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A Comprehensive Approach to the Past

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Dedication

This publication represents the hard work and tremendous efforts of the History Department's students and professors, particularly the contributors and editors. We would like to dedicate this journal to Dr. Tammy Proctor, Professor of History for her commitment to improving and developing the History program here at Wittenberg. Your efforts regarding academic success and the overall structure and organization of the program have greatly influenced the development of the department as well as the experience of the faculty, staff, and most importantly the students. Thank you for making the Wittenberg History Department an example of excellence in academia, which allows or eth celebration of community and success through programs such as this journal.

The History Journal Editorial Board

Race, Imagery and Power: A Comprehensive Approach to the Past

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Dangers of the Night: The Carpathia's Valiant Rescue of the Titanic Survivors

Mike Hill

"Although I was running a risk with my own ship and my own passengers, I also had to consider what I was going for... I had to consider the lives of others."

– Sir Arthur Henry Rostron

A hazy mist covered the glassy surface of the Atlantic Ocean. The sea was calm, the air was bitterly frigid, and small chunks of ice floated serenely in the inky blackness of the night. Suddenly, disturbing this tranquil scene, came a ship. This vessel, a steamer, cut through the sea at a breakneck pace, its frame creaking and groaning as water splashed away from its charging bow. As the ship sailed determinedly on a path that took it steadily northward, its crew sighted an iceberg dead ahead, mirrored in the light of a shining star.¹ Never stopping to break pace, the ship deftly dodged the deadly fragment of Arctic debris. Shortly thereafter, another iceberg appeared out of the darkness, and the *Carpathia* once again maneuvered masterfully around the ice, her hull straining from the stress. The ship continued to bob and weave its way through a veritable minefield of ice, never slowing nor changing its audacious course. The early morning hours of April 15th, 1912, are often remembered as the hours in which the *Titanic* foundered after striking a massive tower of ice; few, however, remember them as the hours in which the *Carpathia* and her crew heroically pushed their ship above and beyond its limits in a desperate attempt to reach the *Titanic* in time to save her passengers and crew from a terrible fate.

When the *Carpathia's* wireless operator first received the *Titanic's* distress call, the ship's captain, Arthur Rostron, had already retired for the night. Captain Rostron, who was a bit of a "stickler for

discipline,"² was shocked when his first officer and wireless operator burst into his quarters with the news that the *Titanic* had struck an iceberg and required urgent assistance. To his credit, Captain Rostron did not hesitate; still half asleep, he began to take action, leaping out of bed and ordering that his ship should immediately prepare to hurry to the aid of the *Titanic*. "I... sent for the chief engineer," he later said, and "in the meantime I was dressing and seeing the ship put on her course. The chief engineer came up. I told him to call another watch of stokers and make all possible speed to the *Titanic*, as she was in trouble."³ Unfortunately, the *Carpathia* was 58 miles away from the last coordinates that the *Titanic* had given, and at her usual speed of 14 knots, it would take her four hours to reach the larger vessel. The *Titanic* would not last that long.⁴

Facing a race against time he knew he could not win, Captain Rostron chose to run anyway; the stokers below decks shoveled coal into the boilers at a breakneck pace, and everything else, including the ship's heating, was neglected. Every ounce of steam the old vessel could produce was thrown into the engines in a frantic dash to reach the *Titanic* in time.⁵ The ship started to move north, rapidly picking up speed, accelerating from 14 to 17 knots. This was a pace that no one had dared to dream the *Carpathia* could make.⁶ Captain Rostron, meanwhile, issued several more orders. Among them were the following commands: that "each doctor... have supplies of restoratives, stimulants, and everything

² Lord, *Night*, 138.

³ Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce, "Titanic" Disaster: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, Sixty-Second Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 283, Directing the Committee on Commerce to Investigate the Causes Leading to the Wreck of the White Star Liner "Titanic" 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1912, S. Rep 726, 20.

⁴ Lord, *Night*, 138.

⁵ Lord, *Night*, 138.

⁶ Lord, *Night*, 140. According to Lord, "Everyone was wild with excitement, and the *Carpathia* herself trembled all over. A sailor later remarked that 'the old boat was as excited as any of us.'"

¹ Walter Lord, *A Night to Remember* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955), 143.

to hand for immediate needs of probably wounded or sick;" that "all spare berths in steerage... be utilized for *Titanic's* passengers;" that "heaving lines [be] distributed along the ship's sides for boat ropes or to help the people up;" and that "company rockets [were] to be fired at 2:45 a.m. and every quarter of an hour after to reassure [the] *Titanic*."⁷

The United States Senate Committee that later investigated the *Titanic* disaster believed "the course followed by Captain Rostron of the *Carpathia* [was] deserving of the highest praise and [was] worthy of especial recognition. Captain Rostron fully realized all the risk involved... and notwithstanding such risk pushed his ship at her very highest limit of speed through the many dangers of the night."⁸ Despite

his exhaustive efforts, Captain Rostron had taken on a Sisyphean task; he was unable to win his desperate race against time, and the *Titanic* slipped into the ocean approximately an hour and a half before the *Carpathia* arrived on scene. However, as a direct result of Captain Rostron's courageous actions, the lives of the 706 survivors were spared. His crew literally pulled several frostbitten victims out of their lifeboats, snatching them away from the clutches of death. For these actions—for showing such courage in the face of adversity—Captain Rostron earned the eternal, heartfelt gratitude of the forlorn souls that his actions saved on that tragic April night.

⁷ Senate Committee on Commerce, "Titanic" Disaster: Report of the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate Pursuant to S. Res. 283 Directing the Committee on Commerce to Investigate the Causes Leading to the Wreck of the White Star Liner "Titanic," 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1912, S. Rep. 806, 15.

⁸ Committee on Commerce, *Titanic Disaster: Report*, 15.

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The Holy Fool and Folly in the Late Antique World: A Historiographical Examination

Kelsey Mazur

A foolish monk left his ascetic practice in the desert and came to live an urban life during the seventh century. In the urban setting of Emesa, he acted like a madman: dragging a dead dog through the streets,¹ becoming a “literal lunatic” by thrashing about in the presence of a new moon,² and savagely devouring raw meat.³ He is recorded as acting as if he “had no body...he paid no attention to what might be judged disgraceful conduct either by human convention or by nature.”⁴ So goes the *Life* of Symeon the Fool as recorded in the first full-length vita of a fool’s life by Leontius of Neapolis. The outlandish acts of Symeon are quantified as holy foolery due to the fact that he had “so thoroughly stripped off the garment of vainglory as to appear insane to those who did not know him, although he was filled with all divine wisdom and grace;” he did this so he could escape the confines of monasticism and reach his ascetic perfection in a new and unique fashion.⁵ Symeon is one of the most popular holy fools, with plenty of scholarship concerning his vita as it is the most extensive of its kind. He is, however, not the only one.

There are plenty other fools who are recorded wandering through cities with dead dogs tied around their necks as Symeon did, giving away both the calf and the cow so as not to separate the bovine family as is recorded in St. Philaretos’ vita, and laughing madly into the faces of other monks like the fool Abba Silvanus. They were so insane that their folly could only be interpreted as divine inspiration. As Sergey Ivanov states, holy fools emerged as a “saint ‘in spite of,’” the inherent sanctity of all

people “rather than a saint ‘because of’” it.⁶ Holy fools represent this rebellion against the success of Christianity and monasticism: “[the holy man] was thought of as a man who owed nothing to society. He fled women and bishops, not because he would have found the society of either particularly agreeable, but because both threatened to rivet him to a distinct place in society.”⁷ Even though they fled these prescribed roles, the hagiographers, or the authors, defended them, saying that “the veneer of their madness or marginality demonstrated perfect self-mastery in a context that prevented devotion or adulation of others.”⁸ They are rebels deflecting praise from others for their outstanding ascetic habits by feigning “madness and [becoming] objects of derision.”⁹ Hagiographers saw their deeds as a way to be more divine by committing to a different, abject form of asceticism.

As objects of contempt, these fools are recorded by hagiographers through the use of the specific term of *salos*. While originating from the secular Syriac term for ‘imbecile’ or ‘half-wit,’¹⁰ it was quickly adapted into a Christian religious context after its first use in Palladius’ *Lausiac History* to distinguish sinners from holy fools.¹¹ Through the use of the term *salos*, holy foolery is taken “beyond the limits of apostolic ‘foolishness’ (*moria*) and into a different sphere.”¹² A *salos* meant specifically “un

¹ Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius’ Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California, 1996), 151.

² *Ibid.*, 155.

³ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁵ Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, edited by Richard Valantasis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 184.

⁶ Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, Simon Franklin, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 48.

⁷ Peter Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 92.

⁸ G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar, eds., *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 495.

⁹ Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” 177.

¹⁰ Guy G. Stroumsa, “Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism,” *Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions*, David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 75

¹¹ Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, 33.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

ascète choisissant de se faire passer durablement pour fou ou simple d'esprit auprès des gens qu'il côtoie."¹³ The use of this term allowed for holy fools to be differentiated ever so slightly from sinners.¹⁴

A holy fool can only be studied through the works of those observing, since the fools wrote nothing of their experiences or motivations. The majority of what is known of these "Fools for Christ's sake" is garnered through the hagiographies from other religious figures who observed their madness.¹⁵ This presents a problem for late antique scholars, as they are unable to discern the holy fool's perspective from this outside observer who has his own motives and bias for crafting the *vita* itself.

There has been a lack of discussion on the holy fools, arguably due to the lack of written records by this liminal group. A new trend, however, is the use of late antique sources, such as Palladius' *Lausiac History*,¹⁶ the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,¹⁷ and the *Liber Graduum*,¹⁸ which have been interpreted and analyzed endlessly through scholarship in accordance with new perspectives and approaches to analyze and understand the fools in a new light. Also, these sources can be reanalyzed with the newly distinguishable term *salos* for fool and not sinner. Sources interpreted in a new light and through new perspectives have allowed for the study of holy fools to come to fruition.

The study of holy fools, therefore, is a relatively small area of research due to the lack of primary sources as well as a strange mix of inherent authorial responses therein that leave modern scholars without a clear direction or focus on the 'fools for Christ's sake.' The subject of analysis in late antique studies is scattered not only in history, but also psychology, sociology, and literary analysis. The objectives of these studies vary significantly. It is in part their liminal status that makes the holy fools of great interest to a variety of scholars. The tales of holy fools can be used to examine late antique

¹³ Or, "an ascetic who pretends to be permanently insane or simple by the people he surrounds himself with." Vincent Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala, Sweden: Acta University Uppsala, 1995), 155.

¹⁴ Svitlana Kobets, "Foolishness in Christ: East vs. West," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 34 (2000): 337-363.

¹⁵ Paul (1 Cor. 4:10) quoted in Krueger, "Tales of Holy Fools," 177-186.

¹⁶ Robert T. Meyer, trans. *Palladius: The Lausiac History* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1965).

¹⁷ Benedicta Ward, trans. *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1984).

¹⁸ Robert A. Kitchen and Martien F.G. Parmentier, trans. *The Book of Steps: The Syriac Liber Graduum* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 2004).

to medieval literary themes, urban life, the role of sickness, the experience of alienation, and even the cultural role fools filled in a societal context.

WHO WERE THE FOOLS?

The most prominent fools are those who have an entire *vita* dedicated to them, such as Symeon of Emesa,¹⁹ St Andrew,²⁰ and St Philaretos,²¹ although the list of holy fools is not limited to these few. Other fools can be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,²² the sixteenth *mēmra* of *The Book of Steps*,²³ as well as case thirty-four of Palladius' *Lausiac History*.²⁴ These six fools are the most frequently addressed in scholarship. While these fools' *vitas* can be regarded as insight into the fools themselves, they have also been applied to a variety of other things, such as discerning information on the perception of mental illness, authorial intent, and the cultural context in which they exist.

As determined by the term *salos*, many holy fools have come out of the cracks over the recent years as translations have changed and the sources have been reconsidered. This is the case with the *Lausiac History* by Palladius and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Palladius' *Lausiac History* is considered one of the most important primary source documents for late antique Egyptian monasticism.²⁵ *The Lausiac History* uses fools as the ideal form of monastic life and ascetic existence since it was written to inspire "the emulation and imitation of those who wish to succeed in the heavenly way of life and to take the journey which leads to the kingdom of heaven."²⁶ In this way, the fool is used as an example as an ideal form of monasticism.

The specific section that pertains exclusively to the study undertaken here is number thirty-four of Palladius' work, entitled "The Nun Who Feigned Madness." This nun did so by refusing to eat with others and undertaking menial tasks in the kitchen away from the other women of the monastery. When she is revealed to be a "spiritual mother" the

¹⁹ For a translation of his *vita*, please reference Derek Krueger, *Symeon*.

²⁰ Please reference Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool II* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1995).

²¹ Please reference Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2002).

²² Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 6, 27, 140.

²³ Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. *The Book of Steps*, 164-165.

²⁴ Meyer, *Palladius*, 96-98.

²⁵ Meyer, *Palladius*, 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

author emphasizes her sanctity by imploring the reader to pray so that he “may be deemed worthy as she on the Day of Judgment.”²⁷ After the reveal of her hidden sanctity, the holy fool can no longer “bear the praise and honor of the sisters,” and leaves the monastery forever.²⁸ This is one of the many examples of the necessity of keeping sanctity hidden under the guise of madness. This anonymous nun is only mentioned in a short section of a larger work.

Similarly, in *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the author only mentions holy folly in two short instances in his larger work: Ammonas from Scetis and Moses the Robber. In the letters attributed to Ammonas, one letter expresses the idealness of holy foolery: “How much labor have I given myself in the desert to acquire this folly,” he exclaims after being accused of madness, “through you I have lost it today!”²⁹ Ammonas had to keep his sanity a secret under his folly for it to be successful, much like Palladius’ anonymous mad nun.

Moses the Robber, also included in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, leaves the reader with a similar story. To avoid meeting with a magistrate, Moses flees his monastic community and hides in a marsh. When the magistrate appears in the marsh, he asks the Abba to help him find Moses, even though he is unaware that he is talking to the man he seeks. The disguised Abba informs him that Moses is a fool, which ultimately stops the magistrate’s search. He quickly retires and is enlightened when he learns that he had confronted the Abba by the marsh.³⁰ This encounter stresses the edifying role of holy fools in society, even when the people who interact with them do not know that they are sane under their madness.

Still feigning madness like the anonymous nun and the Abba, St. Andrew, also called Andreas Salos, presents a more complete and dense view of madness. The *Life* of St. Andrew was written in the tenth century, although the author pretends to be a sixth century monk named Nikephorus writing on Andrew who was proposed to have lived in fifth century Constantinople. This dating issue has been the subject of much scholarship and will be discussed in the next section.³¹ Due to this large gap, Pseudo-Nikephorus tries to gain credibility with the reader by claiming to be an “intimate friend of

Andrew’s, pretending that he wrote [The *Life* of St Andrew] partly on the basis of his own friendship with the holy man.”³² A five-century gap obviously discredits Pseudo-Nikephorus’ reliability, but the vita was still considered to be an influential work.

Andrew is found doing many similar foolish things: he wanders into a brothel, and when the prostitutes sell his clothes, he “fetched a mat, cut a hole in the middle and put it around his neck, and in this outfit he was thrown out of the brothel,”³³ and, having ridiculed a rich man, “he kicks and runs like an ass.”³⁴ The so-called Nikephorus frequently calls him a fool, but only to remind the reader of the divine call that was the start of his madness. The *Life* is lengthy and filled with examples of Andrew battling to keep his sanctity a secret beneath his folly, much like the previous fools.

Another example of secret sanctity hidden under a guise of sheer madness is that of Symeon of Emesa. The *Life* of Symeon the Fool is “characterized by eccentric acts which violate moral precepts and etiquette and are often accompanied by comic efforts.”³⁵ Krueger states: “pretending to be insane, Symeon the monk walks about naked, eats enormous quantities of beans, and defecates in the streets.”³⁶ The acts recorded by Leontius of Neapolis provide a much more in-depth examination of Symeon the Fool and his ridiculous acts that defy any societal precept or societal norm, and that was the goal.

The two sources on Symeon, one by Leontius of Neapolis and the other by Evagrius Scholasticus, mention similar deeds but use them in very different ways to reflect their own desires. For example, writing at the end of the sixth century in Antioch, Evagrius was concerned with early church politics. He wrote a much tamer version of Symeon’s deeds, focusing on his breaking of gender norms and his “folly as a virtue.”³⁷ Leontius of Neapolis, who was writing in the mid-seventh century, focuses on the religious uniformity he wishes to see in his own bishopric of Cyprus. Leontius does this by allowing for the narrative-based Symeon to convert the ‘unconvertible’ people of Emesa, since Leontius himself has had trouble converting the Jewish and

²⁷ Palladius, 98.

²⁸ Ibid., 98.

²⁹ Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 27.

³⁰ Ibid., 140.

³¹ Lennart Rydén, “The Date of The ‘Life of Andreas Salos,’” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 129-155.

³² Rydén, *Life of St Andrew I*, 28.

³³ Rydén, *Life of St Andrew II*, 35.

³⁴ Rydén, *Life of St Andrew I*, 25.

³⁵ Alexander Y. Syrkin, “On the Behavior of the ‘Fool for Christ’s Sake,’” *History of Religions* 22.2 (1982): 150.

³⁶ Krueger, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, 1.

³⁷ Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” 184.

Monophysite populations of his own diocese.³⁸ Allowing the literary Symeon to convert people would be reflecting Leontius' own unattainable desire. These two different approaches to the telling of Symeon's tale demonstrate the varying cultural contexts and purposes concerning the author rather than the truth behind Symeon's acts.

St Philaretos is a very different of fool when compared to Symeon and Andrew. The *Life* of St Philaretos the Merciful, a Byzantine hagiography, is focused on his kind and charitable acts rather than bizarre and unnerving ones. He is recorded as a fool mainly due to his unconventional views on property and the poor. He does not defecate in the street or carry around any dead dogs. Instead, he shares a royal feast with the poor while in Constantinople,³⁹ and gives away both his calf and his cow so as not to separate the two.⁴⁰ Unlike Symeon's and Andrew's *vitas*, Philaretos' tale is specifically a rural hagiography, popular in the tenth century.⁴¹ He is also set apart due to the fact that he is happy but still manages to prove his moral superiority.⁴² The *vita* also shies away from the political turbulence of the iconoclast controversy of the ninth century and focus on the cultural and social shifts and he still parallels Philaretos to the folklore hero popular in his time period.⁴³ While Philaretos was a very different kind of fool, he still functioned the same way as Symeon and Andrew—acting against societal norms and causing a stir.

Finally, the *Liber Graduum* is a Syriac manual for reaching Perfection and leading the Perfect life. The sixteenth *mēmra*, or lesson, presents the “idea of the Perfect life, the model of the holy fool is given.”⁴⁴ The anonymous author starts by describing “a crazy person” who “treats himself with contempt and does not own a house or a wife and any property, not even extra garments besides clothes, nor food apart from a day to day supply.”⁴⁵ This fool has been inspired by the “madness of the apostles.”⁴⁶ The author continues to advise the reader to

³⁸ Krueger, *Life of Symeon*, 122.

³⁹ Rydén, *Life of St Philaretos*, 93, 95, 97.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 75, 77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 358.

⁴² Alexander Kazhdan and Lee F. Sherry, “The Tale of a Happy Fool: the *Vita* of St. Philaretos the Merciful,” *Byzantium; revue internationale des études Byzantines* 66 (1996): 359.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁴⁴ Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. *The Book of Steps*, xxxiv.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

“become a fool” since they are the only ones who have “overthrown Satan.”⁴⁷ In this lesson, the fools alone have achieved the ideal level of Perfection, as they are the ones who have overthrown temptations and the devil to become holier than the rest. Much like in the *Lausiac History* and *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the holy fool is an example meant to be emulated by the rest of society.

The sources on holy folly tend to follow three themes: the need to keep sanctity a secret; the reflection of the author in the texts; and acting against the norms of society as a way to practice asceticism. For the most part, the scholarship tends to focus on three themes as well, though it is not limited to such. There is also an inquiry into the psychological reasons why they were considered mad, why they took up folly in the first place, and how they fit into the culture around them. The next section will examine the progression of the scholarship as fools are explored more thoroughly. Since there is no unified study of holy fools in the academic community, the research is scattered over multiple fields and various methodologies, making an intriguingly interesting and multi-faceted portrait of the late antique ‘fool for Christ's sake.’

PART I: THE FOCUS ON THE FOOL

Edward Gibbon's 1788 volume of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was one of the first works that sparked a discussion of Christianity in relation to the Roman Empire during the time that would later be coined ‘late antiquity.’⁴⁸ The reason this foundational narrative sparked this discussion, however, was because Gibbon blamed Christian monasticism and asceticism for the fall of the Roman Empire.⁴⁹ This is a point of contention, however, and Gibbon serves as an antagonist for late antique scholars who strive to find something of merit in Gibbon's bleak perception of the late antique past. In his eyes, “the splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance” that was Christianity.⁵⁰ Gibbon established the idea that all ascetics were insane; he did not distinguish between holy fools, desert fathers, or cloistered monks—they were all mad. This idea was countered by the later studies of the *saloi*, but this study was still centuries off.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁴⁸ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Knopf, 1994).

⁴⁹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

The 'fall' of the empire was revised by Peter Brown in 1971, and he thus noted that the empire transformed and changed with the addition of Christianity.⁵¹ It did not fall it just adapted and evolved into a period known as late antiquity. While Brown's seminal 1971 article, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" did not address the holy fools specifically, he addresses the marginality of the holy man in general: "he belonged to a world that was not so much antithetical to village life as marginal."⁵² Brown's analysis opened up the study of these liminal figures for scholars to utilize the framework of the late antique holy man to distinguish and discover the holy fool in the same context as well.

Few works on the holy fool appear before Brown's "Rise and Function of the Holy Man" in 1971. Lennart Rydén was the first to address this new type of holy man. He, along with André-Jean Festugière, wrote a book entitled *Léontios Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou; (et) Vie de Jean de Chypre*, in which the focus is not entirely on Symeon the Fool or John the Almsgiver; Rydén and Festugière focus mainly on the author, Leontius of Neapolis and how he ties into the story of the vita.⁵³ His next article, "The Date of *Life of Andreas Salos*," he aims to determine just what the title suggests: the date that St Andrew the Fool's vita was composed.⁵⁴ This narrow and introductory piece is cited in Krueger's work on Symeon in 1996, but other than that, Rydén's early and pointed response to Brown did not spark much of a reaction until much later.

John Saward, however, was one of the first to write an extensive work on holy folly after Brown's initial article nine years prior. Since it was one of the first works to gain attention, he covered a vast array of fools to act as an introduction to this blossoming topic. The breadth of fools included:

The wild men of Byzantium, Russia, and Ireland, whose apparently outrageous and provocative behaviour masks a deeper sanctity; the 'merry men' of the Middle Ages, God's jongleurs, who

proclaim the 'Gospel of Good Humour'; and, finally those who have gone the deeper and more perilous way of being written off by the world as mad and contemptible.⁵⁵

He focuses on the Greeks, and the Orthodox East, but spends a disproportionate amount of time discussing the folly of seventeenth-century France, which is obviously beyond the scope of the late antique paper.

Saward seeks to write an introductory text, not an argumentative piece. His objective was to demonstrate that all saints do not have to fit in the category of mad or sane, but it was still indeed a phenomenon that persisted from the Greeks through the Orthodox East and to modern day Ireland.⁵⁶ He writes a narrative of the different forms of folly and how it existed within the various locations. For him, however, the tradition of holy foolery is rooted in late antiquity; he frequently refers back to the late antique examples as he explains the folly of eleventh and fifteenth century hermits.⁵⁷ He does not, however, go so far as to compare these different forms of folly. For this reason, his text is introductory and meant to incorporate the scattered interest of the fools into one text. He is not in conversation with many other scholars only because he is one of the first to write exclusively on the fools.

He does cite briefly Peter Brown's "Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" since this appears to be his spark for completing this study. Unfortunately, he only uses Brown's article to add to his discussion on of the Syrian desert as the "birthplace of the wild wanderers, 'grazers,' and pilgrim-fools of later hagiography."⁵⁸ For the sections on the Greeks and the East, he focuses mainly on biblical sources, such as Paul and Corinthians, from which the term 'Fools for Christ's sake' originated, and un-translated hagiographies on St Antony, St Andrew, and Symeon Stylite, a few of which were compiled by Lennart Rydén. Saward's work may not be the most prevalent to the study of holy fools in late antiquity, but it is mentioned or briefly cited in many other sources. For example, Saward's work was influential in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar's definition of holy fools, as well as Krueger's *Symeon* and "Tales of Holy Fools," and Ivanov's *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*.

⁵⁵ Saward, *Perfect Fools*, ix.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵¹ Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101.

⁵² Brown, "The Rise and Function," 83-84.

⁵³ André-Jean Festugière and Lennart Rydén, eds. and trans., *Léontios Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou, et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974).

⁵⁴ Lennart Rydén, "The Date of the 'Life of Andreas Salos,'" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 129-155.

Quick to answer the call established by Saward was Alexander Syrkin and Cyril Mango. Syrkin's article, "On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake,'" uses the familiar Symeon of Emesa as an introduction to the unexpected behavior of the fools.⁵⁹ While Syrkin's work functions mainly as an introductory text, it is still part of the progression and is cited by almost every other study cited within this paper. Cyril Mango's article, "The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered," is also cited in most of the studies presented here.⁶⁰ Mango focuses solely on the vita of St Andrew and the problems with the text, such as missing motivations of the author.⁶¹ Both of these articles, however brief, add to the study of holy fools to make it a more pointed and progressive study.

The next prominent work on the holy fools was done by Sergey Ivanov. He wrote two very important pieces that helped to establish a foundation to the study of holy fools in both the Byzantine Empire and the medieval Russian Orthodox tradition. His first article, "From 'Secret Servants of God' to 'Fools for Christ's Sake' in Byzantine Hagiography," was published in 1993 in a Swedish edited collection of articles presented at a conference.⁶² This article served as an introduction to his 1994 work *Vizantiiskoe iuridstvo*, which was edited for the English-speaking world as *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* in 2006.⁶³ While the initial article was deemed "limited in scope," it proved to be a "provocative contribution to an overworked and under-comprehended theme."⁶⁴ Therefore, this introductory article was still useful in understanding the holy fool in other works and studies, and served as a springboard for Ivanov's later work.

Much like the previous scholarship, Ivanov's *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* focuses not only

⁵⁹ Alexander Syrkin, "On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake,'" *History of Religions* 22.2 (1982): 150-171.

⁶⁰ Cyril Mango, "The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered," *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 2 (1982): 297-313.

⁶¹ "And herein lies the singularity of VAS—not in its being a fiction...nor its reliance on an invented eyewitness...but in the absence of any apparent motive for composition of so lengthy and elaborate a biography." Mango, "Andrew the Fool Reconsidered," 297.

⁶² Sergey Ivanov, "From 'Secret Servants of God' to 'Fools for Christ's Sake' in Byzantine Hagiography," in *The Holy Fool in Byzantium and Russia*, edited by Inge Lunde (Bergen, Norway: University of Bergen, 1993).

⁶³ Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, Simon Franklin, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁶⁴ Simon Franklin, review of *The Holy Fool in Byzantium and Russia*, edited by Inge Lunde, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 75.3 (July 1997): 534.

on the late antique Byzantine fools, such as Andrew, Symeon, and the nun who feigned madness in the *Lausiac History*, but also on the development of foolery into the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Ivanov's purpose in composing this study, however, is not to explore the roots or connections between Eastern and Western folly; he wishes to explore "the immediate origins, the emergence, and the life-span, of a specific cultural phenomenon which could only arise in particular historical circumstances."⁶⁵ Ivanov confesses later in his introduction that his cultural approach to the fools prompts the question of why society would allow insanity to be divine.⁶⁶ By working from a cultural standpoint, Ivanov can track holy foolery from its roots in fifth century Egypt, through its development in Byzantium to the fourteenth century, and can even discuss the medieval and modern development of folly in the Russian Eastern Orthodox tradition to find the "artifices of the worldly structures which serve as guarantors of the divine order" that, in a specific cultural context, represent different opposing structures.⁶⁷ In this way, Ivanov uses the primary sources to explain the culture so in need of a fool.

Since he was working in 1994, he is lacking many recent studies, such as those by Krueger, and several critical editions created by Rydén. He is also quite explicit about the approaches he *does not* use, such as modern psychiatry and typological comparisons.⁶⁸ Ivanov's main purpose in writing *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* was to discern the fool's place within the cultural landscape of late antiquity to medieval Russia. He writes in a narrative manner, not completely eschewing theoretical approaches, but favoring the descriptive approach over the overly analytical.

Ivanov cites the work of many prominent scholars, such as Peter Brown's "Rise and Function of the Holy Man," Vincent Déroche's study of Leontius of Neapolis, Kazhdan and Sherry's article "Tale of the Happy Fool" as well as Mango's "The Life of St Andrew Reconsidered" and Syrkin's "Fools for Christ's Sake," as well as the many articles, though not Rydén's translations. The cultural approach Ivanov takes obviously adds to the various cultural understandings and roles already established by these other scholars. His work is cited in almost all those after him. Because of this large amount of

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 401.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

conversation between Ivanov and other scholars, he is truly an integral part of the growing study of holy foolery.

The next scholar to focus on one fool is Lennart Rydén, a Swedish historian whose contribution to the field is of holy fools is truly incalculable. Having written numerous articles, creating critical editions of the previously ignored foolish hagiographies, and contributing much more, Rydén cannot be overlooked in a discussion on holy fools.

After the publication of *Syméon le Fou* and “The Date of ‘The Life of Andreas Salos’” a few years later, Rydén moved on to more substantial work. In the mid-1990s, he published the critical edition of the vita of St Andrew the Fool. It was followed by a critical edition of St Philaretos in 2002. Rydén’s extensive work on both the *Life* of St Andrew the Fool and St Philaretos the Merciful is impressive scholarship.⁶⁹ He uses sources from a multitude of languages and disciplines, and even incorporates the Greek text with the English translation for those readers who would prefer a Greek vita to the English. Included in these thick volumes are summaries of the work itself, as well as discussions of the grammar and translation of the text. It is written for a very scholarly audience and the fact that it was translated to English helps broaden the receptors of this work.

He is not interested in finding cultural clues or identifying specific authorial intent. Rydén is focused on the texts and providing introductions and information on the text itself, as seen through his numerous critical editions. Rydén’s work is extensive. He is cited by almost every other scholar mentioned in this paper. His work has been truly influential. With critical editions, Rydén has expanded the study of holy fools by making the primary texts available to the English-speaking and reading world. His work has been instrumental in bringing the study of the holy fool to a wider audience for graduates and undergraduates alike. Most of his translations are the most extensive work done on the subjects, and are considered the critical editions of these *vitae*, including the original text, a translation, and commentary on the subject.

Derek Krueger, a religious studies scholar from University of North Carolina, is one of the last scholars to focus on a particular fool without shifting drastically. With his dissertation-turned first work,

Symeon the Holy Fool; Leontius’ Life and the Late Antique City, Krueger unknowingly acted as a transition between the focused works on fools and the diverting works focused on a variety of topics, but using fools in explanatory circumstances.⁷⁰ Because Krueger examined Leontius’ work in such a new way, he opened the door for other hagiographies to be examined in other ways as well.

Krueger’s work functions as a transition because of the new approach he took to his source. By using literary theory, Krueger sought to differentiate between the themes and *topoi* of hagiography regarding folly; specifically, he wanted to show that Symeon did not act as an archetype for the Eastern Orthodox fool.⁷¹ While this is Krueger’s main purpose in writing *Symeon*, he ultimately adds much more the study of holy fools through literary analysis, connecting the work with its contemporaries, and, like Rydén, through translating the work itself.

Literary analysis plays an important role in Krueger’s analysis of Leontius’ *Life* of Symeon. He seeks to explain Leontius’ intentions and bias, as well as the audience and how they would have received the work as a whole. In this way, the text is reflective of the culture in which it was written. Krueger states, “Leontius’s work not only reflects the Christian environment in which it was composed, it remains a witness to the survival of Greco-Roman literary and intellectual culture into the seventh century.”⁷² Unlike Ivanov, who took the information within the pages of hagiographies as facts to infer the late antique culture, Krueger looks at authorial intent along with how and in what ways the culture around the work would react. He still provides a critical reading of the text, but through the lens of literary theory and authorial intent. As part of the literary turn in historiography, Krueger focuses on the literary and intellectual culture specifically, not just on Ivanov’s comparative claims to the varying cultures.

Krueger also does an excellent job comparing Leontius’ *Life* to other works of the time. He does not compare merely on the content that exists within the different hagiographies, but the literary themes and *topoi* that are links between the works. He does so as to place *Symeon* in a larger context of holy folly themed hagiography and as part of the conversation on hagiographical themes that are

⁶⁹ Please refer to Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, and Rydén, *The Life of St Philaretos*.

⁷⁰ Krueger, *Life of Symeon the Fool*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 17.

prevalent in the late antique world. For example, chapter four, “Holy Fools and Secret Saints,” is dedicated to these literary elements that create intersections between Symeon’s vita and such works as the *Lausiaca History* of Palladius, the *Life of Daniel of Skete*, and Theodoret’s *Religious History*, all of which contain at least one mention of a holy fool.⁷³ Krueger also identifies the key word of *salos* that is used particularly to differentiate holy fools from sinners; by doing so, he is able to draw attention to other works which had previously ignored sections on holy foolery, such as the aforementioned *Lausiaca History* and *Life of Daniel of Skete* again, as well as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁷⁴ He also spends a significant part of the chapter describing “generic literary type” themes, and how these themes in Symeon’s vita relate to the overall literary view of the work.⁷⁵

Krueger, as part of the relatively new movement of the literary turn in late antique studies, takes a large amount of time and space to explain this literary approach, I believe in part to legitimize the progressive thesis of the book itself. As a religious studies scholar, Krueger adds to the conversation not as a historian, but as an expert in religious studies with a subsequent religious mindset and context. Although he looks at the vita in a literary sense, Krueger adds a new way to analyze primary sources to the historians’, and other types of scholars’, tool belts. Since Krueger’s methodology and approach is somewhat new and relatively untrusted, the amount of supplementary explanation is of great help to the reader.

Along with this unique approach, Krueger also included the first English translation of Leontius’ *Life of Symeon of Emesa*.⁷⁶ This was quite helpful, as it both provided evidence to support his literary themed thesis as well as brought this *Life* to the English study of holy fools. His thesis was risky, however, due to the fact that it disagreed with most of the previous scholarship on the vita. Even though Krueger’s work provided a new lens through which to regard the holy fool himself, something is to be said for providing a translation. Translations, especially to English in a critical edition (which I

⁷³ Krueger, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, 57-62. For the *Lausiaca History*, please see Meyer, *Palladius*. For sections of *The Life of Daniel of Skete*, please refer to Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” 182-184.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* For the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, please refer to Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*.

⁷⁵ Krueger, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, 70-71.

⁷⁶ For Leontius of Neapolis’s *Life of Symeon the Fool*, please see the appendix of Krueger, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, 131-171.

am tempted to label Krueger’s *Symeon the Holy Fool*), bring the perhaps previously ignored source into Western scholarship and greatly broadens the field. In the case of the holy fool, a widening of the field would not be a bad thing.

Through the use of literary theory and literary turn methodology, Krueger opened the door for new approaches and disciplines to utilize the fools in distinct and different ways. Although the study of holy fools started with Saward and Ivanov trying to legitimize it through comparisons and over arching scopes, the focused study on fools is concluded by Krueger, who uses them in a very different way and allows for future scholars, such as Guy Stroumsa, Andrew Crislip, and Antigone Samellas, to examine fools in studies that diverge from history.

PART II: DIVERGENCE FROM THE FOOLS

Although Krueger was the first to act upon this new methodology, it did not happen over night. The idea of diverting to use the fools for examples of other occurrences in late antiquity had to be prompted by a call to do so. Introductory articles by Krueger and Rydén do just that.

Krueger has been quite prolific in recent years, although he has deviated from his initial focus on the holy fool. One introductory work, a short journal article featured in Richard Valantasis’ edited collection *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, was featured along such reputable scholarship such as James Goehring, Teresa M. Shaw, David Frankfurter, and Virginia Burrus.⁷⁷ In his article, “Tales of Holy Fools,” Krueger provides several specific examples of holy fools, all previously mentioned here: the *Lausiaca History*, *Life of Daniel of Skete*, and Evagrius Scholasticus’ *Ecclesiastical History*. The article functions as an introduction, much like Rydén’s “Holy Fool,” with hopes of pulling in curious scholars to expand this small topic of study. The literary approach Krueger takes, as well as the translations he provides, invites scholars to approach folly in a different way. Rydén does something similar. Much like Krueger’s “Tales of Holy Fools,” Rydén’s article, “The Holy Fool” is also featured in a larger anthology and serves as an introduction.⁷⁸ He provides a few examples of fools and then diverts to call for more work to be done. And, in this

⁷⁷ Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” 179-186.

⁷⁸ Lennart Rydén, “The Holy Fool,” *The Byzantine Saint*, Sergei Hackel, ed. (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), 106-113.

progressive time of historical study, he is taken up in unexpected ways.

Guy Stroumsa approaches holy foolery as a way of self-transformation in the late antique era in his article “Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism.”⁷⁹ This is an interesting jump to take as it is more metaphorical and philosophical than any of the inquiries on language or culture that had been encountered before. Stroumsa still takes a very scholarly approach to this study, which was published in 2002. He is in conversation with Krueger, Brown, Déroche, Rydén, and Syrkin, as well as citing the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Bible*, and the *Lausiac History*. The purpose of his focus on the holy fool is to examine how the “beastly” *salos* is transformed into an angel of the divine world through their folly.⁸⁰ Stroumsa finds an example of this in the Life of Symeon by both Evagrius and Leontius: Symeon is described by both as being so far mad that he had no body.⁸¹ To Stroumsa, this exemplifies the transformative nature of the divine. It is this transformation that classifies the *salos* as liminal: they are “crossing the boundary between human and divine nature.”⁸² In this way, he adds to the argument by using the liminal qualities of the fools as a way to explore the self in late antiquity.

The study of the self is a relatively new direction in history. There is not very much done on the subject, and therefore this article was published as part of a larger edited collection, which was edited by Stroumsa. It covers a vast array of history, not just late antiquity. Due to this, and the fact that “Madness and Divinization” is cited in only a few other places, it is not the most influential article that exists. Stroumsa’s article, however, is one of the select few that do exist on the subject of holy fools in late antiquity. For that reason, it is included in this overview.

Andrew Crislip engages in the conversation of holy fools in his work *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* by creating a context for those perceived as sick to procure medical care.⁸³

⁷⁹ Guy G. Stroumsa, “Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism,” *Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions*, David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73-88.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 77.

⁸³ Andrew Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

Although he is looking at the growth of medical facilities and care as part of the growing monastic movement, Crislip still engages with many other scholars: Brown, Cameron, Patlagean, Foucault and Rouselle. He also utilizes an impressive amount of primary sources, including the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and the work of Eusebius, and John Chrysostom. Crislip’s work is relevant to the study of holy fools since it creates a context for the sick in the late antique world. Sickness could be perceived as a part of ascetic practice in many cases.⁸⁴ In the fools’ case, their perceived illness could be interpreted as mental illness. For example, in Palladius’ *Lausiac History*, the nun who feigned madness was referred to as the “afflicted one” by her sisters.⁸⁵ Crislip’s work helps to put holy fools in the cultural category of the ‘afflicted’ and details their place in society and monastic communities.

In a later article, “I Have Chosen Sickness: The Controversial Function of Sickness in Early Christian Ascetic Practice,” Crislip explores how sickness functions in an exclusively monastic context, which is a bit closer to the scope of this paper.⁸⁶ Specifically, he examines the controversial understanding of sickness as a form of asceticism, as well as how much responsibility a monastic had, therefore, to care for his or her body if sickness and self mortification could be considered a form of asceticism. Crislip quotes Evagrius of Pontus to explain this contradiction: “The monk should always live as if he were to die on the morrow, but at the same time...he should treat his body as if he were to live on with it for many years to come.”⁸⁷ With that in mind, where exactly did holy foolery fall? Was it an ascetic practice or an illness? While Crislip still does not address the holy fool in his work, the implications and comparisons can be made to the work of other scholars on the subject. Crislip addresses the work of other scholars, such as Brown, Brakke, Foucault, and uses Soranus, Galen, and the *Apophthegmata Patrum* as primary sources. Although this is just an article without much connection to holy fools, the context created is ideal for future scholars’ expansion on the subject.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸⁵ Meyer, *Palladius*, 98.

⁸⁶ Andrew Crislip, “I Have Chosen Sickness: The Controversial Function of Sickness in Early Christian Ascetic Practice,” *Asceticism and Its Critic: Historical Accounts and Comparative Perspectives*, Oliver Freiberger, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 179-209.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 191.

Antigone Samellas expands on the marginality of the fools in her work *Alienation: The Experience of the Eastern Mediterranean*, which focuses on the topic of alienation in the late antique world.⁸⁸ Stemming from her definition of alienation being “the aftermath of creative and destructive aspects of social change,”⁸⁹ she establishes the Christians as the first aliens in a Roman world. She takes an unexpected turn stating that her goal is to uncover Christian intolerance and alienation through heresy and the destruction of cults.⁹⁰ Much like Gibbon, though she does not cite him in her work, Samellas is using Christianity to explain the fall of the established norm. While she examines this turn in late antiquity, she neglects to cite the expected late antique scholars, such as Brown, Crislip, and Krueger.

Although Samellas is supposedly concentrating her study of alienation to the Eastern Mediterranean between the years 50-600 AD, she still pulls modern examples to further exemplify her point. For example, Samellas references Chateaubriand and the French Revolution, Karl Marx, a 1940s poet, Edmund Burke, and even Huxley’s *A Brave New World*. While this is helpful for creating a contemporary understanding of alienation, it adds nothing to her actual argument and distracts from the true focus of her work. She also incorporates a variety of disciplines into her work, such as psychology, philosophy, Marxism, and sociology, making it difficult to follow. While this is exemplary of the cultural turn and modern approaches to the study of history, it does not function in a way appropriate for what she seeks to examine.

It would make ideological sense to incorporate fools directly into her study: part of alienation was going against authority and disrupting the societal norm, which is the same objective as the fool.⁹¹ But her examination on holy folly is quite miniscule; Samellas discusses Andrew the Fool for a page in relation to the marginalization he encountered.⁹² There is no discussion of *saloi*, or a differentiation between a fool and a sinner. It could be argued that she missed a great opportunity to expand on the topic of fools since their hagiographies would have fit perfectly into her argument.

⁸⁸ Antigone Samellas, *Alienation: The Experience of the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 AD)* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lange AG, International Academic Publishers, 2010).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 158.

Stroumsa, Crislip, and Samellas all took the topic of fools, and the themes surrounding them, and found a new way to look at their role in late antique history. Be it self-transformation, hospitals, or alienation, these scholars built off of the established frameworks of the previous works, some more poignantly than others, and created a new path for holy fools in scholarship. This divergence added new perspectives, methodologies, and approaches to the study of holy fools, which has helped expand the topic in general.

PART III: THE ONGOING DISCUSSION

The study of holy fools, therefore, is a relatively small area of research due to the lack of primary sources as well as a strange mix of inherent authorial responses therein that leave modern scholars without a clear direction or focus on the ‘fools for Christ’s sake.’ The subject of analysis in late antique studies is scattered not only in history, but also psychology, sociology, and literary analysis. The objectives of these studies are quite varied. It is in part their liminal status that makes the holy fools of great interest to a variety of scholars. The tales of holy fools can be used to examine late antique to medieval literary themes, urban life, the role of sickness, the experience of alienation, and even the cultural role fools filled in a societal context.

The study of holy fools is not very unified. Scholars approach them in a variety of different ways with many different methodologies, as exemplified with the above discussion. This variety does not mean that the fools are all separate entities floating around the academic world. These *saloi* are unified with themes of liminality, similar exploits, and the objective of rebelling against the established societal norm. As far as the hagiographies and authors go, their own experiences and views are reflected in the explanation of the fools’ experience. The scholars writing on both the fools and the authors try to explain the world around them, be it the reason they feigned madness or what type of culture they inhabited that would prompt such a reaction.

The study of holy fools acts as a chain reaction: the scholars are revising and revisiting previous works, and building off the ideas established by other scholars such as Gibbon, Brown, and Saward. In that sense, the study is rather succinct. The call for more academic scholarship is what keeps expanding the topic of fools, as seen by the responses of Kazhdan, Sherry, and even

Samellas. With new approaches and methodologies being used, the study of fools keeps expanding to incorporate the aspect of self-transformation and alienation, as well as cultural and literary turn methodologies and different approaches such as psychology and Marxism.

It is this continuous change that creates fluidity and progress within the study of holy folly. The use of this liminal group can be used to support the claims of many unexplored topics in late antiquity; when this occurs, the history of holy fools evolves and changes as well. The focus is still on holy fools, but the focus is shifting from what the holy fools reveal about their own experiences to what their experiences and vitae can tell about a variety of other things as well.

CONCLUSION

The study of the holy fool is not a succinct one. Approaches and methodologies differ significantly depending on which scholar is conducting the research. No matter what approach or lens the primary sources were viewed through, one overall theme stays the same: “madness... is a common charge against those who tell the disturbing truth...the guardian of truth is invariably dismissed as a raving lunatic.”⁹³ The holy fool functioned in a marginal place in society; they were on the sidelines—insane, but so much so that they must be more divine and ascetic than those who had not yet reached their level of asceticism.

⁹³ Saward, *Perfect Fools*, 1.

Although the fools keep their sanctity a secret to mock the confines of developing monasticism in the late antique period, they function as an example for future readers of their hagiographies.⁹⁴

The scholarship on holy fools is so broad and variant due to the fact that the holy fools themselves had no unified experience. They all acted foolish in ways that suited their asceticism and repelled their specific cultural and societal norms, or those of the hagiographers. The various approaches and methodologies applied allow for this subject to be a fascinating and ever changing one, which will hopefully continue to intrigue future scholars.

Even with the intriguing versatility of these figures, the same few continue to reappear. Although not all of these ‘fools for Christ’s sake’ gave feasts for the poor or consorted with prostitutes, they still mocked the world in a way that gives the modern reader something to think about. As Krueger explains, “the fool’s eventual exposure gives the other characters in the story an opportunity do instruction. The text’s audience, also, is invited to learn...holiness may be among us, perhaps where we least expect it.”⁹⁵ Holy fools are used in a variety of ways, due to variety in objective, methodology, perspective, and lack of unity of source material, which creates an understandable and unfortunate lack in scholarship. This field of study is continuously reexamined and expanding, creating a fluid environment with the fool at the center to hold it together.

⁹⁴ Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. *The Book of Steps*.

⁹⁵ Krueger, “Tales of Holy Fools,” 178.

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Power through Punishment: How the Iconoclast Controversy Demonstrated the Theocratic Power of the Byzantine Emperor

Kristin Wright

The topic of crime and punishment in the medieval period often engenders ideas of torture, dungeons, witch trials, and various other macabre judiciary structures. While many of these conceptions are promulgated by modern civilization, the topic of medieval crime and punishment reveals more than just gruesome penalties; studying crime and punishment of a specific place or people allows historians the opportunity to recreate important constructs and organizations that existed within a particular culture. For the Byzantine Empire, the iconoclast controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries reveals the impact of having a unified church and state, connected through the emperorship. The roots of this controversy began in the sixth and seventh centuries when Byzantium experienced an increased use of icons. To understand the complexity of the situation it is important to explain the linguistic problem of the Greek term *eikon*. "For both Christian and Non-Christian writers, *eikon* could refer to a sacred image in any medium, visual or rhetorical."¹ This language creates a discussion concerning the actual purpose of the *eikons* for the recipient, particularly of the role of the divine.² The images at times held miraculous powers, becoming objects of worship, of prayer, and even of devotion. They could be found in private homes, shops, and at public events.³ The increased prevalence as well as the new functions for the icons led to conflicts between the iconoclasts, who rejected the worship of icons, and the iconodules, who protected the worship of icons.⁴

The iconoclast controversy, which developed around these icons, is often discussed in two waves.

The first wave occurred in the middle of the 730's and continued into the 780's, primarily during the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V. The second wave began during the 810's and ended in the 840's, mainly through to the reigns of Leo V, Michael II, and Theophilus. After proclaiming icon veneration illegal, the iconoclast emperors needed punishments for those people, primarily the iconodules, who continued creating and using images. The severity and prevalence of these punishments is a highly debated issue within secondary scholarship on the topic. The opinions regarding the degree of harshness and frequency of punishment range from those who fully support widespread icon destruction and persecutions, to scholars like Thomas Noble, who is not specifically a Byzantine historian, who argues strongly against the claims of extreme persecutions and destruction. Noble explains, "There were only a few brief periods of active hostility to images....Iconoclasm whatever caused it and whatever it meant, happened rarely and never seems to have absorbed the full energies of the Byzantine state."⁵ The reason this debate is so inconclusive pertains largely to the primary sources available. Most of the sources are written years after the events occurred, and of those sources, almost all are written from the perspective of the iconodules.⁶

With this prejudice established, it is easy to understand why many scholars, even those who believe persecutions occurred, claim the sources overstate the brutality and commonality of the icon destruction and persecutions. It is important to remember these biases, but it is also essential to remember that the Byzantines of the time were not arguing about the severity of punishment, but rather they were struggling with a conflict

¹ Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era: c.680-850* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2011), 40

² *Ibid.*, 41.

³ J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Henry and Owen Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32.

⁴ Iconodules are sometimes referred to as iconophile in secondary literature.

⁵ Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2009, 109.

⁶ Some of the sources that will be used are Hagiographies, *Life of the Patriarch of Constantinople*, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, *The Twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, and treatises by Iconodules.

that “was a mixture of religion and politics, for in Constantinople the two were inseparable.”⁷ The purpose of this paper is to explain how the illegal nature of icon veneration and the subsequent punishments prove the existence and importance of the theocracy, particularly the effects of the emperor’s religious powers, within Byzantine society. In an attempt to understand how iconoclasm emphasized the Byzantine theocracy and the emperor’s religious power along with its connection to the criminalization and punishments, the controversy needs explained in regards to the actual evidence of imperial actions and persecutions under the reigns of the iconoclast emperors Leo III, Constantine V, Leo V, Michael II, and Theophilus.

Iconoclast vs. Iconodule Perspective:

At the heart of the controversy, lay three concepts, which are fundamental to understanding the arguments: image as a symbol of what it represented, image as the essence of what is represented, and the Christological doctrine connected to images of Christ.⁸ The first wave of iconoclasts argued two fundamental points: idolatry, which pertains to the first two concepts, and Christology, which pertains to the third concept. Under Leo III, the veneration of icons was seen primarily as idolatry, but under Constantine V, a Christological issue was added which claimed God had no limits so He was unable to be depicted and in depicting Him so many times, they were giving God definition and multiple natures.⁹ In the council of 754, the iconoclasts, under Constantine V’s guidance, explain both these points arguing that Satan drove people to worship the image instead of the creator, indicating the practice of idolatry. Then they continued by explaining the Christological issue asserting that, “the only admissible figure of the humanity of Christ, however, is bread and wine in the Holy Supper. This and no other form, this and no other type, has he chosen to represent his incarnation. Bread he ordered to be brought, but not a representation of the human form, so that idolatry might not arise.”¹⁰ Of these perspectives,

the idolatrous argument loses emphasis in the second wave, and the focus shifts to condemning the divine grace of God being given to images and the authority for practicing image worship.¹¹

The iconoclast council during the second wave, the Council of St. Sophia in 815, reveals the changes made to the iconoclast arguments put forth during the first wave. The advocates during this second period deemphasize the issue of Christ’s natures being anthropomorphized, and place greater emphasis on the issue of treating images themselves as holy or sanctified.¹² The positions posited at this council along with those from the first wave are more than just opinions; rather these arguments reveal why the iconoclasts were willing to fight over icons and icon veneration.

The iconodule position largely formed as a reaction to the arguments posed by the iconoclasts outlined above. The key sources for analyzing these counter-arguments are John of Damascus, the Ecumenical Council held between the first and second waves of the controversy, and Theodore the Studite. The first of these three, John of Damascus, wrote his three treatises in response to the first wave of iconoclasm. He penned impassioned arguments explaining how icon veneration should not only be allowed, but that icon veneration was theologically acceptable. One of his best arguments pertains to the idolatry issue. His evidence and ideas are so persuasive that the claim that icon veneration was idolatrous largely disappeared by the second wave. An excerpt from his work presents his argument stating,

to speak theologically, however, we, to whom it has been granted, fleeing superstitious error, to come to be purely with God, and having recognized the truth, to worship God alone and be greatly enriched with the perfection of the knowledge of God...have received the habit of discrimination from God and know what can be depicted and what cannot be delineated in an image.¹³

John is arguing that because Christians have recognized that He is the only God who has no limits, than they are not worshipping the image as

⁷ Edward James Martin, *A History of the Iconoclast Controversy* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1978), 3.

⁸ Paul J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 23.

⁹ Martin, *A History of the Iconoclast Controversy*, 110-111.

¹⁰ H. R. Percival, trans., “Iconoclastic Council, 754,” from *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, in the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, 1996, <http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/iconocncl754.asp> [accessed October 29, 2012].

¹¹ Martin, *A History of the Iconoclast Controversy*, 184-185.

¹² Elizabeth A. Fisher, trans., *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, 140.

¹³ Saint John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. by Andrew Louth. (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), 24.

God since they already know that it is impossible to depict Him, proving that icon veneration by the Christians is not idolatry.

The Ecumenical Council of 787, which took place during the interim of the controversy between the first and second waves, furthers the above argument. The council claimed that,

the more frequently they (Jesus, Mary, Angels and Holy Persons) are seen by a pictorial representation, the more readily those who contemplate them, are excited to remembrance of and desire for the prototypes, and to bestow upon them a respectful devotion; not, however, a 'latria' (adoration), which ...is bestowed upon the divine nature alone.¹⁴

To rephrase this idea, the iconodules believed that they knew the difference between worshipping God and using icons as reminders to show religious devotion to God. For this council, the icons were not divine, but simply tools that increased a person's piety and devotion.

These two examples argue against idolatry, but in regards to the Christological issue, the writings of Theodore the Studite offer succinct summations of the iconodule counterarguments. Theodore explains that there are three parts of the trinity but only one God. This means that many representations of these three parts may exist, but there still exists only one God, so the iconoclast argument regarding Christology should be invalid.¹⁵ Theodore's arguments along with John of Damascus' writings and the Ecumenical Council's findings expound upon many different arguments against iconoclast ideas and actions, hoping to sway other ecclesiastics and government officials to prefer the iconodule argument. Despite the impassioned religious arguments of both sides, the ruler was always the ultimate decider. If the emperor favored iconoclastic ideas then he or she would most likely instate an iconoclast agenda in the empire.

Iconoclasm as Imperial Power:

The above influences and arguments depict the religious nature of the debate and the significance of the issues for leaders of both movements; however,

¹⁴ The Seventh Ecumenical Council," in *The Twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, ed. Fr. Clement Raab (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1959), 58.

¹⁵ Saint Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, trans. Catherine P. Roth (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 29.

as noted before, it is necessary to consider the role of the emperor in this controversy. The ruler's influence is particularly important to understanding how the religious controversy led to the criminalization of religious practices as well as the punishment for crimes concerning icons and icon veneration. According to the chronicler Theophanes, icon veneration first encountered hostility from the Byzantine emperor in 725. Theophanes claims that in this year Leo III "began to frame an order condemning the august, holy icons."¹⁶ This was not a legal decree or law, but simply the emperor speaking out against icon veneration. Yet even without an initial legal decree, the religious power of the emperor is on display, through this simple renouncing of religious icon practices. The religious power on display with Leo III's disapproval did not form in regards to controversy but was already an inherent role of the emperor in the theocracy.

While no law code or edict exists today outside of the religious councils to explain the criminalization or outline the punishments, the nature of the emperor meant that such written documents were superfluous to the illegalization of icon veneration. Though the *Ecloge*, the law code codified under Leo III and Constantine V, does not mention iconoclasm, the source shows an important shift within the emperor's religious power, which influenced the emperor's theocratic rule and ultimately his ability to take action against icon veneration. In the *Ecloge*, the emperor is no longer "the law giver assisted by God," but rather God has "become the creator of justice assisted by the emperor."¹⁷ The idea that the emperor was the assistant doling out God's law and punishment slightly changes the theocratic system that existed in Byzantium. As Steven Runciman explains, "It is the Patriarch's business to see to the spiritual well-being of the Empire. However, it is the Emperor alone who can give to the recommendations of the Patriarch the force of law. He has the ultimate decision on religious as well as civil affairs. He is still the Viceroy of God."¹⁸ These notions together not only validated the emperor's ideas of possessing divine knowledge

¹⁶ Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: an English translation of anni mundi 6095-6305*, 95.

¹⁷ J. H. A. Lokin, "The Significance of Law and Legislation in the Law books of the Ninth to the Eleventh Centuries," in *Law and Society in Byzantium Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*. ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Dieter Simon (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 77.

¹⁸ Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 64.

and power, but also gave the emperor large amounts of control over the church, which ultimately allowed him to criminalize icon veneration and punish those who did not abide by iconoclastic ideas. Another aspect of Byzantine law, outside of the theocratic nature of the empire, pertained to language and linguistic differences between modern ideas of law and the ideas of law that existed during the iconoclast era. While the chronicler Theophanes rarely uses the term law or legislation during the period of iconoclasm, he often uses the term illegality.¹⁹ This term illegal demonstrates that while it may not have been recorded as ‘law’ or ‘legislation’, an idea or practice may be known as illegal and as such be punishable.

The other major reason the emperors were able to establish their iconoclast agendas was that they were not alone in their iconoclastic beliefs. Despite the abundance of iconodule literature, these iconoclast emperors had ample support from both secular and religious figures. In large part, this support derives from the emperor’s religious power and duties. During this time, “Episcopal appointments were under effective imperial control, but the rule that bishops must be celibate while priests could be married meant that most bishops were drawn from the ranks of the monks.”²⁰ This means that while many bishops held the iconodule views of numerous monks, others such as those with closer relationships to the emperor would largely have supported the emperor’s ideas. At the iconodule Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787, the council allowed bishops to recount their iconoclast beliefs if they wished to be part of the council. During the first three sessions, at least 10 iconoclast bishops renounced their iconoclast ideas and were accepted by the iconodule council.²¹ One can assume that these were not the only iconoclast bishops from the time, which demonstrates that there existed a large number of iconoclast bishops to support the emperor. With support from religious leaders and political pundits along with the emperor’s own religious legal authority, the Byzantine emperors possessed the necessary power to make icons and icon veneration illegal.

¹⁹ Angeliki E. Laiou, “Law, Justice, and Byzantine Historians: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries,” in *Law and Society in Byzantium Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*. ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Dieter Simon (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 159-160.

²⁰ Patrick Henry, “What Was the Iconoclastic Controversy about?” *Church History* 45, no. 1 (Mar., 1976): 29, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3164562> [accessed October 11, 2012].

²¹ “The Seventh Ecumenical Council,” 56.

First Wave (730-787)

Keeping in mind the religious, legal, and political circumstances shaping this controversy it is now crucial to look more directly at individual emperors’ actions through, the sometimes extreme and exaggerated descriptions of icon destruction and iconodule persecutions. These instances, while the rarity, are some of the only insights into the punishments during the controversy; however, keeping in mind their hyperbolic nature, scholars can use the instances to make inferences about the emperors’ power over religion through their secular power as a legal authority. It is also important to note that most of these punishments pertain to the secular or regular clergy and not the ordinary people. There is little evidence outside the destruction of public icons that regular citizens faced these extreme punishments. In the following sections, particular situations under each emperor will be discussed to reveal how their punishments exposed the theocratic power of the Byzantine emperor.

Leo III (717-741)

Under Leo III, the first iconoclast emperor, there was “a steady destruction of icons and holy paintings in Constantinople and to a lesser extent in the provinces. Anyone who tried to hinder the work of destruction was sternly punished.”²² Along with these minor incidents, which do not offer much detail, the major instances of punishment under Leo III concern the expulsion of Germanos as patriarch, the destruction of an important icon of Christ above a city gate, and the death of St. Theodosia. The first of these instances, pertaining to Germanos, appears both in the *Short History* by Nikephoros and in *The Chronicle of Theophanes*. Theophanes claims that in 730 the Patriarch Germanos was expelled from his position because he was unwilling to submit to the emperor’s iconoclast thinking even though he was directly under the emperor’s control.²³ Nikephoros’ account supports Theophanes’ and even maintains that others who did not accept the imperial doctrine faced more than exile, but also torture and punishment.²⁴ The situation concerning Germanos shows how the emperor exercised substantial power over the most prominent religious figure in Byzantium, and when that religious figure disagreed the emperor had the authority to dismiss and exile

²² Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, 70.

²³ Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: an English translation of anni mundi 6095-6305*, 100.

²⁴ Nikephoros, *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople Short History*, trans. and ed. Cyril Mango (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 63.

the patriarch of Byzantium, replacing him with a man who would support the emperor's policies.

The second significant event pertains to Saint Theodosia. The hagiography of St. Theodosia explains how Leo III ordered the destruction of an important icon, which depicted Christ in human form, above one of the gates of Constantinople. Supposedly, Theodosia and her companions attempted to thwart this destruction, but they failed. Leo III's men slit Theodosia's throat and decapitated all of her companions.²⁵ This example shows not only the destruction of a holy icon ordered by the emperor, but also a religious woman who believed so strongly in iconodule ideas that she was willing to die to protect an icon. Theodosia was named a martyr for her actions, which shows how influential and crucial the controversy was to the religious life and faith of many Byzantines. The authors particularly gruesome and heinous portrayal of this event is a literary tool used to prove Theodosia's devoutness. Despite the embellishments, the occurrence also reveals how the emperor had the religious and secular power and enough support to carry out the destruction of icons within the political, cultural, and religious center of his empire. The idea that the citizens of Constantinople, specifically the iconodules, experienced the punishments and destructions most severely emphasized that this city was the center of the emperor's power. If Leo III could not enforce his policy here, it would be almost impossible to enforce it in the provinces.²⁶ These examples reveal how Leo III set up a foundation for future emperors, particularly his son, Constantine V, to install similar religious policies. In addition, Leo established particular precedents for how to handle those who did not conform to the Emperor's religious program through his icon destructions and persecutions.

Constantine V (741-775)

Many writings, both primary and secondary, portray Constantine V, Leo III's successor and son, as the most violent persecutor of all the iconoclast emperors; however, they also credit him with the institutionalization and organization of the iconoclastic movement. Seeing the difficulties of his father concerning the criminalization of icons,

²⁵ Nicholas Constas, trans., "Life of St. Theodosia of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 6-7.

²⁶ Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, 143.

Constantine decided that having proof of the church's support would help convince people of iconoclasm's legitimacy.²⁷ In 754, Constantine called a council of bishops who stated their arguments against icon veneration. They declared,

Whoever in the future dares to make such a thing, or to venerate it, or set it up in a church, or in a private house, or possesses it in secret, shall, if bishop, presbyter, or deacon, be deposed; if monk or layman, be anathematized, and become liable to be tried by the secular laws as an adversary of God and an enemy of the doctrines handed down by the Fathers.²⁸

This council, at the request of the emperor, created an official documented decree against iconodules and their practices. The importance of the council is that it was called by Constantine, the arguments were developed with Constantine's consent, and the legitimacy of the council came from Constantine's presence and approval. The council also set the stage for the persecutions that occurred when Constantine became frustrated with the continued resistance to iconoclast ideas. Examples of these persecutions can be found in the hagiography of St. Stephen, *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, and Nikephoros' *Short History*.

The death of St. Stephen, which is not only recorded in his hagiography but also in Nikephoros' account is possibly the most renowned persecution under Constantine V.²⁹ In the hagiography of St. Stephen, Stephen is one of hundreds persecuted for his practices, but while others are deprived of noses, ears, eyes, hands, and beards, Stephen suffers a rather grisly death. They dragged him along "a public road, while [people] threw stones at him and struck him with wooden clubs."³⁰ The passage continues on describing his terrible death, but what is particularly interesting is the description of people of the public participating in the death. While not all may have supported iconoclasm, and many may have simply been following the crowd, their participation in this persecution showed support for their emperor's religious and state power. The

²⁷ Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, 74.

²⁸ H. R. Percival, trans., "Iconoclastic Council, 754."

²⁹ Nikephoros, *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople Short History*, 155.

³⁰ Alice-Mary Talbot, trans., "Life of Saint Stephen the Younger," in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 12.

people accepted that the emperor had condemned Stephen, and that was all the people needed to understand before taking part in the attack.

Along with St. Stephen's death, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* and Nikephoros' *Short History* record other punishments ordered by Constantine V. Theophanes said that in 754, Constantine anathematized, "the holy Germanos, George of Cyprus, and John Chrysorrohoas of Damascus, who were holy men and venerable teachers."³¹ Here the emperor reveals his authority to reduce the power and significance of important religious scholars. As these intellectuals lost the emperor's favor, they would not hold the same prominence in society. This also meant that Constantine could replace them with teachers who would preach his beliefs and preach support of the emperor's power and policies. Later in the entry for September 1, 765 through August 31, 766, Theophanes offers numerous different punishments and terrors carried out by Constantine over these months. He claims, "From everyone under his rule he demanded a general pledge that they would not venerate an icon."³² After this, he made the patriarch swear on the altar and cross that no one venerated icons, and forced him to take a wife. On August 21, he forced numerous monks to take wives and subjected them to ridicule in front of all the people in the hippodrome. The text continues on to explain how the leaders were also beaten, blinded, and exiled.³³ These punishments were not just for supporting icons, but also for plotting against the emperor because of their discontent with his policies. The significance of these punishments is that they are carried out in front of the populace, at least those present at the hippodrome. The emperor was not carrying out his punishments in secret, but rather in front of the people of Constantinople. In addition, the people there take part in the punishment by spitting on the men and cursing them. The people did not revolt or stand up to the emperor, but accepted his judgment and participated in the punishment of these men. The events also showed what happened to a person or group of people, who disagreed with or plotted against the emperor. His punishment sends a strong message that resistance would not be tolerated, and that his religious and secular power would prevail over such attempts.

³¹ Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: an English translation of anni mundi 6095-6305*. ed. and trans. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 117.

³² *Ibid.*, 125.

³³ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

Nikephoros' *Short History* also relates some of the events and claims stated by Theophanes, but in broader terms. In regards to monks, Nikephoros claims that Constantine ordered many who were living according to God to be beaten with icons, have their eyes gouged out, or body parts cut off.³⁴ This mirrors some of the accusations made by Theophanes, and it reiterates the large amount of control Constantine had as the Byzantine emperor. While the source may be exaggerated, it still shows how the emperor's iconoclast policy was prevalent enough and effective enough to carry out these punishments. He was not performing the beatings and torture himself, but he must have had enough loyal supporters to carry out these punishments for him. Nikephoros also writes that

They brought under accusation many men invested with authority as well as members of the army, charging them with worshipping holy icons, and killed them as if they had been found guilty of sacrilege; some they subjected to different kinds of death, on others they inflicted unusual punishments, while a great multitude were exiled.³⁵

This quote shows that it was not just religious leaders and monks who were punished. The punishment of secular leaders and military personnel reemphasizes the interconnected nature of Constantine's religious and secular power. His religious ruling that icons and icon veneration were illegal did not just affect monks or priests, but also the people in his government and military. This was truly a theocratic rule, in which religious practice had a large impact on secular affairs.

Constantine's iconoclast council along with his strict persecutions showed that as emperor he had enough support within the church to initiate an official council supporting iconoclasm and to punish those who resisted. In addition, the course of events during his rule exemplifies that there was no group powerful enough in Byzantine society to overthrow imperial power when a strong ruler was in place, even when the emperor's imperial decrees were controversial.³⁶ This argument gains validation with the conclusion of the first wave of iconoclasm under the empress Irene; however,

³⁴ Nikephoros, *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople Short History*, trans. and ed. Cyril Mango (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 153.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 155.

³⁶ Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era: c.680-850*, 197-198.

this situation will only be discussed briefly as this paper focuses on the iconoclast rulers and not the iconodule rulers. Empress Irene, as regent for her son, re-legalized icon veneration. While this only lasted a short period, her ability to overturn the religious doctrine of the previous ruler showed that the emperor truly held significant religious control, and that these iconoclast rulers were not unique in their religious actions as emperors. These Byzantine rulers could put forth controversial agendas that affected religious and secular traditions throughout the empire.

Second Wave (814-842)

The second wave of iconoclasm contains less detailed primary evidence than the first, largely because of a lack of chronicles and sources pertaining to the reigns of these later iconoclast emperors.³⁷ From the sources that are available, the iconoclast emperors of this time still held the important theocratic position evident in the rules of Leo III and Constantine V. Paul J. Alexander explains that, “during the second period of Iconoclasm and after the restoration of orthodoxy the iconophiles tended to emphasize more and more that the Iconoclasts justified their persecution in terms of imperial power.”³⁸ In fact, it is claimed that at this time the emperor’s power over both church and state was so prominent that if an emperor supported the heresy of Manichaeism, the heretics would win because they had the support of the emperor.³⁹ The idea that this heretical group could gain legitimacy through the emperor’s support highlights the tremendous political control the emperor held over religious matters in Byzantium. This also shows that this power had not declined after the first wave but had continued to persist through the interim of iconodule leaders and throughout the second wave.

Leo the Armenian (813-820)

When Leo V, the Armenian, took control in Byzantium, it was after the assassination of the previous iconodule emperor. Leo V was convinced to abolish icons when he observed that “...all the emperors who had not venerated icons had died natural deaths while still reigning, and had enjoyed honorable burial among the imperial tombs in the

Church of the Holy Apostles.”⁴⁰ Warren Treadgold explains that after recognizing this trend and noting that the previous iconodule ruler had been assassinated, Leo V felt that the only possible reason for the previous ruler’s death was that God disapproved of iconodule policies. To secure his rule as well as his son’s rule for generations to come, the only logical action would be to reinstate an iconoclast agenda.⁴¹ The decision itself has more of a political nature, but it reveals how the emperor could use religious issues to secure his political role and power if necessary.

The history *Genesios* provides other evidence for Leo’s iconoclast policies explaining how he ordered the destruction of icons and exiled Nikephoros.⁴² Despite this negative portrayal, *Genesios* also credits Leo with being a strong administrator of public affairs, which supports the interconnected state and church roles held by the ruler.⁴³ If the ruler could not successfully rule over the secular and religious at the same time, he would not be able to control the empire. The exile of Nikephoros is also supported by the hagiography of St. Nikephoros, which claims that Leo early on refused to sign a document confirming his orthodox thinking, or rather iconodule thinking.⁴⁴ Later he forced many important officials to affirm their belief in iconoclast thinking and he anathematized Nikephoros, exiling him from the city.⁴⁵ This exiling resembles the ousting of Germanos under Leo III. With this action, Leo V established his religious power as emperor and showed the religious community he would not tolerate iconodule thinking from his administrators and officials.

The other major primary sources for this second wave are the letters of Theodore the Studite. In one of Theodore’s works, he claims Leo was responsible for

...the destruction of altars and of sacred vessels, the burning of vestments and manuscripts, the investigation of individuals and households, the

⁴⁰ Warren T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine revival, 780-842* (Stanford University Press, 1988), 208, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb02889> [accessed October 29, 2012].

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁴² Anthony Kaldellis, trans., *Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors* (Sydney, Australia: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1998), 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth A. Fisher, trans., “Life of the Patriarch of Constantinople,” in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 73.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁷ Martin, *A History of the Iconoclast Controversy*, 206.

³⁸ Paul J. Alexander, “Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications,” *Speculum* 52, no. 2 (Apr., 1977): 258, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2850512> [accessed October 11, 2012].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

recriminations among members of the clergy and the rewards offered for betrayal, beatings, jailings, exile and execution of resisters - with the remark: 'There is one law only - the will of Caesar.'⁴⁶

While Theodore meant his quote to be a negative portrayal of Leo's actions, the severity and frequency of these punishments and actions do not garner much support from other primary sources. The ending statement of this quote: 'There is one law only - the will of Caesar,' however, supports the idea that the law, even religious law, gained all authority from the emperor who had sole control over what legislation was important in the empire and the manner in which the government administered such legislation.

Michael II (820-829) & Theophilus (829-842)

The last two iconoclast emperors have even less primary evidence than Leo V. For this reason, the two will be discussed together. Both Michael II and his son Theophilus had iconoclastic tendencies but were rather tolerant of iconodules and their ideas.⁴⁷ *Genesios* even explains that despite Michael's uncultured nature, "concerning the divine images, he allowed everyone to act and believe as they saw fit."⁴⁸ The only major punishment under Michael pertained to the future Patriarch Methodius who was imprisoned for trying to convince Michael not to continue iconoclasm.⁴⁹ This particular instance is important for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates once again the Emperor's power to exile and punish those who disagreed with his practices. Secondly, this showed how the iconodules recognized that if they wanted iconodule thinking to regain prominence they would need the support of the emperor, since he was the ultimate law of the land.⁵⁰

Following Michael II, Emperor Theophilus' only major action against icon veneration seems to be the banning of religious paintings;⁵¹ however, he is also credited with freeing Methodius from his prison cell.⁵² These last two rulers show a much

less extreme approach to iconoclasm, but this seems fitting since both were less concerned with religious affairs than their predecessors. Even with this decreased interest, the instances that do pertain to iconoclasm, under Michael and Theophilus, reveal that the emperor's power over religion stayed strong, even when religion was not the main concern of the ruler. While they may not be as harsh with punishments, they still had the power to imprison iconodules and ban religious paintings. They also made the conscious decision to be more tolerant, which depicts religious power in a different form. Instead of emphasizing their control through harsh punishments, they garnered support through more tolerance and the occasional legal action against iconodule supporters.

Conclusions

The trajectory of the iconoclast era ebbs and flows in severity, prevalence, and importance, but the theocratic power of the emperor is continuously on display regardless of the larger shifts of the controversy. Alexander explains that the change from less violent propagation of ideas to the more violent persecutions was a natural shift for the emperors and that these emperors knew when and how to make the transition.⁵³ He argues that "most emperors, especially those belonging to new dynasties (Leo III, Michael II) or those whose throne was initially shaky (Constantine V, Irene), delayed measures of religious persecution until they had consolidated their power over state and church."⁵⁴ As this quote reiterates, the emperors' religious power was intricately tied to his power over the state. If his power over the state was tenuous, religious reform movements like iconoclasm would not have been accepted or plausible. In addition, while the controversy revealed severe limitations to the emperor's theocratic rule, the conflict also showed that these emperors could hold immense amounts of control over the church personnel, institutions, and teachings, even to the point of implementing stringent repression of religious dissenters.⁵⁵ The criminalization and subsequent punishments during the iconoclast controversy highlight the interconnectedness of government, law, and religion within the theocratic empire embodied by the Byzantine emperor.

⁴⁶ Alexander, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications," 259.

⁴⁷ Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, 89.

⁴⁸ Kaldellis, trans., *Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors*, 42.

⁴⁹ Warren T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine revival, 780-842*, 234.

⁵⁰ This event is also referenced in, Kaldellis, trans., *Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors*, 43.

⁵¹ Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, 89.

⁵² Kaldellis, trans., *Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors*, 70.

⁵³ Alexander, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications," 255

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 263-264.

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Scandinavian King Sagas and their Connection to Thirteenth Century Icelandic Politics

Jacqueline Tomlin

Introduction

Scandinavian sagas are a very problematic source for historians. On one hand, they can be invaluable sources that provide insight into Scandinavian home life, politics, and society. On the other hand, sagas were often written centuries after the events that occur within them, and this drives historians to question the accuracy of the sagas. Snorri Sturluson is vital to understanding Scandinavian politics because he wrote *Heimskringla*, the history of Norwegian kings from 890 to 1184. However, it is important to note that Sturluson was not only a poet; he was also a prominent statesman in Iceland during the thirteenth century who served as Lawspeaker for 13 years.¹ Iceland was very different from the other Scandinavian countries in that their political system was not a monarchy; instead the political system was structured around chieftains (the *goðar*) who acted as representatives at regional things (*þings*) and at the Althing.² This system worked well, but as Iceland's period of settlement drew to a close and families began to establish themselves, the *goðar* positions came under the control of five prominent families.³ Snorri Sturluson's family was among these five. As Norwegian kings began to exert pressure on Iceland during Sturluson's time, it became clear that Iceland would soon change politically. Snorri Sturluson had a hand in the tumultuous political conflict as the *goðar* chose whether to accept the Norwegian king Hakon IV as their ruler and this eventually led to his murder by an ally of King Hakon. The important role Snorri Sturluson played in Icelandic politics is reflected in the sagas he wrote, specifically

Heimskringla. It is also suspected that he wrote *Egil's Saga*. Both of these sagas portray feuds and other connections with kings, and this notion of feuding and relationships between men and kings can be traced back to Sturluson's own political situation in thirteenth century Iceland. Snorri projects his thirteenth century political views into the sagas that he wrote or is presumed to have written.

The Complications Surrounding Sagas

In order to discuss sagas and to use them as sources, one must fully understand what a saga is and how it can cause problems for historians. Sagas are some of the only literary sources written by Scandinavians that we can use to connect to the Scandinavian world. Chronicles and annals shed light on Scandinavian society in a more contemporary manner since they were written around the time of the events they are recording, but often they are not written by Scandinavians. Because of this, chronicles and annals like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Annals of Ulster are biased and often reflect a Christian versus pagan dichotomy that skews the perspective of the piece. That is not to say that these types of sources are not valuable, only that they must be treated with caution. In this manner, the sagas are very similar and must be treated carefully as well.

Historians over the years have often struggled with sagas, trying to walk the fine line between being sufficiently skeptical, while also finding use for them as proper sources. This conflict arises from the nature of the sagas themselves. Prior to the late twelfth/early thirteenth centuries when the sagas were first written, they existed as oral narratives.⁴ Alexander Bugge, one of the historians of the twentieth century who has written about sagas, has great difficulty seeing them as anything

¹ Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogues with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of the Icelander*, Trans. by Andrew Wawn (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1998): 54.

² Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation circa 800-1500*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 86-88.

³ Ólason, 54.

⁴ Alexander Bugge, "The Origin and Credibility of the Icelandic Saga," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 14 No. 2 (Jan. 1909): 249.

but grandiose (though compelling) stories. He compares them to German *märchen* quite frequently, which undermines the saga's ability to be used as source because *märchen* in German means fairy-tale.⁵ Furthermore, Bugge explicitly states that sagas developed from *märchen* because they share a variety of stylistic language and drama. He also posits that the story of Harald Fairhair (whose importance will be discussed later in the paper) is based on a *märchen* that was popular with old Norwegians and Icelanders.⁶ Bugge seems to be one of a kind, as the general consensus by more modern scholars tends to be that sagas were taken as completely true in the 18th and 19th century.

More modern scholars expand upon this idea of sagas as unrealistic, though we begin to see the projection that sagas are useful but must be studied carefully. Marlene Ciklamini, writing in 1971, argues that in both the Sagas of the Icelanders and the Kings' Sagas there exists "the same blend of fact and fancy."⁷ This is a marked divergence from Bugge, who argued that sagas were merely fantastical stories, as it endows sagas with bits of fact embedded within fanciful elements. Ciklamini discusses the importance of sagas including long and "usually accurate" genealogies written in *The Book of Settlements*, arguing that the reasons for ensuring that these genealogies were accurate stemmed from economic and social motivations. One reason was to ensure the line of succession to gain control of land, and another was related to how political and social power was gained via personal achievement and illustrious ancestors.⁸ At the same time that she is arguing this point, she still says that: "the Sagas of the Icelanders were works of fiction."⁹ She defends this with a discussion of *Njal's Saga*, where factual evidence (like the amount of time it takes to journey to a specific place) is mixed with presentist issues. The author, writing in a time far removed from when *Njal's Saga* was set, completely copies their contemporary law into the saga and causes a multitude of problems in doing so.¹⁰

Birgit and Peter Sawyer, authors of *Medieval Scandinavia*, go one-step further than Ciklamini. They argue that Icelandic family sagas and king

sagas "cannot be dismissed as fiction" because although certain events, like political and military events, or individual achievements and family histories, may be unreliable, the pictures sagas present of everyday life is valuable.¹¹ This statement points to a greater development in historiography; Sawyers' book was written in 1993 and one could argue that how historians thought about sagas changed since Ciklamini's article in 1971. It appears to still be a very skeptical look at sagas, but the Sawyers attempt to reconcile this skepticism in a way that does not completely disregard sagas as a whole. In this fashion, scholars can examine sagas for indicators about Scandinavian social structure, values, beliefs, and other traditional elements. One way that scholars can do this, the Sawyers argue, is to "look for distinguishing features of oral transmission", that is, repetition.¹² The Sawyers conclude their argument about sagas and looking for traditional elements by cautioning that even if traditional elements can be found, they may not be any older than the texts, but that some traditional elements may date from the distant past or pre-Christian Scandinavia.¹³ This concept is very different from what Bugge and Ciklamini present, as it finally seems to argue that there is a way to be skeptical of sagas but still find use in them in a manner that makes them valuable sources about Scandinavian culture. It points to a synthesis of ideas regarding the issues of sagas; the sagas are not rejected entirely as fiction, and are still placed within a narrative context, yet are also allowed to be examined as a more functional source despite being literary in nature. Sagas are in essence flawed, but for the purposes of this paper, they must be able to be treated as a somewhat reliable source. In order to analyze them the reader must recognize the inherent flaws of sagas but, as the Sawyers present, be able to disregard the less certain aspects to find the more plausible ones that they want to discuss.

Thirteenth Century Icelandic Society and Politics

In order to understand the political issues of thirteenth century Iceland, it is important to have a basic knowledge of Icelandic society and political structure prior to this. In doing so, it is easier to see why the changes in Icelandic politics during the

⁵ Ibid., 251.

⁶ Ibid., 252.

⁷ Marlene Ciklamini, "Old Norse Epic and Historical Tradition," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* Vol. 8 No. 2/3 Special Issue: Folklore and Traditional History (Aug.-Dec. 1971), 98.

⁸ Ibid.,

⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁰ Ibid., 98-99.

¹¹ Sawyer and Sawyer, 23.

¹² Ibid., 23-24

¹³ Ibid., 24.

thirteenth century were so different from the past and even traumatic in the years leading up to the end of the Commonwealth.

Iceland was the only area that was colonized but not raided. This fundamental difference allowed for a different type of political structure to develop. Instead of having a monarchy, the Icelanders organized themselves in a more democratic fashion that was centered on regional and national meetings where nominated representatives (*goðar*) dealt with legal and judicial issues.¹⁴ The Althing, the annual thing that all the *goðar* across the island had to attend, was the meeting where the law was read. The Lawspeaker (who recited the memorized laws at the Althing) was an esteemed position but he was chosen from the *goðar* by the *goðar*.¹⁵ In this way the *goðar* held the vast majority of the power in medieval Iceland, as they were often the most prominent men in their area and this corresponded with wealth and followers, but also because they had a direct hand in determining the law and how the law would develop over time.

The *goðar* were extremely important in Icelandic society for a variety of reasons. These men were often men of wealth (which usually referred to property) who used their status to influence other farmers, often taking them on as thingmen. This social structure was important because it provided protection for thingmen, but also because it provided the *goðar* with supporters should they need support at an assembly.¹⁶ This importance continued, and it is a possibility that the role of the *goðar* increases as Iceland nears conversion to Christianity.

At first glance it would not seem that the political structure would be tied to the struggles of conversion, but it is. Robert Ferguson argues that after 100 years of relative stability, that the conversion of Iceland from paganism to Christianity triggered a “period of violent chaos” in the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁷ This “Sturlung Age” was characterized by violent power struggles between chieftains; something that Ferguson says was caused by “the half-hearted abandonment of one set of cultural mores and values, and the imperfect and unconvincing adoption of another.”¹⁸ This idea is not completely inaccurate, but there seems to be a plethora of ideas as to how Icelandic society

changed from a mostly peaceful system to one that was completely unstable. Jesse Byock argues that this change was brought on by the *goðar* gaining more power as society became more stratified, as well as the number of *goðar* decreasing and what few there were left being part of six prominent families.¹⁹ This era of political consolidation under the *goðar*, as well as a stratifying society, was the time that Snorri Sturluson was born into; the Sturlung Age of sagas refers to the sagas that chart the growing prominence of his family. As such, we cannot distance him from these events and must place him within this greater political context.

Political consolidation is a key concept if one wishes to understand the political upheaval in thirteenth century Iceland. Prior to the thirteenth century the *goðar* were simply men chosen to become chieftains over an area, but the definition of *goðar* began to change over time. The Sturluson family, like the other important families, sought to gather all of the *goðar* positions in vast geographical areas that eventually resulted in a swath of land being under the family’s control.²⁰ This consolidation of political power by prominent families caused a shift in the political structure, and eventually led to conflicts and almost to all-out civil war.²¹ Political consolidation was not just an issue within Iceland but also outside of it. King Hakon of Norway wanted to expand his rule westward, and Iceland was a logical territory for consolidating his rule. Iceland continued to have close contact with Norway during this period, both in terms of kinship and in terms of trade.²² Hakon was also in the position to use these connections to his advantage, up to and including forbidding ships to sail from Iceland to Norway, shutting down a major trade route. Other than Norway (that is, Hakon’s political brawn), it is also important to note that Icelandic *goðar* wanted to gain favor from the Norwegian king and that this period of political instability within Iceland meant that they were prepared to seek help externally.²³ This seeking approval and assistance led to the assimilation of these Icelandic *goðar* into the king’s court, and after this there was little question that at some point Iceland would come under Norwegian control and that their society would almost certainly change forever as a result.

¹⁴ Jesse Byock, *Viking Age Iceland* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 178.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 175-176.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 120-122.

¹⁷ Robert Ferguson, *The Vikings* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2009), 323.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Byock, 341.

²⁰ Ólason, 34.

²¹ *Ibid.*,

²² *Ibid.*,

²³ *Ibid.*,

Thirteenth century Iceland did not exist in some sort of controlled environment where their political system was not influenced by other countries. Their status as trading partners with Norway was especially important, because as Norway grew stronger politically they sought to expand. Naturally, the Norwegian king saw Iceland as the perfect target for political expansion. This privileged status that Norway had within Iceland was further heightened as political consolidation in Iceland began to occur. The six prominent families of Iceland that came to political power took over large chunks of land, and this led to political turmoil and conflict in Iceland. This is the period that Snorri Sturluson lived in and in which he wrote *Heimskringla*. It is reasonable to say that there might be a projection of the political situation (especially in regards to kings) given the tumultuous political climate in Iceland.

Interactions between Royalty and Non-Royalty in *Egil's Saga*

According to Snorri Sturluson, the consolidation of power under Harald Fairhair was the reason for the formation of Iceland. Snorri presents the idea that Harald Fairhair “took over all the estates and all the land, habited or uninhabited, and even the sea and lakes” and goes on to say that he was vigilant in keeping an eye on the people he thought rebellious, and forced everyone to pay him tribute.²⁴ This sets Harald Fairhair up as a tyrant, provides a reason for the discovering of Iceland, and an answer for the reason people left Norway to settle elsewhere. This idea was reaffirmed in *The Saga of Harald Fairhair*, part of the *Heimskringla*. In it Harald is presented as a great warrior but not as a tyrant, and the settlers as “antagonists” of Harald who became outlaws when they left Norway.²⁵ This is important so that we can understand some of why Egil’s family moves to Iceland; in some ways they fit the model of the family fleeing the tyrant, but in others the feud that results between Harald’s family and Egil’s family is more personal.

In Egil’s saga, the patriarch of the family Kveldulf does not trust Harald, and warns his son Thorolf that he should not trust Harald either. Despite his father’s warnings, Thorolf swears allegiance to the king and makes a name for himself

as a raider and as a confidante of the king, eventually becoming so successful that other men close to the king are jealous. They plot to destroy Thorolf by slandering him to the king, and although the king forgives Thorolf at first the other men are able to convince him that Thorolf cannot be allowed to live and must be killed for stealing money from the king.²⁶ Thorolf is eventually killed and this is the underpinning of the feud between the two families, leading to Egil’s grandfather and father leaving Norway with their families to settle in Iceland.²⁷

Thorolf’s murder is important for a number of reasons: first, he was betrayed and falsely accused of stealing money from Harald Fairhair, and second, he was murdered and his family was not offered what they considered proper compensation for his death. The concept of *mansbot* or *wergild* was important to Scandinavian society and was one way to prevent unlawful or excessive feuding; by paying the offended family money for their deceased family member, the feud could be ended and more killing prevented.²⁸ The fact that Egil’s father Grim did not accept Harald Fairhair’s offer to become one of his court like his brother Thorolf was very offensive; however, Grim felt that he could not trust the man who allowed his brother to be killed and was not happy that there would be no reparations for his death.²⁹ The family’s honor had been diminished, and because Harald had sought to rub salt into the wound by being condescending about offering Grim a position so soon after Thorolf’s death.

To understand why the feud continued for so long--and indeed intensified when Egil was grown--one must understand the importance of honor in Scandinavian society. Honor came from deeds and actions, and Thorolf was as honorable as a man could get. He was “a cheerful, generous man, energetic and very eager to prove his worth” and in practice he was a very generous to the men who gathered around him.³⁰ Thorolf is in essence the ideal Scandinavian man--generous, ambitious, and eager to make something of himself. With Thorolf’s death his family lost a great deal of status that came from being associated with him, who had become very rich and powerful prior to his death. Honor appears to be directly linked to land and wealth, especially when examining Thorolf. Actions also

²⁴ Bernard Scudder, trans., “Egil’s Saga,” *The Sagas of the Icelanders* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), pg. 11.

²⁵ Snorri Sturluson, “*Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*,” trans. by Lee M. Hollander (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1964), 76.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁸ Sawyer and Sawyer, 166-167.

²⁹ Scudder, 42.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

factor into the ability to be well liked and revered by other men, which made a person more honorable since they were worthy of being emulated. Because Thorolf was just and charismatic, he “made friends with all the local men of rank” and this was another way he was powerful—followers directly correlated to one’s status and rank.³¹

Egil is more like his father Grim; he is in essence the anti-Thorolf of the story in regards to looks since he is ugly and almost troll-like and in personality. Egil is also hotheaded, and this particular trait is what gets him in trouble with Eirik Bloodaxe, son of Harald Fairhair and king of Norway. He kills a variety of people close to Eirik, including his son Prince Rognvald, and this does not help with putting the feud to rest. Egil’s very personality offended the king, and his actions as well as his words—as Egil is a gifted poet—all seemed to further inflame the feud that might have otherwise died with Harald Fairhair. For Egil, the notion of honor seems to be tied in with land as well—specifically land that Eirik Bloodaxe wants and thinks he owns. Egil fights and kills Ljot the Pale in a duel and as the victor Ljot’s property and land should belong to him. By this time Eirik has been forced out of Norway and his brother Hakon is king now, and Egil wants the money he should have received when he killed Ljot the Pale. Hakon responds by telling him no via his best friend Arinbjorn, who he cautions to “not value foreigners more highly than myself and my words.”³² When Hakon classifies Egil as a foreigner he is invoking the classic model of “one of us” versus “one of them”—by declaring Egil as foreign and “one of them” he is saying he is unworthy of the money he won because he is not the right kind of person. This is just about the worst thing Hakon can do, especially because he puts Arinbjorn in a very tough place: he can either join the foreigners and in doing so become foreign, or he can stay with Hakon and reject his best friend.

Eventually Egil settled down in Iceland for good, where people speculated that the reason he stayed was because “he could not stay in Norway because of the wrongs that the king felt he had done him.”³³ This is important because it acknowledges the fact that the conflict was never resolved, and that Egil had to stay away from Norway simply because it was unsafe for him to go there. The idea of a feud that ended only when the key players had died was not new, but the longevity of the feud, as well as the

deep distrust and hatred between the two families, were somewhat remarkable.

Thirteenth Century Icelandic Politics and the Connection to *Egil’s Saga*

The conflict between Egil’s family and Harald Fairhair’s family is just one documented feud among many in Scandinavian sagas, but their feud in particular reflected common Scandinavian social values like honor, revenge, and belonging—views that could be reflective of thirteenth century Icelandic politics. In particular the conflict reflects deeply held Icelandic values such as free chieftaincy, and indeed idealizes Egil as the farmer-chieftain that had the nerve to stand up to various Norwegian kings. Egil is in fact a pretty influential chieftain, and although he might not have technically been one of the *goðar* he was of such influence that he was able to intervene in the conflicts of others in order to solve them.³⁴ In this way one can see *Egil’s Saga* as a glorification of the Free State of Iceland and the old system of *goðar* maintaining order through influence.

Egil himself can be viewed as a part of a greater allegory where he represents Iceland (the Free State) and his frequent interactions with Norwegian kings represent the historical connection between Iceland and Norway. The conflicts could indeed be an allusion to thirteenth century politics, where Norway wanted to assimilate Iceland into part of the kingdom and there was a great deal of infighting amongst the *goðar*. For all intents and purposes Egil can be described as “monarchophobic” and his actions reaffirm his deep distrust of the Norwegian royalty.³⁵ His unwillingness to submit and frequent flouting of Norwegian power are characteristics of his personality that are a focal point of the saga; indeed it could be argued that his entire family—with the exception of the Thorolfs, who chose to work with the kings to gain power—are extremely independent. Egil’s grandfather, Kveldulf, refused to muster men to support Harald Fairhair, his father Grim would not become a part of the king’s circle of men, and Egil himself was so critical of Eirik and his wife Gunnhild that they were always trying to have him killed in one way or another.³⁶ This inherent independence in Kveldulf’s family is a value that was very strong in Icelandic

³¹ Ibid., 20.

³² Ibid., 69.

³³ Ibid., 158.

³⁴ Scudder, 173-176.

³⁵ D.A Miller, “Functional Operations and Oppositions in the Thought-World of the Sagas” *History of Religions* Vol. 29 No. 2 (Nov. 1989), 132.

³⁶

society, and the unwillingness to submit could also be read as a pro-Icelandic motif.

In *Heimskringla*, one can see aspects of how Snorri Sturluson being an Icelander affected how he wrote about Norwegian kings. According to Sverre Bagge, Snorri Sturluson was somewhat misguided in his writing of *Heimskringla* because he gives more power to the “mandates” than they really would have had in late twelfth/early thirteenth century Norway.³⁷ Snorri portrayed these mandates as “more popular leaders than royal servants” which was not true; in reality the mandates might have been popular leaders, but subservience to the crown was highly important.³⁸ Because of small idiosyncrasies like this, one can agree with Bagge’s argument that Snorri Sturluson, although somewhat familiar with Norwegian politics, based some of it on what he was familiar with—in this case, thirteenth century Icelandic politics, which he was more familiar with and was also one of its “most prominent members.”³⁹

Following this vein of thought, Snorri Sturluson is widely accepted as the most probable author of *Egil’s Saga*. Stylistically *Egil’s Saga* and *Heimskringla* are very similar, which has led people to associate Snorri Sturluson with *Egil’s Saga*. Another important factor that adds legitimacy to this claim is that Snorri Sturluson’s status as a descendant of Egil Skallagrimsson.⁴⁰ If Snorri Sturluson was the author of *Egil’s Saga* and this was determined based on the style of his writing, then one can assume that the same habit of basing Norwegian politics—which do occur rather frequently in *Egil’s Saga*, but not as much in depth as in *Heimskringla*—on Icelandic politics of his time would also occur. It is also true that the conquest of Norway by Harald Fairhair follows essentially the same format in both sagas, which lends itself to the theory that Snorri Sturluson is the author of *Egil’s Saga*.

This makes the idea that Egil was a symbol for the Free State much more believable; if Snorri Sturluson was basing his Norwegian politics in *Heimskringla* on thirteenth century Icelandic politics, then it would make sense that he would also project thirteenth century Icelandic politics into *Egil’s Saga*. Where one runs into conflict with this interpretation is when we consider Snorri

Sturluson’s part in the politics of his day. If he was indeed advocating a pro-Free State outlook in *Egil’s Saga*, it would not make sense that he would have been close to the Norwegian king. Snorri Sturluson was a *goði* so it makes sense that he would want to advocate and provide a case for the power of the *goðar*, but he was known to have had close ties with the Norwegian king and had received honors from Hakon IV as a teenager.⁴¹ These ties were eventually the cause of Snorri’s downfall, as the Norwegian king determined that the Sturlusons were “unreliable partners” and allied with another *goði* who had many of the Sturlusons (including Snorri) killed.⁴² Egil as a Free State symbol can be explained by looking at the changes in Iceland and how Snorri Sturluson factored into them; if his experience with Icelandic politics were imposed in *Heimskringla* and *Egil’s Saga*, his reflections on the past could also have made their way into the sagas he wrote.

The idea of the free farmer-chieftain being valorized like Egil is in *Egil’s Saga* speaks to a long historical tradition in Icelandic society. By the time of Snorri Sturluson, the *goðar* had essentially been controlling Iceland for a few hundred years and their power was at an all-time high. Snorri himself was one of these *goðar*, but he had to have known that outward pressure from Norway would affect Iceland. By this time, Norway had been exerting more pressure than ever on Iceland, and Snorri was heavily involved promoting the interests of the Norwegian king Hakon in Iceland.⁴³ Iceland was changing, and so too the political climate was changing; *Egil’s Saga*, with its very strong *goðar* influence, is hearkening back to the more stable Free State. According to Vésteinn Ólason the strong Free State sentiment promoted by Egil and his family “might suggest that the status of such leaders, or of the society in which they live, is under threat at the time of the saga’s composition.”⁴⁴ The uncertainty of the political climate of thirteenth century Iceland meant that Snorri Sturluson could have been reflecting on the good times of the past when he wrote *Egil’s Saga*, and in doing so promoted a very strong pro-Icelandic Free State stance that was leery of the Norwegian monarchy that he may or may not have actually agreed with.

³⁷ Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson’s Heimskringla* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 237.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁴⁰ Jane Smiley et al., *The Sagas of the Icelanders: A Selection* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 7.

⁴¹ Ólason, 55.

⁴² Ólason, 54.

⁴³ Ólason, 55.

⁴⁴ Ólason, 195.

Conclusion

The very complex and tumultuous political climate of Iceland in the thirteenth century affected many people, Snorri Sturluson among them. In his lifetime he witnessed the consolidation of the *goðar* and the change in their power as their numbers were reduced, with many conflicts occurring between the *goðar* as they fought amongst themselves for power.⁴⁵ This political change affected his writing of both *Heimskringla* and *Egil's Saga*, but it's *Egil's Saga*

that reveals his mental reflections on the Icelandic political changes via the strong anti-monarchy stance taken by Egil and his family. Snorri Sturluson was remembering the good days of the *goðar* before they had become what they were during his time, and in this way Snorri Sturluson is a presentist, as he projects views on his own political situation into the sagas that he wrote.

⁴⁵ Bagge, 239.

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How the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Italian Renaissance Helped Shape the Culture of the Period and Bartolomeo Sanvito's Illumination of Petrarch's "I Trionfi"

Rebecca Petrilli

I. THE ROLE OF THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

"Books always have histories, and the links they proved to past cultures, together with the aesthetic pleasure to be had from their artistry, are essential parts of their fascination for us today"¹

Illuminated manuscripts are an oft-overlooked but essential artistic component in the development of art and culture during both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This is especially true of the Italian Renaissance, where production and ownership of illuminated manuscripts progressed from being simply religious and functional into statements of the patron or owner's socioeconomic status and cultural superiority. As the world increased its knowledge and as a result needed more ways to store and maintain ideas and cultural artifacts, books became more highly coveted objects and began to move away from being strictly functional and related to religious texts or events. This was especially true of high-end, beautifully illustrated, expensive books. The illuminated manuscript was a major artistic element in the development of the Renaissance, and this is seen through its many functions in society: educational tool, recreational object, and means of promoting the socioeconomic status of the patron/owner; beyond this, illuminated manuscripts contributed significantly to the blurring of the line between religious and secular works that became an important element of Renaissance ideology.

As art and culture developed over the centuries, so did the illuminated manuscript. In Medieval times, the manuscript served an important, though very different, function than it came to serve by the end of the Renaissance. Medieval illuminated

manuscripts were used as a way of emphasizing the importance of liturgical texts. These religion-oriented texts were generally functional instead of aesthetic; however, in the 13th century, there was an increase in personal ownership of texts. This signified a shift in the role of illuminated manuscripts that would become very visible later in the Renaissance.²

As the Renaissance progressed and development of art became more sophisticated, so did the world of inventions and technological innovation. The introduction of the printing press into Europe increased demand for books significantly and thus created a higher demand for illuminated texts. The German printer Johannes Gutenberg introduced printing with movable type in 1455.³ The influence of the printing press was seen in Rome beginning in 1467 and Venice beginning in 1469, and after 1470, the printing press began to flourish and develop throughout Italy.⁴ This led to the creation of texts that were hand-illuminated after being printed on a press.⁵ Printing accelerated the number of books purchased and made them much more accessible to people who were not necessarily wealthy.⁶

Then hand-illumination of printed texts became an important way to distinguish between classes once books became more readily available. Even though text was press-printed, accent letters and frontispieces were still done by hand, often even when there were hundreds of copies of a book.⁷

¹ Alexander, Jonathan J. G., James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler. *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*. Oostkamp, Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005. 23.

² Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 11.

³ Hartt, Frederick, and David G. Wilkins. *History of Italian Renaissance Art*. Seventh ed. London: Laurence King Publishing, Ltd., 2011. 36.

⁴ Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 35.

⁵ Ibid. 35.

⁶ Ibid. 17.

⁷ Ibid. 36.

Since some of the book was still fashioned by hand, these texts came to represent the Renaissance attachment to Classical antiquity while still being an item with which an owner or patron could showcase socioeconomic status.⁸ Hand-illumination made these books retain much of their high original price and later value, even though the printing press lowered the overall costs of book production. This is clear when exploring Renaissance ideals, especially the concept that the present is dependent on and influenced by everything that has come before.

The aforementioned ideas about manuscript and book production can be evidenced well through the Renaissance preoccupation with Humanist thoughts and values. Humanism, defined as “a doctrine, attitude, or way of life centered on human interests or values,” is a “philosophy that usually rejects supernaturalism and stresses an individual’s dignity and worth and capacity for self-realization through reason.”⁹ During the Renaissance, this translated, in part, to a focus on education that cultivated a well-rounded, intellectually sound individual. Humanism in fifteenth century Italy in particular was a cultural phenomenon that led to a desire within the general population to be educated in all aspects of the world; from this stems the concept of the “Renaissance man,” but it is important to note that women were often included in this expansion of understanding and educated similarly to, if not alongside, men. This is notable for the fact that the education of women broke many pre-existing cultural norms, which was a major theme of the Renaissance. The people of the Italian Renaissance worked to celebrate and redefine their intellectual priorities and culture in one fell swoop. This logically led to a blurring of lines between religious and secular art, which was ironically perpetuated by the clergy and religious institutions who continued to commission pieces for the church from artists who were in the midst of developing their humanist ideals.

Long before the book-making process was expedited by the implementation of the printing press, however, personal libraries were very small. Illuminated manuscripts at this time were objects owned by and meant for the elite. The cost of producing an illuminated manuscript was such that, it could only be afforded by the wealthiest members

of a society.¹⁰ As the Renaissance began to flourish and cultures began to place heavier emphasis on aesthetics, the function of the illuminated manuscript began to evolve alongside the ideals of the time. The religious importance of the illuminated manuscript did not diminish; quite the contrary, in fact, it became an essential part of the education the nobility. These texts were paired with private reading books; professional, educational, and recreational texts; law and medical texts; and finally, Classical and humanist texts.¹¹

Books were an essential part of cultivating an image for oneself during the Renaissance. A great deal of emphasis was placed on Classical ideology and imagery, and the Italians especially saw these elements as a sort of cultural gospel. The creation of an illuminated manuscript is something that represents ideas from Classical times if for no other reason than the sheer amounts of time, dedication, and skill that are required for its completion. Only very skilled scribes and illuminators would have been able to craft manuscripts that would be coveted for generations and become important cultural artifacts. Before the advent of the printing press in the mid-15th century, mass production of texts was close to impossible. The making of a manuscript prior to the middle of the 1400s had to be done in steps that could not be completed until the previous steps were entirely finished, making the creation of a single book take a large amount of time. Everything was done completely by hand—the word manuscript stems from the Latin *manus*, meaning hand.

The first step in the process of making a manuscript is to properly prepare the material on which the book will be scribed and illuminated. Most often, preparations were done on some form of animal skin, usually from cow or a sheep. The skin would be treated by scraping, stretching, and bleaching. The sheets of vellum were then cut to size and organized into bifolios, which were then placed together to form the books themselves. The pages were marked with lines so that the artists knew where to put the text, headings, and decorations. After all of this, the scribe would begin to meticulously write the text on the page.¹²

¹⁰ Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 22.

¹¹ Ibid. 13.

¹² Alexander, Jonathan J.G., James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler. *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*. Oostkamp, Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005. 21.

⁸ Ibid. 42.

⁹ Merriam-Webster, Inc.. “Humanism.” Merriam-Webster Online. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/humanism?show=0&t=1354639451> (accessed October 29, 2012).

Once this was finished, the text could finally be illuminated. The illuminators themselves, however, still had to work within a structured set of production stages. First came the graphite drawings of what was to be illuminated. Next, gilding was laid down in the form of gold leaf or liquid gold. Once this was dry, the bifolios were bound together and covered by leather, fabric, or metal.¹³ Throughout this entire process, the artists had to adhere to a certain standard of design. Text length, size of script, and the size of the folio itself were all factors that had to be executed in a certain way to remain faithful to the customs of the time.¹⁴ These manuscripts were created by many different skilled craftsmen who worked on the individual stages of the process, but in rare instances, one person would have the ability to accomplish all the steps of the process single-handedly.¹⁵

In manuscript illumination in Italy beyond the 1400s, there were significant developments in artistry dealing with illuminated manuscripts. A specific style of script and a specific style of decoration were developed for the production of Classical and humanist texts. Some letters and typographic features developed during the creation of this script are still used even today, despite—or alongside—the advent and implementation of technology in the world of book production.¹⁶ An excellent example of this type of script can be seen in a manuscript leaf, circa 1463, whose script has been attributed to Bartolomeo Sanvito, the scribe and illuminator of Petrarch's "I trionfi" discussed in section two (see figure 1). In this leaf, the viewer sees letters that are familiar to today's viewer. This is evidence of the advances being made in the Renaissance in terms of developing the aesthetic elements of artworks. That this type of script has held value even through present times is a testament to the worth of Renaissance thought and progress. This script development was seen first and foremost in Italian works and is a way that art historians can differentiate Italian manuscript production, and in turn the entire Italian Renaissance, from the advances occurring throughout the rest of Europe. Older gothic scripts were still used mostly in religious texts, though, and this is evidence of how the present developed—though this can arguably be

very obvious, it is entirely necessary to note how much of the present was, and still is, dependent upon the conventions of the past.¹⁷

The new style of decoration that developed was again only in Italy and is known as *bianchi girari*, or white vine-stem decoration. This style originated in Italy and was influential enough that copies of it began to appear in other areas of Europe later in the Renaissance. Interestingly, it was not a style that was developed from styles used in ancient Roman or Early Christian manuscripts; instead, it has ties to 12th century Tuscan manuscripts that emphasized stylized plant scrolls and flowers.¹⁸ This is seen well in the *Calci Bible* (figure 2), a Pisan text of 1169. This text shows the visual influences that led to the *bianchi girari* of the 15th century, especially in the elaborate vine decoration that surrounds the text block. It is an especially intriguing piece because there is more decoration on the page than there is text, making it clear that this was a manuscript illuminated for the beauty of the artwork and not so much for the text of the book itself.

The fact that the *Calci Bible* did not focus as heavily on text as it did illumination is surprising because of its date of creation. It was not a common 12th century idea to place more emphasis on image than on text. The *Calci Bible* is thus an excellent work to reference here because it was so far ahead of its time, and Renaissance thought was a proponent of technological and artistic innovations that pushed through already existing boundaries. People of the Renaissance would have seen the *Calci Bible* as a work to be emulated and improved upon. This same idea is seen well in section two of this paper. Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of Francesco Petrarch's "I trionfi" is a work that focuses on the illumination more so than the text, but both illumination and text are important and without a significant amount of emphasis on each, the work would not hold the same aesthetic power that it does.

In Renaissance works, the illumination of a text was a way to offer elaborate visual commentary on the lessons that go beyond what is directly stated in the text, thus making it entirely viable that more of a page would be focused on the images instead of words. Patronage of illuminated manuscripts was intrinsically connected to their function in society

¹³ Ibid. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid. 22.

¹⁵ Ibid. 22.

¹⁶ Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 15.

¹⁷ Ibid. 15.

¹⁸ Ibid. 15.

as symbols of wealth and status.¹⁹ As previously stated, personal ownership of manuscripts increased significantly beginning in the 13th century, and by the 15th century it was commonplace for the illuminations of a text to bear the coat of arms of the patron family.²⁰ These patrons made ownership of manuscripts clear by having their family emblems interwoven into the manuscript illumination and sometimes even prefaced the texts with portraits of themselves or their families. Manuscript commissions and ownership were so important during this period, in fact, that in extremely wealthy aristocratic families, scribes and illuminators were actually employed as members of the court. During this period, personal libraries began to increase in size, and some of the most powerful families had extensive libraries full of what are today priceless manuscripts.²¹ The way books were perceived in society changed rapidly and without much warning. This is intriguing because so many Renaissance ideals and characteristics are exemplified in manuscripts and other texts of the time, despite books being seen quite often as functional objects rather than ones that hold significant pictorial value. Renaissance thought sought to emphasize the aesthetic qualities of books and thus helped elevate them to a higher place within society.

One specific example of a type of illuminated manuscript that portrays the characteristics of the changing status of books in society is the Book of Hours. These are texts that were used to combine many discrete devotional texts into a single work that could be used for private worship and meditation. Usually the core of the text would consist of the Hours of the Virgin, which were a series of prayers meant to function as texts to honor the Virgin Mary at the end of each of the canonical hours.²² Other items within a Book of Hours often included a Church calendar year with saints' days and some shorter texts that would be placed between the calendar and the Hours of the Virgin. More texts would usually follow the Hours of the Virgin.²³

The Book of Hours was a subject seen very frequently in illuminated manuscripts, especially in the Renaissance in Italy. Books of Hours remain

highly influential pieces of art for today's art historians because of their accessibility and prolific creation. They remain the most widely spread artifact from the time, providing information about a very important aspect of the culture of the Renaissance. Because these texts were more accessible to the general population, their presence in society was clearly established and they became readily available even to patrons lacking excessive wealth.

These texts were made to be admired for their looks—the beautiful illuminations trumped the importance of the text, and though they are outwardly religious works, the Book of Hours is a prime example of Renaissance art that succeeded in blurring the defining line between religious and secular art.²⁴ Books of Hours were not usually, if ever, commissioned by the Church. These were texts made almost entirely for personal, household, or family use. Because of this, there are many instances of variation, and as a result, mistakes, in the content of Books of Hours.²⁵ This made them a key place for Renaissance development to occur, especially in the blurring of lines between secular and religious artworks. Because these were individualized, the patrons commissioning the works had high levels of influence in what was put on the pages of the manuscript, and the artist was also granted more artistic freedom and the ability to interpret scenes and images in different ways than strictly what the church mandated.²⁶ The proliferation of this type of manuscript is also indicative of its Renaissance ideology: between the years 1485 and 1530, there were at a minimum 760 different published editions of press-printed Books of Hours; before the invention of the printing press, there were an even greater number of Books of Hours scribed and illuminated entirely by hand.²⁷

The illuminated manuscript's influence spans beyond simply being a record of culture and a status symbol for its wealthy patrons. There are several overarching artistic themes in Renaissance Manuscript illumination, including flora/fauna, putti adapted from Classical Roman sculpture, and trompe l'oeil.²⁸ Both putti and botanical elements can be seen in a frontispiece from an antiphonary of circa 1455-60/63 entitled *David Lifting up His Soul to God in*

¹⁹ Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 11.

²⁰ Ibid. 12.

²¹ Ibid. 63.

²² de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. 2nd ed. London: Phaidon Press, 1994. 170.

²³ Ibid. 174.

²⁴ Ibid. 168.

²⁵ Ibid. 176.

²⁶ Ibid. 176.

²⁷ Ibid. 176.

²⁸ Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. 16.

an Initial E. This leaf of a manuscript by Franco dei Russi exemplifies both the incredible attention to detail that Renaissance manuscript artists employed and a number of the predominant themes of the period (see figure 3). These themes are seen most heavily in Italian manuscript production in the late 1300s and early 1400s. By placing Classical imagery and trompe l'oeil²⁹ within the context of a modern day work, both illuminators and patrons sought to convey the status of books—especially illuminated manuscripts—in society. This helped to equate them with the ideals of antiquity.

It is clear that the illuminated manuscript had a significant impact on art of the Renaissance,

²⁹ Note: Trompe l'oeil in this case is being used to describe painted parts of the manuscripts that looked like jewels and other precious objects.

II. BARTOLOMEO SANVITO'S ILLUMINATION OF PETRARCH'S "I TRIONFI"

The illuminated manuscript was undoubtedly an influential division of the overall artistic culture of the Renaissance. Classical and humanist texts were commonly made into illuminated manuscripts, and this adds another level of depth to the cultural importance of these works. Bartolomeo Sanvito was a prolific scribe and illuminator, and his manuscript of Francesco Petrarch's "I trionfi" is a highly underrated example of the mixing of two very different but equally important art forms. This artwork is dated circa 1480 and is located at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. It is comprised of ink and paint on parchment.³⁰ There is little existing scholarship about this manuscript, but through analysis of common trends in Renaissance manuscript illumination and other artistic components of the period, it is clear that Sanvito's illumination of "I trionfi" is a piece that wholly represents Renaissance and humanist ideals.

The relationship between art and poetry that existed during the Renaissance is essential to the exploration of Sanvito's illumination of "I trionfi." This struggle, known as the *paragone*, comprised a vast portion of Renaissance thought. There was much friction between the two sides and the fight between art and poetry has become an important aspect of Renaissance discourse. Beyond this, extensive debate and struggle between all artistic disciplines existed during the Renaissance, so much that Leonardo da Vinci wrote an entire treatise on

despite the book often being seen as a lesser art form than, say, painting or sculpture. The illuminated manuscript and books in general developed alongside the cultural developments of the Medieval and Renaissance periods, and the versatility of the direction that books took in society makes them incredibly important to art historians studying Renaissance culture and artwork. As the purpose of a physical text changed in society, the accessibility of books increased. This led to developments in the way that manuscripts were produced so that they could remain a symbol of elite social and economic status.

artistic practice entitled *Paragone*. It was seen as the extension of an expansive humanist movement during the Renaissance. Leonardo saw the eye as "the superior organ" and "asked if anyone ever traveled a great distance to read a poem, while pictures are the goal of many pilgrimages."³¹ Though his writings emphasize the superiority of painting over poetry, he also recognized that poetry is a valuable and legitimate art form that is "painting which is heard and not seen."³² Leonardo was not the only artist to work with and extrapolate upon this debate, but his writings were highly influential and expressed the argument in a cohesive, organized way.

The illumination of Petrarch's "I trionfi" contradicts somewhat the ideas that Leonardo presented in his *Paragone* (see figures 4, 5, and 7 for examples of leaves in this manuscript). Even though he placed painting on a higher level than poetry, he still understood the importance of all forms of art and how they work alongside or in juxtaposition with one another to create multi-faceted cultural historical artifacts that represent the intelligence and dedication of generations. This illumination in particular serves as a piece of art that exemplifies art and poetry as they combined and were married to one another and thus are represented here as equals.

³¹ Hartt, Frederick, and David G. Wilkins. *History of Italian Renaissance Art*. Seventh ed. London: Laurence King Publishing, Ltd., 2011. 446.

³² Dundas, Judith. "The Paragone and the Art of Michelangelo." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21, no. 1 (1990): 87-92. www.jstor.org (accessed November 15, 2012).

³⁰ The Walters Art Museum. "I Trionfi." The Walters Art Museum. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/800/i-trionfi/>

It becomes, then, a portrayal of Renaissance thought in that the Renaissance placed heavy emphasis on the integration rather than the separation of ideas. Though much heated debate occurred over which art form was the most influential or important, it is clear throughout the Renaissance and especially during the Renaissance in Italy, that the culture of the time appreciated and glorified all art forms.

This particular manuscript is representative of the Renaissance mentality that art, no matter in what form, is dependent on all other ways of looking at the world that have come before. Bartolomeo Sanvito, through his depiction of Petrarch's "I trionfi," shows a viewer, or reader, depending on which side of the art world is discussing the piece—the importance of recognizing the genius and the innovation that has led the world to be capable in its current capacity. Though the competencies of the world have certainly expanded since this manuscript's creation at the end of the 15th century, it is clear that the sentiment remains: the world must respect and honor the artists and artworks that have set a precedent for contemporaries and future generations to improve upon and surpass.

The text of "I trionfi" by itself had a lot of influence in the Renaissance. It was considered an epic even though the central theme is not war, but love. Also notable is the fact that Petrarch intertwines his own life journey with the allegorical life journey of the everyman: "He reveals his love for Laura, his grief on her death, his lust for fame and hostility toward time, his conversion, and his hope for repose in eternity,"³³ while making it clear that these themes and events are representative of the entirety of the human race. Personal elements placed alongside and within ideas that encompass the values and weaknesses of humanity are perfect examples of how the artists and citizens of the Renaissance perceived the world. All aspects of life: past, present, or future, are intertwined and dependent upon one another.

"I trionfi" was appealing to the people of the Renaissance for other reasons, as well. In its six sections, Petrarch's knowledge of Classical literature and iconography is made entirely evident.³⁴ This can be seen well in one of the leaves from this manuscript (see figure 4). The viewer here sees the

application of Classical imagery alongside those of the Renaissance, the figures in this illumination are incredibly reminiscent of Classical antique sculpture, but there is a visible Renaissance element in the treatment of the figures and their interactions with others in the scene. Also important here is the incredible attention to detail that is emphasized in this illumination. The figural scene is framed by painted architectural elements that are full of Classical iconography. Composite columns border the bottom third of the composition, scrolls and volutes border the middle third, and the top third of the composition is reminiscent of a Roman or Greek pediment that would have sat on top of a building. These combine with innovative figural depictions to emulate the harmony between the past and the present that is necessary for cultural progress. This was essential to the Renaissance ideal of equating the present with the glories of antiquity whenever and wherever possible.³⁵

The glorification and elevation of antiquity was also achieved in poetry, and Petrarch's "I trionfi" is no exception. Petrarch "stands as a giant among the founders of Italian humanism,"³⁶ and he is known to have had one of the greatest personal libraries to have ever existed. It is thus fitting that his works were commemorated in illuminated manuscripts. Francesco Petrarca, known as Petrarch in English, was born in Arezzo in 1304 to an exiled Florentine notary. Petrarch devoted himself to his studies from an early age and grew up to become one of the most influential Italian poets and scholars to ever have lived.³⁷ "I trionfi," which translates to "The Triumphs," is a lesser known work of the Italian master, but that is not to say that it is any less culturally and academically significant than his other works; in fact, this poem is representative of Renaissance ideals because of its subject matter: allegorical triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity.³⁸ Each of the six triumphs can be read as individual works, but they are all intrinsically tied to one another—for Petrarch, "a triumph is not isolated and static."³⁹ Each is individualized but

³⁵ Ibid. 313.

³⁶ de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. 2nd ed. London: Phaidon Press, 1994. 232.

³⁷ "Petrarch, Francesco Petrarca." EBSCOhost. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=brb&AN=203039732&site=ehost-live> (accessed November 11, 2012).

³⁸ Coogan, Robert. "Petrarch's "Trionfi" and the English Renaissance." *Studies in Philology* 67, no. 3 (1970): 306-327. www.jstor.org (accessed November 20, 2012). 307-308.

³⁹ Ibid. 308.

³³ Coogan, Robert. "Petrarch's "Trionfi" and the English Renaissance." *Studies in Philology* 67, no. 3 (1970): 306-327. www.jstor.org (accessed November 20, 2012). 308.

³⁴ Ibid. 308.

each also relates to the others by having common foundational aspects and thus being indicative of the variety of life.

Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of "I trionfi" is, a piece which has not been studied extensively. This is odd considering the manuscript's place in history as a microcosm of Renaissance ideals. A viewer can clearly infer by simply exploring the manuscript that the illumination of this piece was meticulous and as a result it is a delicate and rich manuscript that offers both Classical elements and Renaissance conventions in the same space.⁴⁰

The above is illustrated well in another leaf from the manuscript. In this particular leaf, the viewer sees represented not only some of the predominant themes in Renaissance manuscript production, but also the use of the *bianchi girari* discussed in section one (see figure 5). The *bianchi girari* style of decoration is displayed in the white vines and leaves that frame the composition. Interspersed throughout these vines and leaves are putti serving their function as cherubic and generally non-religious figures.

This leaf also expresses the Renaissance acceptance that death is inevitable. The skulls that decorate this page are not menacing, but they are clearly representative of death. The figures inside the painted frame are all either dead or mourning, but again, an overwhelming sense of sadness or fear is not present. This is a new development in pictorial illustrations of death—the psychological aspects depicted here are not standard. The world and all that comes with it is shown in the most realistic terms possible, and this is a way of looking at presentations of scenes or events that has deep roots in Renaissance thought and exploration.

Beyond simply offering examples of Renaissance ideology, Bartolomeo Sanvito's manuscript is one that blurs the line between religious and secular works while maintaining the Renaissance elements discussed above. "I trionfi" is not a piece of literature with much religious connotation, but the way that these scenes are being presented is reminiscent of religious and liturgical texts. This is visible when a comparison is made between a manuscript of 1417 (see figure 6), meant to be used as a music book during Mass, and an illuminated page from Sanvito's version of "I trionfi" (see figure 7). These two manuscript

leaves, when paired next to one another, look nearly identical in terms of how the page is composed. This was standard illumination practice for leaves like these, but it is interesting to note how easily the religious history of the illuminated manuscript was appropriated for and used in the production of secular texts.⁴¹ Both of these leaves show a large first initial with a figural scene in the middle of the initial. Surrounding the figural scene and framing the entire page are flora and fauna with some architectural elements manipulated to serve as framing devices. These leaves begin to differ, however, when a viewer looks at what scenes or events are being depicted within the initial. The Gradual, meant to be used during Christmas Day Mass, shows baby Jesus in his manger in the stable with his parents and several other figures and animals surrounding him (figure 6).⁴² The leaf from "I trionfi," on the other hand, simply shows two human figures who are slightly ambiguous in terms of gender (figure 7). Though the scenes being shown to the viewer are very different indeed, the similarities in construction and application of artistic elements between these two leaves are undeniable. The Gradual, illuminated several decades before Sanvito set to work on Petrarch's "I trionfi," was obviously crafted in such a way that it and the style or styles which had influenced its production had significant influence on manuscripts which would be produced later in the Renaissance.

The leaves of the illuminated "I trionfi" are representative of Renaissance thought, ideals, and values, especially in terms of artistic expression. The viewer is able to experience foundations of manuscript illumination that are most often seen in religious texts here adopted for use in secular work. The content of Petrarch's epic "I trionfi" is itself a demonstration of the Renaissance worldview—it focuses on the path that one takes through life, including any and all negative aspects of this journey. This is not a work that idealizes the life cycle; in fact, it embraces it in all its realness. Bartolomeo Sanvito, in his illumination of this piece of literature, juxtaposes this need for reality with beautiful illustrations that recall Classical antiquity and the revival of antiquity with the current-day innovation that permeated the Renaissance. A final important element of the Renaissance that is evidenced in this manuscript is the paragone. The

⁴⁰ For more images of leaves from this manuscript, see The Walters Art Museum website. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/800/i-trionfi/>

⁴¹ de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. 2nd ed. London: Phaidon Press, 1994. 224.

⁴² *Ibid.* 218.

relationship between the different artistic disciplines was heavily debated throughout the Renaissance, and many artists felt that one form of artistic expression was truly superior to all others. This manuscript places painting and poetry on the same level, and even serves to elevate them both through

the high levels of artistry that have been employed in the creation of this book. Through analysis of these various components, it is clear that this illuminated manuscript is a microcosm for the ideas and aesthetics of the Italian Renaissance.

Images



Figure 1. Bernardo Bembo with Script attributed to Bartolomeo Sanvito, *Oratio gratulatoria*, ink and paint on parchment. Ca. 1463. London, the British Library. Image located on page 83 of *The Painted Page*.

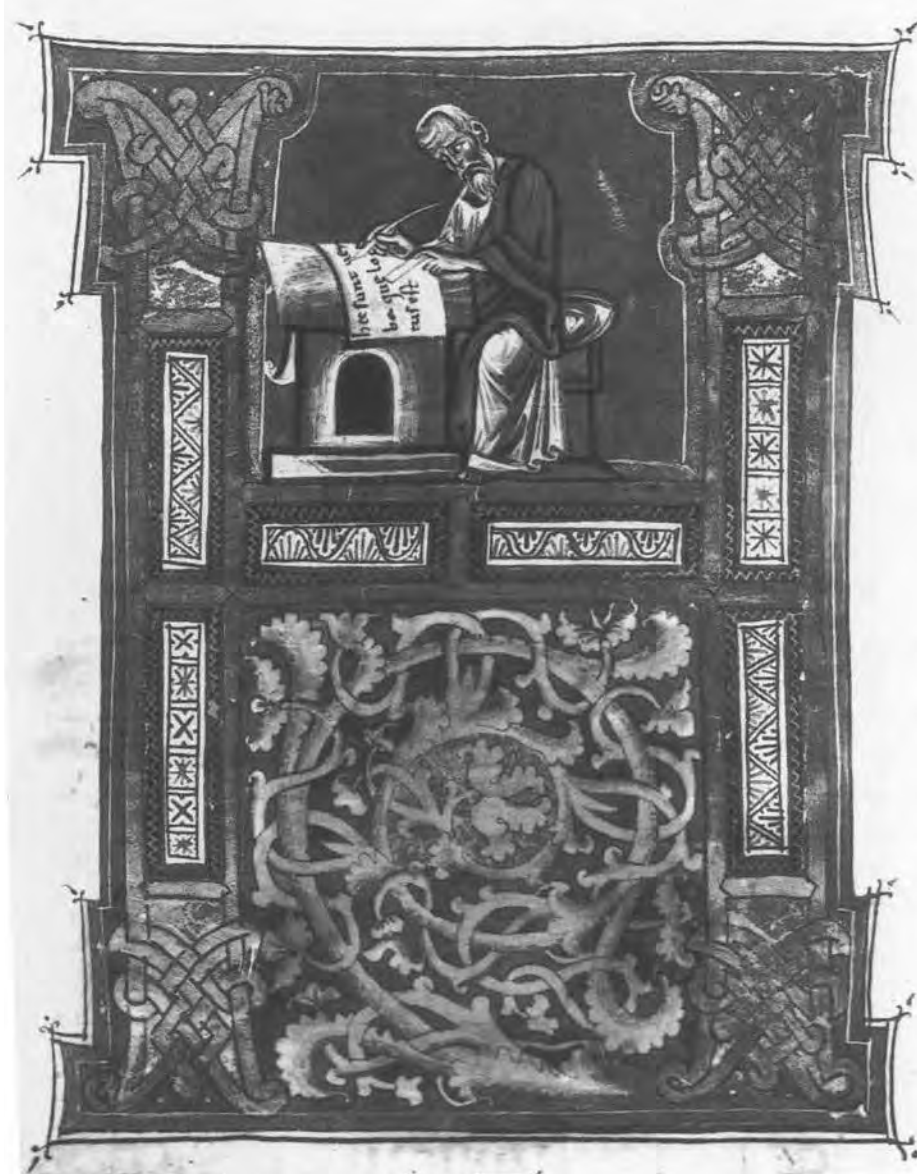


Figure 2. Alexander, J. J. G. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. Munich: Prestel, 1994. Image from page 12.

Calci Bible



Figure 3. Franco dei Russi, *David Lifting up His Soul to God in an Initial E*. Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. Ca. 1455-60/63. Image located on page 85 of *Treasures of a Lost Art*.



Figure 4. Leaf from Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of Petrarch's "I trionfi"
The Walters Art Museum. "I Trionfi." The Walters Art Museum. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/800/i-trionfi/>



Figure 5. Leaf from Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of Petrarch's "I trionfi"
The Walters Art Museum. "I Trionfi." The Walters Art Museum. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/800/i-trionfi/>



Figure 6. Gradual: Introit for the Mass on Christmas Day, 1417. Image found on page 218 of *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*.



Figure 7. Leaf from Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of Petrarch's "I trionfi"
The Walters Art Museum. "I Trionfi." The Walters Art Museum. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/800/i-trionfi/>

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Intellectual Biography - Japan

Tyler Strong

Introduction

Prior to the establishment and legitimization of the Tokugawa government in 1600, an era known as the *sengoku* period engulfed Japan for nearly an entire century in which war and turmoil promoted behavior that violated the fundamental principles of humanity. Upon his analysis of the bureaucratic system of government that prevailed during the reigns of the first four shoguns, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1680-1709), sought to establish an autocratic rule that would not heavily rely on the duties of elite shogunal officials. Samurai and shogunal officials, prior to Tsunayoshi, regarded brutality as honor and thought having high spirits resembled good conduct, Tsunayoshi's goal was to effectuate a benevolent government for the well being of his people that was rooted in Confucianism.

Not only will this paper provide background information pertaining to the formation of the Tokugawa shogunate, but it will also assess the dissemination of Confucian thought to Japan and the variants it adopted after it was studied and interpreted by various scholars in the seventeenth century. Ultimately, the goal of this paper is to explain how the Confucian interpretations and beliefs of Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) influenced the political and social decision-making of the fifth shogun of the Tokugawa government, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1680-1709). Heavily influenced by the teachings of the Wang Yang Ming school (Oyomei) and under his discipleship of Nakae Toju (1608-1648), Banzan advocated reforms that later came to be reflected in the policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, whose goal was to promote *jinsei* (benevolent government) through the implementation of Confucian thought to ensure that the Japanese people were elevated to a new code of ethical and moral behavior that was rooted in the main principles of Confucianism, in order to overcome

and eliminate facets of the *sengoku* period that had lingered during the preceding shoguns' governments.

Methodology

Modernization theorists of Japanese intellectual history occasionally make the mistake of overgeneralizing Confucian thought and schools, which, as Japanese scholars have been aware of, doesn't embrace the unique diversity of the Confucian establishment in Japan. Twentieth century Western historians such as Maruyama Masao have misconceptions of the institutionalization of Confucianism, believing that it was system that was fully developed and implemented concurrently with the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. Japanese historians and scholars are skeptical of the assumptions made by Western historians who essentially generalized a significant amount of Confucianism into the category of Neo-Confucianism, a term that was coined in the 1930s by Westerners Derk Bodde and Alfred Forke.¹

However, upon its arrival in Japan, Confucianism slowly diffused to Zen Buddhists, Shinto theologians, scholars of the court, and a fragment of the cultural elite. The diversity of the various spheres this thought spread to attributed to the different schools of thought that would draw upon different Confucian ideas throughout the reign of the Tokugawas.² Unlike Maruyama Masao's understanding that the Confucian system was unified during the Tokugawa period, which appropriately satisfies the "de Bary" group's interpretation of intellectual history,³ Kurozumi enhances our understanding of the concept of vitalism and its syncretism with the sense of

¹ Herman Ooms and Kurozumi Makoto, "The Nature of Early Tokugawa Confucianism," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 20 (1994): 332-333.

² *Ibid.*, 332.

³ Samuel Hideo Yamashita, "Reading the New Tokugawa Intellectual Histories" *Journal for Japanese Studies* 22.1 (1996): 15-16.

compassion that Buddhism promoted, which defined early Confucianism under Tokugawa rule. Kurozumi's and Ooms's inspection of the essence of early Tokugawa Confucianism reveals five different modes: Confucianism, Sung Learning, Chu Hsu Learning, Ch'eng Chu Learning, and "New" Confucianism, suggesting the plurality of the tradition of Chinese learning.⁴ He also evinces how idealist moral and cosmic principles should be viewed as a phenomenon that pervaded the earliest Tokugawa writings of thinkers like Razan, Toju, and Seika. During these early developments, the government's ideological structure was constructed through the implementation of ideas and ethics that merged with other elements, such as Buddhism's sense of compassion, in order to create a system of Confucianism that would distinguish itself from Chinese and Korean institutions. The overwhelming embrace of various forms of Confucianism by the population was surprising to many scholars who never would have imagined the influence of this foreign teaching.

Historiography

Perhaps one of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's most disputed legislations was an edict he ratified called "The Acts of Compassion for Living Things," with the intent of promoting *jinsei* within the country. As a boy, Tsunayoshi was trained as a Confucian scholar as opposed to a classic warrior, which was the standard for young boys during the early part of the seventeenth century. Not only did Tsunayoshi lack a military upbringing, but he also did not complete the apprenticeship that all shoguns-to-be experienced prior to his rule. Therefore, Tsunayoshi received criticism from many Tokugawa authorities before his succession of the government. In regards to his edict for "The Compassion of Living Things" and the punishments it imposed, such as beheadings and crucifixions, historians like Donald Shively labeled Tsunayoshi as a tyrant. Samurai scholars such as Asahi Shigeaki (1674-1718), who wrote in his diary and cited several occasions in which samurai in Edo received capital punishment for killing dogs.⁵ Playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon also exploited this issue in his play *Sagami Nyudo Sembiki no Inu* which was released after the death of Tsunayoshi. Nevertheless, Beatrice Bodart-Bailey provides substantial evidence that supports

Tsunayoshi's legislation, emphasizing that the samurai class were responsible for producing the literature on this issue, which presents a significant bias against the policies of Tsunayoshi.

The status group affected most by the "Act of the Compassion for Living Things" was the samurai class because they owned the majority of the dogs living in Edo. Samurai were also responsible for assembling and maintaining kennels for about forty thousand dogs.⁶ Despite their claims of numerous capital punishment sentences, Bodart Bailey notes: "the thirty-odd years of Tsunayoshi's government furnish surprisingly few examples of punishment inflicted for harming an animal" (179). Bodart-Bailey also draws upon the observations of Engelbert Kaempfer, a Dutch scholar who visited Edo between 1690 and 1692, who noted that all violations of shogunal law were commonly punished with death and without regard to the seriousness of the crime.⁷ Kaempfer's observations, despite his outsider status, seem to be more reliable than those of the samurai who were extremely biased against all of Tsunayoshi's policies as they essentially undermined the duties of the military class. Tsunayoshi's edict asserted that his goal was not to punish his people in cruel ways, but to promote a benevolent society that "indicated a shift toward an autocratic mode of government, which is often perceived as a necessary step in the development of a modern nation" (Bodart-Bailey, 189). Despite the fact that the military aristocracy was not satisfied with their new role in society, Tsunayoshi's legislations benefited the overall majority of the commoner population through the promotion of *jinsei*, stabilizing the Tokugawa government at the end of the seventeenth century.

The Arrival of Confucianism into Japan

The arrival of *Sung Neo-Confucianism* (Chu Hsi Confucianism) to Japan in the twelfth century introduced a rivaling school of thought to the *Zen Buddhist* institution would eventually influence early Tokugawa leaders and would later be implemented into practice by Tsunayoshi in the late-seventeenth century. Ironically, Buddhists were responsible for bringing books and first-hand knowledge of Neo-Confucianism from China in the fourteenth century which, contributed to a unique form of religious pluralism and intellectual sophistication that Tokugawa shoguns would eventually adopt certain

⁴ Ooms and Makoto, "Early Tokugawa Confucianism," 332-334.

⁵ Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "The Laws of Compassion" *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.2 (1985): 177.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

aspects of Buddhist, Confucian, and Shinto ideas in their administrations. John Whitney Hall states:

In this period, Buddhist and Shinto thought shared the view that the individual's committed pursuit of his or her allotted social function would ensure his or her autonomy and thus would serve as a means of spiritual salvation. To a certain extent this notion coincided with the premises of Chu Hsi's thought, which helps explain its successful diffusion and the acceptance among Zen and Shinto thinkers of the essential unity of their teachings with those of Chu Hsi's thought.⁸

Confucianism spread as a result to the syncretic notion that it embodied and was supported by *sengoku* daimyo who exhibited a significant amount of interest in studying Confucian classics.⁹ The importance of stressing the lengthy process of assimilation of Confucianism is important for intellectual historians to understand. Thus, allowing them to embrace the diversity of the intriguing and complicated process of implementing Confucian thought in the early reign of the Tokugawa government.

Although Confucianism did not have a noticeable presence in society until the late fifteenth century, many Zen Buddhist monks were influenced by Confucian texts, which is evident in the historical writings of the Nambokucho period (1333-1392). Rinzai monasteries supported the advent of Confucianism and were responsible not only for its promotion within Buddhist schools, but also for its diffusion in society leading into the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Zen monks actively engaged in the studies of Confucian thought (mainly Chu-Hsi's) upon its arrival into Buddhist schools in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries due to the similarities it shared with Buddhist and Shinto teachings. According to Hall, "Its [Neo-Confucianism] practical character as a system of thought that stressed the precise moral evaluation of political acts and human behavior further encouraged its diffusion to all reaches of society, a trend that accelerated in the middle of the sixteenth century."¹¹ This trend

⁸ John Whitney Hall, ed., "Thought and Religion," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 416.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 398.

¹⁰ Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "The Persecution of Confucianism in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 48.3 (1993): 303-304.

¹¹ Hall, ed., "Thought and Religion," 398.

would eventually encounter opposition from figures who were originally responsible for Confucianism's dissemination within the country.

Many loyalists to the Buddhist faith altered their opinions toward Confucianism to the extent of discrediting its books and teachings. However, a movement of Zen monks who embraced Confucian teachings decided to distinguish themselves from Buddhist monasteries that no longer condoned the philosophical groundings of Confucianism. The split between the Zen Buddhists and the Neo-Confucianists occurred by the late sixteenth century as Confucian scholars emerged from the Zen schools where they were trained as priests. Two influential Confucian schools that were established prior to this transition were the Tosa School (The Southern School), which was founded by Zen Priest Nanson Baiken, and the Satsuma School that claimed Keian Genju, a Zen Priest, as its founder.¹² As the late fifteenth century and most of the sixteenth century experienced times of uncertainty and turmoil, the common people embraced Confucian ideas that provided spiritual and intellectual guidance. The house structure that developed at the end of the sixteenth century provided stability in people's lives; and therefore, shifted emphasis towards yearning for intellectual guidance. However, when the Tokugawa family obtained and legitimized their control over the country in 1600, the government made Buddhism the state religion because it was the native religion of the warrior class and supported the supremacy of the Tokugawa authority.

Banzan's Confucianism

The *Bakufu* exerted every power it could to suppress Confucian thought until high-ranking members of the Tokugawa family Yoshinao, (1610-1650) and his nephew Mitsukuni, (1661-1700), put Confucian thought into practice. Beatrice Bodart-Bailey quotes: "Like other Confucians, such as Yamaga Soko, Kumazawa Banzan, and later Tsunayoshi, he [Yoshinao] believed that the samurai should justify their existence by serving as a model of morality to the people...he insisted strictly on frugality...he believed that it was his duty as ruler to lift the moral standards of his subjects."¹³ Although they did not hold the title of shogun, their actions encouraged nonconformist Buddhist monks such as Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619), Hayashi Razan

¹² Hall, ed., "Thought and Religion," 388.

¹³ Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun: The Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 57.

(1583-1657), Hori Kyoan (1585-1642), Yamaga Soko (1622-1685), and Yamakazi Ansai (1618-1682) to pursue and delve into Confucian thoughts and ideas.¹⁴ Although these two daimyo were successful in ignoring the *bakufu's* orders and exempt from punishment in their promotion of Confucian ideas, Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609-1682), lord of the Okayama domain, did not have the same fate despite the fact that he was the son of an adopted daughter of the second shogun Hidetada.

While searching for government guidance on how to effectively rule his domain through the application of Confucianism, in 1647, Mitsumasa employed Kumazawa Banzan, the grandson of Kumazawa Morihisa. His master was Fukushima Masanori, a powerful figure feared by early Tokugawa authorities because of his power within the Toyotomi family that contested Ieyasu's original takeover.¹⁵ While his father was a ronin, Banzan was influenced by samurai practices as he was raised by his grandfather. After Banzan served as a page for Mitsumasa from 1634-1637, he attempted to enlist in the Tokugawa army; however, he was denied acceptance because he was too young and for engaging in the *gempuku* ceremony on his own. It is at this point in Banzan's life when he acknowledged that he no longer wanted to pursue military arts and embarked on an intellectual path in pursuit of a liberal education.

In 1640, his father encouraged Banzan to read "The Four Books of Confucius with Commentaries by Various Masters" which deeply motivated him to delve into the study of the classics. He moved to Kyoto a few months later and witnessed a life-changing event that determined his destiny. While staying at a hotel in Kyoto, he observed a retainer who arrived at the hotel that became devastated upon acknowledging that he had misplaced two hundred pieces of gold entrusted to him by his master. While on the verge of contemplating suicide, a knock on his door revealed the horse driver who dropped the retainer off with the bag of gold in his hand. In jubilation, the retainer offered the driver compensation, which was respectfully declined. The horse driver, a poor peasant, attributed his actions to the influence of a fellow townsman named Nakae Toju, whom Banzan eagerly desired to meet as he was astonished how such a figure could influence poor peasants. Despite a failed first attempt to meet

with Toju in Ogawamura, Toju persisted to meet with Toju in 1642 with success. Studying under Toju for almost a year, Banzan studied Confucian classics such as *Kokyo* (Filial Piety), *Daigaku* (Great Learning), and *Chuyo* (Doctrine of the Mean).¹⁶ In these texts, Toju emphasizes the importance of reforming the samurai class in terms of promoting civil administration and exemplifying ethical conduct. Barry Steben quotes: "We have seen how he [Toju] used religio-philosophical concepts...with old interpretations developed by Sung and Ming philosophers such as Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-Ming, to construct a complete Confucian faith for the Japanese samurai in their new calling as civil administrators and moral exemplars."¹⁷ As Banzan contemplated concepts such as these, introspection would provoke his own thoughts on the topic of reforming the samurai class, which would eventually arouse the attention of the Bakufu. The lectures he listened to and the texts he read gave Banzan a completely new understanding of Neo-Confucianism under the Wang Yang Ming School's interpretation, which would ultimately provide him with a substantial amount of knowledge that would be sought out by his former master Ikeda Mitsumasa, who's service he would re-enter in 1647.

Upon the establishment of Mitsumasa's school called Hanabatake in Okayama, Banzan's fame became well known amongst high-ranking officials, daimyo, and even the senior councilor who requested Banzan's advice pertaining to questions concerning Confucianism.¹⁸ Mitsumasa highly regarded Banzan's promotion of Nakae Toju's Shingaku (Learning of the Mind and Heart) that sought to epitomize the samurai class and promulgate Confucian teaching to all social classes.¹⁹ "He [Banzan] believed that the existence of the military aristocracy could only be justified if they became paragons of virtue and served as models for the commoners to emulate" (Bodart-Bailey, 61). Opposing the traditional practice of samurai controlling most aspects of commoner life because of their birthright, Banzan's idea of returning unemployed samurai to rural areas challenged the class system. Banzan also advocated the reduction of daimyo requirements to engage in *sankin kotai*,

¹⁶ Ibid., 234.

¹⁷ Barry Stephen, "Nakae Toju and the Birth of Wang Yang-Ming Learning in Japan," *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998): 262.

¹⁸ Fisher, *Kumazawa Banzan*, 60

¹⁹ William Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds., "Japanese Education," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 112.

¹⁴ Ibid., 59.

¹⁵ Galen M. Fisher, *Kumazawa Banzan: His Life and Ideas* (Tokyo: The Asiatic Society of Japan, 1938), 228.

and thought the Bakufu should supply fiscal relief to samurai and daimyo while transforming the warrior class into samurai farmers.²⁰ These ideas discuss the importance on expressing filial piety and stressed that if an individual could grasp the criteria of time, place, and status, they could perform their social function while maintaining spiritual autonomy.²¹ Banzan and Mitsumasa also worked together to establish tenarai schools that provided moral education to farmers and their sons that was rooted in Confucianism. In his work *Zotei Banzan zenshu*, Banzan stated: "With the world, one should put education first and await the desire for rites and ceremonies... Through school ordinances, one should first teach the knowledge that discriminates between right and wrong and good and evil and stimulate righteousness that knows shame."²² However, these schools jeopardized the warrior's monopoly to govern the commoners, which eventually led to their closings and brought Banzan under attack from critics.²³ Banzan also proposed a reduction of the commoner's tax that would enhance their population and mobilize their efforts to support the government. Ultimately, these actions suggested by Banzan undermined the military aristocracy and received many criticisms from the Bakufu. Despite the controversy, Mitsumasa's implementation of Banzan's reforms in his domain reflected *jinsei* and the promotion of ethical learning amongst the samurai class, which foreshadowed the rule of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi who would assume power almost thirty years later.

Promotion of *jinsei* and moral education under Tsunayoshi's rule

When Tsunayoshi assumed power in 1680, his ultimate goal was to assert an agenda that would not only stimulate a benevolent society, but also to replace the official supremacy system with one that revolved around shogunal supremacy. On one ground, Tsunayoshi was an instrumental factor in changing the state's dominating militaristic motivations gradually into a civil-minded bureaucracy entrenched in ethical and humanitarians ideas.²⁴ In accomplishing this immense task, he chose to abdicate Sakai Tadakiyo, the *tairo* (great councilor) of the previous shogun Ietsuna's

government, from his elite position due to the corruption he caused in the previous administration. By eliminating the grand councilor, Tsunayoshi assumed more power as the entire administration became more responsive to his commands. Tsunayoshi also seized the domains of more than thirty-three daimyo in his effort to consolidate his administration.²⁵ Tsunayoshi's autocratic approach "desperately wanted to create a loyal, learned, and effective bureaucracy, one in which the spirit of Confucianism might give tangible form."²⁶ By eliminating potential threats to his benevolent rule, Tsunayoshi established a precedent of *bun* (civil) policy in his government, which would endure throughout the eighteenth century.

Perhaps one of the more influential scholars that influenced Tsunayoshi's thoughts on the practice of *jinsei* besides Banzan was Chu Shun-shui, a Chinese refugee scholar who arrived in Edo in 1665 and was summoned by the shogun to introduce him to the ancient Chinese classics. Chu's utilitarian approach to Confucianism embodied similar characteristics of Confucian thought pertaining to *jinsei* and education that the shogun embraced as well. The Chinese scholar believed Confucianism displayed through the practice of *jinsei* (benevolence) in government that would provide for the needs of all of the people. He and the shogun also agreed that the samurai class desperately needed education in Confucian thought and texts. The Chu-shun school of thought believed that individuals must play a humble role in everyday life in which the followers of this thought must embody practical Confucianism with the result being merit for daily life. Chu warned Tsunayoshi to pay close attention to the peasant population and that it should not go unnoticed since a benevolent government must meet the needs of every social class in order attain support of the administration. The shogun dearly embraced the teachings of Chu Shun-shui by using his philosophy to improve ethical standards and stabilize the government through benevolent rule.²⁷

From the beginning of his childhood, Tsunayoshi understood the importance of education as he engaged in Chinese texts and stories of sagehood. According to the *tokugawa jikki* (Official history) of the shoguns, Tsunayoshi stated:

²⁰ Ibid., 114.

²¹ Hall, ed., "Thought and Religion," 116

²² de Bary, et. al, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 119.

²³ Bodart-Bailey, "The Persecution of Confucianism," 310.

²⁴ Albert Craig and Donald Shively, *Personality in Japanese History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 86.

²⁵ Conrad D. Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 106.

²⁶ Hall, ed., "Thought and Religion," 428

²⁷ Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun*, 218-219.

I've loved the martial arts since I was a boy, and I've had heavy responsibilities since my youth, so I've had no time to read. I've never put any effort into the literary arts. This is one thing I'm ashamed of. Please hire good tutors so that I may embark on the path of the sages.²⁸

Tsunayoshi's acknowledgment of the importance of delving into ancient texts at an early age was a sign that he would become an influential leader someday. After his succession, the shogun began lecturing to his administration in the role of a Confucian minister. He frequently summoned daimyo and other important leaders month after month to hear his lectures. Tsunayoshi is best known for his series of lectures titled *The Book of Changes* that amounted to about two hundred forty sessions of lectures, earning him the nickname "The Book Shogun"²⁹ Tsunayoshi engaged Confucian scholars in lectures and also performed *noh* dances, which he believed would be beneficial in terms of promoting peace throughout the country. He based this reasoning on the Confucian concept that the ruler should regulate the country through rites and music.³⁰ Tsunayoshi believed that educating his nation in the civil arts would ultimately establish and promote a peaceful society.

Occasionally, he would call on Ogyu Sorai and Shimura Sanaemon to engage him in lectures and discussions on Confucian thought. His appointment of Kitamura, an innovative *kokugaku* scholar, to be the titleholder of scholar of Japanese poetry was significant in essence because he was embracing the diversity of the various schools of Confucian thought. He also enjoyed listening to Buddhist and Confucian priests and scholars of Japanese literature engage in dialogue with one another. After listening to these conversations or debates in some circumstances, he would establish public lectures through a correspondent to deliver lectures to the commoners in nearby domains. These contributions made by Tsunayoshi demonstrated that he was

²⁸ James C. Baxter and Joshua A. Fogel, *Writing histories in Japan: texts and their transformations from ancient times through the Meiji era* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007), 178.

²⁹ Craig and Shively, *Personality*, 116.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

determined to extend moral education to all social classes by any means. Tsunayoshi instituted policies around 1700 that allowed education and ethical concern to disseminate to all classes.³¹ His engagement in discussions, lectures, and debates exhibited his commitment to providing some form of education to citizens of all classes in Japan.

Conclusion

If Kumazawa Banzan was able to evaluate Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's rule during the Genroku era, he would have more than likely been satisfied with the actions of policies of the Dog Shogun who advocated a benevolent society while also stimulating moral education that permeated every social class. Banzan would probably have been surprised to see the extent of the adoption of his ideas and thoughts by a government that mandated his exile toward the end of his life because previous administrators deemed his ideas as too radical. Concerning the ratification of the "Laws of Compassion for Living Things" by Tsunayoshi, Banzan would have been a good compliment to Tsunayoshi because Banzan believed that not only animals should be treated with kindness, but also nature because he thought that the condition of the forest contributed to political fortunes and misfortunes.³² In terms of Tsunayoshi's establishment of a government that advanced *bun* (civil) policy, Banzan would have endorsed this foundation as he encouraged his followers to partake in scholarly aspirations pertaining to the morality of Confucian ideas with the ambition of creating a benevolent society. Ultimately, the rule of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi would have been regarded in a delightful sense of Kumazawa Banzan whose influences slowly precipitated the rise of a modern Japanese state.

Baxter, James C. and Joshua A. Fogel. *Writing histories in Japan: texts and their transformations from ancient times through the Meiji era*. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

³² de Bary, et. al, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 117.

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Desegregating Schools in the North: The Cincinnati Board of Education and the NAACP

Meghan McLaughlin

Introduction

This is a day that will live in glory. It is also a great day in the history of the court," wrote Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter to Chief Justice Earl Warren on the day of the historic Supreme Court decision, *Brown vs. Board of Education*.¹ On this supposedly glorious day, May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down the declaration that separate but equal facilities, particularly schools, were inherently unconstitutional, and the court called for the legal desegregation of public schools across the nation. This mandate brought with it significant weight: no longer would children be forced to attend certain schools because of their race. Education would now be equal for all Americans. However, was this really the case? In many cities, particularly in the North, school segregation persisted despite the passing of *Brown v. Board*. The struggle for an equal education continued despite the fact that segregation was prohibited by law. In areas where this struggle remained, segregation existed on a *de facto* basis only, meaning that it existed as a result of racially imbalanced neighborhoods and inherent cultural concepts, not as a result of law.² It was in cities with *de facto* segregation where struggles for equality in education lasted long after the passing of *Brown*.

The racially tense city of Cincinnati, Ohio, was one of the many Northern cities in which *de facto* segregation led to an ongoing struggle by the black community to achieve quality desegregated education. The official efforts for desegregation in Cincinnati took place largely beginning in the 1960s, precisely nine years after the passing of *Brown*. In

1963, the first attempts by the NAACP to achieve desegregation through the court system in *Deal v. Board of Education* led to a lengthy conflict between the NAACP and the Cincinnati Board of Education. Throughout the years, the NAACP attempted to work through the legal system as well as through the hearts and minds of Cincinnati citizens to achieve equality in education for all; this can be seen in the second major lawsuit in Cincinnati, *Bronson v. Board*, which began in 1975. The black community was constantly unhappy with the existing *de facto* segregation and what they saw as the active avoidance of desegregation by the school board. This conflict between the black community and the racism of the school board lasted throughout the 1980s, and took the form of action against the school board by the NAACP in Cincinnati.³

The NAACP was a strong force against segregation in Cincinnati and across the nation as leaders recognized the need to defend those who have faced discrimination on the basis of race. Considered "the nation's most significant civil rights organization," the NAACP was undoubtedly a major player in the struggle for desegregated education in the North and in Cincinnati.⁴ Overall, the struggle for desegregated education in Cincinnati Public Schools was largely an ongoing conflict between the Cincinnati Board of Education and the Cincinnati Chapter of the NAACP from the 1960s through the remainder of the twentieth century. This is seen through the instigation of court cases and the public relations put forth by the organization to reach out to the Cincinnati public. The complaints from the NAACP were due to continued *de facto* segregation

¹ Felix Frankfurter, Earl Warren, "Note, Felix Frankfurter to Warren," 17 May 1954, from the *Library of Congress: Words and Deeds in American History*, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage> (accessed 2 November 2012).

² The segregation that is prohibited by law is commonly known as *de jure* segregation. Robert L. Herbst, "The Legal Struggle to Integrate Schools in the North," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 407:1 (1973), 43.

³ NAACP News Release, April 21, 1981. Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 11, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁴ NAACP, "NAACP: 100 Years of History," NAACP, http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history_mw?source=BSDAds_GoogleSearch_NAACP_History_NAACP%20History_Phrase_13683517273&gclid=CL2wjOzPg7QCfahQOgod5BcA1w (accessed Dec. 5, 2012).

and the active avoidance of desegregation by the school board, both of which reflected trends across many cities in the Northern United States.

Historiography: Historians and School Desegregation

The efforts at eliminating segregation nationwide, both *de facto* and *de jure*, have been written about by several historians who examine this relatively recent topic. Many historians recognize that segregation did not end with the *Brown* decision. When writing about the desegregation of schools, historians have transcended the traditional categories of history. The schools of thought that are represented among the historians include educational history, racial history, social history, cultural history, legal history, political history, or a combination of any of these.

Among the historians who have written about national school desegregation, there are three key themes that are pertinent to the comparison between Northern school desegregation and Cincinnati school desegregation. These include historians who write about the entire process of desegregation across the nation, those who write about the legal struggles for desegregation, and finally, those who have written about *de facto* segregation and the resulting magnet schools and busing controversies.⁵

Many historians have written about the overall process of school desegregation in the North since the passage of *Brown v Board*. One such historian, Reynolds Farley, focused specifically on the years 1967 to 1972 for his article in *Sociological Focus*.⁶ In this article, Farley primarily examines integration in the Northern schools in an attempt to recognize trends in the racial segregation of students. Using the years 1967, 1970, and 1972, Farley measures the changes in student segregation, ultimately claiming that by 1972, the schools in the South were more desegregated than those in the North. The study within the article examines 143 school systems using quantitative data and the effects of governmental activities that pushed for integration during the late 1960s. This article also looks at the effects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV provisions, as well as the 1965 Elementary

⁵ These themes can be considered significantly narrow in relation to the entirety of publications concerning school desegregation. I have, however, only chosen those particular historians and themes that correlate with the process of school desegregation in Cincinnati.

⁶ Reynolds Farley, "Focus on Policy: Racial Integration in the Public Schools, 1967-1972: Assessing the Effect of Governmental Politics," *Sociological Focus* 8:1 (1975): 3-26.

and Secondary Education Act. Ultimately, Farley came to three main conclusions: 1) governmental pressures for desegregation increased in the previous decade (1960s-1970s), 2) the declines in segregation were greater in the South than in the North, and 3) substantial progress had been made in the desegregation of the nation's teachers.⁷ Throughout his study, Farley uses court cases and census data to make his arguments, as well as previous works studying desegregation, including those by Hickerson, Pfautz, Coons, and Orfield. At the end of his article, Farley discusses his opinions on the future of desegregation. While he did not know specifically what turns the process would take, he set the stage for other historians to write on this topic.

Discussion on the topic of desegregation in the nation's public schools continued through the 1980s. One holistic work that aimed to provide details about the ongoing process of desegregation is Gary Orfield's *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*.⁸ In this short monograph, Orfield aims to report data on the status of school desegregation through 1980 in order to "clarify the real issues that remain before us."⁹ To do this, Orfield used enrollment data from across the nation, finding that there are various patterns of desegregation, depending upon region of the county. Through his writing, Orfield makes clear that he believed that full desegregation was possible, but only if enforced.¹⁰ He also placed special emphasis on desegregation in the cities, where he claimed the "key problems" were held.¹¹ Orfield provided recommendations for further desegregation efforts, including the regular collection of racial data in metropolitan areas and the support of city-suburban desegregation plans. Orfield's study and suggestions served as a basis for desegregation studies in the years following his publication.

Bringing the conversation into the twenty-first century, Charles T. Clotfelter wrote his monograph on the process of school integration in the fifty years after the *Brown* decision. Using interracial contact

⁷ Farley, 21-22.

⁸ Gary Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983). Orfield is an important scholar in school desegregation history, and many of his works have been used by other historians throughout the latter part of the twentieth century.

⁹ Orfield, *Public School*, xi.

¹⁰ Orfield refers to the schools in the South, where "profound and lasting change" had occurred because those are the areas where enforcement of desegregation policies had been concentrated. He suggests that if enforcement were spread to the North, desegregation would be much simpler (xii).

¹¹ Orfield, *Public School*, 48.

as a measure of segregation, Clotfelter aimed to reexamine school desegregation by documenting changes in contact over time. Clotfelter built on Orfield's 1983 trend analysis before discussing the connection between residential location and desegregation. Clotfelter references Orfield's study from 1968-1980, but instead chooses to use unpublished data from before 1968 to chart trends by region in a more complete manner than Orfield. It is in this way that Clotfelter contributed to the field. Among other cities, Cincinnati was mentioned throughout the book; Clotfelter placed Cincinnati in a wider set of Northern school districts who "engaged in practices designed to strengthen patterns of segregation."¹² For example, the Cincinnati school board was responsible for requiring swimming classes, but discontinued the requirement when classes were integrated. Using Cincinnati as an example, Clotfelter made the point that many schools employed different techniques for postponing or avoiding true desegregation.¹³ These segregationist practices were often used as evidence in the courts as organizations like the NAACP worked to achieve equality in education. It was in the court system that a majority of desegregation in the North came about.

There has been much scholarship published over the last several decades regarding the desegregation of America's public schools through the lens of the court and legal system. One of the earliest works of this type is Barker and Barker's book of studies on civil liberties, published in 1965.¹⁴ In this book, Barker and Barker provided a meaningful framework for the study of civil liberties problems and racial desegregation in the United States. The important chapter for this study, chapter 5, concerns "racial problems in the balance," which includes resistance to the *Brown* decision and school administrative actions with *de facto* segregation. Written before a large portion of the Cincinnati struggle, this book shows the nationwide situation with regards to desegregation in the 1960s. Barker and Barker recognize how difficult it was for black people to actually influence administrative action:

"Though Negroes filed numerous petitions, only in a few instances did school officials attempt to use administrative remedies to meet the problem."¹⁵ Furthermore, Barker and Barker call for school districts to have equitable distributions of black and white children, claiming that this will create an advantageous atmosphere for all involved. The authors claim that administrators *can* make a difference and accomplish desegregation, depending on several factors.¹⁶ This focus on administrative action is telling for the Cincinnati integration story. While the school board did have the ability to enact *de facto* desegregation, they actively avoided it.

In the same year as the publication by Barker and Barker, Oliver Schroeder, Jr. and David T. Smith edited a book that was devoted to the study of *de facto* segregation and civil rights.¹⁷ Compiled in the midst of the civil rights movement, this collection of essays provides a legal, educational, sociological, and historical look at *de facto* segregation, including its causes, results, and suggestions for dealing with it. In several of the essays, authors pose questions surrounding *de facto* segregation as it existed in the mid-1960s. Specifically, the essays by Carter, Bloch, Levenson, and Wright provide the most insight into the legal and educational implications of a segregated education, and are of the most use to this study.¹⁸ As a whole, they work together to create a full picture of *de facto* segregation and how it came to exist through the court system as well as early efforts to eradicate it.

Like the Barker and Schroeder writings, the book by Norman Dorsen was also written in the late 1960s. Focusing on the issue of discrimination in all aspects of life, including employment, voting, housing, and education, this monograph can contribute important information to the civil rights issues during that time period. This book was meant to give students the basic materials pertinent to racial discrimination, including legal aspects and

¹² Charles T. Clotfelter, *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 19. Italicization added. The practices to which Clotfelter refers are gerrymandering, the creation of attendance zones, crowding black schools, the judicious placement of new schools, and liberal transfer policies.

¹³ Clotfelter, 19-20.

¹⁴ Lucius J. Barker and Twiley W. Barker, Jr., *Freedoms, Courts, Politics: Studies in Civil Liberties* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

¹⁵ Barker and Barker, 197.

¹⁶ Barker and Barker, 200. These factors include the legislative mandates under which the administrators operate, the friendly courts that are willing to uphold their actions, and general community attitudes.

¹⁷ Oliver Schroeder, Jr. and David T. Smith, eds, *De Facto Segregation and Civil Rights: Struggle for Legal and Social Equality* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1965).

¹⁸ Robert L. Carter, "De Facto School Segregation: An Examination of the Legal and Constitutional Questions Presented," 28-57; Charles J. Bloch, "Does the Fourteenth Amendment Forbid De Facto Segregation?" 58-70; William B. Levenson, "Educational Implications of De Facto Segregation," 71-80; and J. Skelly Wright, "Public School Desegregation: Legal Remedies for De Facto Segregation," 4-27.

social contexts.¹⁹ The two chapters that prove the most important to this study are the chapters concerning discrimination in education in both the South and the North. In these chapters, Dorsen provides the legal documents from court cases and government policies and accompanies them with his own notes. In the section concerning *de facto* segregation, Dorsen uses a court case from Gary, Indiana, to show resistance to desegregation; this Midwestern town can be compared to Cincinnati in this respect. Dorsen's commentary on the court cases dealing with discrimination allows for a legal framework for the issues during the time period. It does not, however, interact very much with existing scholarship, but instead relies on the primary sources for the basis of notes.

In another commentary on the legal basis of desegregation, Robert L. Herbst, published an article in 1973 for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.²⁰ In this article, Herbst aimed to comment on the struggle for integration of schools in the North after the passing of *Brown*. He claimed that because the Supreme Court has not extended the *Brown* decision to include *de facto* segregation, the schools where this segregation exists have fought a separate battle for true integration. Blaming this on the ambiguity of the language of the *Brown* case, Herbst examined the struggle for the courts to have to decide how *Brown* applies outside of the South and if it included racial imbalance that resulted from neighborhood patterns.²¹ He showed how the NAACP has worked through the court system to fight for an end to racially imbalanced schools, particularly in the North. He brought to light the fact that there was no attempt to apply *Brown* to the Northern schools until the 1960s; it is in this aspect that we see a correlation between the desegregation experience of schools in the North and schools in Cincinnati. Furthermore, Herbst pointed out that, at the time of his writing, the NAACP changed its strategy to prove that school officials had taken intentionally discriminatory actions in order to isolate black children. By attempting to prove that racially imbalanced schools were also unequal schools, the NAACP hoped to invoke the Fourteenth Amendment that guaranteed fairness between the

racers. Herbst outlined the strategy of the NAACP in the North, stating that they tried to show tangible inequalities as well as intangible inequalities such as lower achievement and emotional difficulties.²² This discussion can be directly related to the Cincinnati experience. In fact, Herbst divided his article into several sections, many of which are case studies of Northern cities; one of these is Cincinnati. Ultimately, Herbst showed how futile the early attempts by the NAACP were because of their inability to prove that the school board acted out of racism or blatant discrimination. Written after the *Deal* case, but before the *Bronson* case, Herbst was setting the stage for future discourse on the legal basis for desegregation in Cincinnati and across the North.

Like the Dorsen book written ten years prior, Robert F. Cushman's anthology of court cases aims to comment on and explain major cases in civil liberties in the United States. This anthology of court cases provides important background and information specifically on the *Brown v. Board* case of 1954. Cushman writes concisely on the case, stating, "It is doubtful if the Supreme Court in its entire history has rendered a decision of greater social and ideological significance than this one."²³ He outlines the immediate effect of the decision on the local school districts and across the nation and then stresses the importance of the decision. The entry then includes the opinion of the court delivered by Chief Justice Earl Warren on the *Brown* case, which can also be used as a primary source to understand firsthand the feelings of the court. The *Brown* case is also referenced throughout the book within the context of other court cases. Overall, Cushman's discussion of the *Brown* decision suggests that this case would have nationwide effects on the desegregation of schools. What he does not include, however, is the effects of *Brown* on schools in the North, where *de facto* segregation ran rampant and where *Brown* would not have a large impact.

As with the Dorsen work, J. Harvie Wilkinson's monograph did not interact largely with other scholars, but he used court case documents to support his claims. Written in the same year as Cushman's anthology, Wilkinson's book solely examines court cases surrounding desegregation of schools in the years following *Brown*. In this book, Wilkinson studies the history of the Supreme

¹⁹ Norman Dorsen, *Discrimination and Civil Rights* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), ix.

²⁰ Robert L. Herbst, "The Legal Struggle to Integrate Schools in the North," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 407:1 (1973): 43-62.

²¹ Herbst, 46.

²² Herbst, 48.

²³ Robert F. Cushman, *Cases in Civil Liberties* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1979), 333.

Court's role in school integration following the *Brown* decision in 1954 to the time of the writing of this book. Calling race a "perpetual dilemma," Wilkinson shows how the court has grappled with the issue of racism throughout the last half of the twentieth century.²⁴ This analysis shows the difficulty in implementing integration in the face of strong popular racial beliefs, and Wilkinson explains that, "findings in the education cases laid bare the depth of American prejudice and made clear the true dimensions of our difficulties."²⁵ Overall, Wilkinson's study provides an all-encompassing analysis of the court's role in desegregation.

Continuing the scholarship that examines the reception and fulfillment of *Brown*, Raymond Wolters published his book *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* in 1984. This book examines the desegregation experience of the "school districts where desegregation began."²⁶ These cities were Washington, D.C., Prince Edward County, Virginia, Clarendon County, South Carolina, New Castle County, Delaware, and Topeka, Kansas. Simultaneously, Wolters looks at the issues of resistance, freedom of choice, and busing within these school districts. Overall, however, this study reinforces the concept that school segregation did not end in 1954 with *Brown*. Wolters claims that *Brown* was a failure at achieving integration, even in the five school districts for which it was meant.²⁷

In a publication thirteen years later, Joseph Watras contributes to the desegregation conversation through the analysis of the desegregation plan in place in Dayton, Ohio. This book places a special focus on the integration of schools in Dayton, but Watras claims that "it reflects the national experiences and moods" regarding integration during this forty-year period.²⁸ As Watras examines the process of desegregation in Dayton, he also provides the national context with regards to the federal courts, school desegregation, and religion. In all, this book shows how Cincinnati and Dayton can be compared because the Cincinnati Board of Education's 1973 resolution was based on a plan implemented years earlier in Dayton. Cincinnati is also mentioned in this book with regard to

magnet schools and integration. [This work has been placed within the theme of the legal aspects of desegregation because of its focus on how Dayton desegregated through the court system.] According to Watras, "Dayton's legal case was important."²⁹ Like in Cincinnati, the desegregation battle was in the court system.

One of the most recent sources that concern the desegregation of public schools was written by Raymond Wolters. Twenty-four years after his other book concerning school desegregation, this monograph provides a holistic view of the process of school desegregation from the *Brown* decision of 1954 to the 21st century.³⁰ This is one of the only secondary sources on school integration that is recent enough to extend into today's society, and it is helpful in this respect. Wolters immediately places himself in opposition to scholarship that currently does not distinguish between active "integration" and the more passive "desegregation." This distinction is Wolters' contribution to the field as he examines the development in educational reform to early desegregation efforts (*Brown*) to later efforts for true integration (*Swann, Green*) through court cases. Wolters also interacts with other educational historians such as Diane Ravitch, Robert A. Garda, and others. Although Cincinnati schools are never specifically mentioned, this book provides an important look at the national efforts for integration over a wide length of time into today. Wolters takes an "inductive" approach, basing his conclusions on what actually happened in several individual cases.³¹ Through his analysis of court cases over several decades in several cities, Wolters found that integration has ultimately been a failure because of the limits of the court system. Like Barker and Barker writing in 1965, Wolters sees that administrators play a large role in desegregation and integration. It is the administrators' responsibilities to devise and implement effective planning for desegregation in the schools. Many different types of plans have been enacted throughout the years in various school districts across the North, including, but not limited to, alternative, or magnet, schools and busing of pupils.

As a final category of recognizable themes within the historiography surrounding school

²⁴ J. Harvie Wilkinson, *From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and School Integration: 1954-1978* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), 8.

²⁵ Wilkinson, 308.

²⁶ Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 3.

²⁷ Wolters, *Burden*, 273.

²⁸ Joseph Watras, *Politics, Race, and Schools: Racial Integration, 1954-1994* (NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), xii.

²⁹ Watras, xiii. The legal case was important because "during the appeals process, the federal courts clarified the relationship between a court of appeals and a federal district court" (xiii).

³⁰ Raymond Wolters, *Race and Education: 1954-2007* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008).

³¹ Wolters, *Race*, 9.

desegregation is the scholarship about desegregation plans, namely magnet schools and forced busing.³² Because these strategies for desegregation were not created until the late 1960s in the North, much of the existing scholarship was written beginning in the 1970s. One such work was written by Albert I. Hermalin and Reynolds Farley in 1973 in the midst of the “busing controversy” in the Northern United States.³³ This paper provides insight into the *white* perspective of the time period by looking at white receptiveness to residential and school integration. The authors blame residential segregation on the actions and attitudes that have “restricted the entry of blacks into predominately white neighborhoods,” despite the fact that blacks would rather live in racially mixed neighborhoods than in all-black neighborhoods.³⁴ Through their research, the authors found that whites were becoming more receptive to integration. With this, they call for the potential full integration of public schools, which according to Hermalin and Farley, would end the need for busing to achieve integration.³⁵

Also writing about the busing controversy, Gary Orfield provided scholars with a look at the busing issue as it relates to policies across the nation. This monograph, *Must We Bus?*, looks exclusively at the busing issue that arose at the end of the 1960s and extended through the 70s. The book is centered around two questions that “have received little systematic study”: has the court defined an integration policy that *can* be implemented? and will the constitutional requirements outlined by the courts by implemented?³⁶ In other words, can a judiciary actually transform public schools from the courtroom? Orfield aims to answer these questions through the analysis of national policy through the 60s and 70s, most notably including the effects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Orfield ultimately

³² I have chosen these two desegregation plans in particular because they correlate with some of the strategies used during the process of desegregation in Cincinnati.

³³ Albert I. Hermalin and Reynolds Farley, “The Potential for Residential Integration in Cities and Suburbs: Implications for the Busing Controversy,” *American Sociological Review* 38:5 (1973), 595-610. This source is considered secondary because it provides much background on the movement of the 1960s to expand civil rights despite the tradition of residential segregation and neighborhood schools. The busing controversy arose out of the attempts of schools to expand civil rights to blacks through busing black children to “white” schools and vice versa; it was an attempt to overcome residential segregation.

³⁴ Hermalin and Farley, 608.

³⁵ The fact that this was written in 1973 indicates that the research did not necessarily have far-reaching effects since residential segregation still existed in many cities through the 1990s.

³⁶ Gary Orfield, *Must We Bus?: Segregated Schools and National Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1978), 3.

comes to the conclusion that busing is the only suitable solution available if true racial integration was to be achieved in the schools. Orfield uses numerous court cases and Congressional records to construct his argument. He also interacts with existing scholarship largely in the footnotes. Authors like Herbst and Rossell are mentioned. Overall, Orfield argues for the development of public policy that is positively committed to national integration, particularly in metropolitan areas. He sees this as the major issue of “our generation” that requires much more action.³⁷

Bringing the conversation surrounding desegregation strategies into the 1990s, Christine Rossell wrote a commentary on the strategies of magnet schools and forced busing. In this book, Rossell compares the desegregation effectiveness of voluntary plans to mandatory reassignment plans, both with magnet schools in the late 1970s. First, Rossell provides an analysis of the evolution of school desegregation, followed by an in-depth comparison of voluntary versus mandatory magnet schools. She comes to the conclusion that voluntary plans with incentives produce more desegregation and thus are more effective than mandatory plans.³⁸ Rossell discusses the schools in many cities, and Cincinnati is mentioned several times throughout the book. Despite some successes in other cities, Rossell points out that Cincinnati schools had the “least successful magnet-voluntary plan” in the 1970s. What she maintains, however, is that by the early 1990s, the conditions in Cincinnati were favorable for an expansion of the desegregation plan.³⁹

In 1992, Brian L. Fife published an analysis of the struggle for desegregation in both the North and South, providing comparisons of integration plans of twenty school districts across the nation.⁴⁰ Among these integration plans are the magnet schools and the forced busing policies. Fife details the plans implemented in many school districts, including Cincinnati Public Schools, arguing that Cincinnati did not start a desegregation plan until 1973 which included magnet schools, majority to minority (M to M) transfers and rezoning.⁴¹ Throughout

³⁷ Orfield, *Must*, 455.

³⁸ Christine H. Rossell, *The Carrot of the Stick for School Desegregation Policy: Magnet Schools or Forced Busing* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990), 26-27. Rossell claims that she is the first to make this argument in existing historiography.

³⁹ Rossell, 64.

⁴⁰ Brian L. Fife, *Desegregation in American Schools: Comparative Intervention Strategies*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1992.

⁴¹ Fife, 41.

the book, Fife interacts with works from Rossell, Orfield, Farley, and Clotfelter; he uses the works of these historians to support his own arguments. Overall, Fife argues that the most coercive school desegregation plans were the most successful; it is with this evidence that he deems the Cincinnati desegregation plans “unsuccessful” compared with other Northern school districts.⁴² This is all based on the fact that, if given the choice, whites will not choose to mix with other racial groups. This finding conflicts with the claims of Hermalin and Farley, who argued that whites were ready for integration in the 1970s.

When it comes to historians who have written solely about Cincinnati school desegregation, the field is much narrower. While Cincinnati is a case study within the studies done by other historians, it is rare to find a work that concentrates specifically on Cincinnati. Nevertheless, these works still exist, and largely focus on the black struggle for quality education in Cincinnati. Within these works, however, it is possible to recognize how, at times, Cincinnati’s desegregation experience mirrors that of other Northern cities. Nevertheless, this research demonstrates that Cincinnati is different in its continued struggle between the NAACP and the school board. One of the earliest sources that concerns Cincinnati is J. Milton Yinger’s unpublished essay on the desegregation of Cincinnati schools. While it is not published, its contents were used in Harry Ashmore’s 1954 book, *The Negro and the Schools*.⁴³ Because it was difficult to access Yinger’s full memorandum, the information concerning Cincinnati in Ashmore’s book provides a relevant look at the efforts of desegregation in Cincinnati as they were in 1954. This information provides significant background on the process; Cincinnati integrated its faculty before its pupils, and by 1953, seven different schools had a 50-50 integrated faculty. Ashmore also comments on the early failures of Cincinnati desegregation, claiming that the first four “districtings” resulted in no change because they occurred in all-Negro neighborhoods.⁴⁴ It is in this that we see the first attempts at the Cincinnati school board to avoid desegregation.

⁴² Fife, 137. The other school districts that were more successful were in Dayton, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and San Bernardino.

⁴³ Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1954). Throughout the book is information from: J. Milton Yinger, “A Memorandum on Negro-white Integration in the Cincinnati Public Schools, 1953.”

⁴⁴ Ashmore, 72.

By the time that lawsuits were brought about in Cincinnati in the 1960s and 70s, some scholars began to write about the legal battle for desegregation in Cincinnati. In 1977, Virginia K. Griffin wrote an essay in which she provided the legal background on desegregation in Cincinnati. As part of a larger anthology of essays on race and urban schools, Griffin’s essay provides important historical background on the ongoing process of desegregation in Cincinnati, beginning in 1963 with the *Deal* case. Using mostly information from court cases, Griffin makes the argument that Cincinnati has done the correct measures to provide “quality integrated education” through magnet and alternative schools.⁴⁵ Because she was writing in 1977, Griffin cannot yet foresee how these desegregation efforts may fail.

It was not until 1984 that a full-length study of the desegregation process of Cincinnati was published. In his dissertation, Michael H. Washington wrote about Cincinnati schools during the twenty years after *Brown*.⁴⁶ In this dissertation, Washington looks specifically at the evolution of the perceptions of Blacks during the time period and their views of the Cincinnati Board of Education as they changed from the last third of the nineteenth century into the 1970s. Washington provides essential historical background, beginning in 1870, as he traces the black responses to segregation in Cincinnati. Washington used newspaper articles, interviews, court cases, and school board reports to support his claims.⁴⁷

Published in the same year, the information from Washington’s dissertation was included in a compilation of essays edited by Marvin J. Belowitz and Ronald S. Edari.⁴⁸ In this paper, Washington traces the development of *de facto* segregation through the creation of black ghettos and the neighborhood-school policy in Cincinnati. He also argues that the federal government provided the appropriate atmosphere to support the legitimacy

⁴⁵ Virginia K. Griffin, “Desegregation in Cincinnati: The Legal Background,” in *The Future of Big-City Schools: Desegregation Policies and Magnet Alternatives*, eds. Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst (Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1977), 93.

⁴⁶ Michael H. Washington, “The Black Struggle for Desegregated Quality Education: Cincinnati, Ohio, 1954-1974,” PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1984. Microfilm.

⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no bibliography was provided on the microform copy that I have acquired from OhioLink.

⁴⁸ Michael H. Washington, “Historical Analysis of the Black Struggle for Desegregated Quality Education: Cincinnati, 1954-1974,” in *Racism and the Denial of Human Rights: Beyond Ethnicity*, eds. Marvin J. Belowitz and Ronald S. Edari (Minneapolis, MN: MEP Publications, 1984), 116-128.

of this residential segregation. Washington uses the 1954-1973 timeframe to demonstrate the years in which the Cincinnati school board drew on the neighborhood-school plan to deliberately maintain *de facto* segregation. Overall, Washington provides an intensive look at the efforts of the Cincinnati School Board to maintain segregation despite the black struggle for integration that followed the Brown decision through the use of school consolidation, alternative schools, and the neighborhood-school concept.

Following the publication of Washington's dissertation in 1984, two other University of Cincinnati students wrote doctoral dissertations concerning the process of desegregation of Cincinnati's schools. First, Charles C. Jackson wrote specifically on the programs proposed by the Cincinnati school board as they attempted to comply with the NAACP's wishes.⁴⁹ Where Jackson's work differs from Washington's is in his selection of years to study. While Washington studied the first twenty years after *Brown*, Jackson chose to pick up where Washington left off and study the years 1974-1988. Jackson analyzes the strides in desegregation made by the Cincinnati School Board after the election of the conservative school board in 1974. Within his dissertation, Jackson examines the implementation of the Alternative School Program by the conservative school board and the resulting actions by the black community and the NAACP in the years that followed. This doctorate of education dissertation by Jackson serves as a partial basis for the subsequent study completed by Erkins in 2002.

Esther Kay Erkins expanded on the information written by Jackson in her 2002 dissertation, which included research on the years 1974-1994.⁵⁰ In this dissertation, Erkins specifically analyzes the years 1974 to 1994 in order to study the effectiveness of the desegregation programming implemented by the district that took place during that twenty-year period, or the Bronson Settlement. Erkins concludes that the progress toward desegregation was minimal as a result of the programming. This places her in agreement with Rossell, who wrote that desegregation programs were a failure in Cincinnati.

⁴⁹ Charles C. Jackson, "The Struggle for Quality Desegregated Education Beyond the Alternative School Program: Cincinnati, Ohio 1974-1988," PhD Diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988. We see the influence of Washington in Jackson's use of "struggle," and "quality desegregated education."

⁵⁰ Esther Kay Erkins, "A Case Study of Desegregation in Cincinnati Public Schools: 1974-1994," PhD. Diss., University of Cincinnati, 2002.

Erkins has a lengthy bibliography, as she interacts with sources from Berlowitz and Sapp, Farley, Jackson, Orfield, Rossell, Washington, and Watras. Erkins also researched many newspaper articles from *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Cincinnati Post*, and the *Cincinnati Post and Times Star*, providing her with concrete primary sources to support her argument that the Bronson Settlement did not have a large positive effect on school desegregation in Cincinnati.

One of the most recent sources written about desegregation of schools in Cincinnati was written in 2005 by Thomas A. Kessinger. Kessinger examines the Cincinnati desegregation court cases of *Deal* (1963) and *Bronson* (1974) with the goal of comparing them and understanding if any gains were made in the effort to full integration of blacks into public schools. With background information on the racial climate regarding education in Cincinnati, Kessinger enters into a discussion of the efforts by black people to gain quality education through the court system. He comes to the conclusion that *Deal* negatively affected *Bronson* and no gains were made from either court case. Kessinger mentions two major works concerning the struggle for integrated education in Cincinnati: those by Jackson and Washington and uses them in his background section. Other sources used were newspaper articles and Board of Education proceedings. A negative aspect of the article, however, is in Kessinger's implication that Cincinnati was legally segregated before the Brown decision.⁵¹ This is a minor error, however, in that the entirety of the essay provides an informative view on the legal aspects of desegregation in Cincinnati.

Many historians have written about the subject of desegregation in education, and Cincinnati has often been a case study for this type of research. As a Northern city with a "Southern exposure," Cincinnati's desegregation experience has not been one without conflict.⁵² The existing historiography covers aspects of *de facto* segregation including legal issues as well as strategies to implement desegregation. Even though racial isolation and segregation was supposed to end across the nation with the passing of *Brown*, historians have understood that racial segregation existed on a wide scale for decades after the 1954 decision. This group includes historians who have written about Cincinnati Public Schools and their own battle for true equality in education.

⁵¹ Thomas A. Kessinger, "Legal Efforts Toward Desegregation of Education in Cincinnati," *American Educational History Journal* 32:1 (2005), 86.

⁵² Ashmore, 71.

Cincinnati: De Facto Segregation Immediately Following Brown

Despite *Brown's* legendary denunciation of separate but equal facilities and racial discrimination in education, Cincinnati Public Schools remained in the midst of an entrenched system of segregated schools. Between the years 1954 and 1963, the Cincinnati School Board engaged in various practices that were meant to strengthen segregation in the face of the abolishment of *de jure* segregation occurring in the South. Because of these practices, the Cincinnati school district became *more* segregated than it was before the 1954 *Brown* decision.⁵³ This active avoidance of desegregation takes many forms, and, until the *Deal* court case of 1963, went largely unchallenged by the black community of Cincinnati.

One of the discriminatory, segregationist practices that was implemented by the school board before *Deal* was the closing of schools and reassigning of students in order to appear to comply with the dictates of *Brown*. After *Brown* was passed, seven existing "colony" schools were closed and those students were reassigned to other schools.⁵⁴ These students were not dispersed throughout the school system, however, but placed in other predominantly black schools. This perpetuation of segregation was mirrored in the closing and reassigning in the white schools as well. Overall, as Erkins states, "the cumulative impact of these patterns of student reassignment was increased and intensified segregation in the Cincinnati School District."⁵⁵

Another ploy used by the school board to maintain segregated schools was its selective location and construction of new schools. Growing out of the need to close schools, the Cincinnati School District also had to build new schools across the city rather than just simply reassigning all of the students. As an example, Charles Jackson points out the location of Millvale Elementary, which was constructed near the public housing project and was built to serve black students only. Millvale was among several other schools in the Cincinnati area that were purposefully built near public housing projects, causing the facilities to

be predominantly black.⁵⁶ The same ideology of maintaining segregation drove the construction of schools in the West End of Cincinnati, where Porter Junior High School and Hays Elementary were built to hold 1,500 displaced black students in February of 1954. At this time, there were only two white students enrolled in Porter, "and plans were being made by the administration to allow the less than sixty-six white students attending Hays to receive permissive transfers to other schools if they objected to being taught by black teachers."⁵⁷ On the eve of the Supreme Court decision to outlaw segregation in education, the Cincinnati school board made plans to maintain and even increase racial segregation, and as Washington points out, did it with considerable symbolism in favor of segregated education: the schools were both named after two historical figures that were in favor of placing black youths in separate public education, Jennie D. Porter and George W. Hays.⁵⁸

Along with intentionally building schools in black and white neighborhoods, the school board also created boundaries and attendance zones that were meant to corral black youth into certain schools, which, according to the Erkins, represented the most deliberate example of the school board's plan to maintain and intensify segregation.⁵⁹ These zones were drawn as geographical areas that were meant to create attendance in schools that was exclusively a single race. The school board used these attendance zones to replicate the residential patterns that were found throughout the city. Because blacks and whites did not often live side-by-side in all areas of the city, the attendance zones were effective in perpetuating segregation into the 1960s.⁶⁰

These policies, among many others, were part of the neighborhood-school policy that was followed strictly by the city of Cincinnati from 1954 through the mid-1960s. This policy maintained the city's black population in certain areas, allowing them to only attend designated schools. The inability of blacks to move into new areas was due to the white "Relocation Department" that was attempting to "keep Blacks hemmed in."⁶¹ Therefore, the school board was able to maintain

⁵³ Erkins, 100.

⁵⁴ Erkins, 100-101. The colony school system was designed to maintain segregated schools. All of the colony schools were 100 percent black. Their existence was in conflict with *Brown* and after the decision in 1954, they were forced to be dismantled.

⁵⁵ Erkins, 102.

⁵⁶ Jackson, 100. The public housing projects were where a majority of Cincinnati's black population lived. The other schools include Winton Terrace Elementary, Douglas, Burdett, Rockdale, and Peasee Elementary schools, Taft High, Heinold and Sawyer Junior High schools.

⁵⁷ Washington, *Historical*, 121.

⁵⁸ Washington, *Historical*, 121.

⁵⁹ Erkins, 105.

⁶⁰ Erkins, 111.

⁶¹ Washington, *Historical*, 119.

an intentional policy of *de facto* segregation using the segregated housing policies that were in place in the city, claiming that the schools should be located where they were most convenient for the largest number of students. By the early- to mid-1960s, Cincinnati's black population was increasingly dissatisfied with the presence of segregated schools and what they saw as unequal education for children of different races. It was by this time that the NAACP in Cincinnati began to take action against the segregationist school board, both through the court system and through the citizens in the city. The NAACP was seen as an organized voice for the students discriminated against as well as their dissatisfied parents. Their role was paramount in bringing the unrest of the community to the attention of the school board. As an organization working toward equality, the NAACP was a lead player and a source of power and influence for the citizens of Cincinnati.

The NAACP, the Deal Case, and the Community

It wasn't until 1963 that the first evidence of the NAACP's involvement in desegregating Cincinnati's schools appears. Because of the intensification of segregation committed by the school board during the nearly ten years after *Brown*, the NAACP and the city's black population could no longer remain stagnant. On November 6, 1963, the NAACP filed suit against the Cincinnati Board of Education (CBOE) under the name of Tina Deal on behalf of several families affected by a segregation issue in the city's schools. The initial reasons for the case are best explained in the NAACP Education Committee records:

On September 3, 1963, approximately 100 Negro Children transferred from Evanston School (a 99% Negro school) were retained intact in all-Negro classes in Oakley Elementary School rather than distributed among the student body and were segregated at recesses... On September 3, 1963, Mrs. Jacqueline Stonom, on behalf of Yolanda Stonom, and Mrs. Joan Woody, on behalf of Gregory Woody, went to the Board of Education office and attempted to have their children transferred out of the Oakley School because of segregated classes. A representative of the Board in charge of transfers refused this

request. On the same date, these two parties went to the attendance center and requested that their children be transferred to Hyde Park Elementary (a 95% white school) because of practices of segregation at Oakley. This transfer of request was denied by a Mr. Ranhlesburg who said he was in charge of the transfers for the schools involved... On September 9, 1963, at a public board meeting, the CBOE again refused to abandon segregating the Negro students transferred to Oakley from the Evanston School.⁶²

The continual refusal by the school board to transfer students on the basis of segregation was seen as a blatant violation of the constitutional rights of the black children, who were being forced to have segregated classes, recesses, and lunch periods at the Oakley school.⁶³ Furthermore, the NAACP saw inherent inequalities between the predominantly white schools and the predominantly black schools; they pointed out the fact that the school board was selective in its drawing of district attendance zones that they were "disabling members of the Negro race from attending school with white students...[and] setting up special college preparatory courses for virtually all-white schools and not establishing the same for the virtually all-Negro schools..."⁶⁴ These complaints of obvious discrimination and racism from the NAACP were not made known only in the court system, but also through public relations and by reaching out to the citizens of Cincinnati continually throughout the 1960s.

With the support of civil rights groups, community groups, and labor unions, the black community of Cincinnati staged an immense struggle in opposition to the segregationist policies put in place by the CBOE.⁶⁵ One demonstration that correlates directly with the complaints brought about in the *Deal* case took place in September of 1963. During this display of discontent, members of the Cincinnati Branch of the NAACP and parents staged a picket protest in front of the Oakley

⁶² "Tina Deal, et al vs. Cincinnati Board of Education, et al," 1963, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 2, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁶³ Jackson, 106.

⁶⁴ "Tina Deal, et al vs. Cincinnati Board of Education, et al," 1963, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 2, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁶⁵ Washington, *Historical*, 122.

School in “an orderly demonstration against what they call ‘de facto segregation.’”⁶⁶ This nonviolent protest served to raise awareness and work toward equality in education. It was followed by another large-scale protest during October of the same year. On October 27, local civil-rights activists arranged the largest march for civil rights in Cincinnati history, where up to 30,000 people marched from Washington Park to Fountain Square carrying signs with public statements in opposition to Jim Crow racial policies, one of which was segregated education.⁶⁷ These demonstrations in Cincinnati are representative of the wider civil rights movement sweeping the nation at the time period. The year before the Civil Rights Act was passed, 1963 featured the publication of Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” as well as the famous March on Washington in August. These nationwide events may have served as inspiration for the NAACP and citizens in Cincinnati as they exercised their rights to protest and fight injustice.

The widespread conviction that Cincinnati schools were unlawfully segregated lasted through the *Deal* court case, which began in November of 1963. In October of 1964, black reporter for the *Cincinnati Herald*, Marjorie Porter wrote a short article to the community, stating the beliefs of the staff at the all-black newspaper: “We [at the herald] DO BELIEVE that de facto segregation exists in the Cincinnati School System and that every effort must be expediently made by Neighborhood and Parent-Teacher groups, Civil Rights organizations, and the Board of Education and, above all, housing authorities, to correct it.”⁶⁸

The newspapers were not the only way for parents of students to learn about the views of the black community within Cincinnati. On more than one occasion throughout the hearings of the *Deal* case, the NAACP contacted parents, calling for action and making public their discontent and their struggle against the CBOE. In February of 1964, the Vice President of the Cincinnati NAACP, Lucille Green, wrote a letter appealing to parents to keep their children out of school on February 11th of that year; on this day, the NAACP organized a city-wide boycott of public schools in order to get

the attention of the school board. Green even went so far as to deliberately call out the school board, saying that, “You also know that segregated schools breed bad racial attitudes. If we are to have better schools, we must have integrated schools. But the Board of Education has not even admitted that we have a problem. And the Board never will, unless we act.”⁶⁹ The language employed by Green played on the emotions of the parents, calling them to either act or lose their children to racism and inadequate educations. In a similar letter about one month later, the NAACP again wrote to parents. In this letter, the NAACP reassured the parents that the *Deal* case was being fought with the highest regard to the children’s education and that “the rights of [the parent’s] child will be protected” and a settlement would be reached.⁷⁰

Finally, the NAACP also reached out for support to members of the community who were not specifically parents during the 1960s. This is evident in a phone-call script written for NAACP volunteers. In the script, the NAACP brings to light the conflict that is occurring between their organization and the school board: “We feel that our Negro children are being denied their Constitutional rights for an equal education. The Problem is that the Board is crowding Negro children in Negro schools. They are building new schools in all white or all Negro areas.”⁷¹ Again directly calling out the school board, the NAACP paints a picture of good versus evil; the citizens should join the “good” side and fight against inequality. The script ends with a plea for support of desegregating “our children.”⁷² This almost constant communication between the NAACP and Cincinnati’s community demonstrates how the NAACP took an active role in fighting the school board’s avoidance of desegregation.

Nearly two years after the *Deal* lawsuit began, the case went to trial on June 15, 1965, and ended

⁶⁶ “NAACP to Meet with School Board,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Sept. 4, 1963, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 3, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁶⁷ Washington, *Historical*, 122.

⁶⁸ Marjorie B. Porter, “Across My Desk,” *The Cincinnati Herald*, October 31, 1964, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 5, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁶⁹ Lucille Green, Letter to Parents, February, 1964, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 6, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁷⁰ NAACP Letter to Parents, March 4, 1964, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 5, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. The letter also congratulates the parents on the “fine” way that they have acted during the trial so far.

⁷¹ NAACP Phone Call Script, no date, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 12, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Because this source does not have an exact date, I have placed it within the *Deal* years because of an earlier sentence in the source: “We feel that our Negro children are being denied their Constitutional rights for an equal education.” This is the same language used in the *Deal* case with regards to constitutionality and segregation, as mentioned in the sentence for footnote 63.

⁷² NAACP Phone Call Script.

about a month after starting. The judge ruled in favor of the school board, claiming that the school board had no constitutional duty to transfer classes for the sole purpose of race and that the NAACP had not shown sufficient evidence to prove that *de facto* segregation existed. Despite an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals, the court continued to rule in favor of the school board.⁷³ Instead of abolishing the *de facto* segregation in the public schools, the court indirectly provided its support for the CBOE and permitted the board to legitimately enforce the neighborhood-school policy that contributed to segregation.⁷⁴ This victory for the school board did not end the community's discontent with the racial imbalance of the schools, however. The school board was still held responsible by members of the community who continued to see the discriminatory practices that the board upheld. In spite of the efforts of individuals and organizations in the Cincinnati community, the school board continued to deny responsibility for the segregated conditions of the schools.⁷⁵ The unrelenting issue of segregation in the schools eventually led to a brief change in board politics in the early 1970s that featured the emerging leadership of Cincinnati's black community.

The Cincinnati Board of Education in the 1970s

Prior to 1969, the Cincinnati school board only had one African-American member. By 1971, however, two new African-Americans changed the way that the school board conducted business. Ronald Temple and Tecumseh Graham provided leadership in the way of outspoken criticisms against the previous board's actions with regards to segregation. Overall, the board had changed from its prior conservative agenda to enter into a "brief period of liberal domination."⁷⁶ In agreement, the now-liberal school board could fully and responsibly tackle the issue of segregated education. Their actions took the form of a plan known as the "December 10 Resolution," which included a full-fledged strategy that had the potential of making large-scale changes in the district. Based on the strategy employed by Dayton City Schools, the

December 10 Resolution "prescribed a racial and income balance for each school" with a sketch of the "administrative and financial machinery to accomplish" the goals, noting that "transportation could be one of the tools."⁷⁷ The plan included several program and policy suggestions, including the immediate cancellation of attendance zones, a complete redistricting, and full desegregation by September 1, 1974. The resolution passed, and the school board was finally poised to begin programming that could lead to the complete desegregation in Cincinnati schools. This possibility came to a shattering halt, however, with the election of a new school board in November of 1973.⁷⁸ To the despair of the NAACP, the newly-elected school board was harshly conservative and one of its immediate actions was to set aside and disregard the December 10 Resolution passed by the previous board. The new board knew that its actions were essentially unjust, but continued in hope of evading a lawsuit: "By not rescinding the plan outright – an action which courts have held to be unconstitutional – the conservatives hope to avoid a lawsuit... Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, said in Washington Friday a 'close eye' will be kept on the new board's actions."⁷⁹ It is in this and subsequent actions that it is possible to see how the school board *actively* avoided full desegregation despite that fact that it was completely possible.⁸⁰ Together, they decided not to enact the December 10 Resolution because of its inadequacy, calling it "incomplete, inaccurate, misleading, and erroneous with respect to both matters of fact and matters of law."⁸¹ Instead of adopting or revising the December 10 Resolution, the new board met in January of 1974 and created an alternative-school plan in an effort to avoid desegregation.

The new board's January Resolution was much less comprehensive than the December

⁷³ Erkins, 116-117. Jackson, 109. An attempt to take the case to the Supreme Court failed.

⁷⁴ Jackson, 110.

⁷⁵ Erkins, 120. The organizations putting forth efforts against the school board included the NAACP, the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, the Cincinnati School Foundation, and others. Nationally, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare also indicated that segregation had worsened in Cincinnati.

⁷⁶ Erkins, 122, 127.

⁷⁷ Fred E. Ewing, Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, "Information Paper: Developments in School Desegregation Case *Mona Bronson v. Cincinnati Board of Education*," November 24, 1975, Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 8, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁷⁸ Erkins, 131.

⁷⁹ David Bauer, "New Board to ignore Desegregation Plan," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 12, 1974, Mary T. Schloss Papers, MSS 881, Box 8, Folder 6, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸⁰ The fact that the plan was already created and set in place for this new school board reinforces the argument that they did not want to accept desegregation even though the work was already done for them.

⁸¹ "Findings of the 1974 CBOE and Plan for Quality Integrated Education," NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 16, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

10th plan and was later called the “Voluntary Integration Plan.” The major goals of the new resolution included racial balance of the staff, open enrollment to improve racial balance, alternative schools, and program improvements such as reading enrichment, restoration of secondary schools hours from 120 to 160, and other proposals.⁸² What was eventually implemented, however, was only open enrollment, expansion of alternative programs, and faculty integration. The results from this new plan were drastically different from the goals of liberal December 10 Resolution.⁸³ Appealing more to the members of the segregationist white community, this new plan sparked a second lawsuit filed by the NAACP against the school board in yet another attempt to achieve racial balance and equality in education.

The Bronson Case: The NAACP Continues the Struggle

In 1974, the NAACP once again filed suit against the school board in an attempt to achieve full desegregation. The purpose of this second suit was to force the school board to implement the December 10 Resolution, halt the construction of new schools, and to assign staff to new schools based on the racial balance of the district. This time, the NAACP filed on behalf of Mona Bronson and other black students and was equipped with support from the Cincinnati community and the national NAACP. *Bronson v. Cincinnati* provided an opportunity for the NAACP to revisit issues relevant to *Deal* as well as an opportunity for the national chapter to work on a metropolitan case that was similar to various urban Northern school districts.⁸⁴ In an official statement, the national NAACP claimed that they and all NAACP “units” would take action to inform parents, students, and organizations of the negative effects that the school board’s actions would have on “delaying the march of minority communities from Jim Crow public schools to quality desegregated education.”⁸⁵ The national NAACP took part in many desegregation cases throughout the North in the 1970s, and they were

active in supporting chapters throughout the nation in their attempts to gain equality in education.

This national support system was aided by a solid foundation of support from organizations in Cincinnati. For example, the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT) expressed their support of the NAACP and intended to file as a “friend of the court brief on the side of the NAACP” in its suit against segregation.⁸⁶ The NAACP had sufficient support from community members as well. On February 20, 1974, Cincinnati Public School teachers staged a protest against the conservative schools board’s plan for setting aside the December 10 Resolution in favor of a faculty integration plan, something that they believed was a “smoke screen to divert attention” from their controversial decision of not implementing the December 10 plan.⁸⁷ The NAACP was confident in its case, as evident in a 1980 News Release in which the NAACP rallied for more support and stated, “. . .we have no more time for voluntary, non constitutional proceedings. The Cincinnati School Board will lose its case in court.”⁸⁸ Declaring to the community that their position was just and legal, and would win in the court, the NAACP again painted the school board as the loser in the legal battle over desegregation.

Additionally, members of the community knew that the voluntary integration plan of the new board was ineffective, and made their comments known to the NAACP. In a request for assistance in 1979, a black parent wrote to the NAACP, stating that in her attempt to take part in the open enrollment plan put in place by the new board, her children were denied acceptance to Western Hills High School, despite the fact that the school had not yet reached the 60/40 ratio of racial balance that was desired by the courts. In a blatant attack on the neighborhood-school plan, she then wrote, “The high school in the community in which we live is Hughes, however I do not wish to send my children to Hughes because it would be detrimental to there [sic] education after attending a quality school.”⁸⁹

⁸² Fred E. Ewing, Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, “Information Paper: Developments in School Desegregation Case *Mona Bronson v. Cincinnati Board of Education*,” November 24, 1975, Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 8, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸³ Erkins, 134.

⁸⁴ Kessinger, 89.

⁸⁵ “1975-6 National Position of the NAACP,” Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 8, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸⁶ “A Typed Motion to Refer a CFT Paper on Desegregation to the CFT Human Rights Committee,” Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 9, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸⁷ Jackson, 113.

⁸⁸ “NAACP News Release,” April 21, 1981, Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 11, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸⁹ “Complaint/Request for Assistance,” December 7, 1979, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 19, Folder 28, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. This complaint came about in the midst of the *Bronson* case and points to the inefficiency of the alternative plan put in place by the new school board.

The NAACP was backed with this community support, proving to them that they were justified in their efforts against the new plan of the school board.

All of this community support for the NAACP does not mean that there were no Cincinnati citizens that were rooting for the school board to prevail in their segregationist policies. There was a portion of the Cincinnati population that was against desegregation and the use of busing to achieve it. One organization, Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS), made an announcement in 1974 that it would intervene in the lawsuit brought against the school board in order to “assert to the court that there is a large class of people in the Cincinnati School District currently not represented in the suit who are opposed to the ‘relief plaintiffs’ request in the suit and massive busing as a means of establishing racial balance.”⁹⁰ The people of Cincinnati were deeply divided on this issue, and had been for years. The schism between community members reflects the decades-long conflict between the NAACP and the school board as they each defended and worked toward their respective racial and educational interests.

After the *Bronson* suit was initiated, it took ten years of deliberation before reaching a conclusion. The settling of the desegregation suit was paramount in the minds of people affected by the situation. Professor of Education at the University of Cincinnati, Hendrik D. Gideonse, set forth a plan for the ultimate conclusion of the suit in a paper written in 1980:

No single matter is more important...An acknowledgment that race remains a key problem in Cincinnati is first. Second is a forthright commitment by the Board to *lead* in the resolution of racial tensions, to reduce and remove racism and bigotry, and to help create, through affirmative action in its own domain of the schools, an open, free, and integrated community. These should be both administrative *and* curricular goals for the school. The goal is fairly easy to state and difficult to achieve. If the Board wanted to

accomplish such an end it could do so in the style recommended above.⁹¹

Like the NAACP, Gideonse also calls on the school board to take action against segregation, claiming that desegregation could be accomplished, but only if the school board *wanted* to. A fair conclusion to the trial would only come about if the board would be proactive in eliminating segregation. Like Gideonse wrote, however, the task is easier said than done. The majority of the contention in the *Bronson* suit involved the issue of whether or not the evidence prior to 1965 could be used since it was already used in the *Deal* case. It wasn't until 1982 that the court ruled that the NAACP would not be allowed to use such evidence; this decision seriously weakened the case of the NAACP.⁹²

After years of time and money, the case never even went to trial. In June 1984, the NAACP focused their attention on attempting to gain some “relief” from the discrimination that was perpetuated by the school board. This took the form of the Bronson Settlement, a consent decree entered into by the NAACP and the CBOE.⁹³ Meant to represent the twenty-year struggle by the black community to gain access to quality education in Cincinnati, the settlement would be enforced for the next seven years with the goal of reducing racial isolation. This was seen as inadequate to some, who believed that it was necessary to include sweeping changes to the district and address the problems brought about by the years of segregation. It was also criticized because it allowed the district to devise its own methods of desegregation within the seven years.⁹⁴ Even with the Bronson Settlement, the NAACP had not won its battle; the struggle for full desegregation and quality education for all would continue.

The Bronson Settlement included some of the programs that had been a part of the new school board's alternative plan, including an expansion of the then-current magnet, or alternative, school program. The voluntary magnet school program was one of the areas of the settlement that reflected progress in implementation, but it still had many

⁹¹ Hendrik D. Gideonse, “Cincinnati's Public School Problems: Setting Things Right,” January 7, 1980, NAACP Education Committee Records, Box 2, Folder 10, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁹² Kessinger, 90-91.

⁹³ Kessinger, 91.

⁹⁴ Erkins, 143.

⁹⁰ “NAACP Suit Opposed by Citizen Unit,” Unknown newspaper, 1974, Mary T. Schloss Papers, MSS 881, Box 8, Folder 3, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

critics in Cincinnati.⁹⁵ This critical and watchful eye over the CBOE from the community members was accompanied by a community-wide task force that was to provide the district with guidance on the implementation of the settlement plan. The task force, however, had no official powers over the school board and only served an advisory role.⁹⁶

Overall, the voluntary magnet school program was not as effective as it could have been and faced much criticism in the community. In the black community, many felt that the school district “swapped inequalities and created problems almost as grave as those they were intended to correct.”⁹⁷ Even though the students were placed in a position to attend the same schools, critics of the program felt that the black children still did not have the same access to education as the white children. In a letter from the Kennedy Heights Community Council, citizens complained that the magnet schools drew attention away from the neighborhood schools, where “achievement is low, discipline is poor, ... [and] Low teacher morale is an understatement.” They went on to say that many people have begun to “resent and lost faith in the Cincinnati Public School System.”⁹⁸

Despite these criticisms from Cincinnati citizens, the school board was released from federal oversight. After review in 1991, the district was released due to a reduction in racial isolation and faculty integration. In 1994, they were released for improved student discipline and improvements for the eight lowest-achieving schools.⁹⁹ After ten years of the Bronson Settlement, the school district was fully removed from federal oversight and given “unitary” status. This meant that the federal government had declared that the district had done all that it could to remedy historical problems created by segregation; in other words, nothing more could be done by the district to conquer segregation in Cincinnati.¹⁰⁰ In 1996, however, the NAACP attempted to reopen the *Bronson* case,

⁹⁵ Kessinger, 92. This progress is reflected in the fact that the number of magnet schools was increased for a greater capacity of desegregated students. The other successful aspect of the settlement that was implemented well was faculty integration. The poorly implemented aspects included unbiased discipline and programming in the district’s seven lowest-achieving schools.

⁹⁶ Erkins, 147.

⁹⁷ Krista Ramsey, “Debt Might End Progress: Schools Method of Desegregation Effective, Costly,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 29, 1991, quoted in Kessinger, 92.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, quoted in Erkins, 152.

⁹⁹ Erkins, 152.

¹⁰⁰ Kessinger, 92.

claiming that the board had never honored the commitment to address low achievement in the eight previously identified schools. Their attempts, however, never came to fruition and no more was officially done about desegregation in Cincinnati Public Schools. On the forty-second anniversary of the *Brown* decision, it seemed that the NAACP had concluded its battle with the school board with less-than ideal results; the full official desegregation of Cincinnati schools was never achieved. Working against an ingrained and strong barrier of racism, the NAACP had done all that it could to remedy *de facto* segregation. Today, we are only left with the question: does racial segregation still exist in Cincinnati schools?

Conclusion

“Feb., ’82: Moeller High School – Montgomery: Black student, who did not wish to be identified, told of problems trying to have some Black History observance. Volunteered to do bulletin board. Principal said “what’s the point?” “Oct., ’82: Colerain Senior High School: Parents feel their son gets no break on football team. Say they are not able to take the coach out to dinner as white parents do.”¹⁰¹ These quotes, handwritten by Cincinnati NAACP President Marian Spencer, demonstrate the subtle, but very real, ways in which black students were discriminated against in schools in Cincinnati. Black students faced incredible racism, even when the schools had been legally desegregated. Throughout the last half of the twentieth century, the NAACP continually fought for the full desegregation of schools, something that they believed could happen through the actions of the school board. The school board, however, often took measures to avoid desegregation, and ultimately prevailed when they were released from federal oversight in the 1990s. What are still most at stake are the educational opportunities of our nation’s children. According to professor of public policy, David L. Kirp, when the courts stopped overseeing desegregation plans in the 1990s, the black students in those communities began to perform at lower levels. Kirp, therefore, calls for revisiting the integration question that came about over fifty years ago.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ “NAACP Education Concerns,” Handwritten, Marian Spencer Papers, MSS 888, Box 2, Folder 15, Cincinnati History Library and Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

¹⁰² David L. Kirp, “Integration Worked: Why Have We Rejected It?” *The New York Times*, May 19, 2012, Sunday Review, Opinion Pages.

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The Cincinnati Reds and Racism

Melissa Gartner

Cincinnati, although technically a northern city, has been a racially tense city since before the Civil War began. The city has struggled with issues of race for over a hundred and fifty years. Similarly, the city's Major League Baseball team, the Cincinnati Reds, has also struggled with issues of race since the team was formed in 1869. In fact, Cincinnati has been exposed to African American players and teams since baseball began, even before the major leagues integrated. Historically, the Reds have not had a welcoming environment for African American players. Before and after integration, racist incidents occurred on the Reds team both on and off of the field. Even in recent decades, the Reds have had issues with racism within the club.

Issues of race in baseball came to Cincinnati long before the Reds became integrated. Cincinnati was one of the cities picked to have a Negro League team in 1887, yet the Cincinnati Browns, the Negro League Cincinnati team, never received enough support from the city in order to play any games.¹ This Negro League folded a few weeks later, most likely because it received no support from cities like Cincinnati. Clearly, Cincinnati was not a city open enough to have a Negro League's team. The Negro League players who barnstormed in Cincinnati did not find the city a welcoming atmosphere for blacks. When they visited the city, they were not allowed to stay in white hotels like they were in places such as Wisconsin. Instead, they were forced to stay in "the colored neighborhood and go to different people's houses."² Ted Radcliffe described the atmosphere in Cincinnati when he played for Gilkerson's Union Giants. He said that in places like Cincinnati "they thought we were kin to a muskrat."³ The city was

unwelcome to black players and clearly the African American that played there did not feel that they were treated like human beings.

In the early 1900s, the issue of race appeared again in Cincinnati, specifically regarding certain players that the Reds added to their roster. In 1911, the Reds signed Armando Marsans and Rafael Almeida, two light-skinned Cuban players who claimed that they did not have any black heritage. These two players had previously played on Negro League teams, and later it was discovered that Marsans was most likely half-black, with Almeida also having black ancestry.⁴ The Reds were able to bring these players onto their roster because they were Cuban, not African American, and their light skin made them passable as whites. Thus, as a result of the social stigmas of the time, darker skinned players who were not considered African American were socially acceptable.

Cincinnati eventually acquired a Negro League team, albeit for only a year. The Cincinnati Tigers played in the city from 1936-1937, at Crosley Field, the Reds' stadium. The Tigers were forced to enter the stadium through the back door, because they were black, and they played wearing the Reds' old uniforms. The team did not receive much recognition from the white community of Cincinnati, including the Reds' players themselves. Eddie Joost, a Reds player from 1936-1942, remarked that he "never had occasion to cross paths with (the Tigers)," and that he "just had no idea" that they even played at Crosley Field. Only African Americans really came out to see the Tigers, even when Negro League greats like Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige came to play them.⁵

¹ Phil Dixon and Patrick J. Hannigan, *The Negro Baseball Leagues: A Photographic History* (Mattituck, New York: Amereon Ltd, 1992), 63.

² Ted Radcliffe, "Ted 'Double Duty' Radcliffe," in *Voices from the Pastime*, ed. Nick Wilson (Jefferson, NCL McFarland & Company, 2000), 119.

³ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

⁴ Brent Kelley *Voices from the Negro Leagues: Conversations with 52 Baseball Standouts* (Jefferson NC: McFarland & Company, 1998), 258.

⁵ Greg Rhodes and John Erardi, *Cincinnati's Crosley Field* (Cincinnati: Road

The Reds, too, were not able to accept the fact that black players might be as talented or even more talented than Reds players of the time. In 1936, the Reds played a Negro League All-Star team in Puerto Rico in a winter barnstorming game. In the series, the Reds were “thumped” in both of the games by the Negro Leaguers. As a result of these embarrassing losses, “the Reds decided to play the Negro Leaguers no more.”⁶ The Reds players’ attitudes were extremely racist in this incident, unwilling to concede that black players might be better than them.

Cincinnati and the Reds were exposed to African-American Major League players even before the Reds integrated. In fact, in his first season with the Brooklyn Dodgers, Jackie Robinson played in Cincinnati, on May 13, 1947. The racial environment was extremely hostile against Jackie, since Cincinnati was still officially segregated in 1947. Moreover, as the Reds were the closest Major League team to many of the Southern states, there was a greater chance of Southerners attending Reds’ games. The appearance of Robinson sparked much controversy in the city, however; it also attracted many African American fans to the ballpark. Twenty-seven thousand fans attended the game, with a large portion of them being black. While he may have had the black fans’ support, Robinson was not well received by certain Reds’ players and most of the fans. For instance, Ewell Blackwell threw brushback pitches at Robinson and he faced much heckling when he went on the field.⁷ Therefore, Cincinnati was an extremely racially hostile environment for Robinson, not only in his first game there, but throughout the entire season.

Robinson was not alone in facing heckling by Cincinnati fans. Crosley Field was one of the worst fields for black players, both before and after the Reds integrated in 1954, in part due to the close proximity of certain seats to the field. African American player Hank Thompson remarked, “The worst fans were in Cincinnati. Whenever there was a lull, some loudmouth would yell: N***** or ‘black unprintable’ and you could hear it all over the place.”⁸ Reds fans, then, were some of the most un-accepting of black players before the team integrated, constantly yelling racial remarks and making African American players feel unwelcome.

The Reds were the seventh out of eight National League teams to integrate when they finally signed Chuck Harmon, an African American player, in 1954. For years prior to integration, the Reds management made many excuses for not signing a black player. For instance, in 1949 Warren Giles, the president of the Reds, said he believed that only “outstanding” African American players would be able to make it to the major leagues, and that there were not enough outstanding black players for every team to integrate right away.⁹ Another time, after the Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson in 1947, Reds’ manager Rogers Hornsby said “It won’t work out... ball players on the road live much closer together. It’s going to be more difficult for the Negro player to adjust himself to the life of a major league club, than for the white players to accept him.”¹⁰ He used the Major League Baseball environment as an excuse to maintain racist values and keep baseball segregated. The Reds were never going to be able to integrate under the racist management of Hornsby, who was considered “one of the most prejudiced, uncouth, thoughtless” managers the Reds had ever seen.¹¹ He was unwilling to accept any African American player, no matter how talented, simply because of race.

After Hornsby was fired in 1953, the opportunity for the Reds to integrate finally arose. The new manager, Birdie Tebbetts, decided to do so by promoting Chuck Harmon, a player chosen “because of personal qualities as much as talent.”¹² Harmon was not alone in integrating the Reds; Nino Escalera, a black Puerto Rican, was also added to the roster in 1954.¹³ The Reds and Cincinnati did not welcome Harmon and Escalera with open arms. Harmon was not allowed to remain in the lineup for more than a few games at a time; he would start for a few games and then be benched for no apparent reason.¹⁴ Harmon remarked: “with the Reds you weren’t in the lineup... You go out there and have a 3-for-4 day or something like that and the next day he’d [the manager] say ‘Well, I guess you’re out of the lineup today.’”¹⁵ This racist attitude did not allow him to develop successfully as a player or really learn how to play in the majors, both of which he should have been doing as a rookie in

⁹ Rick Swaine, *The Integration of Major League Baseball: A Team-by-Team History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2009), 157.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 160.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Kelley, *Voices from the Negro Leagues*, 225.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 231.

West Publishing, 1995), 88-89.

⁶ Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball’s Negro Leagues* (New York: Kodansha America, 1983), 123.

⁷ Rhodes and Erardi, *Cincinnati’s Crosley Field*, 120.

⁸ *Ibid.*

1954. When asked whether he had a fair shot on the Reds, Harmon responded with a definite 'no', describing how he would be taken out of the lineup even after he had a good game.¹⁶ Harmon also faced racism in the ballpark itself, whether it was from fans or other players. He received death threats and hate mail constantly during his seasons on the Reds. One incident in New York caused FBI agents to be stationed at the team's hotel for Harmon's protection.¹⁷

Neither Harmon nor Escalera were considered top prospects in comparison with other black All-Stars like Jackie Robinson who integrated. This was a pattern the Reds would continue to follow in choosing African American players until about 1956. Until that year, most of the black players chosen were older players, who were mostly educated men or men who were previously in military service. These players were picked first to deal with the racism and bigotry of the Major Leagues so that they could be mentors for the next generation of younger black players who were often more talented.¹⁸ This method of adding black players to the roster truly emphasizes the racism managers expected in Cincinnati. They did not want their talented black players having to face the racism alone; therefore, they signed veteran black players first in order to ease the city into the idea of African American ball players. This system seemed to further exacerbate the differences in race on the Reds, though, because players were recruited for different reasons depending on their race. In the first years of integration on the Reds, white players were recruited for talent alone, while black players were recruited to help other players or based on certain personality qualifications.

Beginning in 1956 with the signing of Frank Robinson, the Reds began signing black players based on their talent, instead of their personalities or for mentoring purposes. Frank Robinson was one of the greatest Reds players of all time. He was Rookie of the Year in 1956, the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1961 and helped lead the Reds to the National League pennant that same year.¹⁹ He was on the Reds for nine years, and throughout this time he was a leader in homeruns, runs batted in, and was a talented fielder. However, despite

being one of the best players the Reds had ever seen, Robinson still faced extreme racism both on and off of the field. In his rookie season, Robinson won many accolades and was rather successful; yet, he remembers being unhappy and uncomfortable the entire year. One reason he did not feel accepted by the team was because he was not accepted by the city because of his race. He and the other black players had to stay at the Manse Hotel, which was for blacks only, and there were many places from which he was restricted. He describes that he "never really felt that [he] was part of the ballclub, that [he] truly belonged," despite being one of the best players on the team.²⁰ As a black player, Robinson had to deal with issues of racism and segregation, despite his outstanding skill level.

Even after that first season Robinson continued to be mistreated by both players on and off of the field. Even Robinson's own teammates were not particularly friendly to him off of the field. He recalls that none of the white players ever invited him to join them for any social event, whether that was going out for drinks or dinner.²¹ Furthermore, the white players' wives were not welcoming to Barbara, Frank's wife, either. In one instance, all of the wives of players on the team were invited to a baby shower except the black wives. When Barbara tried to look past the incident and send a gift anyways, the white wives would not even let her do that.²² Although Robinson's teammates were willing to play with him and support him on the field, most were unwelcoming to him off of the field, highlighting that many of the players were unwilling to break racial patterns. Many of the Reds players had played baseball in a white-dominated environment for years. Even if they had played with black players, Robinson was the first real black star for the Reds; therefore, many white players were not used to being overshadowed by a black player. Some of their racist attitudes could have stemmed from this jealousy and unwillingness to let a black player steal their spotlight.

Robinson also faced incidents of racism in Cincinnati itself, since the city was still unofficially segregated in the 1950s and 1960s and most people still thought of blacks as second-class citizens. For instance, when Robinson and his wife were looking at houses to buy, they were told they had to look in certain neighborhoods, since some were still all

¹⁶ Ibid., 230.

¹⁷ Steve Jacobson, *Carrying Jackie's Torch: Players Who Integrated Baseball and America* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2007), 112.

¹⁸ Swaine, *The Integration of Major League Baseball*, 161.

¹⁹ Jack Klumpe and Kevin Grace, *The Cincinnati Reds: 1950-1985* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 49.

²⁰ Frank Robinson, *Extra Innings* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 30.

²¹ Ibid., 55.

²² Ibid., 53.

white.²³ Another time, after the Reds had clenched the pennant in 1961, there was supposed to be a party for the players downtown. However, when Robinson and Vada Pinson, another black player, attempted to go inside, they were denied entrance because of their race. The owner was only willing to let them in after he realized that they were Reds players.²⁴ Clearly, the city of Cincinnati was unwilling to accept African Americans into social settings. Still, the worst incident of racism that Robinson faced was at a restaurant in Cincinnati in 1961. After some arguments between white men and Robinson's friend, a chef drew a knife and threatened Robinson. Robinson responded by taking a gun out of his pocket, after which he was arrested, but the chef was not.²⁵ This incident emphasized the different standards of law enforcement based on race; Robinson and his friends were punished, while the white men were not.

In the final years of his career in Cincinnati, Robinson began to have trouble with the Reds' management. Starting in 1961, Bill DeWitt became the new general manager of the Reds, and Robinson never felt that DeWitt treated him fairly in the four years he managed him. DeWitt would not give Robinson the raises Robinson felt he deserved and he even let Robinson spend the night in jail after the gun incident, when he could have bailed him out that same night.²⁶ This unfair treatment culminated in DeWitt trading Robinson to the Baltimore Orioles in December of 1965, which is known as one of the worst trades in the history of the Reds.²⁷ There was no solid reason for DeWitt to trade Robinson, other than his race; Robinson was still one of the Reds' best players, and continued to be a great player for many years. In fact, in his first season with the Orioles, he won the Golden Glove Award and was the American League player of the year. Robinson's career with the Reds highlights the racism still present on the team throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The Reds had finally integrated and obtained talented African American players. However, the team and the city's refusal to truly accept the black players and make them feel included as part of the team hindered the Reds' progress toward racial equality.

Throughout the 1970s, the Reds prospered

under the "Big Red Machine," which included black players such as Dave Concepcion, Wayne Simpson, Hal McRae, Joe Morgan, George Foster, Dan Driessen, and Ken Griffey, Sr. This dynasty would lead the Reds to five league titles, four National League pennants, and two World Series in the 1970s. For the first time, African American players were seen as equal to the white players, and many were recognized as stars by fans in Cincinnati. However, racial problems continued, as some of the Reds players still did not feel that they were getting equal recognition as the white players. For instance, after being traded to the New York Mets in 1982, George Foster "accused the Reds of maintaining a double standard, claiming that he and other veteran black stars, like Dan Driessen and Ken Griffey Sr., didn't receive the treatment from the club that their accomplishments warranted."²⁸ Although black players were successful and were finally receiving more recognition for their talents, some still felt slighted, even in the 1970s. This is important to the development of black players in Cincinnati because while the African American players finally were gaining recognition, they did not feel as appreciated as they wanted to. This implies that the city was still recognizing the accomplishments of the white players over those of the black players.

Racism continued to haunt the Reds into the 1990s as well. In 1991, Marge Schott, the owner of the Reds, fired Tim Sabo, the "only African American employee in the Reds' front office."²⁹ Sabo believed that he had been fired because of his race and sued Schott. During the lawsuit, Schott's past racist remarks about players were made public, once again highlighting the Reds as a racist team. As a result of this incident, Schott was suspended for one year and fined by Major League Baseball. After making more racial remarks in 1996, Schott was again suspended and did not ever regain full ownership of the Reds.³⁰ Incidents like these, happening in such modern times, highlight the racial tensions that are still present in Cincinnati the Reds.

Overall, the Reds have had a very turbulent racial history. Most incidents that occurred early on in the team's history highlighted the fact that the team and the city of Cincinnati were completely unwelcoming to blacks, such as when the Reds refused to play Negro League teams after 1936.

²³ Ibid., 52.

²⁴ Ibid., 65.

²⁵ Ibid., 50.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Mike Shannon, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Cincinnati Reds* (Chicago: Triumph Books, 2008), 49.

²⁸ Swaine, *The Integration of Major League Baseball*, 164.

²⁹ Shannon, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 67-69.

³⁰ Ibid.

After the Reds integrated in 1954, the city and team slowly became more open to African American players and the successes that they would bring. However, most white people were still unwilling to accept black players as equals in all aspect of their lives. White players were willing to play with Chuck Harmon and Frank Robinson, but they made no effort to include them or their families off of the field. The city of Cincinnati itself too did not provide a welcoming environment to the black players and their families, as players like Robinson were not welcome at team celebratory parties with the rest of their team. Even in the glory days of the 1970s black players felt slighted because of their race,

highlighting that the Reds management was still not treating all players completely equal. The incidents with Marge Schott in the 1990s also shed damaging light on race issues within the Reds. Evidently, the Reds have had problems with racism for many years, and these problems have not disappeared even in the last twenty years.

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