser invented and 'disposed' *The Faerie Queene* around abstract ideas of virtue and order thought to be necessary to the education of a gentleman and presumed to govern both the little world of the person, the microcosm, and the greater world, the macrocosm" (93).

[58] Demaray, 157.

[59] Aristotle promulgates this philosophy in *De memoria et reminiscentia*, where he writes that memory is "as a sort of picture," and in creating memories man "stamps almost a sort of impression… similar to what is done by people using their seals" (Aristotle, "De memoria et reminiscentia," *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection: Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism*, ed. David Bloch [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 450a.29-30). Like a seal on wax, then, memorial images are imprinted on an individual's mind, where they can be "read" by the mind's eye.

[60] From John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 74.

Conclusion

By combining the formal and historical methods of literary analysis with the interpretive tools of cultural geography, this project offers a new approach to medieval and early modern literature. Within the larger category of spatial theory, it focuses specifically on landscapes, and demonstrates how literary representations of landscapes evolved from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The five texts examined here—William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, the anonymous *South English Legendary*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Langland's *Piers Plowman*, and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*—show that this evolution occurred in three stages.

First, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, literature reproduced spatial and locational readings of identity derived from the physical landscape and medieval *mappaemundi*. This project offers the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and *South English Legendary* as examples, both of which appropriate Anglo-Saxon gravesites and other landscape features to regulate national or regional memory. In so doing, the *GPA* and *SEL* engage what Lefebvre terms "historical space," which results from fusing physically-experienced topographies with the historical forces that acted on these topographies.

Second, in the fourteenth century, poetry contended with increasing mobilities that were a consequence of the period's radical economic growth. Offering the *Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman* as examples, this project demonstrates how Chaucer and Langland reconciled the fact that economic mobility disrupted traditional spatial categories (including "London" and feudal fiefs). In the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer turns to physical space, rewriting the landscape of Southeast England to reflect fourteenth-century movement; while Langland places mobility under the purview of poetry, demonstrating that poetic devices offer a means by which to negotiate unstable spaces, and that—if all else fails—the landscape of a poem (i.e., the poetic

form itself) offers a means by which to escape disruptive historical forces. In each case, these authors engage a second spatial category that Lefebvre terms "abstract space," which depends on the revaluation of space according to capitalist systems.

Finally, in the sixteenth century, the physicality of landscapes became relatively inconsequential. Spaces that were once valued for being stable and tangible became valued instead as ethereal spaces that could be appropriated for higher functions. This project offers *The Faerie Queene* as an example, in which Spenser brings cognition to bear on landscapes. Like the *Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman*, *The Faerie Queene* also deals with "abstract space," but Spenser pushes the concept of abstraction to the extreme. Physical space is entirely subordinated by cognitive space, suggesting that the only "real" landscapes are landscapes experienced by individual subjects and inscribed with these subjects' feelings and beliefs.

In outlining this three-part evolution of early-period landscapes, this project advances critical discussions in the fields of cultural geography, history, and English literature (among others). First, it demonstrates that landscape theory was developed as early as the twelfth century. Although leading cultural geographers James and Nancy Duncan recognize that identity is performed in and through landscapes, they fail to realize the significance of landscapes to England's post-Conquest identity. By observing English literary landscapes of the medieval and early modern periods, this project exposes a fundamental aspect of identity building in early-period England, revealing how people visualized and ordered nascent communities. It also reveals that landscapes are a product of the imagination, capable of being manipulated not just by shovels and hoes, but also by the creative mind. Historians, ecclesiastics, and poets alike were capable of fashioning landscapes that spoke to the identity of England and its inhabitants.

In addition to advancing the study of landscapes, this project contributes to historicist concerns. As Chris Fitter notes, landscape consciousness reflects stages of historical development. This project explicates such stages of historical development in the medieval and early modern periods, suggesting that narrative manipulations of place underlie significant historical and cultural movements. In so doing, it reverses the traditional claim that history dictates how people read the landscape, suggesting instead that poetic manifestations of physical landscapes dictate how people read and write historical identities.

Finally, this project advances literary criticism by offering five new readings of early-period works. Each chapter foregrounds literature as a vehicle for identity, and attempts to recover the authorial imagination that transformed physical landscapes into nations, regions, fields of economic power, and products of early modern subjectivity. The focus here is primarily devotional literature, which interprets physical landscapes the same way that chronicles interpret history, but the evolution of literary landscapes that this project outlines is applicable beyond the church's domain. Anglo-Saxon elegies, Middle English romances, and Shakespeare's plays all stand to benefit from a fusion of literary, historical, and geographical concerns. In the end, landscapes saturate medieval and early modern literature; we have but to realize the genius of their use.

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EDUCATION

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The Pennsylvania State University, University Park PA
M.A. English, May 2007
Thesis: "Authorial Value in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*." Supervised by Dr. Patrick Cheney.

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B.A. Japanese Studies, University of Connecticut, May 2005
Minor in History
University Scholar Thesis: "The Nobility of Failure: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Medieval British and Japanese Legend." Supervised by Dr. Robert Hasenfratz.

PUBLICATIONS

"Mapping Identity in the *South English Legendary*." *Re-thinking the South English Legendaries*. Eds. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Heather Blurton. Manchester: Manchester UP, forthcoming.

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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"Silent Authorship in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*." 86th **Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America** in Scottsdale, AZ. April 2010.

"Subordinating the Sublime: Devotional and Secular Aesthetics in Chaucer's 'The Prioress's Tale.'" 15th **International Congress of the New Chaucer Society** in Swansea, Wales. July 2008.

"Mapping Identity in the *South English Legendary*." 43rd **International Congress on Medieval Studies** in Kalamazoo, MI. May 2008.

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"'A man of gret auctorite'": Authorial Narrative in Chaucer's *The House of Fame* and Shakespeare's *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*." **Shakespeare Association of America Seminar**, "Shakespeare and Chaucer," in San Diego, CA. March 2007.