

**THE
HANOVER
HISTORICAL
REVIEW**



Volume 17

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GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The *HHR* Editorial Board welcomes submissions of essays, document transcriptions and translations, and book reviews of a historical nature from any discipline.

Manuscripts must be prepared in conformity with *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition, in 12-point Times Roman font, double-spaced (including footnotes) and with pages numbered.

Submissions should be submitted by email attachment as a Microsoft Word document to Professor Michael Raley (raleym@hanover.edu) or Professor Anthony Miller (millera@hanover.edu). Because all submitted manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously, the author's name should appear only on the title page. There should be no identifying markers (including headers and hidden texts) within the body of the paper.

Articles should not exceed 3,000 words without the prior approval of the *HHR* editors. Please note that submissions accepted for publication may be edited to conform to the *HHR*'s style. The *HHR* editors remain the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage. However, they will endeavor to consult with authors with regard to any changes made in the interest of clarity and economy of expression.

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THE HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FOREWORD

In the fall of 1992, supported by colleagues and enthusiastic students, Professor Frank Luttmmer proposed a journal that would publish student papers and documents related to the field of history written, transcribed, and/or translated by students from any department of Hanover College. An editorial board of students was selected to determine which papers and documents would be chosen for the journal, and also to edit them for uniformity of style in preparing the journal for publication. Professor Luttmmer provided support to the editors in the early stages of preparing the journal, while Professor Daniel Murphy helped oversee the final copyediting for the printer.

The inaugural issue of *The Hanover Historical Review* appeared in Spring 1993 and enjoyed great success. The *HHR* flourished for the rest of the decade, but was published only sporadically after Professor Luttmmer's illness and untimely death. At the outset of the 2016–17 academic year, the Hanover College History Department decided to resume publication of the *Hanover History Review*, provided that we could find sufficient support for this project among our students. Twelve of our students immediately volunteered to serve on the *HHR*'s editorial board. Working with this group of eager and diligent students, and now with their successors in 2021–2022, has turned out to be a great joy for us as faculty mentors.

Throughout the 2021 fall semester, the *HHR* Editorial Board met virtually every other week on Tuesday evenings at 8 p.m. to discuss the 2022 *HHR* Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines. During these meetings, the *HHR* Editorial Board also conducted training sessions for new members and reviews for current members in areas such as grammar, formatting, academic citations, and proofreading. The result of their diligent efforts may be found within the covers of this latest volume of the *HHR*.

The 2022 *HHR* contains essays on historical themes written and submitted by Hanover College students in partial fulfillment of their courses. Some of these were written by first year students, while others were authored by upper-classmen and women. An abridgement of a senior thesis is also published here. All submissions must conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Only Professors Raley and Miller knew the identity of the authors until the essays had been twice reviewed by the *HHR* Board of Editors. This double-blind anonymity the Board regarded as especially important at a small liberal arts college such as Hanover College, where everyone knows everyone else; beyond this, however, a few of the board members wished to submit their own essays for consideration, and to ensure impartiality here Professors Raley and Miller distributed these, minus their authors' names, to other members of the board for anonymous peer review.

Seven specific criteria guide the Editorial Board's review of submissions:

1. Does the essay's introduction effectively set up and present a clear, original thesis?
2. Is the thesis supported with an ample supply of primary and secondary sources, critically interpreted for the reader?
3. Has the author brought forward a fresh interpretation of the evidence that advances current scholarship?

4. Is the thesis restated clearly in the conclusion to the essay? Does the author also add further implications of his/her findings?
5. Are the footnotes/endnotes and works cited page(s) formatted correctly in Chicago Style?
6. Is the writing style clear, fluid, and logical? Does the essay employ strong transition sentences along with connecting phrases and clauses?
7. What specific revisions or additions does the author need to make to improve the article pending its acceptance for publication?

Following the review process, the authors of the submissions were provided with summaries of the board members' comments. The review process, the board decided, would yield one of three ratings: (1) accept for publication as is (or with only minor editing required); (2) revise and resubmit (typically requiring more research and substantive revisions and/or additions as well as reediting the prose and reference notes/works cited pages); or (3) reject for publication. Some authors, of course, chose not to revise and resubmit their work. Those who did revise and resubmit their essays were expected to pay close attention to the comments and suggestions for substantive revisions as well as for the editing of the text and formatting of the notes that had been provided by the Board members in their reviews. In the final editing process, the Board of Editors of the *HHR* met during the May term on Tuesday/Thursday evenings for about two and one-half hours each evening, carefully reading aloud and editing for clarity and uniformity each essay. Professors Raley and Miller oversaw the final compiling of the journal, which is being published both digitally and in hard copy on campus by Carol Persinger and will henceforth be available on the Hanover College History Department website at: <https://history.hanover.edu/hhrintro.php>.

The 2021–22 academic year again proved difficult for students and faculty alike as classes resumed on the Hanover Campus following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March of 2020 and the resulting mixture of in-person, hybrid, and online courses and limited access to the Duggan Library. Mental and emotional stress took their toll, even as students (particularly college freshmen and freshwomen) had to adjust to classroom teaching and in-person class discussions after eighteen months of online learning. Despite the difficulties of the past few months, what we as faculty members have found refreshing has been the seriousness and dedication with which these student editors and also the authors of the articles appearing in this volume have approached their tasks. In the midst of the burdens of daily college assignments, athletic commitments, club and student senate responsibilities, rehearsals for campus musical organizations, community volunteer work, part-time employment, and, above all, daily class assignments, each gave willingly and freely of his or her time to make this project come to fruition. In the process, these students not only performed a worthy public service, but no doubt also learned a great deal in the process.

The *HHR* Board members did make one important change to our by-laws in order to incorporate a new member category into our structure. We decided to invite select students to join the Board during the winter semester as freshmen interns. The idea here was that, while the Board to date had consisted of sophomores, juniors, and seniors (in part because a published essay in the journal carried with it an automatic invitation to join the Board), it would be good to invite

freshmen who showed exceptional promise and/or who had submitted a paper for consideration to the Board for publication in this year's *HHR* (and who thus might be invited to join the board the following year anyway) to serve for a semester as an freshman intern on the *HHR* Board. Lexi Traylor was invited to serve as this year's intern. She served faithfully and contributed in meaningful ways to the discussions as we reviewed the submissions and then edited the final draft of this year's *HHR*. She also has an essay included in this year's journal.

For all of these reasons and many more personal ones, we have once again thoroughly enjoyed working with these fine students. We hope that you will share our enthusiasm as you read the articles and documents published within this .pdf file if you are reading the digital version or within these covers if you have the pleasure of reading a hard printed copy.

J. Michael Raley and Anthony Miller
Managing Editors, June 2022

Freshman History Essays

The Impact of Serfdom on the Russian Empire:
The Social, Political, and Economic Struggles from Russia's "Backwardness"

Abigail Corder

The Russian empire has long been acknowledged as one of the greatest empires throughout history due to its expansionist conquests and rich culture. Despite Russia's many accomplishments, the individual and traditional characteristics of her people hindered the Russian empire from advancing at the speed of the other rapidly modernizing empires. As a result, Russia remained behind in many modern developments such as an industrial-based economy instead of one based on agriculture. Another delay in Russia's modernization resulted from adopting the feudal system when the other European empires were discarding theirs for more capitalistic systems. Serfdom substantially set back Russia's future and contributed to Russia being viewed as "backward" in their customs and developments as an empire.

Even though some Russian rulers, known as tsars, such as Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, attempted to persuade their people to embrace Western lifestyle through culture, dress, and education, these reforms were principally met with disapproval.¹ The people preferred to stay unique and retain their traditions instead of adopting those of outsiders. However, Russia readily adopted the European feudal system, from which they benefited from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Feudalism was a powerfully binding system for the tsars because it guaranteed the allegiance of the nobility to their sovereign, who was gracious enough to grant them lands, titles, and subjects to rule in return for their loyalty. The tsar, thus in the central position in the empire, awarded the larger estates to his most trusted favorites. This also sparked a competitive desire amongst the lords to please the tsar and gain his highest favor. Since Russia had such a broad territorial reach, specific areas of land were sectioned off by the tsar and distributed to the noblemen. The peasants who lived in that region then became the tenants of the estate, and they farmed the land in return for protection. The peasants had freedoms allowed to the lower class during medieval times and were allowed to leave the estate if they wished, but few did due to the lack of guaranteed protection. The tenants usually lived, farmed, and died on the land on which they were born. As the Russian empire continued its rapid expansion across Siberia, however, its financial responsibilities increased. These financial burdens were forced upon the peasants in the form of taxes, ultimately causing many of them to flee their farms, thus creating a deficiency in laborers and a resulting financial burden.²

In attempts to resolve the situation, serfdom became widespread in 1649 through a series of edicts known as the *Sobornoye Ulozhenie*, "code of laws." Throughout the rest of the seventeenth century, the tsars declared several more laws, slowly taking away the freedoms of the

¹ Anthony Miller, "Russia and the Enlightenment, Catherine and Voltaire," Lecture Notes, Hanover College, September 22, 2021.

² Valentine Tschebotarioff-Bill, "National Feudalism in Muscovy," *The Russian Review*, vol. 9, no. 3 (July 1950): 215.

serfs. Serfdom bound the peasants to the land, which they were now forced to work on. Any resentment was met with punishments such as flogging and banishment to the bitter wastelands of Siberia. They were advertised and sold as goods.³ Restrictions were placed on marriages, and if the peasants wished to leave for another estate, they had to pay fees.⁴ Intensive protocols were put in place which prohibited serfs from running away from their masters, and extensive consequences were listed for both the runaways and any lord who chose to retain them.⁵ Ultimately, serfdom created disunity between the social classes, sparked resentment towards the tsar and the aristocracy, and destroyed the trust between the people and their leaders.

The hardship and distress endured by the peasants as a result of serfdom are recounted in an autobiography written by Savva Dmitrievich Purlevskii, a serf who lived in Russia during the nineteenth century. Throughout his narrative, Purlevskii spoke multiple times of the nobleman's mistreatment of the serfs on his estate, thus revealing the harshness of serfdom. Purlevskii added, "His power over us and the humiliating, slave-like condition of all society made me uneasy all my life. How to get rid of this centuries-old entrapment and free my family from it as well?"⁶ The serfs were subject to work on land they did not own, to obey laws they could not control, and to live at the mercy of the lord who exercised his power in any manner he saw fit.

Purlevskii's exceptionally detailed account of life under serfdom revealed the perception of true cruelty and the events, which evoked by that cruelty, led to outcries for justice. He recalled watching with great difficulty over one hundred unjustified floggings by order of their master who fearfully assumed an uprising from the peasants.⁷ The more he lived under the damaging system, and the more atrocities he observed, the more Purlevskii recognized the importance of exposing the darkness and struggles that resulted from serfdom. This awareness of the demoralized state of the serfs and the mistreatment shown to them by their landlords became commonplace throughout the empire. Frequent revolts from the serfs constituted a reconsideration of the political control over the organization of the estates to prevent further conflict. Some political leaders recognized this and passed many edicts attempting to lessen the harshness of serfdom. One such action included an edict from Tsar Paul I forbidding the landlords from demanding the serfs to labor on

³ "Moskovskie vedomosti, Newspaper Advertisements Listing Serfs for Sale (1797)," in *Reinterpreting Russian History: Readings, 860–1860s*, ed. Daniel H. Kaiser and Gary Marker (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 295.

⁴ Alessandro Stanziani, "Revisiting Russian Serfdom: Bonded Peasants and Market Dynamics, 1600s–1800s," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 78 (2010): 15.

⁵ "A Decree on Runaway Peasants, 1661," in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 900–1700*, ed. Basil Dmytryshyn (Hinsdale: The Dryden Press, 1973), 320–21.

⁶ Savva Dmitrievich Purlevskii, *A Life Under Russian Serfdom: The Memories of Savva Dmitrievich Purlevskii, 1800–1868*, trans. and ed. Boris B. Gorshkov (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005), 96.

⁷ Purlevskii, *A Life Under Russian Serfdom*, 100–01.

Sundays, thus giving them a day to rest.⁸ However, little was achieved to eradicate the issue of serfdom as a whole. The empire was now reaching a state of increasing panic from the lords' unruly estates, the unrest from the serfs, and the growing tension between the social classes, all of which signaled an impending revolution. Change was now seen as necessary if the tsar was to retain control of the empire.

In 1842, Tsar Nicholas Romanov I addressed the situation. In a speech he gave to the State Council, Nicholas I said, "There is no question that serfdom in its present state in our country is an evil, palpable and obvious to everyone. However, to attack it now would be, of course, an even more disastrous evil."⁹ Nicholas I, like his predecessors, believed that complete liberation of the serfs would be too futile to successfully achieve. Reasoning for this was driven by the lords' unpredictable loyalties and by the restless serfs who were anxious to be freed after centuries of oppression. In addition, Russia had utilized the system for so long that to discontinue it might cause radical and unpredictable implications. It would take several years to prepare the empire for a drastic shift in their economy, and the tsar would have to do so while still appeasing the lords, who would no doubt be angered by the interference from the monarchy and by their loss of control if their subjects were liberated. Russia at this time was in a very fragile state. Tsar Nicholas I had lost much of his centralized power. He blamed the unrest caused by serfdom on the landlords who mistreated their serfs and gave "their serfs more education than is appropriate for their status."¹⁰ The problem now lay in how to make serfdom more manageable and regain a more centralized power.

As the political stability of Russia continued to decline, serfdom directly increased the strain on the economy. Serfdom demonstrated yet another "backward" characteristic of Russia because its economy relied so heavily on the agricultural output produced by the serfs. While other European nations' economies were advancing as a result of their industrialization, Russia's economy constantly fluctuated. The agricultural-based economy was at the mercy of unpredictable factors such as drought, famine, and sickness. Some historians contend that economic growth is possible through labor systems such as serfdom, which evenly distributes the state's responsibilities between noblemen and the tsar, and may have permitted more freedoms for the serfs than commonly thought.¹¹ However, other historians argue that with the abolition of serfdom came a substantial increase in economic output.¹² This would suggest that serfdom may not have

⁸ Paul I, "An Imperial Edict Forbidding Sunday Labor by Serfs (1797)," in *Reinterpreting Russian History*, 294–95.

⁹ Nicholas I, "A Speech by Emperor Nicholas I on Serfdom (1842)," in *Reinterpreting Russian History*, 295.

¹⁰ Nicholas I, "A Speech by Emperor Nicholas I on Serfdom (1842)," *Reinterpreting Russian History*, 295.

¹¹ T. K. Dennison, "Did Serfdom Matter? Russian Rural Society, 1750–1860," *Historical Research*, vol. 79, no. 203 (February 2006): 77.

¹² Andrei Markevich and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, "The Economic Effects of the Abolition of Serfdom: Evidence from the Russian Empire," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 108, nos. 4–5 (2018): 1113.

been the most effective resource for economic growth. Russia's underdeveloped economy under serfdom indicated its incapability of thriving in comparison to the other nation-states who were rapidly industrializing and modernizing.¹³

Another setback to economic growth was Russia's defeat in the Crimean War in 1856. Russia fully expected to win this war against the allied forces of other European empires. However, Russia experienced losses of massive proportions because the other empires' technology in warfare far outranked the inadequate Russian military during such a modernizing time. As historian Terence Emmons has argued, it was "clearly understood by Alexander II . . . that the Crimean defeat . . . was directly related to Russia's general economic and technological backwardness, and that the main obstacle to overcoming this situation was the existence of serfdom."¹⁴ Immediately after Russia's defeat, Tsar Alexander II organized several committees to determine the best possible solution for abolishing serfdom and regaining stability. In 1861, the Emancipation Manifesto was officially signed by Tsar Alexander II. The peasants were released from the requirement of serving their landlords. Unfortunately, the conditions of this edict for the liberated serfs did not permit them complete liberation from the state or the land. Although serfdom was officially abolished, a similar system of restricted independence took its place in the form of peasant communes. The self-ruled communes consisted of overseers appointed by peasant households within a specific village. These overseers acted as mediators between the peasants and nobility. The peasants were still bound to the land because they could not leave their village without the commune's approval.¹⁵ In return for the land that the state gave them to live on the peasants paid the state through a form of rent called redemption payments.¹⁶ These measures were intended to provide the peasants with a sense of independence while still ensuring that the state received income from the lower class. This only temporarily contained the overall distress of the empire which continued to reach a climax toward the end of the nineteenth century. A vast majority of the peasants were still impoverished and lacked the adequate means to survive in the peasant communes. Angered at their unchanged state of living, the peasants continued to rebel.

Even though serfdom was finally abolished in 1861, the damage from its duration could not be easily undone. Serfdom degraded society, created political conflicts, and slowed Russia's economic growth. It may have been true at one point that the system was effective for governing the people, guaranteeing loyalty to the tsar, and holding a vast and diverse empire together. However, Russia's institution of it in the early modern era amidst a rapidly modernizing world

¹³ Markevich and Zhuravskaya, "The Economic Effects of the Abolition of Serfdom," 1082.

¹⁴ Terence Emmons, *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 48.

¹⁵ Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to Its Legacy*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6.

¹⁶ Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to Its Legacy*, 6.

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placed her years behind in advancements and caused long-lasting adverse effects. The process of abolishing serfdom was extremely slow and produced little improvement in the beginning, but it was a necessary step to achieve so that Russia could begin to recover from centuries of “backward” rule and rise to become a dominant world power.

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The Feminine Ideal in the Heian Period of Japan

Alex Miller

During the Heian period of Japan, which was from 794–1185 CE, there emerged a new feminine ideal. The Japanese view of women began to change with the emergence of a more imperial and structured form of civilization. The evolution of the Japanese government at the time created courts for both governance and aesthetics. The court system created a more structured way of life for women involved, regardless of level of role or stature. Though the Japanese had stressed the importance of a confined and respected hierarchy for their society, this created an entirely new social ranking system, changing the rules of the game. This sequencing of events can be seen clearly though *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, where Murasaki Shikibu recounts her time in the Heian court with great detail. Lady Murasaki proved to be awfully close to the empress, Lady Shōshi since she was one of her attendants. This allowed Murasaki to get incredibly detailed information and up-close recounts of what really happened in court, making this a vital source of historical information as to what happened during this time. During this courtly age, women in Japan faced a greater deal of limitations in all aspects of their lives than previously before.

At the time, the feminine ideal spread across the entire hierarchy of the court from the handmaidens to the empress. Women endured elevated expectations and were not received lightly by the rest of the court when they did not follow such rules. This feminine ideal pertained not only to physical characteristics, but to their actions as well. The women within court life were supposed to be very self-controlled and well-mannered. Lady Murasaki expressed her thoughts about this: “to be pleasant, gentle, calm and self-possessed: this is to be the basis of good taste and charm in a woman.”¹ The feminine ideal in Japan also stressed the importance of not partaking in flirtatious behavior with the men on the court. Lady Shōshi allegedly frowned on the “seductive behavior” of the women at the court and saw this as “the height of frivolity.”² This would not pertain so specifically to the feminine ideal if it were not for this being true of only the women in court and not the men, who were known for regularly partaking in polygamous relationships.

Physical attributes that Lady Murasaki praised as pleasurable to possess include being stylish in dress, having clear skin, pale complexion, slim, thick hair, elegant face shape, and many more.³ The qualities of women’s physical appearance and the way that they present themselves is particularly important to not only the men in charge of society, but to the women as well. Throughout the diary one can see how deeply embedded these ideas of how a woman should look and act are engraved in women’s minds as well as based on how harshly Murasaki criticizes some of her fellow women at court. Their attractiveness and especially the way in which they dressed were particularly important to her and also crucial in defining a woman. These standards of beauty can be seen as being equally as demanding in public as well as at the Heian court.

¹ Murasaki Shikibu, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, translated by Richard Bowring (London: Penguin, 2006).

² Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 51.

³ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 48.

The rigid manner in which women were controlled and expected to be presented in Japan at the time can be seen in Murasaki's diary, which depicts not only this feminine ideal, but how it affected the women in the court's treatment and their daily lives. In everyday life, politics, art, and education, women were impacted by their social constructs and expectations based on these ideals. Though the feminine ideal during the Heian period empowered women in some ways, it impacted them negatively overall through them through stricter gender roles, higher rates of sexual assault, limited political movement, general lack of education, and hypocrisy of relationships. This hypocrisy can be seen in the religious roles of female renunciation, where women would vow to devote the rest of their lives to pray for the salvation of their recently deceased husbands.⁴ This is also reflected in the "patriarchal oppressions" of the Buddhist nuns during the Heian Period who were overseen by the male monks.⁵ Women being valued for their ability to produce an heir or their beauty showcases the deep feelings of the Japanese patriarchy. Though women were praised for the carrying and birth of a child, the concern from society for them focused more upon the baby than the mother.

The stricter gender roles for women in Japanese society were mainly defined by their relationships with men and their courtly expectations. In early Japanese culture, the government was structured with pairs of ruler siblings, in part because the Japanese believed that this provided dual "yin-yang" ruling elements to make the kingdom well rounded and stronger.⁶ Now, however, the emperor was the main ruler of Japan, with his empress and concubines having far less say and control in the matter of politics, and recognized more as political pawns or a "borrowed womb."⁷ It is interesting to consider whether this role was empowering or limiting for women because of how it can be seen in diverse ways. It shows benefits to women due to their ability to possess property and income, which will not always prove true in Japanese history. But on the other hand, this can be seen as quite misogynistic because it puts a great deal of their importance on their sole purpose and value as mothers. Though this was a significant role, the women were not expected to do much more than rear the child, with a great deal of help from the wet nurses, and keep their image pleasing to the Heian court aesthetics. Gender roles also differed within religious institutions during the Heian Period. With the increased spread of diverse religions including Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintoism, the political and religious tensions began to amplify. Women often faced the repercussions from male practices where "sex-based proscriptions starkly enacted gender politics by banning women from many of Japan's most sacred sites."⁸

⁴ Lori Meeks, "Buddhist Renunciation and the Female Life Cycle: Understanding Nunhood in Heian and Kamakura Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 70, no. 1 (June 2010): 1–59 at 2.

⁵ Meeks, "Buddhist Renunciation and the Female Life Cycle," 2.

⁶ Brett L. Walker, *A Concise History of Japan* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 23.

⁷ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, xv.

⁸ Heather Blair, "Religion and Politics in Heian-Period Japan Religion and Politics in Heian-Period Japan." vol. 7, no. 8 (August 2013): 284–93 at 8.

Another large distinction between women and men posed by the feminine ideal is the intrusion of men in women's lives and bodies. Murasaki recounts multiple instances of sexual assault from within the court and, moreover, that it was not only allowed, but was encouraged by officials. She recalled when "the wet nurse would be sound asleep; dead to the world, she would wake suddenly to find [His Excellency] rummaging around her breasts."⁹ This would occur quite frequently from men in court and would go on as a normality with no punishment or legal action. With even the emperor doing this, men of all levels could as well. Murasaki thought of one of her own experiences as well with a minister within the court, who entered the handmaiden's corridors and "pulled the curtains apart at the seams, nearly ripping them" creating a peephole to stare at and spy on the women.¹⁰ These actions correlate with the feminine ideal because women were seen as these beautiful objects that men could do with what they pleased. This objectification highlighted their value as objects to own rather than as human beings. Their believed political and social superiority led them to believe that they could observe and do as they pleased with the women in court. A sexual assault by a woman upon a man, on the other hand, would have resulted in her removal from the court and the loss of her livelihood. This further highlights the difference between how men and women were perceived at court with women's beauty, bodies, and sex being seen as ready for the taking by men.

The ability for women in court to move politically up in ranking was not a straightforward process. Though it was possible, and happened for many women, there was a disproportionate level of difference between how this happened with men and women. Not only could men rise higher in the ranks of the political regime in Japan, but they did so far easier and faster. Historian Brett L. Walker agrees that "men outmaneuvered in Heian politics" at the time through their mobility and rank.¹¹ The practice of keeping women out of the main light in politics could be attributed to the insecurities of upper-class men during this period. Women's limitations were believed to have been attributed to "deprecations of menfolk," onset by fear of losing power in society.¹² This is what caused many women to become submissive, hidden, and quiet for fear of retaliation. The taboo nature for women to be outspoken also hindered their governing capabilities. To be quiet and reserved while holding a high rank and running a country is impossible. Even at an early age, the boys at court have higher rankings than most women. Murasaki recalls His Excellency's young sons as "fourth and fifth rank" being higher than those who may have been at the court longer.¹³

⁹ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 21.

¹⁰ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 30.

¹¹ Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, 35.

¹² Richard Bowring, trans., *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.

¹³ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 8.

Women in this period of Japanese history were not taught reading and writing of Chinese, creating a social construct that female literacy was not a socially acceptable practice. If a woman were to learn and become literate, it would be seen by society as very “unbecoming” because “the intention was to keep the language of bureaucracy in the male hands.”¹⁴ This is an obvious reasoning as to why the ideals of women in Japan at the time were limited in their social mobility. Fortunately for history, Murasaki was taught unintentionally by her father who was a scholar. She learned through overhearing her father teaching her brother Chinese, and even noticed she was picking up on it far quicker than her brother. When her father realized this as well, he exclaimed, “what a pity she was not born a man” because even with her great intellectual capabilities, it was believed that she would not be able to do anything with it because she was a woman.¹⁵ The strong Chinese influence on Japan only accentuated this restriction of women’s education. Female prodigies like Murasaki were not so commonly found and typically not celebrated. Women were supposed to be only motherly and serve as a proper wife, unless having other obligations at court, which limited them because they did not receive an education. The social norm that women were not to be educated was not only an idea present in male society, but also was instilled in the minds of the women themselves. Murasaki recalls how other women at the court would talk poorly about her behind her back and scold her for not being lady-like by reading and writing. This concept proves to be quite interesting because although this is true, women had created the kana script which “developed into the principle means of dialogue between the sexes of Heian society.”¹⁶ This was quite an incredible feat considering women were never educated in language, but were able to create their own complex and creative system of writing.

The relationship between husband and wife also proved to be extremely one sided and overall unequal. Though women in marriages had certain rights of income and property, they were not seen as equals in marriage. A prime reasoning was that, while most men had multiple wives, it would be incredibly unacceptable for a woman to have more than one husband. Though one might debate whether these polyamorous relationships suppressed women, they were empowering in some circumstances. These relationships allowed women to have more time to delegate as they wished in their own households, spend more time with their children, and be freer to make decisions as they wished. Though it was relatively uncommon for men to have multiple wives, this was not a divorceable condition for women. As a result, women typically owned their own property and lived in their own households. The ideals of women in marriage were centered around motherhood, but this only served as examples of men having greater social stature. It was not enough blatantly to show in social hierarchies that women were inferior to men, but that “male children became highly valued, and a woman’s inability to have a male heir . . . qualified as

¹⁴ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, xvii.

¹⁵ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 58.

¹⁶ Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, 37.

grounds for divorce.”¹⁷ Women trying to fit into these picture-perfect ideals that Heian society had created for them lived in fear and worry about everything they would say and do to avoid being outcast. Murasaki claimed that “the safest policy in life is to get by without a major scandal” which is a depressing way to live your life.¹⁸

During the Heian period of Japan, the feminine ideals of women were based on the main values of looking aesthetically pleasing, being of good stature and attractiveness, and acting quiet and well-behaved. These ideals could enhance women’s lives if they followed exactly how society wanted them to be, but was quite limiting if not. To live life as a caged bird, trying not to mess up the lines, can be stressful and harmful mentally by not being able to be your own true person and express yourself. Murasaki claimed that at the time, “[women] try to make themselves as invisible as possible,” which is hard to argue as empowering in any way.¹⁹ Seeing throughout *The Diary of Lady Murasaki* how she saw women facing the harsh truth of their social construct gives great first-person information that is not seen anywhere else. The book also gives her account of how these ideals were not simply pushed onto women by men, but were rooted so deeply in their society that the women believed them too.

¹⁷ Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, 36.

¹⁸ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 51.

¹⁹ Murasaki, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, 52.

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Changing Dynasties, Consistent Values:
The Ideals and Beliefs of Ancient Egypt and Their Consistency

Julianna Mussa

Circa 3100 B.C.E., a civilization rose to power around the Nile River: Ancient Egypt. Ancient Egyptian history spanned over 3,000 years, historically divided into three main periods. These are the Old (ca. 2686–2181 B.C.E.), Middle (ca. 2040–1782 B.C.E.), and New Kingdoms (ca. 1550–1070 B.C.E), periods wherein Egypt experienced the greatest stability. Aside from these three main kingdoms, there is the Predynastic Period, which preceded the Old Kingdom. Moreover, between these more stable intervals were intermediate periods in which disruptions to the Egyptian way of life occurred. Throughout the 3,000–year stretch of Ancient Egypt’s history, a rich culture developed complete with an intricate religion and corresponding values and ideals. The Ancient Egyptians built a multitude of monuments, devised rituals, and wrote various texts describing both everyday life and myths. The value of speech, the homeland, nature, fertility, and the principle of Ma’at (justice), as well as beliefs relating to the afterlife, all appear in the legacy the Egyptians left behind. Through the examination of some textual and artifactual evidence, the consistency of these values and beliefs held by the Ancient Egyptians reveals itself.

The roots of Egyptian values and beliefs formed in its Predynastic Period. Although there are few written sources from this period, conclusions about early Egyptian beliefs can be drawn from the examination of artifacts and human remains. Much like burial sites from periods later in Egyptian history, many Predynastic Egyptians were buried with some of their possessions. This suggests a belief in the ability to take earthly possessions into an afterlife. Unlike in later eras, however, the early Egyptians did not have an extensive mummification process for their dead, so it is unlikely that the significance of the physical body in the afterlife fully developed.

Archeologists have uncovered evidence of crafts, such as pottery and clay figurines.¹ Other excavations have also revealed clay figurines depicting female forms from other civilizations. Like other early civilizations, Predynastic Egyptians built an agricultural society prior to the unification of their country as a civilization. These other agricultural societies linked women to the earth in the sense that the earth gives life to plants even as women give life to children. Women were therefore seen as the source of fertility, and for this reason they were depicted in these figurines.² An inference can be made that Predynastic Egyptian female clay figures, too, symbolized fertility. This reverence for fertility did not disappear, as seen when the Egyptians later established their pantheon of gods. Among other Predynastic Egyptian artifacts are amulets, many of which

¹ Isabella Caneva, Marcella Frangipane, and Alba Palmieri, “Predynastic Egypt: New Data from Maadi,” *The African Archaeological Review* 5 (1987): 105–14.

² Zoreh Behjati-Ardakani, Mohammad Mehdi Akhondi, Homa Mahmoodzadeh, & Seved Hasan Hosseini, “An Evaluation of the Historical Importance of Fertility and Its Reflection in Ancient Mythology,” *Journal of Reproduction & Infertility*, vol. 17 (2016): 2–9.

resembled animals. Their usage pertained to their perceived magical properties, and their prevalence only increased through the Late Period.³

The formation of the Old Kingdom allowed for the values and beliefs of the Egyptians to take a clearer shape. *The Hymn to the Nile*, written during this period, personifies the Nile to demonstrate its importance to the Egyptians' everyday lives. According to the hymn, the Nile, "spreads himself over Egypt, filling the granaries, renewing the marts, watching over the goods of the unhappy."⁴ Through learning to use the flooding of the Nile to their advantage, the Egyptians grew a variety of crops that enabled them to support their growing civilization. The Egyptians navigated the Nile between upper and lower Egypt which allowed for trade and thus a growing economy. Although the majority of Egypt consists of desert, the Egyptians maintained that this was not a hindrance because they possessed a source of life flowing through their land. The Nile provided the Egyptians with the basis of their civilization with which they felt content, and so the value of revering the homeland as well as nature developed.

As each successive pharaoh came to power, the belief in their spiritual significance deepened. This can be seen especially in the Pyramid Texts, a collection of funerary texts designed to aid the deceased pharaoh in his next life. The Pyramid Texts written for Unas, the last ruler of the fifth dynasty of Egypt's Old Kingdom, are a notable example of this. Utterance 217 states: "Re-Atum, your son comes to you, / Unas comes to you, / Raise him to you, hold him in your arms, / He is your son, of your body, forever!"⁵ For the Egyptians, the pharaoh was the son of the gods and he acted as the mediator between them and humans. Normal people still had interactions with the gods in the afterlife; they did not unite with Atum as in this earlier text, but did so with Osiris in later ones.⁶

In addition, the concept of Ma'at had already been personified as a goddess, indicating that the value of justice was incredibly significant. References to her appear in the Unas Pyramid Texts.⁷ The concept of Ma'at itself arose in other texts from this period, such as *The Maxims of Ptahhotep*, which states: "Be generous as long as you live, / What leaves the storehouse does not return" and "Great is the Law [Ma'at]."⁸ Another passage from this text asserts: "Ma'at is good

³Isabel Stünkel. "Ancient Egyptian Amulets," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/egam/hd_egam.htm (accessed March 8, 2022).

⁴*Hymn to the Nile*, in *The Library of Original Sources*, vol. I: *The Ancient World*, ed. Oliver J. Thatcher (Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907), 79–83.

⁵"Pyramid Texts," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, trans. Miriam Lichtheim (London: University of California Press, 1974), 32.

⁶"Pyramid Texts."

⁷Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 1973), 273.

⁸"The Maxims of Ptahhotep," translated in *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks* by Carol Libson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 82–83.

and its worth is lasting. / It has not been disturbed since the day of its creator.”⁹ The Egyptians tried to follow Ma’at in their everyday lives because it wrapped up concepts such as justice, truth, kindness, and balance into one moral principle. Upholding Ma’at meant upholding the universe.

By the end of the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians erected a variety of tomb complexes. Some pharaohs, such as Djoser, built step pyramids oriented in a fashion that would allow the king to unite with the gods for eternity. Other tombs from this period contain paintings on the walls and a variety of the deceased’s possessions. The inclusion of these earthly possessions demonstrates that the belief in the ability to bring objects to the afterlife already present in the Predynastic Period reached a fully fleshed out stage. Furthermore, these aforementioned paintings contained instructions for arriving in the afterlife, depictions of daily life, or scenes designed to ensure the acceptance of the deceased into the afterlife.¹⁰ The Egyptians believed that in order to enter the afterlife, the deceased had to take an intense journey where s/he would be deemed fit or not fit to attain everlasting life. However, to have a successful existence in the afterlife, the preservation of the body had to take place. The Egyptians believed that the soul had many parts, and after death, they needed a physical place to meet.¹¹ Due to this belief, mummification’s place in Egyptian society solidified, although their techniques had not yet advanced during the Old Kingdom.

Despite the fact that Egypt was divided during its First Intermediate Period, the continuation and development upon previous ideas took place. According to a text from the First Intermediate Period: “If you are skilled in speech, you will win, / The tongue is [a king’s] sword; / Speaking is stronger than all fighting, / The skillful is not overcome.”¹² This period of Egyptian history was disorganized and not free from conflict, so it is likely that this ‘dark period’ birthed the idea that what one had to say could overcome difficulties. The value placed on speech emerged more clearly during this period, and this idea would prevail for the rest of Egyptian civilization.

After the First Intermediate Period, Egypt’s reunification by Mentuhotep II marked the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, wherein previous values and beliefs from the Old Kingdom expanded further. For example, take the story *The Shipwrecked Sailor*. In the story, an official of a king feels nervous due to coming home from an unsatisfactory journey, which he must report to the king. A servant of the official recounts his own return from another unsuccessful voyage to try and console the official. The servant, or sailor, unwillingly arrived on the shore of an island where he met a serpent. Although the island contained many riches, the serpent helped the servant, who remained free from temptation. Eventually, some sailors rescued the servant, who wanted to return

⁹Henri Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2012), 62.

¹⁰Tara Prakash, “Egypt in the Old Kingdom (ca. 2649–2130 B.C.),” in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/oking/hd_oking.htm (accessed November 2, 2021).

¹¹Salima Ikram, “Mummification,” *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2008–), 2.

¹²Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: University of California Press, 1974), 99.

to his homeland. After hearing most of the story, the official stops the servant, realizing that he must report and face the consequences of his own misfortune.¹³ This tale clearly exemplifies the Egyptian value of loving their homeland. During most of their history, the Egyptians never conquered other regions to a great extent like their counterparts in Rome, for instance. Much like the servant in the story, the Egyptians believed that Egypt held all the treasures they could be interested in. In fact, they held their native land in such high esteem that they used belittling terms to reference other groups.¹⁴

Furthermore, evidence of the Egyptians' affection for their homeland emerges in another tale from the Middle Kingdom, *The Story of Sinuhe*. In the story, Sinuhe learns that the pharaoh was assassinated, and in the anticipation of further troubles in Egypt, he flees to what is known today as Syria. Sinuhe assimilates into a tribe, and he later wins a duel with a warrior who was meant to kill him. After his victory, Sinuhe begins to miss Egypt and remarks, "What matter is greater than that my corpse should be buried in the land wherein I was born?"¹⁵ The new pharaoh of Egypt forgave Sinuhe for his departure and after Sinuhe's death, he was laid to rest in a decorated tomb.¹⁶ Although Sinuhe lived a fine life elsewhere, what he left behind (his roots) was far more important. His attitude was shared by most Egyptians. Although conducting business elsewhere was sometimes necessary, the most satisfactory existence remained within Egypt's borders.

Another value present in the Old Kingdom that appears again in the Middle Kingdom is the appreciation of nature, as seen in *The Hymn to Hapy*. Hapy was the personification of the Nile, and his hymn says that he is a "Food provider, bounty maker, / Who creates all that is good!"¹⁷ The hymn goes on to state: "When you overflow, O Hapy, / Sacrifice is made for you; [...] / A great oblation is made to you."¹⁸ The Nile River allowed for the flourishing of Egyptian civilization, and the Egyptians did not underestimate this fact. Hapy's oldest reference appears in one of Unas's Pyramid Texts, but by the Middle Kingdom, the worship of Hapy grew in prominence.¹⁹ This reinforces the idea that holding nature in high esteem had remained consistent, and, if anything, had increased.

¹³*The Shipwrecked Sailor*, translated in *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art, Vol. III: Egypt, Africa, and Arabia* by Eva March Tappan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 41–46.

¹⁴Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997), 60.

¹⁵*The Story of Sinuhe*, translated in *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* by Alan H. Gardiner (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1916).

¹⁶*The Story of Sinuhe*.

¹⁷*The Hymn to Hapy*, trans. in *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* by Miriam Lichtheim (London: University of California Press, 1974), 266.

¹⁸*The Hymn to Hapy*.

¹⁹ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, 51.

The Middle Kingdom also saw the rise of Sobek, the crocodile god of the Nile, though he was worshiped as early as the Old Kingdom. Sobek was associated with bringing fertility to Egypt, creating the Nile (in some myths), and the protection of pharaohs. Sobek could be aggressive or benevolent, just like the flooding of the Nile. At one point, he became associated with Re, which elevated his status among the Egyptian pantheon.²⁰ His popularity was perhaps connected to the Egyptians' love for nature (especially the Nile) as well as the significance they placed on fertility dating back to Predynastic times.

Moreover, Coffin Texts, which derived their ideas from the Pyramid Texts, began to gain popularity with deceased non-royals. These texts contained spells designed to aid with entering the afterlife. One such spell from the Coffin Texts claimed: "As for any person who knows this spell, he will be like Re in the eastern sky, like Osiris in the netherworld. He will go down to the circle of fire, without the flame touching him ever!"²¹ The deceased person did have to satisfy Osiris for this spell to work, which exhibits a continued belief in the necessity of proving oneself to enter the afterlife.

Additionally, a literary work called *The Complaints of Khakheperre-Somb* contains themes surrounding distress. In the writing, a priest remarks: "It is hard to keep silent about it, [...] / And turmoil will not cease tomorrow, / Everyone is mute about it. / The whole land is in great distress."²² The text consists of metaphors and repetitive remarks surrounding the consequences of silence. They suggest that the Egyptians upheld the worth of speech, especially when faced with adversity, much like the aforementioned text from the First Intermediate Period. This manifests itself in a more well-known story from the Middle Kingdom, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*. In this tale, a peasant cheated out of his possessions appeals to a steward, who is so impressed that he informs King Nebkaure. The peasant performs nine petitions eloquently, and, as a result, justice is upheld by the king, and he restores the peasant's possessions. Through speech alone, the peasant proved himself worthy enough to have his case listened to. Though it is a work of fiction, the tale implies that this occurrence was plausible for anyone because the Egyptians' endorsed speech's value equally. On top of that, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* perfectly exemplifies Ma'at. Much like in the Old Kingdom, Ma'at in law and as an ethical principle applied no matter the sex, class, or age of a person. Even pharaohs had to rule and live by Ma'at as they were not above it. Ma'at was an inherent aspect of existence, and, if it did not exist or if it was not preserved, chaos would triumph.

²⁰Maryan Ragheb, "The Rise of Sobek in the Middle Kingdom," at American Research Center in Egypt, Los Angeles: University of California, <https://www.arce.org/resource/rise-sobek-middle-kingdom> (accessed March 7, 2022).

²¹ "Coffin Texts," translated in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* by Miriam Lichtheim (London: University of California Press, 1974), 133.

²²*The Complaints of Khakheperre-Somb*, translated in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* by Miriam Lichtheim (London: University of California Press, 1974), 147–148.

The onset of the Second Intermediate Period meant some changes occurred for the Egyptians, namely the fact that they were placed under a non-indigenous rule. The Hyksos seized the northern part of Egypt, and of course, they introduced the Egyptians to new ideas. However, the Hyksos did not fully suppress the culture of the Ancient Egyptians, including their religion. But still, scribes from the New Kingdom portrayed the Second Intermediate Period as a dark age because the Hyksos invasion disrupted Ma'at in the land. This disruption gave the Egyptians a wakeup call because they realized that other nations could be just as powerful as them.²³

The establishment of the New Kingdom brought forth a new time of prosperity for Egypt. Egyptian borders were secured and the unification of the country came about yet again. The values and beliefs present in previous eras continued with advances built on top of them. One can observe a trend with some of the popular gods during the New Kingdom. A great deal of the New Kingdom Egyptian pantheon (that developed from previous periods up to this point) included a multitude of deities concerned with fertility such as Isis, Osiris, Amun, Hathor, Min, Sobek, and Taweret. The Egyptians associated some of these deities with human fertility, much like the clay figurines dating back to the Predynastic Period, while others were concerned with the fertility brought by the Nile.

From the beginning of the New Kingdom, the Egyptians used *The Book of the Dead*, a collection of funerary texts which can be traced back to the Old Kingdom.²⁴ A well-known text usually included within *The Book of the Dead* is *The Negative Confession*, which lists sins that a deceased person can declare that they have not committed. For example, the text states: “Bringing Ma'at to you, [...] / I have not done any harm, [...] / I have not caused pain.”²⁵ *The Negative Confession* uses Ma'at to mean truth, but after the deceased person speaks, Ma'at also dictates how s/he is judged for entrance into the afterlife. This demonstrates that the importance of maintaining moral purity throughout life materializes yet again in the New Kingdom. In addition, as was the case in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, respectively, Ma'at's application was equal.

Additionally, a line of reasoning can be drawn that because the deceased must stand before Osiris and declare his/her innocence, the value of speech was upheld still. This is also seen in a spell concerned with the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, which states: “My mouth has been given to me [so] that I may speak with it in the presence of the Great God.”²⁶ The purpose of this spell was to ensure that the deceased would be able to speak when brought in front of Osiris for judgment. The importance of speech in connection to the gods appears again in a poem describing Ramses II's (who reigned ca. 1279–1213 B.C.E.) victory over the Khita. It reads: ““Help me, father

²³ Watterson, *The Egyptians*, 60.

²⁴ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, Vol. II: *The New Kingdom* (University of California Press, 1976), 120. It is important to note, however, that a single, standardized version of *The Book of the Dead* did not exist.

²⁵ *The Negative Confession*, trans. in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, Vol. II: *The New Kingdom* by Miriam Lichtheim (University of California Press, 1976), 124–26.

²⁶ John H. Taylor, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Journey through the Afterlife* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 89.

Ammon, against the Hittite horde.’ Then my voice it found an echo in Hermonthis’ temple-hall, / Ammon heard it, and he came unto my call.”²⁷ The poem then goes on to describe how Amun (translated as Ammon in the poem) lends his help to Ramses II just from hearing his plea. The worship of Amun grew during the New Kingdom after the expulsion of the Hyksos. An ancient inscription stated: “You are Amun, / the Lord of the silent, / who comes at the voice of the poor; / when I call to you in my distress / You come and rescue me.”²⁸ The Egyptians viewed speech so valuably that one of their most important gods would help whomever as long as they called to him and were of worthy character. Thus Amun also upheld Ma’at.

Another section commonly included in *The Book of the Dead* contains spells designed to preserve the deceased, especially the heart. One such spell states: “My heart is with me, and it shall never come to pass . . . that it shall be carried away.”²⁹ In the aforementioned kingdoms of Egypt, the Egyptians believed that the mummification or preservation of the body was necessary to live in the afterlife. This belief continued into the New Kingdom, as seen in the preservation spells and mummies from the era, which are the best preserved in Egyptian history.³⁰

Predating this era, the Egyptians carried amulets because of a belief in their magical or symbolic abilities. As previously mentioned, amulets date back to the Predynastic Period and they expanded in usage from that point on. During the New Kingdom, the amulets utilized by the living also became utilized by the dead. Embalmers placed amulets between layers of linen while wrapping mummies to aid the dead in the afterlife.³¹

A period of the New Kingdom that lends itself to some debate is the reign of Akhenaten (ca. 1353–ca. 1336 B.C.E.), previously known as Amenhotep IV. Akhenaten disrupted thousands of years of Egyptian tradition by implementing a new, monotheistic religious cult. A notable writing from Akhenaten’s reign, *The Great Hymn to Aten*, describes the magnificence of Aten. Aten was originally a characteristic of the sun god Ra, but Akhenaten elevated him to a sun god as well and to the sole focus of Egyptian religion. The hymn declares: “Splendid you rise in heaven’s lightland, / O living Aten, creator of life!” and “You made Hapy in *dat* [the Netherworld], / You bring him when you will, / To nourish the people.”³² Though in a new form, the value of

²⁷ “The Victory of Ramses II Over the Khita (1326 BCE),” *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/ancient/1326khita.asp> (accessed October 29, 2021).

²⁸ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom* (University of California Press, 1976), 105–106.

²⁹ “From the Papyrus of Amen-hetep,” in *The Book of the Dead* by E. A. Wallis Budge (London: Keagan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.), 73.

³⁰ Barbara Adams, *Egyptian Mummies* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1984), 87.

³¹ Isabel Stünkel, “Ancient Egyptian Amulets,” In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/egam/hd_egam.htm (accessed March 6, 2022).

³² *The Great Hymn to Aten*, trans. in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, Vol. II: *The New Kingdom* by Miriam Lichtheim (University of California Press, 1976), 96–99.

revering nature still conveys itself in this hymn. Aten manifests as a representation of the sun, which the Egyptians viewed as one of the sources of life, along with the Nile. So, Akhenaten valued Aten in a manner comparable to Ra previously: a giver of life under a different name and appearance. On top of this, the allusion to Hapy in the hymn reveals that even though Egypt's official religion changed, what Akhenaten valued at his core was not terribly different from his predecessors. Akhenaten still recognized and praised the sun and the Nile for contributing to the wellbeing of Egypt.

It is worth noting that although Akhenaten prohibited the worship of traditional gods, archeological evidence suggests that common folk may have worshiped the old gods privately.³³ As mentioned earlier, the Ancient Egyptians managed to keep their beliefs when they faced extended periods of chaos and invasion. So, roughly 17 years under radical change from Akhenaten of course would not be enough for most Egyptians to abandon their long-standing beliefs. This truth emerged again after Akhenaten's death when his successors implemented traditional Egyptian religion yet again and they attempted to erase Akhenaten from records altogether.

The last hurrah of native Egyptian rulers in Egypt is known as the Late Period, which was preceded by the Third Intermediate Period, a poorly documented era of alternating stability and instability. During the Late Period, Psamtik I, a Saite ruler (from Sais, an Ancient Egyptian city), regained control of Egypt after an Assyrian invasion. Psamtik I's successors formed Dynasty 26, which marked a period where Egypt's main concerns pertained to its survival as a nation, so old Egyptian traditions were restored. Even under the later Persian rule of Egypt during this period, the Egyptians were allowed to maintain their culture. The founder of Dynasty 30 (the final native dynasty of Egypt), Nectanebo I, built many monuments and worked to promote Egyptian tradition further.³⁴ However, although Late Period Egyptians tried to maintain their beliefs, the decline of their civilization as an independent nation occurred due to the invasion of Alexander the Great and the establishment of the Ptolemaic Kingdom. Finally, most traditional Egyptian beliefs died out with the introduction of Christianity in the fourth century AD.³⁵

Though the core consistent values and beliefs of the Ancient Egyptians display themselves in textual evidence, for some, alternate interpretations may present themselves. For example, some may point out that the pantheon of gods and what the gods represented sometimes changed over time. These changes occurred since some gods rose or fell in importance and Egyptian society itself changed. Nonetheless, they were not changes that came out of nowhere, like if Set (the god of chaos) became the god of love. The modifications to the pantheon served to strengthen and

³³ Douglas J. Brewer and Emily Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 105.

³⁴ Joshua J. Mark, "Late Period of Ancient Egypt," *World History Encyclopedia*, https://www.worldhistory.org/Late_Period_of_Ancient_Egypt/ (accessed November 17, 2021).

³⁵ B. R. Rees, "Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt: II. The Transition to Christianity," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36 (1950): 86–100. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3855100>.

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validate longstanding Egyptian values, for example, when Osiris replaced Anubis as the ruler of the dead. This worked out because Osiris became associated with cycles (including life and death and the flooding of the Nile) and Anubis was credited with inventing mummification (which increased in importance moving forward from the Predynastic Period). Furthermore, it is important to consider the circumstances the Ancient Egyptians faced. After each invasion or period of instability in Egyptian history, the Egyptians tried their best to reestablish their traditions and elaborate upon them. A civilization that did not deeply hold certain values and beliefs would not have worked so hard to maintain them. When native Egyptian beliefs finally died out, it was not as a result from the Egyptians themselves denouncing them. Rather, it resulted from the forced dissolution of the Egyptian civilization itself. Although Ancient Egypt was ruled by many pharaohs and sometimes by non-indigenous groups, the examination of the texts and artifacts they left behind communicates what the Egyptians valued and believed as well as the continuity of their beliefs. Understanding the values and beliefs of the Egyptians is important to understand their actions, artifacts, and history as a whole.

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Rivers, Gods, and River Gods:
A Source of Egyptian Optimism

Lexi Traylor

The ancient world and its pioneer civilizations are often perceived to have fostered lifestyles of hardship and bleak outlooks. Today's modern societies find it easy to view these ancient peoples through a pitiful lens and jump to the simple notion that times were hard. A glance at the civilization of ancient Egypt, however, begins to break down this conceptualization. The Egyptians accomplished many great and easily observable feats, such as the building of the pyramids and other impressive works of construction. Surges of advancement and prosperity occurred throughout the ancient era, as Egypt transitioned between the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. The Egyptian kingdoms were less regimented when examined relative to other ancient civilizations, such as Sumer, with regard to gender division and social class. In addition, the Egyptians experienced a rather dependable society through economic stability and a predictable climate.¹ All of these components point to a civilization notably happier than its counterparts, and this phenomenon unique to the Egyptians is no coincidence. The geographic features of ancient Egypt heavily affected this early civilization, casting a powerful influence on spiritual beliefs, and this prominence and reliability of nature and spirituality in everyday life greatly contributed to Egyptian ethos of optimism and hope.

If one were to look for a surface-level understanding of the ancient Egyptian mentality, the examination of nature's impact could stand alone in explanation. The Nile River was a critical feature of Egypt's geography, and by extension a critical feature of the Egyptian livelihood. The Nile served as a basis for society and as a source of life; it determined settlement patterns, agricultural practices, and administrative orders.² Awareness of the significance of the Nile existed in Egypt, and the people possessed a high regard for its influence, as illustrated by a hymn from ca. 2100 B.C.E.:

Hail to thee, O Nile! Who manifests thyself over this land, and comes to give life to Egypt!
. . . You create the grain, you bring forth the barley, assuring perpetuity to the temples. If
you cease your toil and your work, then all that exists is in anguish. . . . If you have refused
(to grant) nourishment, the dwelling is silent, devoid of all that is good, the country falls
exhausted.³

¹ Louis L. Orlin, *Life and Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 39.

² Orlin, *Life and Thought in the Ancient Near East*, 40-41.

³ *Hymn to the Nile* (c. 2100 B.C.E.), in *The Library of Original Sources*, vol. 1: *The Ancient World*, ed. Oliver J. Thatcher (Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907), 79-83. Available at <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/ancient/hymn-nile.asp> (accessed November 16, 2021).

The proclamations in this hymn indicate that the Nile was viewed as the guiding force of many of the occurrences in the civilization, from the mundane things such as the harvest of crops, to the overriding motif of “good” in the society. The cyclical nature of the flooding of the river also received great esteem from the Egyptians: “all is changed by inundation; it is a healing-balm for all mankind.”⁴ The importance of the Nile’s inundation lies in its ability to create the calendar which the civilization followed – in other words, it fostered a predictable way of life. Because the Egyptians could depend on the Nile’s cycle of flooding and receding, and because they benefitted greatly from this cycle, their lives could be planned accordingly. This stability in social patterns as a result of constancy in natural patterns produced an optimistic outlook on life because the future appeared both promised and blessed by the contributions of the Nile.

Religion also played a prominent role in the daily proceedings of Egypt, arguably comparable to that of nature, resulting from the close ties between the two influences. Egyptian religion was born from the observables of the people. As argued by David P. Silverman of the University of Pennsylvania, it is only because of the “control over their environment” the Egyptians experienced that “they would have had the time and energy” to begin constructing their faith.⁵ This sense of control and understanding over nature is mirrored in the creation of deities and their spiritual duties. A significant number of major figures in the Egyptian pantheon were sourced from natural discernments. For example, personification of the Nile occurs within its praises: “If He shines, the earth is joyous He is the creator of all good things If offerings are made it is thanks to Him.”⁶ Indicated by the use of masculine pronouns, the river is associated with a godly or even humanly form. Moreover, the god that later became associated with the Nile in a holistic sense donned the name Hapy.⁷ Other examples of this include the worship of the earliest form of Horus as a sun god and the representation of Anubis as “the darkest part of twilight or the earliest dawn.”⁸ Even Osiris and Seth have natural origins; the story of the godly brothers’ interactions served as a foundation to Egyptian faith, and their relationship can be boiled down to a metaphor of the mortal Egyptian world. “[T]he struggle between Osiris and Seth represents a conflict in nature – between the fertile Nile Valley and the infertile desert or between the consistent, beneficial inundation of the Nile (Osiris) and the unpredictable, generally undesirable storm (Seth).”⁹ The Egyptians recognized their most important physical governors and translated them into their most important spiritual governors.

⁴ *Hymn to the Nile*.

⁵ David P. Silverman, “Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt,” in *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 7-87 at 12.

⁶ *Hymn to the Nile*.

⁷ Silverman, “Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt,” 34.

⁸ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead (The Papyrus of Ani)* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), cxv-cxvii.

⁹ Lesko, “Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology,” 88-122 at 93.

Another indicator of the relation and importance of nature and religion is the emergence of the worship of the sun god Aten during the reign of Akhenaten (originally named Amenhotep IV) in the New Kingdom. In his hymn to his beloved god, Akhenaten writes, “Rising in your form as the living Aten, / Appearing, shining, withdrawing or approaching, . . . / Cities, towns, fields, road, and river—/ Every eye beholds you over against them.”¹⁰ Akhenaten, and by extension the Egyptian people, attributed divine blessings to the blessings of nature – there was no differentiation between the two. Akhenaten also references the reverence held for another cyclical occurrence: “When you have risen, they live, / When you set they die.”¹¹ The rising and setting of the sun, much like the inundation of the Nile, determined the daily lives of the Egyptian people and contributed to their spiritual beliefs.

Under the establishment of relations between nature and spirituality, the presence of optimism and hope in ancient Egyptians becomes more visible and easily understood. The guiding principle of the Egyptian way of life belonged to the conception of Ma’at: righteousness, truth, and justice.¹² While these values in their most basic form belonged to proceedings of the spiritual underworld and are represented by a female deity (called Ma’at), the ethos of Ma’at were held in the heart of society and greatly influenced mortal life. An account from the Middle Kingdom of a commoner’s plight for justice after he was robbed by a wealthy landowner illuminates this concept. The peasant makes his case based on the principles of Ma’at:

Do the truth for the sake of the Lord of Truth. . . . [Y]ou ought to keep yourself far removed from injustice. . . . [Y]ou should be virtuous [T]ruth is true to eternity. She goes with those who perform her to the region of the dead. He will be laid in the coffin and committed to the earth;—his name will not perish from the earth, but men will remember him on account of his property: so runs the right interpretation of the divine word.¹³

The importance of implementing the values of Ma’at into everyday life stemmed from two components. Firstly, the exposure to Ma’at created a society that had obligations to act morally and in good faith. Secondly, by committing these actions worthy of truth, reason, and justice, the Egyptian had hope to experience acclamation and life after death, modeled by the goddess Ma’at guiding the soul to the underworld. In essence, Ma’at connected the physical world of Egypt to the spiritual realm. The ability of the people to relate themselves directly to and model themselves

¹⁰ Akhenaten, *Hymn to Aten*, in *Western Civilization*, vol. A: to 1500, 8th ed., by Jackson J. Spielvogel (Boston: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2012), 25.

¹¹ Akhenaten, *Hymn to Aten*, 25.

¹² Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, cxix.

¹³ *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (c. 1800 B.C.E), in *Archaeology and The Bible*, 3rd ed., by George A. Barton (Philadelphia: American Sunday School, 1920), 418-421. Available at <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/ancient/1800egypt-peasant.asp> (accessed November 16, 2021).

after their religious principles and figures fostered a positive outlook on their lives – and what they hoped would come after.

The basis for the hope of eternal life resided in the embodiment of Ma'at within an individual, emphasizing the value of happiness. The Egyptians believed that if they practiced morality and good character in life, they could pass judgement in death and live eternally in the realm of Osiris. The containment of secrets and answers to conducting one's life in this way is referred to today as *The Book of the Dead*. It outlines that, in order to prove compliance, a proclamation of negative confessions occurs before judgement. A few of these negative confessions include the rejection of wickedness, the abstention from deceit, and the assurance that the individual has caused no pain.¹⁴ The Egyptians, aware of the admissions they must give in death to please Osiris and pass judgement, used these confessions to guide their daily practices in life. An Egyptian illustration of the judgement process includes the jackal-headed Anubis leading the deceased to a scale, where the mortal's heart will be weighed against the feather of Ma'at. If the two balance out, Osiris will claim the Egyptian; if they do not, the heart will be eaten and the soul will cease to exist.¹⁵ The heart was perceived to be the source of one's character and morality, similar to the modern notion of the metaphorical heart.¹⁶ Significantly, the threat of eternal punishment or a conception of hell appears absent. The Egyptians did not have reason to fear death and sin in the same way that other cultures experienced. However, the sense of morality in life was still enforced because the heart had to stand against Ma'at's principles. Not only did the Egyptians have a spiritual promise of eternal happiness to cling to in everyday life, but by extension they exhibited positive qualities throughout society, creating a civilization that brimmed with optimism and contentedness.

Two universal reasons for celebration existed in ancient Egypt, both pertaining to sources of joy: the prosperity of the current life and the continuation of prosperity in the afterlife. As evident in the aforementioned praises of nature, as well as in the words of a popular poem often chanted at banquets in recognition of an individual's passing, a sense of prosperity flourished. One portion of the poem states, "Revel in pleasure while your life endures / And deck your head with myrrh. Be richly clad / In white and perfumed linen."¹⁷ The Egyptians placed emphasis on expressions of comfort, indicative of a secure society. This perception of success in life boiled over into the belief of prosperity in death. The use and stress of symbols in Egyptian civilization also suggest this concept of continuity. The *ankh*, meaning "key of life," often adorned mummies.

¹⁴ *The Negative Confession*, in *The Egyptian Book of the Dead (The Papyrus of Ani)*, by E.A. Wallis Budge (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), 347-351.

¹⁵ "Osiris as Judge of the Dead," in *Western Civilization*, vol. A: *to 1500*, 8th ed. by Jackson J. Spielvogel (Boston: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2012), 21.

¹⁶ Paul Carus, "The Conception of the Soul and the Belief in Resurrection Among the Egyptians," *The Monist*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1905): 409-28 at 420.

¹⁷ *Lay of the Harper, Egyptian Myth and Legend*, <https://www.sacred-texts.com/egy/eml/eml29.htm> (accessed November 16, 2021).

The *tet* or *ded*, translating to “backbone of Osiris,” was representative of the sense of stability.¹⁸ Both symbols demonstrate that worldly prosperity and security extended to the afterlife, manifesting a never-ending cycle of Egyptian happiness.

While exemplified by the previous evidence that at least a portion of the ancient Egyptian civilization experienced optimistic lives, it is arguable that this sensation was not present for each and every pocket of society. Egypt contained an expansive social hierarchy, and a fair amount of the reverence for religion belonged to the important and powerful figures, made clear by Akhenaten’s writing of *Hymn to Aten*. Additionally, the story of the commoner who employs the values of Ma’at is deemed “eloquent,”¹⁹ which can point to the idea that he was a unique case within his social class in regards to his understandings and dedication to surviving judgement day. However, the system upon which happiness and optimism flourished did not discriminate against members of society. All Egyptians benefitted from the Nile River – it was the basis of civilization. The Book of the Dead, the key to eternal life, was available to all and did not specify a necessary social rank of the individual seeking its refuge. The foundation for Egyptian happiness was laid for the ancient society in its entirety.

The geographical features of ancient Egypt greatly influenced both the adopted daily practices of its people and the religion created by the civilization. A stable, cyclical pattern of natural occurrences promoted a reflection of stability and dependability in thought and beliefs. The interrelations of natural and spiritual phenomena and by extension their combined influence culminated into a civilization that valued optimism and happiness. Furthermore, ancient Egypt exists in modern thought as recognition of a powerful, leading early civilization. This begs the question: are impressive successes, such as the building of the great pyramids, additional contributors to the preceding ethos, or rather are these prosperous components of ancient Egypt a result of the capabilities of a happy and optimistic society?

¹⁸ Carus, “The Conception of the Soul,” 423.

¹⁹ *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*.

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Student Essays

Richard I and Marriage:
How Richard I Used Marriage to Benefit Himself During the Third Crusade

Delaney Benner

Marriage in the time of the Crusades was influential with politics and finances. These influences came from the social bonds formed through marriages and the financial and legal transactions that occurred, which allowed for the newly formed family unit to provide for themselves and continue the bloodline.¹ One such transaction would be a dowry, which was a gift of cash or land from the bride's family. The dowry was also negotiated as a precaution for the bride, ensuring that she was taken care of if she was widowed.² These transactions can be seen in Richard I's (1157–1199) life through his sister, mother, and betrothed. The institution of marriage and influence of dowry was exploited by Richard I as a source of gain, as he prepared for and began his journey to participate in the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Richard I, also known as Richard the Lionheart or King Richard, was a major player in the Third Crusade. Not only was Richard I the embodiment of chivalric culture, well educated, and well spoken, he was also ferociously protective of his troops juxtaposing his reckless attitude towards his own safety. These traits led to him enthusiastically taking up the cross to face off with the "infidel" Saladin, even going against his father's wishes to do so.³ Richard I's passion for the crusade can be seen in the following excerpt:

Richard, count of Poitou, is the first to receive the cross. Richard, the great-hearted count of Poitou, was the first to receive the sign of the cross to avenge the Cross's injury. He proceeded everyone in this action, inviting them to follow his example. His father Henry, the king of the English, was already approaching old age. . . . Although the count took the cross, he embarked on the pilgrim journey only after he was made king on his father's death.⁴

After Henry's death, Richard I was crowned and prepared to leave on the Third Crusade, which relied on accumulating a fund for the crusaders. Richard I collected his funds from the Saladin tithe, by selling off rights and properties, and a bit later into his journey, through the institution of marriage.⁵ The building of funds through marriage was especially prevalent with large bridal

¹ Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2017), 103.

² Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 59.

³ Thomas F. Madden, *The Concise History of the Crusades*, 1st student ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 87.

⁴ Helen J. Nicholson, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Ricardi* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 47.

⁵ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 87.

doweries, which could add cash or properties to grooms' resources.⁶ Once preparations were made, Richard I and the French monarch Philip Augustus (1165–1223) finalized their plans to set off for the Third Crusade, with Sicily as the first notable stop.⁷

On Richard I's journey to Acre, when he stopped at Sicily his motive was initially disguised by saying he wanted to get Joan (1165–1199), his sister, her dowry back from King Tancred (1138–1194). It soon became obvious that Tancred was stalling the negotiations for Joan's dowry, which provoked Richard I to attack the city, Messina, and capture it. This course of action succeeded in getting Joan's dowry, since Tancred agreed to repay it to have his city returned.⁸ At first look, King Richard I stopped in Sicily to protect his sister and help her recover her dowry, since her husband, William II (1153–1189), died allowing Tancred to take the crown. The initial description of Richard I's visit was depicted in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*:

At this time the queen of Apulia [Joanna] was staying at Palermo. She had recently been widowed of her husband King William. As King William had died without an heir his widowed queen and the dowry assigned to her were being held in wardship by the aforesaid King Tancred, who had succeeded King William in the kingdom. This widowed queen was the sister of King Richard. As he was concerned about her, he compelled King Tancred to give the queen full satisfaction for the dowry due to her.⁹

However, to say that Richard I's motive was solely to get Joan's dowry back for her because he was concerned, would be false. He wanted to get her dowry back and sent King Tancred messengers instructing him "to provide his sister, the queen of Sicily, with an adequate dowry and her share of her husband the king's treasury, which belonged to her by right. There was also the matter of a gold table to be equally divided with the wife of its late owner."¹⁰ Richard I's instructions were clear in his desire to get Joan her share of her late husband's riches to pay off her dowry. However, he did not do this selflessly. Richard wanted to use his sister's dowry for his pilgrimage, not restore it to her. His underhanded behavior was described by the continuator of the chronicle of William of Tyre:

From the moment he arrived, King Richard, who was very devious and greedy, never stopped begging his sister to sell her dower and go with him on his pilgrimage. He promised that as soon as he returned to England, he would repay her all that he had received from her for her dower and would marry her to an appropriately powerful and rich husband.

⁶ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 95.

⁷ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 87.

⁸ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 88.

⁹ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*, 154–155.

¹⁰ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*, 164–165.

When the lady heard this promise she took counsel and agrees to her brother's wish that she should sell her dower and let him have the proceeds. The king was delighted that his sister had agreed to sell her dower, for he had already come to an agreement with King Tancred over its sale. On the advice of his men, Tancred had struck a bargain with Richard that he would buy the dower for over 100,000 marks.¹¹

Richard was persistent in his pursuit to sway Joan to sell her dowry, but he was willing to come to an agreement with her. He was only open to an agreement since he had already struck a deal with Tancred for the dowry's sale. This was the first instance King Richard I utilized the institution of marriage for his own gain by going behind Joan's back to make a deal for her dowry and used it to support his pilgrimage.

This behavior was further perpetuated by Richard I's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), who already had a complicated history with marriage and was seen as someone who did not conform to the norms of the time. Eleanor may have influenced King Richard I through her actions and past; because of her history with marriage and general disposition, Eleanor was not held in high regard. Eleanor's first marriage to Louis VII (1120–1180) took place "in 1137 when her father, Duke William X of Aquitaine, had died suddenly, and without sons, while on pilgrimage to Compostella. . . . Moreover, contemporaries believed that, as a husband, Louis VII gave her love as well as protection. But as time went by the marriage turned sour."¹² As the marriage continued, it became more evident that Louis and Eleanor were unsuited for each other and had yet to produce an heir, the primary purpose of a marriage; eventually everything culminated and led to an annulment of Eleanor's first marriage.¹³ Her second marriage ended when Eleanor's husband, King Henry (1133–1189) died, making her a widow:

Widowhood was the time when aristocratic ladies gained greatest freedom of action, controlling their dowerlands, and Eleanor took advantage of her new-found freedom. She did not imitate some noble widows and quietly withdraw to her dowerlands, even though the purpose of a dower was to rid the heir's house of his mother's presence, leaving him with only his wife beside him.¹⁴

This quote shows not only how Eleanor did not fit into the expected norms for her stature, but also how her dowerlands were used. These lands came from the dower that Richard set up. "The dower

¹¹ "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97," trans. in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, trans. and ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 11–145 at 97–98.

¹² John Gillingham, *Richard I* (Yale University Press, 1999), 25–26.

¹³ Gillingham, *Richard I*, 26.

¹⁴ Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Yale University Press, 2009), 256.

of Queen Eleanor was recognized by oath throughout all the king's lands and given to her, so that she, who had heretofore lived from the Exchequer, might henceforth live on her own income."¹⁵ The income spoken of here ties back to the previous quote, because the dower and the dower lands enabled Eleanor to take "advantage of her new-found freedom" through her own income. These dower lands, much like Joan's, were used as a "way of ensuring that the women left behind by crusaders would be provided for."¹⁶ Yet, Eleanor's dower lands did not contribute to Richard I's crusade. Nevertheless, having her go back to their kingdom to help watch over it put him at ease. However, Eleanor's history with marriage could have shifted Richard I's view of the entire establishment. As John Gillingham observed, "everything about his later life shows that Richard was much closer to his mother than his father."¹⁷ This could have contributed to the ease at which he broke his betrothal to Princess Alice of France (1160–1220), arranged by his father, for the new betrothal set up by his mother.

Princess Alice of France and Richard I were betrothed long before Queen Eleanor found Richard's new wife. Alice and Richard I were betrothed in 1169, when Richard was eleven. This led to Alice coming to stay with Richard I's family, which was customary. However, it was rumored that Richard I's father, King Henry (II), took Alice as his mistress when she got older, and she even gave birth to the king's son.¹⁸ As John T. Appleby observed,

The king, who had formally sworn to the king of France that he would marry his sister, whom his father, King Henry, had provided for him and had long kept under close custody, was suspicious concerning that custody. He therefore considered marrying the maiden whom his mother had brought. And so that his desire, for which he ardently longed, might be fulfilled without difficulty, he summoned the count of Flanders and took counsel with him. The count was a most eloquent man, with a tongue on which he set a high price. Through his mediation the king of France released the king of England from his oath to marry his sister and granted to him in undisturbed and perpetual possession the country of the Vexin and Gisors, in exchange for 10,000 pounds of silver.¹⁹

King Richard I had sworn to King Philip that he would marry his sister, Alice. However, Richard was suspicious of his father and Alice's relationship causing him to marry Berengaria of Navarre (1165–1230), who his mother had set up for him.²⁰ This decision resulted in a rift between the two

¹⁵ John T. Appleby, trans. and ed., *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963), 14.

¹⁶ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 206–207.

¹⁷ Gillingham, *Richard I*, 28.

¹⁸ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 26.

¹⁹ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 26.

²⁰ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 88.

kings, since betrothal was a statement of marriage that was used to protect the interests of the two families involved, and Richard was breaking their previous arrangement.²¹ Thus, Richard was led to call on the Count of Flanders to help mediate the meeting between himself and Philip; through the count's talent Richard was able to keep Vexin and Gisors and get out of their previous marital arrangement for 10,000 pounds of silver. Although, it was believed that the reason why Richard would not marry Alice was because he refused to marry his father's mistress.²² That being said, Richard I also stood to gain more by marrying Berengaria.

Queen Eleanor had arranged the new match between King Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre. The queen arranging the match would have been typical for the time, since women often arranged matches between families.²³ The chronicler Richard of Devizes described how Eleanor brought Berengaria to Richard in Sicily: "He received the queen his mother with all fitting honour, embracing her warmly, and let her in a glorious procession. Then he had her return with the archbishop. He kept for himself the maiden whom he had desired and entrusted her to the care of his sister, who had returned to the camp to meet her mother."²⁴ After the happy reception of Berengaria and Eleanor, Eleanor returned home leaving Berengaria with Richard I, who entrusted his new wife's care to his sister, Queen Joan. Richard I and his forces set off toward Acre for the Crusade. Richard of Devizes recorded, "The fleet of Richard, king of the English, sailed on the open sea and preceded in this order. In the first rank went only three ships, in one of which were the queen of Sicily and the Navarrese maiden, perhaps still a virgin. In the other two was a part of the king's treasure and arms."²⁵ Their preparations for the journey were extensive:

Richard, king of England, sent letters to England, bidding farewell to all his realm and making special mention that the chancellor was to be honoured by all men. He got ready his fleet, which was more excellent than numerous, and set sail with his army, chosen and strong, with Joan his sister and the virgin he was to marry, and with everything that might be necessary for waging war or travelling afar, on 10 April.²⁶

However, the trip did not go as planned; Richard I's fleet was swept up by a storm and blown off course towards the island of Cyprus. This alteration to the ships course resulted in some ships becoming shipwrecked on Cyprus. The vessels that crashed were looted and any survivors were taken captive by Isaac Komnenos . . . , who refused to return anything to King Richard I once he

²¹ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 59.

²² John Gillingham, "Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre," *Historical Research*, vol. 53, no. 128 (1980): 157–173 at 165.

²³ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 51.

²⁴ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 28.

²⁵ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 35.

²⁶ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 28.

made it to the island. So, Richard I captured the island, which became advantageous for the Crusaders because they now had a close support and supply source for the crusades.²⁷

After the capture of Cyprus, Richard followed through with his betrothal to Berengaria of Navarre, and she was crowned queen.²⁸ The union with Berengaria increased King Richard I's crusade fund through a cash dowry and had the added benefit of allying Navarre with his kingdom. Navarre's alliance would help secure the southern border of Aquitaine, his mother's homeland. One account of the wedding festivities was described in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*:

. . . a Sunday, on the feast of St Pancras [May 12, 1191] King Richard and Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, were married at Limassol. The young woman was very wise and of good character. She was there crowned queen. The archbishop of Bordeaux was present at the ceremony, as was [John] the bishop of Evreux, and the bishop of Bayonne, and many other magnates and nobles. The king was merry and full of delight, pleasant and agreeable to everyone.²⁹

The first account focused on the event, with descriptions of the guests and the overall pathos of the festivities. On the other hand, the account in *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First* focused more on the timeline and laws of contracted marriages: "And now that Lent was already past and the lawful time for contracting marriages had come, he married, on the island, Berengaria, the daughter of the king of the Navarrese, whom his mother had brought to him during Lent."³⁰ Once wed, Richard I and his forces set off for Acre again. Already having a victory for the Third Crusade, he arrived at the designated meeting spot.³¹

Some might argue that Richard coincidentally gained from the institution of marriage, while on his journey to participate in the Third Crusade, since he had previously collected his own forms of income through the Saladin tithe and selling his rights and property.³² Yet, there are multiple instances to prove he did manipulate the situations to be more beneficial for himself. The first instance of this would be Richard I's involvement with Joan's dowry. King Richard I might have looked to have pure motives going to help his sister with her dowry out of concern, but he had already made a deal behind Joan's back before she agreed to sell her dowry. This exposed Richard's motivations as self-serving as he had already planned to use her dowry before he even arrived in Sicily. He immediately tried to convince Joan to sell it and made a deal with Tancred

²⁷ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 89.

²⁸ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*, 189.

²⁹ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*, 189.

³⁰ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 39.

³¹ Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 90.

³² Madden, *Concise History of the Crusades*, 87.

before he managed to persuade Joan to exchange her dowry.³³ The second instance would be getting out of his betrothal with Princess Alice of France. Richard I had a valid argument to want out of the betrothal to Alice, since she was believed to be the mistress of Richard's father. However, he could have had an ulterior motive because he managed to keep lands from Alice's betrothal dowry.³⁴ Gisors, which was one of the lands in Alice's dowry, stayed in Richard I's control until someone turned on him and took it over.³⁵ The third instance of Richard I's advantageous use of marriage was with Berengaria of Navarre. King Richard I might have cared about Berengaria and married her because of an emotional attachment, or he might have seen the betrothal as more useful than his previous one. It is difficult to believe that Richard I married Berengaria because he had affection for her, since Richard I gave away his wife to Joan to take care of her so soon after their marriage. Richard I did not travel with her either, even though they had just met, and they did not really see much of each other after the crusade. "Berengaria of Navarre was brought to Richard's court, then at Messina in Sicily, in March 1191. She accompanied the crusader-king on his journey east and they were married in Cyprus, at Limassol, on May 12, 1191. After the crusade they saw little of each other and there were no children."³⁶ However, there was political and financial gain to be had from the marriage along with a higher level of security for Richard I's kingdom through the alliance thus formed. All these experiences counter the notion that King Richard I was not trying to use each situation to serve his own interests.

Richard I exploited the marriage system during the Third Crusade for his own gain while preparing and heading to crusade at Acre. His exploitation of the system can be identified through the instances with his sister's dowry, his mother's influence, and Berengaria of Navarre's dowry. Richard I utilized his sister's dowry through the deal with King Tancred. He also used Elenora's dower and the power it gave her to further ease his worry about his kingdom needing protection. Lastly, King Richard I utilized Berengaria's dowry and alliance for protection. All these occurrences show how Richard I took advantage of the establishment of marriage to further aid himself and the Third Crusade.

³³ "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97," 97–98.

³⁴ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 26.

³⁵ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta*, 173.

³⁶ Gillingham, "Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre," 157.

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Individualism, Consumerism, Commercialism, Nationalism, and Pottery

Jace Lichtefeld

The process of making pottery starts with one key element: clay. A potter shapes the clay into the shape they desire. Creation may be with aids such as a potter's wheel or carving tools. The method of creation does not impact whether the product is pottery. The only things needed for it to be considered pottery are to be made from clay and hardened by heat. This heat may come from the sun or another source. One example from modern Japan that stands out is "Spiraling Vessel, Dizzy Shadings (Genun)" by Ogata Kamio. The tantalizing display of colors and curves draws the eye into circles and may make the viewer wonder if their own life or society is going in circles over and over again.¹ Japan has a long history of pottery production and analyzing its pottery can reflect its social development of the period in which the art was created. These creations have always mirrored or pushed the social development of Japan over the ages with critical moments during the Jōmon and Yayoi eras, again in the sixteenth century, the World Wars, and contemporary times.

The Jōmon era highlighted the functionality of pottery when it was first created. The products were a robust method for warming food in a more sedentary style, which led to the development of agriculture, showing the connection between pottery and society's development. Pottery has been in Japan since the incipient Jōmon period (c.a. 10,500-8000 BCE).² Historians have debated how this pottery was used during this period, and new techniques that allow individuals to analyze the lipids left behind in the pottery have given more insight into the Jōmon people's lifestyle. One study examined "charred surface deposits [which] were sampled from 101 Incipient Jōmon vessels from 13 sites, dating from 15,300–11,200 cal B.P."³ The results conclude that the pottery was mainly used to prepare aquatic resources.⁴ This conclusion is supported by other studies, such as one where 143 cooking vessels were analyzed with "clear evidence that pottery across this sequence was predominantly used for cooking marine and freshwater resources, with evidence for diversification in the range of aquatic products."⁵ This discovery allows

¹ Ogata Kamio, *Spiraling Vessel, Dizzy Shadings (Genun)*, marbled stoneware, 2005 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/73362?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=A.D.+1900-present&where=Japan&what=Ceramics&ft=japan+pottery&offset=20&rpp=20&pos=23>.

² Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Jomon Culture (ca. 10,500 – ca. 300 B.C.)," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. (2002), https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/jomo/hd_jomo.htm, Para. 4.

³ O. E. Craig, H. Saul, A. Lucquin, et al., "Earliest Evidence for the Use of Pottery," *Nature* 496 (2013): 351–54 at 351.

⁴ Craig, Saul, Lucquin, et al., "Earliest Evidence for the Use of Pottery," 353.

⁵ Alexandre Lucquin, Kevin Gibbs, Junzo Uchiyama, et al. "Ancient Lipids Document Continuity in the Use of Early Hunter-Gatherer Pottery through 9,000 Years of Japanese Prehistory." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 113 (2016): 3991–96.

historians to have new data to support or disprove their hypotheses around how the Jōmon people used pottery in their lives and how it relates to Japan's social and state development. Since Jōmon people used aquatic food sources for most of their diet and did not produce significant amounts of agriculture, they were more sedentary than other hunter and gather groups of the same period.⁶

This sedentary lifestyle from abundant aquatic food shaped an economic system for the different Jōmon tribes. This can be shown by analyzing where the clay used to make the pottery found at different sites was collected by the Jōmon people.⁷ Researchers analyzed 99 pottery shards from other excavation sites, and “94 shards were made from clays and tempers from the same ‘source.’”⁸ This connection supports the idea that the Jōmon people had a trading system for pottery and other goods. This economic system reveals the start of state development in Japan, but this did not create a social division of elites and workers.⁹ The lack of stable resources that led to an equalitarian society was still having a significant impact on the social and state guidance of the Jōmon people.¹⁰ The development of pottery has not been firmly understood. Its impacts on other aspects of society are up for debate. Still, pottery in the Jōmon era made people more sedentary due to the ability to preserve and collect aquatic food sources. This led to the development of agriculture during the Yayoi period when marine food sources were more difficult to collect and the foliage around the water was depleted. Pottery during the Jōmon era was typically made by women and was the first spark of women's expression, messages unheard by the masses.

Jōmon pottery is some of the oldest examples known globally, so the artwork can be used to view the role of women in that society. The artwork had practical purposes but was still an expression of women's ideas and desires. Their designs started as “deep pottery cooking containers with pointed bottoms and rudimentary cord markings.”¹¹ With many inquiries around the Jōmon period, this cannot be proved, but it is assumed by most of the history community to be a fact.

⁶ Richard Pearson, “Debating Jomon Social Complexity.” *Asian Perspectives: Journal of Archeology for Asia & the Pacific* 46 (2007): 361–88 at 380.

⁷ Mark Hall, “Regional Craft Specialization in the Jomon Culture of Japan: Evidence from the Chemical Analyses of Atamadai Pottery,” *Journal of Island & Coastal Archaeology* 6 (2011): 98–114 at 99.

⁸ Hall, “Regional Craft Specialization in the Jomon Culture of Japan,” 109.

⁹ Pearson, “Debating Jomon Social Complexity,” 377.

¹⁰ Deborah S., Rogers, Omak Deshpande, and Marcus W. Feldman, “The Spread of Inequality,” *PLoS ONE* 6, no. 9 (September 2011): 1-10 at 1.

¹¹ Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Jomon Culture (ca. 10,500 – ca. 300 B.C.).”

Susanna Brooks, “Contemporary Japanese Women Potters and their Prehistoric Muses,” *Japanese Art Morikami Museum* (2014), <https://morikami.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Contemporary-Japanese-Women-Potters-and-their-Prehistoric-Muses.pdf>.

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Pottery is a form of artistic expression and one that women have been involved in within Japan since the beginning of ceramic production.¹²

One such creation is the “Flame-rimmed” deep bowl (kaen doki), which is displayed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹³ The pot’s rim has two handles on the sides and two loops on the front and back. The edge has complex cord creations, with the base being a more simplistic version of a rough cord.¹⁴ This creation was unlikely to be truly appreciated during the period as a form of self-expression for the female potter. The culture at the time likely only saw this pot as an end to a means for the spiritual ritual. It was not seen as the self-expression of the potter. This disconnect between the creation and the creator leads to a community-based society which was synonymous with Japan. Pottery continues to be a form of expression as time passes in Japan, such as during the Yayoi period when pottery started being used for more ritualistic purposes.

Shintoism started to rise during the Jōmon era, but pottery’s main job became ritualistic or artistic during the Yayoi period and beyond. The Yayoi period (300 BCE – 710 CE) also represents the beginning of Korean and Chinese influence on Japanese society. Korea’s influence is seen directly in the pottery created during the Yayoi Era.¹⁵ Yayoi pottery was made of fine-grained clay, which was only possible due to the new rice cultivation.¹⁶ The pottery had simple designs such as jars being symmetrical and shaped to highlight artistry.¹⁷ This may indicate a shift in early Japanese people’s “work” life. Jōmon potters were able to dedicate time to create complex cord ceramics, but Yayoi potters appear not to have time to dedicate to pottery.¹⁸ Women were believed to be potters in these periods and were the most impacted by the shift to farming.¹⁹ With less time for leisure activities, highly decorative pottery became a commodity and was “used as status symbols by local chiefs.”²⁰ This display highlights a shift in the use of pottery as it became more specialized for rituals and simpler for everyday purposes. The specialization into ritualization for pottery continued and developed into tea ceremonies, which exposes a more class-based society.

¹² Louise Cort, “Women in the Realm of Clay,” *Soaring Voices-Contemporary Japanese Women Ceramic Artists* (2007). https://www.academia.edu/18290215/Women_in_the_Realm_of_Clay.

¹³ Anonymous, “Flame-rimmed” Deep Bowl (Kaen Doki), Ceramics, ca. 3500-2500 B.C., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/44905>.

¹⁴ “Flame-rimmed” Deep Bowl (Kaen Doki), Ceramics, ca. 3500-2500 B.C.

¹⁵ Richard Pearson, “Ceramic Treasures of Japan,” *Archaeology* vol. 43, no. 6 (1990): 62–65 at 64.

¹⁶ Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Yayoi Culture (ca. 300 B.C. – 300 A.D.),” *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (2002), https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/yayo/hd_yayo.htm, Para. 1.

¹⁷ Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Yayoi Culture (ca. 300 B.C. – 300 A.D.),” Para. 2.

¹⁸ Craig, Saul, Lucquin, et al., “Earliest Evidence for the Use of Pottery,” 353.

¹⁹ Kay Vandette, “New Study Reveals That Farmers Have Less Free Time Than Hunter-Gatherers,” Earth.com, <https://www.earth.com/news/farmers-less-free-time-hunter-gatherers/>.

²⁰ Pearson, “Ceramic Treasures of Japan,” 64.

Elites participated in these ceremonies with highly decorated pottery that started as being imported from Korea and China.

Tea ceremonies were a ritual activity the elite performed to highlight their wealth and social power in society, revealing that pottery continued to be a marker of social status and not just an everyday household object. The tea ceremony emerged in the 1500s and “was an elite artistic pursuit that provided a forum for the rulers of Japan.”²¹ This started with practitioners using and appraising ancient pottery from Japan, Korea, and China.²² One of these creations used in these rituals is the *Tea Bowl with “Hare’s Fur” Glaze*, made by a Chinese potter during the 12th century.²³ The tea bowl has a simple design with nothing to stand out as an artistic signature highlighting the piece’s practicality, but the age during the period it was used made it a symbol of status.²⁴ Eventually, the desire for status led to new creations being crafted in the Wabi aesthetic.²⁵ This shift in artistic reaction for consumer purchase reveals the first signs of consumerism and individualism impacting Japanese culture and social practices. This shift to individualism is also present in pottery made for the tea ceremonies because it was the first time individual artists such as Nonomura Ninsei and Ogata Kenzan began to sign their work.

Signing one’s work signifies a connection from the artist to the art piece, which was not present in pottery until this period. This strengthened Japan’s emphasis on individualism more than communalism. Nonomura Ninsei was the first potter to sign his work, and he created art in contrast to the Wabi style, which was the set style of his time.²⁶ Ninsei’s two actions transformed the pottery landscape to be more individual. Tea master Kanamori Sōwa popularized Ninsei’s work in tea ceremonies.²⁷ Ogata Kenzan took the techniques of Ninsei and made them his own.²⁸ Kenzan treated his pottery as a canvas for his paintings which led to his distinctly unique style.²⁹ This highly creative individual still felt the impact of consumerism and communalism, which was changing Japan’s society.

Kenzan’s pottery career has three distinct stages that mimic Japan’s social development. He started his career with unique pottery that he crafted by hand, but after his pottery was famous

²¹ Anna Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/jtea/hd_jtea.htm. Para 3.

²²Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para 3.

²³ Anonymous, *Tea Bowls with “Hare’s Fur” Glaze*, stoneware with iron glaze, 12th century (New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art), <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/42455>.

²⁴ Anonymous, *Tea Bowls with “Hare’s Fur” Glaze*.

²⁵ Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para 3.

²⁶ Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para. 9.

²⁷ Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para. 9.

²⁸Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para. 10.

²⁹ Willmann, “The Japanese Tea Ceremony,” Para. 10.

and used in tea ceremonies it was mass-produced by a team.³⁰ This outcome is not exclusive to Kenzan. Richard Wilson notes, “Pottery production is [...] an incremental and corporate enterprise, one that tends to obliterate the personal mark.”³¹ Even as Japan became more commercial-based than before, individualism was still towered over by the communal nature of Japan in art. Kenzan’s pottery shifted to mass-production to sell more pottery so that every elite could get Kenzan pottery for their tea ceremonies. This changed Kenzan’s ceramics to more ordinary than extraordinary, but that did not limit his success. It did lead to controversy later when historians attempted to determine what was made by Kenzan himself and what was made by others.³² This focus on consumerism led to Kenzan losing himself, forcing Japanese pottery to leave behind much of its culture and heritage to fit into modern society. Once Kenzan received this acclaim and monetary gain from his pottery, he abandoned his corporate creations and moved to the mountains to create pottery, but the impact on pottery creation and society was still present.³³ This is evident during the World Wars when clay was shifted away from pottery to create weapons.

Japan shifted to be more nationalistic, with commercial and consumer influences still present, which shaped its participation in the World Wars. The pottery made during this period reflects this. Japan sided with the British during the First World War and received colonial holdings in China, which allowed Japan to expand its railways and control more trade in China.³⁴ This power led to a sense of nationalism for Japanese citizens, and officials saw Japan as a leader in the global landscape. Economic growth followed this global perception of success. This shift led to pottery created after this time to represent Japanese culture and its language. A tea bowl created by Hamada Shōji around 1935 in Japan represents this passion.³⁵ The creation is a small bowl made of clay with what is likely a Kanji character on it.³⁶ A country’s language represents a part of its culture, and showcasing the language in pottery shows pride in one’s nation and culture.³⁷ It is also possible the artist did not consider the Kanji a representation of their country but with the rampant nationalism present in Japan during this era is not unreasonable to assume this may have

³⁰ Richard L. Wilson, Ogata Kenzan, and 尾形, 乾山(1663-1743), *The Art of Ogata Kenzan: Persona and Production in Japanese Ceramics* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), 13.

³¹ Wilson, Kenzan, and 尾形, 乾山, *The Art of Ogata Kenzan*, 15.

³² Wilson, Kenzan, and 尾形, 乾山, *The Art of Ogata Kenzan*, 13.

³³ Wilson, Kenzan, and 尾形, 乾山, *The Art of Ogata Kenzan*, 13.

³⁴ Brett Walker, *A Concise History of Japan* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221.

³⁵ Hamada Shōji, *Tea Bowl*, stoneware, ca. 1935, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/490736?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=A.D.+1900-present&where=Japan&what=Pottery&ao=on&ft=* &offset=0 &rpp=80&pos=70.

³⁶ Shōji, *Tea Bowl*.

³⁷ Kenny Smith, “How Culture and Biology Interact to Shape Language and the Language Faculty,” *Topics in Cognitive Science* 12, no. 2 (April 2020): 690–712 at 692.

had some impact. Almost seven years after Shōji created their tea bowl, Japan entered the Second World War with the Axis Powers.

Near the end of the war, metal and other raw materials needed to make weapons were in limited supply, leading to “crude, porcelain-encased fragmentation explosives” being produced in massive quantities.³⁸ Kilns, ovens once used for making pottery, were jarringly shifted into making these bombs.³⁹ This shift from exports to explosives enforces the social shift in Japan of nationalism over consumerism, but both sides had an impact. Japan took this form of artistic expression and turned it into a device to protect the country. The irony is that the artistic nature of the clay came back after the war when these ceramics returned to the arts.⁴⁰ After World War Two, Japan had to rebuild and find itself again as a nation, and the potters created art to support or contrast the nation’s values.

As the nation recovered from the devastation of the war, potters reclaimed their clay and started creating to protest the hyper-growth of Japan, which was damaging the environment. After Japan’s surrender in 1945, the United States occupied the nation and began reforms. Many of Japan’s citizens welcomed the U.S., who saved them from the militarized state.⁴¹ About thirteen years after Japan’s surrender, Yagi Kazuno created an unglazed flower vessel (*yakishime kaki*).⁴² The act of leaving the piece unglazed connects it to the earth and the environment.⁴³ This connection to the earth contrasts the rampant push for Japan to industrialize and become a global leader through economic growth. Not only is the piece unglazed it also has holes in the vessel to hold flowers.⁴⁴ This container highlights that a shift is needed in Japan to cultivate and not abuse the environment. This change happened with Japan actively protecting its environment since the 1970s, twelve years after Kanzuno created his ceramic.⁴⁵ The connection of pottery to the environment is still present in many contemporary potters’ creations. Three modern artists who support this idea are Yoshimi Futamura, Machiko Ogawa, and Kimiyo Mishima, with their words

³⁸Eric Mills, “Pieces of the Past,” *Naval History* vol. 32, no. 6 (2018): 64, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&a9h&AN=134867474&site=ehost-live>, Para 2.

³⁹ Mills, “Pieces of the Past.” Para. 2

⁴⁰ Mills, “Pieces of the Past.” Para. 3

⁴¹ Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, 262.

⁴² Yagi Kazuo, *Unglazed Flower Vessel (Yakishime Kaki)*, unglazed stoneware, ca. 1958, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/724741?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=A.D.+1900present&where=Japan&ft=Japan+pottery+modern&offset=0&rpp=80&pos=19>.

⁴³ Kazuo, *Unglazed Flower Vessel (Yakishime Kaki)*.

⁴⁴ Kazuo, *Unglazed Flower Vessel (Yakishime Kaki)*.

⁴⁵ Writers of Japan National Tourism Organization, “Nature and Environmental Protection,” JNTO, Japan National Tourism Organization, <https://education.jnto.go.jp/en/why-japan/natural-environment/>.

representing nature through trees or ice or the litter covering the earth.⁴⁶ Pottery in the modern day is being used as a form of protest and reminding the world of the value of the earth. The pottery creation in Japan has mirrored the social development of Japan except for in a few key moments when the potters try to push change.

Pottery has been a hallmark of Japan since around 10,500 BCE and has pushed and supported the social development of Japan from the Jōmon era (c. 10,500 BCE) to the modern-day (twenty-first century). During the Jōmon period, pottery was used more practically, with lipids present on the ceramics indicating they were used to process aquatic life leading to a more sedentary lifestyle. The potters during this period are likely to have been women highlighting that this maybe the first artifact of female expression in Japan. Pottery became less complex in the Yayoi era due to increased time being spent by women to help develop agriculture, however, ceramics started to become a sign of status. Pottery as a sign of status reached new heights during the sixteenth century with tea ceremonies and the prestige in having old and new pottery creations for one's rituals. Kenzan's artistic journey reveals the hyper-focus on consumerism, with his style being mass-produced by other potters but still marked as made by him, leading to confusion for current art historians. Pottery became a representation of nationalism and protection of one's country during the World Wars, with Kanji being represented and the kilns used to craft ceramic bombs. Contemporary potters pushed and supported Japan's movement to protect and appreciate nature.

⁴⁶ Yoshimi Futamura, *Rebirth*, stoneware, 2018, La Patinoire Royale – galerie Valérie Bach, <https://ocula.com/artists/yoshimi-futamura/>; Machiko Ogawa, Unglazed multi-fired porcelain with glass, 2014, Joan B. Mirviss, <https://www.artsy.net/artwork/machiko-ogawa-sanyu-haban-torn-sculpture-with-sparkling-glass>; Kimiyo Mishima, *Newspaper*, printed ceramics, 2020, Taka Ishii Gallery, <https://ocula.com/artists/kimiyo-mishima/>.

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Individualism, Consumerism, Commercialism, Nationalism, and Pottery

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Trial by Fire:
The Unsubstantiated Accusations Against the Knights Templar
Maxwell Mickelson

The trials of the Knights Templar provide historians with a lens of understanding the scale to which religious atrocities could reach in the 13th and 14th centuries. The trials occurred from 1307–1314 in multiple locations throughout Europe. The trials represent prime examples of the way in which parties of religious heretics could be accused of, convicted, and executed based on claims grounded in unsubstantiated beliefs. The witnesses testimonies in the trials did not offer substantial evidence to warrant the prosecution of the Templars. With the exception of the testimonies from the Papal States and Abruzzi, which involved the use of torture, almost none of the testimonies directly claim that the Templars had done any religious wrongdoings. The Knights Templar had been protectors of religious pilgrimages in the Holy Land since the mid-12th century. They provided the necessary protection in the Holy Land for pilgrims seeking travel to the Holy Sites.¹ Despite the necessity of the Knights Templar and their presence in the Holy Land, the Templars still received a number of grievances issued towards them, which originated from King Philip IV of France. These grievances consisted of fabricated claims about sodomy and homosexuality among the Knights Templar. The Templars received conviction for their supposed acts of sodomy and homosexuality, and several of them faced execution. Through analyzation of the witness testimonies, a clear conclusion can be drawn, that the trials had insubstantial evidence to convict the Templars of their supposed crimes.

Prior to analyzing the trials of the Templars there must first be an understanding made of the fundamental principles of the Knights Templar. Two fundamental primary accounts of popular views on the Knights Templar still exist. The letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’ (Hugh the sinner) exists as one example, and Bernard of Clairvaux’s *In Praise of the New Knighthood* exists as another. The author of the letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’ remains a mystery. The historian Malcom Barber has some speculations as to who it may have been. Barber speculates that “the writer was Hugh of Payns himself, but both the content and style make this improbable. Another candidate is the theologian Hugh of St Victor, of the Augustinian house in Paris”² No matter the identity of the author, he still offers significant insight into his opinions of the Templars. These insights helped to form 12th-14th century opinions of the Knights Templar, opinions which influenced the witness testimonies in the trials.

The letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’ from 1128 presents its readers with positive opinions of the Knights Templar. Even still, the author warns the Templars of the danger of the Devil, saying that “[t]he first task of the devil is to draw us into sin; the second is to corrupt our intentions and good deeds; the third is that as if with the appearance of helping he should divert us from our

¹ Malcom Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4.

² Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 42.

intended act of virtue and make us falter.”³ The author then continues on to articulate on the ways in which the Templars can overcome these sins. It appears the author thinks that the Templars may be misguided by the Devil and sin. Further on in the letter the author discusses the way in which the Templars must stand firm against the Devil. Expressing that “[w]hat [the devil] really wants is for you to change your position. . . . That is the hateful trickery, this the craftiness and the wiliness of the devil, with which he wants to deceive you. That is why you must stand firm and resist your adversary who is the lion and the serpent”⁴ The author expresses concern for the Templars. He wants them to heed his warnings, and to be aware of the dangers which the Devil tempts them with. This can only be accomplished by standing firm against the Devil’s temptations. The author requires the Templars to turn their focus inwards, and to ignore the distractions of the outside world.⁵ This suggests that the Templars may have been distracted by external threats, such as the temptations of the Devil. The Templars had a fundamental basis in monastic as well as military life. This duality made it difficult for the Templars to properly adhere to both. Lastly, an apparent connection exists between Bernard of Clairvaux and the letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’. By outlining some of the fundamental principles which the Knights Templar must adhere to, the author displays that the Knights Templar could be a capable group of fighting knights who could serve in the Holy Land. As the author predicted, the Templars filled this role well and they received great respect for their efforts. These positive views of the Templars remained consistent throughout the Templar trials, influencing the testimonies of the witnesses. Lastly, the letter appears to have been kept in a Hospitaller church in the Holy Land, beside Bernard of Clairvaux’s famous treatise on the Knights Templar.⁶ This suggests that the letter had great value to the Knights Templar, since it resided in the same place as Bernard of Clairvaux’s famous treatise.

Bernard of Clairvaux, also known as St. Bernard, exists as another figure of importance in understanding the fundamental principles of the Knights Templar. His treatise from the 12th century outlines the way in which the Knights of the Order should behave in combat, in religion, and in daily life. Regarding the way which knights should behave, he writes: “a knight must guard his person with vigor, shrewdness, and caution; he must be unimpeded in his movements, and he must be quick to draw his sword.”⁷ He held an idealistic view of knights and knighthood which, for the Knights Templar, had certainly faded from their vision by the 14th century. St. Bernard also writes on how the Templars should turn their focus to those who do not adhere to the faith. “Those

³ Hugh ‘Peccator’, “Letter of Hugh ‘Peccator’ to the Templars in the East (c. 1128),” in *The Templars: A History of the Temple*, trans. Malcom Barber and Keith Bate (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), 54–59 at 55.

⁴ Hugh ‘Peccator’, “Letter of Hugh ‘Peccator’ to the Templars in the East (c. 1128),” 56–57.

⁵ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 43.

⁶ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 42.

⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood: A treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, trans. M. Conrad Greenia Osco (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 37.

who busy themselves carrying off the incalculable riches placed in Jerusalem by Christian people Let both swords of the faithful fall upon the necks of the foe to the destruction of every lofty thing lifting itself up against the knowledge of God.”⁸ St. Bernard wants the Templars to turn their attention towards the infidels, and to bring them death and destruction. Such rhetoric paved the path for the Templars becoming a formidable military order in the Holy Land. This somewhat disagrees with the Letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’, the author of the letter wanted the Templars to be more religiously focused, while St. Bernard wanted them to be more militarily focused. However, St. Bernard makes a similar argument to the author of the Letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’ regarding religious practices. “[A knight of Christ] is God’s minister in the punishment of evil doers and the praise of well doers. Surely, if he kills an evil doer, he is not a man-killer, but, if I may so put in, an evil-killer.”⁹ St. Bernard regards the Templars as tools which could be used to strike down the infidels in the Holy Land. St. Bernard advocated for the Second Crusade as one of its major supporters, and his language here reflects that perfectly. Bernard of Clairvaux’s treatise and the Letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’ summarize the aspects of the Knights Templar which held value to the witnesses in the trials. Through testimony, these values express the common views of the Knights Templar through the 12th–14th centuries.

In leadup to the arrest of the Knights Templar in 1307, Pope Clement V issued a Papal Bull which decreed that great atrocities exist within the Order of the Knights Templar. Clement V claims that “[t]hey confessed among other things that they had denied Christ and spat upon the cross at their reception into the Order of the Temple.”¹⁰ Upon returning to Rome from the Holy Land in the early 14th century, leaders of the Order discover that the papacy had turned against them and sought to completely dissolve the Order. At the time, the thought that the Templars had behaved wrongfully and sinfully perplexed the population. The view that Bernard of Clairvaux had established for the Order remains prominent among those who saw the Templars as religiously focused knights. Bernard of Clairvaux revered the Templars as esteemed members of the cross and of the faith. He also saw them as very capable fighting knights who could defeat enemies with ease.¹¹ Now the Templars fall from the pedestal which Bernard of Clairvaux placed them upon, and the consequences would soon mount against them.

Pope Clement V writes to King Philip IV regarding the issue which the Templars presented, and he makes a call for action, saying that “[it is] not without great bitterness, sorrow and turmoil in our heart [that] we are forced to act on the foregoing, doing whatever reason demands.”¹² The

⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, 41.

⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, 39.

¹⁰ Clement V, “Papal bull, *Vox in excelso*” in *The Templars: A History of the Temple*, trans. Barber and Bate, 309–18 at 314.

¹¹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 280; Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, 34.

¹² Clement V, “Letter of Clement V to Philip IV (24 August 1307),” in *The Templars: A History of the Temple*, trans. Barber and Bate, 243–44 at 243.

Pope appears distressed by the situation, but he does not express concern about bringing justice for the atrocities which the Templars supposedly committed. The Pope continued with his plans to take action against the Templars, unaware that the claims he followed had no basis in truth. No matter the outcome of the trials, the Pope showed preparedness in the leadup to their start. Clement V expresses his preparedness in his letter to Philip IV, saying that “if they were to be found innocent, as they claimed, we should absolve them, but if they were to be found guilty, which they believed not to be the case, we should condemn them.”¹³ He instructs Philip IV that he should also be prepared. The Pope recently told Philip IV that he plans to open an enquiry to investigate the rumors he hears regarding the Order’s sinful actions.¹⁴ However, the arrest of the Templars gets underway without the knowledge of the Pope. This suggests that Philip IV conspired against the authority of the Pope, which would not be the first time this had occurred.

The letter from the Pope preceded the Order for the Templars’ arrests. The Order for the arrests makes various claims which lack any significant weight. Despite this, the writers of the document made several accusations against the Order. Claiming that they “received insistent reports from very reliable people that brothers of the Order of the Knights Temple, wolves in sheep’s clothing . . . are again crucifying our Lord Jesus Christ in these days.”¹⁵ The Order for the arrests makes note of “very reliable people” but fails to tell who gave them this information. The document also makes claims of homosexuality within the Order, claiming that “[the Templars] are kissed by [Visitor or his deputy] first on the lower part of the dorsal spine, secondly on the navel and finally on the mouth, in accordance with the profane rite of their Order but to the disgrace of the dignity of the human race.”¹⁶

The historian Anne Gilmour-Bryson articulates on how the Templars have permission to carry out homosexual acts. While most Templars receive permission to carry out homosexual acts, few of them admit to having partook in such actions themselves. Members of the Order do not confess to such actions before the trial. High-ranking members of the Order permit and sometimes encourage homosexual acts among younger members. The accusations of sodomy issued refer to Templars supposedly with same sex partners. A formal definition of sodomy, as understood by the medieval world in the 14th century, does not seem to exist.¹⁷ A majority of the accusations focus on the impacts which homosexuality had on the Order. The claims of homosexuality often included the intended claims of sodomy. The 13th and 14th centuries display a revised pursuit of non-

¹³ Clement V, “Letter of Clement V to Philip IV (24 August 1307),” 243.

¹⁴ Juien Théry-Astruc, “The Fight of the Master of Lombardy (13 February 1308) and Clement V’s strategy in the Templar affair: a slap in the Pope’s face,” *Rivista Di Storia Della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 70, no. 1 (2016): 35–44 at 39.

¹⁵ Unknown, “Order for the arrests (14 September 1307),” in *The Templars: A History of the Temple*, trans. Barber and Bate, 244–48 at 245.

¹⁶ Unknown, “Order for the arrests (14 September 1307),” 245.

¹⁷ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomy and the Knights Templar,” 161.

Christian parties. Anne Gilmour-Bryson clearly expresses that “[s]cholars agree that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stricter measures began to be taken against marginal peoples: Cathars, lepers, Jews, and homosexuals. Groups that had been tolerated in Christian society no longer were.”¹⁸ This targeting adversely effects minority groups such as the Knights Templar, rumored to be homosexuals.

Of the many witnesses who testified at the Templar Trials, very few of them offer enough evidence to say that the claims made by the Papacy and King Philip IV held any weight. One witness who testified at the trial in the Papal States did confirm that there existed some homosexual activity within the Order, however. He stated that upon “[a]rriving at the questions on permission to have sex with other brothers, [he] merely answered that ‘William and Dominic told him that brothers . . . could legitimately have sex with one another.’”¹⁹ William and Dominic had been brothers of the Order. This statement from the witness confirms that brothers in the Order can have sexual relations, but there seems to be little evidence to support that they do. No other witness in this story testifies to these actions. A testimony from William or Dominic may have served well to further this testimony, but those do not exist. Another witness testifies that “having been told that Christ was a false prophet . . . [and of] obscene kisses, sodomy committed by others, . . . that he too had left the Order because of improper practices.”²⁰ This member of the Order proclaims to see and hear many things within the Order which convinces him to leave. Note that he does leave the Order, meaning that he felt at liberty to speak regarding the Order. He could easily exaggerate these claims to make the members of the Order appear more guilty than they may have been. By exaggerating claims in testimony, the Templar members shift blame off themselves and onto others. Several other members of the Order proclaim that they had seen or heard of the possibility of homosexual acts occurring among Templar members, but they never proclaim to partake in it themselves. There remain no testimonies which directly support the other testimonies claiming there to be homosexual activity within the Order.

Witnesses likely would not admit to partaking in homosexuality, for it placed guilt upon themselves. It may have been easier for them to admit that others partake in such acts, for that places guilt on them, and off their chest.²¹ This system of finger pointing at fellow Templar brothers makes it challenging to decipher if the claims these witnesses make hold significant weight. No two witnesses claim the exact same events to have occurred among the exact same people. Clearly the Templar brothers on the trial in the Papal States and Abruzzi had suddenly become more concerned with their individual security than those of others. This differs greatly from the ideal form of knighthood which Bernard of Clairvaux wanted the Templars to possess.

¹⁸ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomy and the Knights Templar,” 162–63.

¹⁹ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomy and the Knights Templar,” 170.

²⁰ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and the Abruzzi* (Citta Del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982), 59.

²¹ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomy and the Knights Templar,” 171.

Testimonies which admit to this scale of homosexuality within the Order cannot be found in the other trials, such as those in Cyprus. A key difference being that unlike in other trials, those in the Papal States and Abruzzi employed torture as a means of extracting information.²²

Templar members in Cyprus do not express the same testimonies as those in the Papal States and Abruzzi. In fact, all of them claim ignorance of any wrongdoings or errors within the Order. A good example of this sort of testimony comes from a Templar witness, answering that “he never knew of errors within the order nor heard it said that there were [any]; and therefore, since [errors] did not exist, they did not have a beginning.”²³ Without torturing witnesses, the inquisitors struggle to get any tangible evidence as proof of homosexuality in the Order. Those tortured in other trials may have been feeding the inquisitors any information necessary in an attempt to end their sufferings.

Among non-Templar witnesses in the trials in Cyprus, all of them proclaim that they knew nothing of any wrongdoings or errors within the Order. None of them have reason to believe that there exists faults within the Order. They assume the Templars to be religiously and militaristically in line. Several of the witnesses make reference to the Templars being a secret society, and that no one could understand their lives. Lord Andrew Tartaro testifies that “brothers of the Temple used to keep their rule very much hidden so that no one could know it.”²⁴ Another non-Templar witness, Lord Lawrence of Beirut, conveys that he “spent eighteen years with the brothers of the Temple, and when he lived with them, he saw them revere and honour the cross with great devotion.”²⁵ These witnesses could not provide the evidence which the inquisitors sought because they never lived long enough with the Templars to see them commit any atrocities, nor had they become enveloped within the Order. The non-Templar witnesses believe the Order to be religiously correct; they had no reason to believe otherwise. This follows the views of the Templars still held by 14th century European society. As expressed in the documents by Bernard of Clairvaux and in the Letter from Hugh ‘Peccator’, the Templars should serve as religiously and militaristically focused individuals. To those outside the Order, they appear to fill these roles sufficiently, no evidence exists to prove otherwise.

Despite the clearly stated testimonies of the witnesses, the reason for the original arrest and prosecution of the Templars remains unclear, however some theories have been suggested by historians which explain King Philip IV’s reasoning. Although difficult to ascertain, King Philip IV and his prosecutors likely did have a substantial reason for arresting the Templars. Malcom Barber responds with a likely theory, stating that “[w]hile it is true that both Philip II and Philip IV attempted to use Louis IX’s confirmation of Templar possessions in 1258, . . . this needs to be seen in the context of the attempts made by most contemporary monarchs to reduce the proportion

²² Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomoy and the Knights Templar,” 171.

²³ Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 99–100.

²⁴ Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 407–8.

²⁵ Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, 410.

of lands held in a mortmain by clerical institutions, rather than an action aimed specifically at the Temple in France.”²⁶ When viewed within historical context, Barber’s argument holds some significant value. The Templars likely had no reason to have grievances against the King in France because the King did no wrong to them. As Barber summarizes, “There is no evidence of Templar opposition to the crown.”²⁷

Sufficient evidence must still be found to account for the reasoning behind the arrest of the Templars. One viable possibility could be King Philip IV’s desire to acquire wealth. Since the 12th century, the Templars had been known as wealthy moneylenders. Knowledge of the Templars’ wealth had not been lost on the monarchy in France.²⁸ Philip IV had been struggling with the financial standing of France for some time. He may have believed that the seizure of the Templars’ assets could rectify some of his problems. A somewhat different argument for the arrest of the Templars comes from the historian Norman Housley, suggesting that the actions taken by Philip IV may have been more complex than simply a lust for wealth. He states that “[a]lthough not totally erroneous, this interpretation of the fall of the Templars now seems too straight-forward. That the trial’s origins and outcome were connected with the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land seems certain, but it reflects a public response to 1291 that was diverse and complex, extremely hard for us to read.”²⁹ Housley speculates that the reasoning behind the initiation of the Templar trials may be more complex than what it initially appears to be. He does not elaborate on this point and does not offer an alternative possibility as to the reason for the initiation of the trials. Therefore, Housley’s argument offers insufficient evidence for why the King and the Papacy sought out the arrest of the Templars. No matter the motives behind Philip IV’s reasoning for initiating the trials, the clear lack of historical documents explaining his reasoning testifies to the secrecy behind his actions.

The most compelling evidence for any sodomy, heresy, or homosexuality within the Order can be found in the testimonies from those who received torture in the trials of the Papal States and Abruzzi. However, these witnesses still offer little in the way of concrete evidence in support of homosexuality to the degree to which they had been accused of. No two Templar testimonies align to conclude that any Templar brother certainly partook in homosexual activities. The Templar brothers accused each other of homosexual activity without evidence to support their claims. These testimonies mention that they received offers to partake in these actions from other brothers, but they themselves did not testify to have personally partook in such actions. The Templars frequently shifted the burden off of themselves. This pattern in the testimonies can be found so frequently throughout the testimonies from the Templars that it almost appears as though

²⁶ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 297.

²⁷ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 297.

²⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995), 199.

²⁹ Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), 125.

they each had a similar mindset. The members who testified in the Papal States and Abruzzi showed no concern for each other, rather each of them sought to escape the inquisitors who tortured and interrogated them. At other trials, such as those in Cyprus, the Templar members claimed ignorance when asked about the presence of homosexuality or sodomy within the Order. No primary accounts exist detailing the Templars' thought process on this matter. Therefore, there lies great difficulty in understanding the apparent pattern in the Templar testimonies. Among the non-Templar witness testimonies, the blatant ignorance of the witnesses furthers the argument that they believed the Templars to be the knights which Bernard of Clairvaux and the author from the Letter from Hugh 'Peccator' expressed them to be. Through analysis of primary source documents pertaining to the Trials of the Templars, Pope Clement V's desire to arrest the Templars stemmed largely from the fabricated claims which he had heard. King Philip IV's motivations for the trials have been a more difficult aspect to understand. He may have sought to gain the wealth from the Templars, or it may have been more complex than that, as Norman Housley suggests. Either way, Philip IV died shortly after the conclusion of the trials, so there remain no conclusive documents which express that he gained significant financial benefit from the disintegration of the Templars. This remains as one of the aspects which could do with some further investigation. Through historical analysis of the Templar trials, ample evidence could not be found worthy of the Templar's conviction. The fabricated claims made about the Knights Templar served only as a tool to wipe them permanently from the face of history.

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Conversion, Annihilation, or Suicide:
The 1096 Jewish Pogroms in the Rhineland

James Moll

It was once an accepted belief that Jews during the 1096 Pogroms took their own life only after being given the ultimatum of accepting baptism or dying by the sword.¹ Recent scholarship and a closer look at the original chronicles, both Christian and Hebrew, provide a different viewpoint to this belief. After understanding the reasoning for the pogroms, or lack thereof, a new question arises in relation to the extent of the slaughter. This new viewpoint does not negate the mass murder of the Jews, nor does it negate the provided evidence of the possibility of baptism or death. Instead, we find that both events did happen. We can also glean from these sources an order in which the events happened. The Jewish Massacres of 1096 began as mayhem and slaughter that in certain cases manifested into the forced conversions and subsequent baptisms of Jewish Citizens in the Rhineland.

Before a statement on whether conversion or annihilation happened first can be made, a study of the most likely motives for these pogroms must occur. There was once speculation that the 1096 pogroms were planned. It is important to clarify the initial intent of the pogroms due to its influence in primary source interpretation. The Hebrew Chronicles attribute said planning to Count Emicho of Flonheim, the leader mentioned in the Hebrew Chronicles. Admittedly, if one dwells only on the Hebrew Chronicles, a case could be made that the pogroms were purposeful and planned from the start of the People's Crusade. Peter the Hermit had already moved through Germany by the time the Pogroms began happening. On his way to Constantinople, he stirred up the masses, so it makes sense that they started in his wake. However, that does not prove initial intent of the pogroms. Solomon Bar Samson, one of the Hebrew Chronicle writers, made his position on Count Emicho very clear, writing "Emicho the wicked, enemy of the Jews, came with his whole army against the city gate [of Mainz, Germany] . . . the enemies of the Lord said to each other: 'Look! They have opened up the gate for us. Now let us avenge the blood of 'the hanged one' [Jesus Christ].'"² He makes it seem as though Count Emicho premeditated the slaughter of the Jews at Mainz. Secondary sources, as well as other primary sources disprove this argument and instead argue that the Pogroms were unplanned mayhem, "Slaughter for the sake of slaughter" as David Malkiel states in his article "Destruction or Conversion Intention and reaction, Crusaders and Jews, in 1096."³ This is reiterated in many other sources. Kenneth Stow writes that "Emicho joined them [wanderers and leaders that presumably wanted to join the People's Crusade], and

¹ David Malkiel, "Destruction or Conversion Intention and reaction, Crusaders and Jews, in 1096," *Jewish History*, vol. 15 (2001): 257–80 on 257; also see Robert Chazan, "Medieval Antisemitism" in David Berger, ed., *History and Hate: Dimensions of Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 60–77 at 55.

² Solomon Bar Samson, *Solomon Bar Samson on the Massacres of Jews*, in *The Crusades: A Reader*, ed. S. J. Allen and Emilie Amt, trans. A. C. Krey (Canada: University of Toronto, 2014), 48–51 at 48.

³ Malkiel, "Destruction or Conversion," 266.

together, in a last minute decision, they decided to attack.”⁴ Stow interprets Albert of Aachen’s Christian narrative as though Count Emicho and his followers made a “last minute decision” to attack. Albert of Aachen does not state this directly; instead, he says that Count Emicho waited in Mainz for other leaders from the area.⁵ Though their plan may have been to leave straight from Mainz to Constantinople, there may have been certain enticing factors that made Mainz a target for such a large-scale attack.

Albert of Aachen’s narrative is quite revealing in how Christians regarded the 1096 Pogroms. He describes Count Emicho, and those who joined him in Mainz (including Thomas of Marle, Drogo of Nesle, and Clarembald of Vendeuil) as “intolerable company.”⁶ Later in his narrative, he writes with continued evident disgust: “the hand of the Lord is believed to have been against the pilgrim who had sinned by excessive impurity and fornication, and who had slaughtered the exiled Jews. . . The Lord is a just judge and orders no one unwillingly, or under compulsion, to come under the yoke of the Catholic faith.”⁷ Albert of Aachen expresses outspoken dislike and disapproval of Count Emicho, his following, and what they did in Mainz.

Since Albert of Aachen was a historian, his record of disliking Count Emicho rather than championing him displays distaste for Count Emicho’s actions to those in high authority who read Latin. This same distaste is clearly illustrated in an essay by Daniel P. Franke. In his essay, he writes: “If anti-Jewish activity was inherent to or championed by the crusading movement, it would stand to reason that these writers would include it in their histories.”⁸ As Franke states, many of the Latin Narratives of the First Crusade leave out or only briefly mention the 1096 Pogroms. The *Gesta Francorum*, for example, begins its record in 1095 with the Council of Clermont. However, the narrative quickly selects Peter the Hermit, the first to make it to Constantinople, as its “main character.”⁹ By following Peter, the author conveniently leaves out the 1096 pogroms that sprung up after he paraded through Germany. Though he does mention the pogroms, Albert of Aachen displays an attitude one would expect from a Christian source that does not condone the senseless

⁴ Kenneth Stow, “Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness: Emicho of Floheim and the Fear of the Jews in the Twelfth Century,” *Speculum*, vol. 76, no. 4 (October 2001): 911–33 at 915.

⁵ Stow, “Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness,” 915; Albert of Aachen, “Albert of Aachen on the Peasant’s Crusade,” in *The Crusades: A Reader*, ed. Allen and Amt, trans. Krey, 42–48 at 46–48.

⁶ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47; Albert of Aachen does not include Drogo of Nesle in his narrative, however other histories place him there, see Conor Kostick, “Juvenes and the First Crusade (1096–99): Knights in Search of Glory?” *The Journal for Military History*, vol. 73 (April 2009): 177–208.

⁷ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47–48.

⁸ Daniel P. Franke, “The Crusades and Medieval Anti-Judaism: Cause or Consequence?” in *Seven Myths of the Crusades*, 48–69, ed. Alfred J. Andrea and Andrew Holt (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2015), 52; Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 262.

⁹ Rosalind Hill, ed. and trans., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 48–50.

slaughter of the Jewish people. After this review, one can confirm that the 1096 Pogroms were unsanctioned slaughters of the Jewish people by Christians on their way to Constantinople.

Count Emicho is an elusive character, and information on who he was, where he was, and what he did there can be confusing and misleading. The best way to quickly clear up these issues is to present basic biographical information.¹⁰ The Count Emicho from the Hebrew Chronicles was the Count of Flonheim. He is often mistaken for Count Emicho of Leiningen, who was not involved in any of the Crusades but did in fact live during this time period.¹¹ Count Emicho of Flonheim is only chronicled to be in Mainz by both the Latin Narratives and the Hebrew Chronicles.¹² Coming from Flonheim, which resides south of Mainz but north of Worms and Speyer, it would not make sense for Count Emicho to go south before going north to Mainz. This is where Peter the Hermit traveled through to reach Prague and eventually Constantinople. Other pilgrim groups sensibly followed the same path.

It is thought, however, that Thomas of Marle and Drogo of Nesle were at both Speyer and Worms, working north towards Mainz and meeting Count Emicho there with Clarembald of Vendeuil.¹³ It is possible that Count Emicho's actions and Thomas and Drogo's suspected actions in Speyer and Worms were similar enough that the men were mistaken as the same individual. Another important speculation is that Count Emicho may have known someone inside the city of Mainz, seeing as the gates to Mainz "opened" instead of being broken down. The inside person's knowledge of him also explains why Count Emicho's name was defaced after the massacre. His name was the only name the citizens could pick out of the different leaders that came ripping through their city. All these men together slaughtered the Jews of Mainz but were disbanded on their way to Constantinople due to Count Emicho's death.¹⁴ It is important to understand this man's purpose and origins because he is a central character of the 1096 pogroms.

The order of events during the 1096 Pogroms is a constant debate among historians like Robert Chazan, Jeremy Cohen, David Malkiel, and Kenneth Stow. The primary sources on the 1096 Pogroms are few; they are ambiguous however and leave plenty of room for analysis and argument. While not the earliest written, the narrative of Albert of Aachen did come before the Chronicle of Solomon Bar Samson.¹⁵ Albert of Aachen writes of only two cities that were attacked:

¹⁰ Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness," 911–19.

¹¹ Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness," 913, 915; Malkiel, "Destruction or Conversion," 267; Kostick, "Iuvenes and the First Crusade," 6. Thomas F. Madden states that it was Count Emicho of Leiningen; however, he provides no primary source evidence to support this claim. See Madden, *The Concise History of the Crusades*, third student ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 18.

¹² Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness," 911, 913. Although Robert Chazan also places Count Emicho in Worms, Stow goes in depth about why this must have been so in his article.

¹³ Kostick, "Iuvenes and the First Crusade," 6.

¹⁴ Kostick, "Iuvenes and the First Crusade," 6; Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, Apprehensiveness," 916.

¹⁵ Malkiel, "Destruction or Conversion," 264; Susan L. Einbinder, "Signs of Romance: Hebrew Prose and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael A. Signer and John

Cologne and Mainz. He skips over the attacks on Speyer and Worms entirely, however he alludes to their happening.¹⁶ Of Cologne, he writes:

This slaughter of Jews was done first by citizens of Cologne. . . [they] severely wounded and killed many [Jews] . . . they destroyed the houses and synagogues of the Jews. . . When the Jews saw this cruelty, about 200 in the silence of the night began flight by boat to Neuss. The pilgrims and crusaders discovered them, and after taking away all their possessions, inflicted on them similar slaughter, leaving not even one alive.¹⁷

First, he notes that these atrocities were inflicted by “citizens of Cologne” that planned to go on the Crusade. The citizens decided to start with “enemies of the Christian faith” that resided in their hometown.¹⁸ Based upon this narrative, no concrete leadership had been established in Cologne. It appears leadership stayed unestablished for this company until their arrival in Mainz. This lack of military leadership, and perhaps also the lack of Christian religious leaders (such as a bishop), may explain why Albert of Aachen does not discuss the possibility of conversion in Cologne.¹⁹ A lack of leadership often means a lack of accountability, so there was likely not a possibility of conversion for the Jews of Cologne.

When these leaderless pilgrims arrived in Mainz, Albert of Aachen writes that they met up with multiple, capable leaders. Thomas of Marle, Drogo of Nesle, and Clarembald of Vendeuil were there, and Count Emicho of Flonheim was arriving fresh from Flonheim.²⁰ As told in the narrative, the Jews go to Bishop Rothard (the local Bishop) for protection in his palace.²¹ This did not stop Count Emicho and his army, and “[they] attacked the Jews in the hall with arrows and

Van Engen (South Bend: Notre Dame University Press, 2001), 221–33 at 226–27; Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 145; Albert of Aachen wrote his narrative between 1095–1121; Solomon Bar Samson wrote his sometime in the twelfth century.

¹⁶ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47: “The Jews of this city [Mainz], knowing the slaughter of their brethren”

¹⁷ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 46.

¹⁸ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 46.

¹⁹ Albert of Aachen here describes the first attacks in Cologne. The second attack (which took place after Mainz) may have included a higher conversion/forced baptism rate, as it was conducted by a different group.

²⁰ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 46; Kostick, “Juvenes and the First Crusade,” 6. As I previously mentioned, there is speculation as to where Thomas, Drogo, And Clarembald came from before arriving at Mainz. Latin accounts kept these atrocities unwritten, thereby creating mystery as to where certain known people were and at what time.

²¹ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47.

lances. Breaking the bolts and doors, they killed the Jews, about 700 in number, who in vain resisted the force and attack of so many thousands.”²² This initial attack, seemingly unprovoked, initiated the mass suicide of the Jews and enticed the Bishop and his men to flee from Mainz without the Jews they were charged to protect.²³ This narrative also places the slaughter before the mass suicide. From the suicide, “a few escaped; and a few because of fear, rather than because of love of the Christian faith, were baptized.”²⁴ Here, Albert of Aachen finalizes the timeline of events in Mainz, ending with an option of baptism for the Jews.

The Solomon Bar Samson Chronicle was written well after Albert of Aachen’s narrative, which means that Solomon Bar Samson may have been influenced by the French Romantics and the narrative of Albert of Aachen both.²⁵ That said, Solomon Bar Samson goes more in depth about certain details. He further promotes the “slaughter first” theory when he describes Rabbi Kalonymos ben Meshullam and the people of Mainz taking up arms against the Christians. However, this first line of defense failed. According to Solomon Bar Samson it failed “because of the many troubles and the fasts which they had observed they had no strength to stand up against the enemy.”²⁶ At the inner courts of Mainz another defense mounted, as it is written: “Each Jew in the inner court of the bishop girded on his weapons, and all moved towards the palace gate to fight the crusaders and the citizens . . . [but] the enemy overcame them and took the gate.”²⁷ The reciting of each mounted defense as described by Solomon Bar Samson invokes the inference that indeed, the first goal was slaughter. Even the local Christian Bishop in Mainz, Rothard, fled from the city because he felt his life was in danger due to his involvement with the Jews.²⁸ If the main goal or first action was conversion, the bishop would not have left. He would have stayed, as his job would become baptizing the Jews.

Solomon Bar Samson clearly thinks that the massacre in Mainz happened before conversion for the Jews became an option. He continues in his next paragraph: “When the children of the holy covenant saw that the heavenly decree of death had been issued and that the enemy had

²² Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47; The number killed in Mainz varies from source to source. Here, Albert of Aachen states 700 killed before the mass suicide. According to the *Annalista Saxo*, sourced by David Malkiel, 900 Jews were killed in Mainz; Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 267. Kenneth Stow states in “Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness” that the Jewish memory books only cite 600 dead in Mainz by name; Stow, “Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness,” 918. Solomon Bar Samson tops the list, recording “1,100 offerings on one day”; see Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 51.

²³ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 49.

²⁴ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47.

²⁵ Susan L. Einbinder, “Signs of Romance: Hebrew Prose and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, 221–33, ed. Michael A. Signer and John Van Engen (South Bend: Notre Dame University Press, 2001), 226–27; Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 145.

²⁶ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 49.

²⁷ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 49.

²⁸ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 49.

conquered them and had entered the courtyard, then all of them . . . cried out together to their Father in heaven and, weeping for themselves and for their lives, accepted as just the sentence of God.”²⁹ They recognized that they must kill themselves to keep their purity, instead of allowing the Christians to kill them all. As the Christians broke through to the courtyard and continued to pick off the Jews with arrows and stones, the Jews decided “there is nothing better than for us to offer our lives as a sacrifice.”³⁰ This suicide, as described by Solomon Bar Samson, succeeds the initial slaughter, and is provoked by said slaughter. Solomon Bar Samson describes incidents of conversion in Worms, however conversion in Mainz seems to be on a personal basis.³¹

The personal account of Kalonymos ben Meshullam is also chronicled by Solomon Bar Samson. During the fighting in Mainz, Kalonymos and fifty-two other Jews of Mainz hid in a treasure closet in the palace of Bishop Rothard. After the fighting was over the bishop, having fled as aforementioned, sent a messenger to Kalonymos in the closet. He brought Kalonymos and his group across the river to Rüdeshheim, where the bishop was residing.³² Time passed, though it is unknown how much, and the bishop said to Kalonymos “I cannot save you. For your God has turned away from you, having no desire to leave any survivors among you . . . Know, then, what you and those with you must do. Either you must accept our religion or you must pay for the sin of your ancestors.”³³ Kalonymos takes this information to the other rescued Jews, and they decided to kill themselves rather than be killed or baptized by the Christians. Solomon Bar Samson admits he does not know for sure how Kalonymos dies; however, he does say that Kalonymos slaughters his own son before he himself dies.³⁴ Even though they had escaped the initial attack in Mainz and believed they were safe, Kalonymos and his remaining soldiers were still pressed to convert or die. While their mass suicide resembled the event in Mainz, post-conversion suicide was also common among the Jews of Mainz.

Master Isaac the Parnas was forcibly converted to Christianity by the Crusaders on the day of the attacks in Mainz. After his wife was killed, he accepted baptism to prevent further harm to his family. He also wished to save his children from being kidnapped and raised as Christians. Master Isaac was not the only Jew in Mainz with this fear. Days later, Master Isaac was overcome with guilt and grief. He decided to sacrifice his children to God, and then proceeded to burn his house down with his own mother inside.³⁵ He then went to the synagogue, where him and a friend

²⁹ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 49.

³⁰ Solomon Bar Samson, *The Massacres of Jews*, 50.

³¹ Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 263.

³² Solomon Bar Samson, “There They Remained in Desperate Straits . . .,” in Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 131–33.

³³ Solomon Bar Samson, “There They Remained in Desperate Straits . . .,” 132.

³⁴ Solomon Bar Samson, “There They Remained in Desperate Straits . . .,” 132.

³⁵ Eliezer bar Nathan, “Master Isaac Ben David,” in Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 91–92; Solomon Bar Samson, “Master Isaac the Parnas,” in Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 93–94.

started fires at every entrance. The inferno killed them both, relieving them of the guilt they had from acting Christian and betraying their Jewish faith.³⁶ This short story mentions briefly that conversion happened after annihilation. Isaac's baptism after his wife's death during the slaughter, and Isaac's subsequent suicide days after the events appears to be a common theme. Though not a mirror image, the previous story of Kalonymos presents a similar timeline: massacre in Mainz, attempted baptism by Bishop Rothard in the days following, and a mass suicide by those Jews being held by the bishop. Despite the added romantics of Solomon Bar Samson, the story of Master Isaac the Parnas is exemplary of annihilation before conversion.

The *Mainz Anonymous* as we know it today is missing pages from its original form.³⁷ Luckily, the story of *Mistress Rachel of Mainz* survives and provides a more personal account of what happened in Mainz. The story of *Rachel of Mainz* begins in Rachel's home, after the initial attacks on the city. She fears her children will be taken and converted to Christianity. She says "I have four children. Even on them have no mercy, lest these uncircumcised ones come and take them alive and they be maintained in their error."³⁸ In this phrase alone, the *Mainz Anonymous* gives an order to the events in Mainz and also presents a theme found in the Solomon Bar Samson Chronicle. That presented theme is the dramatic slaying of Jews by their own people for the sake of purity.³⁹ When Rachel gives the command to have her own children slain, she does not appear to know if there is a possibility of conversion to save their lives.⁴⁰ She takes her actions based upon assumption. There is no evidence that she knows the Christians will keep her and her children alive if they accept baptism. She believes that the Christians will have mercy on her children's lives but in return for their lives, those children will be raised as Christians. She can't accept that possibility, so she kills them instead.

After killing all four of her children, Rachel of Mainz allowed their blood to cover her as she held their bodies. When the crusaders came (presumably not friends of the family, which was sometimes the case in these instances), "[t]hey said to her, 'Show us the treasure that you have in your arms.' When they saw that the children were slaughtered they beat her and killed her."⁴¹ The crusaders here do not offer conversion to Rachel, and Rachel does not kill herself like many of the other Jews in Mainz. Instead, as it is written, the crusaders enter and kill her upon seeing she killed her children. The assumption here, made by Rachel and which remains undisputed, is that the

³⁶ Eliezer Bar Nathan writes that both Master Isaac and his friend, Master Uri, burned in the fire at the synagogue. Solomon Bar Samson writes a more romantic version, where Master Uri runs to the synagogue while it is burning so he can join his friend in the fire. In this version, Master Uri is killed by Crusaders on the way to the synagogue.

³⁷ Robert Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (University of California Press, 2000), 28–29.

³⁸ *Mainz Anonymous*, in Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 107.

³⁹ Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 108.

⁴⁰ Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 108.

⁴¹ *Mainz Anonymous*, in Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, 107.

crusaders wanted to claim and convert the children. Though this may have happened all over the city, it is not written about in many other sources. According to David Malkiel, most options for conversion happened during “close encounters” and in obscure settings away from the masses. These “close encounters” were often fabricated by the Christian pilgrims. Friends of families would press for their Jewish friends to convert and escape death. Other times, Jews would be caught alone by groups of Christians and forced to convert. This fabrication happened during door-to-door visits (like when they found Rachel), as well as in alley ways and while escaping from the massacre.⁴² It is hard to say how many children were converted during these close encounters because there are few records of children being taken from the Rhineland and converted.

There are hints to a possibility of conversion in Jewish children, however the accounts are dictated by the parents and are discussed in harsh words.⁴³ There are accounts of fathers speaking to their children and how said children must “choose between hell and paradise,” and how the fathers did not want their children “raised in [the crusaders’] error.”⁴⁴ This same verbiage is used by Rachel in the *Mainz Anonymous* in relation to her own children. Latin sources retrieved by Mary Minty suggest that crusaders may have preferred to convert children rather than kill them, however David Malkiel makes the point that her sources chronicle thirteenth century and beyond and therefore should not be compared to 1096. Confirming what Malkiel states in his article, Albert of Aachen writes that mothers killed their children in the courtyards and halls of Mainz and the bishop’s castle (respectively), “preferring them to perish thus by their own hands rather than to be killed by the weapons of the uncircumcised [Christians].”⁴⁵ In fear of their children being slaughtered by the Christians, or worse baptized, mothers in the Jewish communities of the Rhineland slaughtered their children.

After reading the excerpts of these chronicles, it may seem as though conversion was never an option for the Jews in these cities. However, one must remember that the focus of many of the surviving chronicles (both Latin and Hebrew) are on the attack on Mainz. The narrative of Bernold of St. Blasien reports of Jews in Worms, who went to their bishop for protection (like in Mainz) but were denied unless they converted to Christianity. When given the ultimatum, the Jews preferred to kill themselves over dying by the swords of the Christians or baptism.⁴⁶ Robert Chazan and his assessment of “The Speyer-Worms-Mainz Unit” of the Solomon Bar Samson chronicle confirms that narrative. Chazan states that Jews in Worms went through what they did in Speyer and eventually Mainz: they died at the hands of Christians, they died by their own hands, and some even *allowed* themselves to be killed by the Christians. He also writes “[Solomon Bar Samson] does mention a number of Jews forcibly converted,” however neither Solomon Bar Samson or

⁴² Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 268–70.

⁴³ Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 270.

⁴⁴ Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 270.

⁴⁵ Albert of Aachen, “The Peasant’s Crusade,” 47.

⁴⁶ Malkiel, “Destruction or Conversion,” 263.

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Robert Chazan give an official number and they do not describe how the incident in Worms comes about.⁴⁷ The same is not said about Mainz, which can be explained by the difference in Crusader leadership between Worms and Mainz.

The Jews of the Rhineland were slaughtered in 1096, with forced conversion being a rare exception not offered in every afflicted city. Many Jews chose to kill themselves and their families rather than be killed by the Christians. Suicide was also used to evade forced conversion. The lack of primary sources is a regrettable detriment to the argument at hand. This argument should also be expanded outside of Mainz and Worms, visiting Cologne, Trier, and Speyer, as well as Jewish cities in France that never experienced the knowledge of a “Count Emicho.”⁴⁸ Research in this field is important to Jewish history. It is also important to solidly nail down the events in 1096 due to the continuing discrepancy across the historiography. Though this task is virtually impossible, further analysis of the primary sources we do have can provide the evidence and other information needed to form and complete current historical debates.

⁴⁷ Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History*, 74–75.

⁴⁸ “Count Emicho” is used here as the symbol described by Stow, “Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness,” 911–23.

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Senior History Thesis (Abridged)

Major Engagements of the German and Irish Soldiers in the American Civil War

Bradley Hancock

Although nativism, politics, and religion certainly played large roles in the perception of Irish and Germans in the North, these elements are overshadowed by the importance that combat experience had on these men and the public's opinions of them. Both big and small, East and West, countless battles of the American Civil War involved the participation of German and Irish soldiers—regardless of whether or not they were in an ethnic regiment. Conversely, only a small fraction of those battles (mostly following the fighting done by the Irish Brigade and the Eleventh Corps) were consequential enough to influence the public perceptions of these ethnic soldiers. Among those of significance, the battles of First Bull Run and Antietam showcased the fighting Irishman, while the Germans were mostly remembered (rather infamously) for their participation in the Battle of Chancellorsville. However, it was the watershed Battle of Gettysburg where *both* Irish and Germans were put on display for the rest of the country to see and judge.

With war having only begun mere months before, the Union army marched South into Virginia in hopes of quickly capturing the new Confederate capitol at Richmond, putting an end to what would be seen as a brief insurrection. Directly confronting the rebel army at the small junction of Manassas, Virginia, Union General Irvin McDowell (1818–1885) engaged in what would become not only the first true test of ethnic soldiers, but the first true test of the Union Army as a whole. Comprised of mostly inexperienced soldiers getting their first taste of combat, the Irish 69th New York was among those preparing to enter the fray.¹ Captain Thomas Francis Meagher (1823–1867) (the soon to be commander) of the 69th New York highlighted the importance of Catholicism to these anxious Irish soldiers as they received a general absolution by the regiment's chaplain.

There were few of the 69th who failed to confess and ask forgiveness on that day. Every one, officers as well as privates, prepared for death. Sincerely and devoutly they made their peace with God. This is the secret of their courage, and the high, bright spirit with which they bore all the hardships, the privations, the terrors, and the chastisement of the battle.²

¹ *The Union Army: A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States, 1861–65 – Records of the Regiments in the Union Army – Cyclopaedia of Battles – Memoirs of Commanders and Soldiers* (Madison, WI: Federal Pub., 1908).

²Michael Cavanagh, ed., *Memoirs of General Thomas Francis Meagher: Comprising the Leading Events of His Career Chronologically Arranged, with Selections from His Speeches, Lectures and Miscellaneous Writings, Including Personal Reminiscences* (Worcester, MA: Messenger Press, 1892), 396.

Although they had been consistently persecuted on the basis of their faith, Catholicism was critical in unifying the Irish servicemen— a firm cultural/religious foundation which they clung to throughout the war.³

When the battle first commenced, the 69th, under Colonel (but soon-to-be General) William T. Sherman (1820–1891), did not see any action that morning. However, that afternoon, the 69th would see itself come off unscathed and as heroes in the eyes of the public, in what would be the Union’s first disaster of the war. After having crossed the river of Bull Run to make their way to the fighting, the 69th was tasked with making a final desperate charge at the Confederate position on Henry Hill. As the *Harper Weekly* describes, the men of the Irish regiment summoned up all their courage, “stripped themselves, and dashed into the enemy with the utmost fury.”⁴ The mental image of Irish soldiers stripping themselves down to their bare skin before an assault resonated with the public. It seemed for many to verify the stereotypical Irish ‘brawler’ that loved drinking and fighting – a stereotype that the 69th seemingly capitalized upon.



A *Harper’s Weekly* artist’s depiction of the 69th NY’s shirtless charge of Henry Hill⁵

³ Susannah Ural, “‘Ye Sons of Green Erin Assemble’ Northern Irish American Catholics and the Union War Effort, 1861–1865,” in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America’s Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah Ural (New York: NYU Press, 2010), 115.

⁴ *Harper’s Weekly*, August 10, 1861, *Sonofthesouth.net*, <http://www.sonofthesouth.net/leefoundation/civil-war/1861/august/charge-bull-run.html> (accessed October 11, 2021).

⁵ *Harper’s Weekly*, August 10, 1861.

At the end of the fighting, the 69th hastily retreated with the rest of the Union army, but not before many of them (including their famed commander, Colonel Michael Corcoran) were captured. However, it was the seemingly natural inclination towards fighting that the Irish demonstrated, not the disorganized retreat, that stuck with the American public. Susannah Ural perfectly encapsulates the fame the Irish-Americans acquired, writing, “Their actions at the Battle of First Bull Run, the first engagement of the war, proved to many native-born Americans that Irish soldiers could serve loyally and bravely in this conflict and behave well under fire, which could not be said of many Union forces that July day.”⁶ However, Bull Run was not the end of Irish significance in the Civil War, rather, it was the mere beginning.

A year after their heroic performance at Bull Run, Irish-Americans saw another noteworthy performance at the Battle of Antietam. Marching into Maryland in the South’s first attempt at invasion, General Robert E. Lee’s (1807–1870) plans were intercepted. When McClellan took chase in an effort to prevent Lee from marching further North, the two massive armies met on the Northeast outskirts of Sharpsburg, Maryland. Attached to Israel Richardson’s (1815–1862) 1st Division of General Edwin Sumner’s II Corps, the Irish Brigade did not enter the fray until hours after the fighting initially began on September 17, 1862. However, around 9:30 that morning (four hours into the battle), Meagher and his Irish Brigade were finally called upon to help push the Confederates from their position on what would become known as ‘Bloody Lane’ – where the Irish showed their true fighting spirit. As artillery Captain Edward Field recalls, the Irish began “using this lane as a breast work, they held it to the close of the fight, losing not a prisoner, having not one straggler, but at a loss of life that was appalling.”⁷ In doing so, the Irish were not only showing their ability to fight, but they were proving their ability to fight under intense, unfavorable conditions. According to General McClellan, it was under these conditions that “the Irish Brigade sustained its well-earned reputation,” as they seized the ‘Bloody Lane,’ “strewing the ground with their enemies as they drove them back, their ammunition nearly expended, and their commander, General Meagher, disabled by the fall of his horse, shot under him.”⁸ Proving not only their military prowess, the Irish also displayed unwavering patriotism and loyalty to the Union cause, being ready “on each occasion . . . to spring forward and place the colors in front” after “the colors were shot down sixteen times.”⁹ And at the end of the day, it was the Irish Brigade which had led the charge that displaced the Confederate invaders.

⁶ Susannah J. Ural, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 74.

⁷ “Capt. Edward Field (September 1862),” in *Memoirs of General Thomas Francis Meagher*, by Michael Cavanagh, 460.

⁸ “Gen. George B. McClellan (September 1862),” in *Memoirs of General Thomas Francis Meagher*, by Michael Cavanagh, 459–60, at 459.

⁹ “Incidents of the Battle,” *The New York Times*, September 21, 1862. <https://www.nytimes.com/1862/09/21/archives/incidents-of-the-battle.html> (accessed October 11, 2021).

Major Engagements of the German and Irish Soldiers

At Antietam, unlike the Battle of Bull Run, the accomplishments of the Irish on the battlefield directly led to the weakening of anti-Irish sentiments across the country. In Massachusetts, an amendment to the state constitution rolled back some of the barriers to voting for naturalized citizens, including but not limited to Irishmen and Irishwomen.¹⁰ Colonel Patrick Guiney of the 9th Massachusetts, having just recently served at Antietam, sent Massachusetts Governor John Andrew the battle flag of the 9th to express his thanks, writing:

Sometimes when all else looked vague and battle-fortune seemed to be against us, there was a certain magic in the light of this old symbol of our enslaved but hopeful Ireland, that made the Ninth fight superhumanly hard ... Along with the tender of this flag to the state, I ... offer to Your Excellency personally the warmest thanks of myself and command for your generous efforts to expunge from the Constitution of Massachusetts that provision which would make political distinction between us [Irishmen] and our brother in hope, conviction, disaster, and victory.¹¹

Clearly, the fight against discrimination had been aided by the Irish contribution at Antietam. However, for many of the Irish living in the North, questions arose about whether or not the unprecedented bloodshed was worth it. Ultimately, this enormous loss of life, shortly followed by the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation and dismissal of General McClellan, had indeed indicated to many Irish-American citizens and soldiers that “the war was moving in a direction they could not support.”¹²

For the Germans, the defining battles of their wartime service were on the horizon. And, on the first of May 1863, the Germans would fight a watershed battle which helped define anti-German hostility in the coming years: Chancellorsville. After the Union disaster at Fredericksburg (in which both German and Irish troops suffered horrendous casualties) and the replacement of General Burnside for General Hooker as the commander of the Army of the Potomac, the Union morale was nearing a new all-time low. For the Germans in the Army of the Potomac, mostly consisting of the regiments which made up the bulk of the XI Corps, morale was especially low following the angry resignation of Franz Sigel and appointment of non-German Oliver Otis Howard (1830–1909) in Sigel’s stead.¹³ Yet, when Hooker’s army clashed with Lee, morale sank even further – with Germans once again caught in the crosshairs of public outrage.

¹⁰ Article XXVI, in *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, April 6, 1863, <https://malegislature.gov/laws/constitution#articlesOfAmendment> (accessed October 11, 2021).

¹¹ Patrick R. Guiney, in *Commanding Boston’s Irish Ninth: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Patrick R. Guiney, Ninth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry*, ed. Christian G. Samito (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 144.

¹² Ural, “‘Ye Sons of Green Erin Assemble’ Northern Irish American Catholics and the Union War Effort, 1861–1865,” 115.

¹³ Christian B. Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 47.

Problems for the XI Corps at Chancellorsville really began with their new commander General Howard. On the second day of fighting, with his Corps on the extreme right of the Union lines, General Howard either ignored (according to Gen. Carl Schurz) or did not receive (according to Howard) a critical order – exposing the Union right as a ripe target for attack. Hooker’s order, which would have allowed Howard to “examine the ground, and determine upon the position you will take ... in order that you may be prepared for him [Confederate Gen. Jackson] in whatever direction he advances,” would have allowed the Eleventh Corps to position themselves in a place less exposed to a surprise attack, and further warned the Northern Army that there was “good reason to suppose that the enemy is moving to our right.”¹⁴ Predictably, Hooker’s order was correct. General Jackson sneaked up on and crushed Howard’s XI Corps, directly leading to the disintegration and rout of the entire Army of the Potomac. Lee’s tactical masterpiece was complete, and the Germans of the Eleventh Corps were his ultimate victims. Although the “corps as a whole lost close to 2,500 men, about 25 percent of those engaged; of that number, just under 1600 were killed and wounded,” with “twelve of 23 regimental commanders [who] were casualties,” the loss of support from the American public also stung the already battered German citizens and soldiers.¹⁵

As news of the devastating loss reached the American public, nativist sentiments (which tended to be responsive to battlefield performance) exploded in anger toward both the XI Corps and German-Americans as a whole. Even the other Union soldiers that served at Chancellorsville took advantage of scapegoating the XI Corps, with the 9th Massachusetts commander, Patrick Guiney, remarking that the Army of the Potomac “would have gained a great victory were it not for the cowardice of the Eleventh Corps—a German corps that was formerly commanded by Sigel but now by Howard,” further emphasizing the widespread belief that the loss occurred because “the Dutch Corps ran.”¹⁶ The Northern public, already becoming disillusioned by the lack of Union success, took advantage of Guiney’s narrative, further shifting the story to move blame away from the native-born Americans and onto the defeated Germans. In *The New York Times*, stories of the Union rout were sure to embellish how the Germans were to blame, as, when the XI was assaulted, “thousands of these cowards threw down their guns and soon streamed down the road toward headquarters.”¹⁷ The *New York Times* even reported that “Gen. Howard, with all his daring and resolution and vigor, could not stem the tide of the retreating and cowardly poltroons” – obviously ignorant of the fact that it was General Howard’s inaction that led to the flank’s exposure in the first place.¹⁸ Regardless of whether it was deserved or not, for the remainder of the war, Germans

¹⁴ “General Joseph Hooker,” in Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans*, 53.

¹⁵ Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans*, 73.

¹⁶ Guiney, *Commanding Boston’s Irish Ninth*, 187–88.

¹⁷ “The Great Battle of Sunday,” *The New York Times*, May 5, 1863, <https://www.nytimes.com/1863/05/05/archives/the-great-battle-of-sunday.html> (accessed October 11, 2021).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

both in and out of the service were constantly reminded of their perceived failure at Chancellorsville – permanently tainting the war record of the maligned “damn Dutch.”

At arguably the most famous battle in American history, however, German and Irish troops carried their weight and contributed to the eventual Union victory – though not without hiccups along the way. As Robert E. Lee made his second advance into Union territory, the Germans in the Eleventh Corps and the Irish in Patrick Kelly’s Irish Brigade prepared themselves to revive their ethnicities’ reputations. And, when Brigadier General John Buford’s (1826–1863) cavalry made contact with Lee’s forces outside Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, it was the German XI Corps that was among the first to respond to his pleas for reinforcements. Responding to these pleas, Oliver Otis Howard’s XI Corps raced to the North side of town and braced for General Ewell’s rebel assault. Soon after setting up this defensive line, however, the German Eleventh was overrun back through town and pushed back onto Cemetery Hill just south of Gettysburg. As they were overrun, their methodical retreat became hasty, eventually devolving into a panicked rout. In the chaos, German soldiers were crammed onto the Gettysburg streets where scores of the soldiers were cut down, lost, and captured by the advancing rebels. Here, the XI Corps suffered devastating losses, with even people like Brigadier General Alexander Schimmelfennig (1824–1865) (commander of Carl Schurz’s 1st Brigade, 2nd Division) left “hiding ... from the evening of the first day to the morning of July 4th,” until they were able to find their way back to Union lines.¹⁹ That night, the remainder of the humiliated and understrength XI Corps took their rest among the graves atop Cemetery Hill, anticipating even more horrific bloodshed the following day.²⁰ Yet, luckily for them, when the remnants of the defeated Germans reemerged the next day, they were positioned at the northernmost part of General Meade’s famous “fishhook position,” thus being spared from the ferocious fighting that came to define the second day of Gettysburg.

Though their particular engagement in the battle and withdraw could have been damning to the Eleventh Corps, the German press and populace did not see it that way. Instead, Germans throughout the North took pride in the participation and bloodletting of the ‘German Corps,’ especially since the native-born newspapers seemed too enthralled with the Union victory and thus “not as interested in finding scapegoats.”²¹ Still, the Germans of the Eleventh Corps (and, by extension, the Germans of the Union Army) were not as pleased with the results of their engagement at Gettysburg. As one visitor to a Union hospital in the wake of Gettysburg noted, the reputation of the Eleventh had not improved following the battle, but rather was “still smeared by other corps and accused of cowardice, probably because it is mainly composed of Germans.”²² Not

¹⁹ Anna Louise Garlach, in *Voices of the Civil War: Gettysburg*, ed. *Time-Life Books* editors (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life, 1999), 63.

²⁰ Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz: Illustrated with Portraits and Original Drawings*, vol.3 (New York: The McClure Company 1909), 19–20.

²¹ Keller, *Chancellorsville and the Germans*, 124.

²² Anonymous, “Letter to the *Highland Bote*” (August 7, 1863) in *Chancellorsville and the Germans*, 152.

only were the losses appalling to an already undermanned corps, but the fact that the Eleventh was forced into a chaotic rout also left a bad taste in the mouths of the other members of the Army of the Potomac.

For the Irish, though, the second day was one of legend. Before the battle even began, the Irish Brigade was a shell of its former self. With losses mounting from preceding battles and disease, the beleaguered “brigade in name only” made its way North to join in the engagement at Gettysburg. Its commander, Colonel Patrick Kelly (who had taken command from Meagher after the disastrous battle of Chancellorsville) braced his 500 remaining Irishmen for the Confederate onslaught that was sure to come.²³ Incorrectly thinking that he could better position his troops, Union General Dan Sickles (1819–1914) moved his entire III Corps to a peach field – creating a dangerous salient in Meade’s fishhook. Part of Brigadier General John C. Caldwell’s (1833–1912) 1st Division of the II Corps, the Irish Brigade was among the four brigades sent on a dangerous relief attempt for Sickles’ exposed Corps. After receiving another general absolution for sins (like the 69th did at Bull Run), the Irish Brigade first engaged the enemy at a wheatfield North of the infamous ‘Devil’s Den’ (after it had been captured by Confederate General John Bell Hood’s Division) – a combat zone as horrific as Antietam’s ‘Bloody Lane’ the year prior. Met with hand-to-hand combat at a stony hill near the wheatfield, the Irish Brigade once again displayed their fighting prowess and pushed back the enemy.²⁴

However, they were not to hold it. Exhausted, out of ammunition, and with casualties mounting in the already undermanned brigade, Colonel Kelly found the brigade “in this very disagreeable position” and “ordered the brigade to fall back, firing,” further noting that after the order was given, the brigade “encountered a most terrific fire, and narrowly escaped being captured” by the flanking rebels.²⁵ Although the order was successful and the Brigade safe from total annihilation, the damage done was devastating. As Irish-American Private William A. Smith of the 116th Pennsylvania recalled in a letter home, the 116th had 900 men when it was initially formed, but the fighting at the wheatfield had “knocked our regiment all to pieces. There is only 9 in my company now . . . 108 in all in our Regiment with 1 Major— 1 Adjutant— and 2 captains in all of them that come out.”²⁶ From the fighting at Gettysburg, the Irish Brigade, once the pride and joy of the Irish war effort, was left with a mere 328 men remaining.

²³ D. P. Conyngham, *The Irish Brigade and Its Campaigns*, ed. Lawrence Frederick Kohl (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 415–16.

²⁴ Ural, *The Harp and the Eagle*, 164–65.

²⁵ *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1880 – 1901), Ser. I, Vol. 27 , pt. 1 , pg. 386, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924077699761&view=1up&seq=406&skin=2021&q1=Kelly> (accessed October 11, 2021).

²⁶ Ural, *The Harp and the Eagle*, 166.

Still, Irish contributions at Gettysburg spoke volumes to the Northern public, cementing the status of Irish-American soldiers as competent and fearless defenders of American democracy. Susanna Ural sums up the Irish effort at Gettysburg as a monumental event, saying:

The image of the fighting Irish at that definitive contest would become an essential part of the memory of Gettysburg. Father Corby's blessing and the Irish Brigade at the wheat field, as well as the defense of Paddy O'Rorke's New Yorkers at Little Round Top and Dennis O'Kane's Pennsylvanians at the angle would become part of the history and the legend of that battle.²⁷

To the American public, the 'Fighting Irishman' trope had been verified, and those of the Irish brigade immortalized as patriotic, albeit violent, heroes.

In contrast to the Irish war-time reputation, the Germans were almost always viewed as being consistently worse. As historian Ella Lonn noted in her groundbreaking 1952 book, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, by the end of the war, the Germans had been "condemned as a worthless lot, coming from the scum of a vicious population."²⁸ With historian Stephen Engle adding that the Eleventh Corps in particular gained its reputation "throughout the army as the ethnic unit (it was supposedly composed of mainly German Americans as fifteen of the twenty-eight infantry regiments were primarily German), the 11th Corps had a relatively undistinguished history in the war, as a corps that was routed at the battles at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg."²⁹ Unfortunately, the failure of the Eleventh Corps at these two pivotal performances ended up reinforcing anti-German beliefs into both Northern soldiers and civilians. Speaking of these popular anti-German sentiments, one German-American sergeant derisively warned his father, "you leave in peace the arrogant Yankees who think the Germans are only good enough to work for them, but otherwise pay them less respect than a Negro. And yet it is the Germans who have done the most to cultivate America."³⁰ In the end, the German-Americans who served in the American Civil War were unable to muster the battlefield highlights necessary to prove to the native-born public that the famed German martial proficiency was indeed real.

²⁷ Ural, *The Harp and the Eagle*, 172.

²⁸ Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 594-95.

²⁹ Stephen D. Engle, "Yankee Dutchmen: Germans, the Union, and the Construction of Wartime Identity," in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah Ural (New York: NYU Press, 2010), 26.

³⁰ Sgt. Wilhelm Francksen, "Letter to Father" (March 1, 1863), in *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, ed. by Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, trans. by Susan Carter Vogel (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 145.

By contrast, the Irish emerged from Civil War combat with the reputation of being both skilled and fierce fighters.³¹ Beginning with Michael Corcoran and the 69th New York, before the war even really took off, the Irish contribution was an indispensable part of Union success – one the public seldom failed to recognize. Across the North, Irishmen served loyally and were eventually recognized as key players in this great American drama, with the flag of the Irish brigade even becoming an iconic symbol of Union victory. However, just a few days following Gettysburg, Irish-American citizens in New York began a days' long riot over the controversial "Enrollment Act," costing the city hundreds of lives and thousands of dollars. The narrative of the Irish service changed. While still considered exceptional fighters, the New York Draft Riots overshadowed the Irish service-record in the public eye, effectively putting an end to the positive portrayal of the Irish combat record, with native-born Americans resorting back to pre-war notions of Irish barbarism.³² Nevertheless, throughout the course of the war, the Irish were more often applauded for their service than other ethnicities, with a unique reputation as being amongst the most competent and fear-inducing type of soldier that the Union Army had to offer. Furthermore, the Irish-American leaders of the Union Army were immortalized, as names like Meagher, Kelly, Corcoran, and even Sheridan were forever recorded in songs, poems, and books as a testament to their importance in both the Irish and American stories. Still, although the recognition that Irish-American soldiers received for their exploits could overall be considered lacking by modern standards, it still represents a marked improvement from the Nativist oppression of the 1850s.

Although their performance in battle was only one of many factors in determining the standing of German and Irish soldiers in the Union Army, it was undoubtedly the biggest. Throughout the war, the sentiments of the press and perception from the ethnic soldiers themselves most often echo the battlefield results of the units. For example, in the time immediately following the Eleventh Corps' rout at Chancellorsville, public reception of Germans and attitudes toward German soldiers were at war-time lows, with anti-German hostility becoming so prevalent in some areas that German-led demonstrations to defend the Eleventh were sometimes seen as the only relief.³³ Mere weeks later, though, the German-American press was quick to sweep these sentiments under the rug after Gettysburg, instead focusing on the bravery of the Eleventh Corps in the defining battle of the Northern war effort (a bravery sure to be relabeled as cowardice had the Union lost the battle). However, it is worth mentioning that many of the battles that the German and Irish are remembered for were not decided by the actions of those German or Irish soldiers.

³¹ Christian B. Keller, "New Perspectives in Civil War Ethnic History and Their Implications for Twenty-First-Century Scholarship," in *This Distracted and Anarchical People: New Answers for Old Questions About the Civil War-Era North*, ed. Andrew L. Slap and Michael Thomas Smith (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 125.

³² Ural, "'Ye Sons of Green Erin Assemble' Northern Irish American Catholics and the Union War Effort, 1861–1865," 125.

³³ "German Indignation Meeting," *The New York Times*, June 3, 1863, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1863/06/03/78703690.html?pageNumber=8> (accessed November 11, 2021).

Major Engagements of the German and Irish Soldiers

Instead, as military histories and battlefield dispatches show, the massive Army of the Potomac had scores more native-born soldiers than it did ethnic ones, and as such, it was the native-born soldiers who shouldered the majority of responsibility for the performance of the Army.

So, while it is true that the routing of the Germans at Chancellorsville certainly did *contribute* to the Army of the Potomac's loss, to continue the earlier example, it would be unfair to neglect other factors such as Lee's brilliant gamble of splitting his army in half or Hooker's abandonment of the Federal artillery positions at Hazel Grove. After all, military engagements are massive in scale, and while an individual unit may play a role in a battle, that role is far from the only thing influencing the outcome of that battle. Regardless, German and Irish soldiers still saw an overemphasis from the press on the role they played in deciding any given battle, with the Irish left reveling in the tough reputation combat had given them, while the Germans emerged from the war made to feel ashamed by their ethnicity's perceived failure to contribute.

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